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**Um Só Povo: Transnational Solidarity and Art  
Education in Mozambique 1961-1986**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements of the Royal College of Art for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy



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A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized 'S' followed by a series of loops and a long horizontal stroke.

*Signature:*

*Date: 2 May 2017*

## Abstract

Between 1961 and 1986, the contexts in which artists could train and practice in Mozambique radically shifted. During the country's transition from overseas territory of Portugal's quasi-fascist *Estado Novo* regime, to Marxist-Leninist vanguard state, to neo-liberal democracy, expressions of international solidarity with the Mozambique liberation front (FRELIMO) generated dynamic flows of people, objects and ideas into and out of the country. This state of flux produced a range of opportunities for artists, as well as contingent expectations for the role of their work in the new nation. Understanding art education and patronage as both an apparatus of power and a locus of transnational exchange, this thesis focuses on the experience of three artists who navigated this shifting terrain: Malangatana (1936-2011), João Craveirinha (born 1947) and Celestino 'Cejuma' Matavele (born 1959). Whilst these artists all articulated, in different ways, the struggle against colonialism and their vision for a future nation, their approaches often ran counter to the prevailing political discourse and aesthetic pedagogies. Ultimately, I argue that this dissonance reveals how deeply the parameters for art in Mozambique were contested by artists during this time.



Figure 1 José Freire *Um Só Povo / Just One People* Three colour offset print, DNPP Source: Centro de Formação Fotográfica, Maputo. Source: Centro de Formação Fotográfica Maputo

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## Abbreviations

AACM	<i>Associação Africana da Colônia de Moçambique</i> (African Association of the Colony of Mozambique)
AAPSO	Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation
AHM	<i>Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique</i> (Mozambique Historical Archive)
ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)
ARPAC	<i>Arquivo do Património Cultural</i> (Archive of Cultural Patrimony, Mozambique)
CANM	<i>Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique</i> (Association Centre of Black Mozambicans)
CCF	Congress for Cultural Freedom
CDFD	<i>Centro de Documentação e Formação Fotográfica</i> (Centre of Photographic Documentation and Training, Mozambique)
CE	Common Era
CEC	<i>Centro de Estudos Culturais</i> (Centre of Cultural Studies, Mozambique)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (US)
COAP	<i>Centro Organizativo dos Artistas Plásticos</i> (Organising Centre of Plastic Artists, Mozambique)
COMECON	<i>Sovet Ekonomicheskoy Vzaimopomoshchi</i> (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, USSR)
Comintern	Communist International
CONCP	<i>Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas</i> (Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies)
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union ( <i>КПСС, Kommunisticheskaya partiya Sovetskogo Soyuz</i> )
DEC	<i>Departamento de Educação e Cultura</i> (Department of Education and Culture, Mozambique)
DIP	<i>Departamento de Informação e Propaganda</i> (Department of Information and Propaganda, Mozambique)

DNC	<i>Direcção Nacional de Cultura</i> (National Directorate of Culture, Mozambique)
DNPP	<i>Direcção Nacional de Propaganda e Publicidade</i> (National Directorate of Propaganda and Publicity, Mozambique)
ENAV	<i>Escola Nacional de Artes Visuais</i> (National School of Visual Arts, Mozambique)
FLN	<i>Front de Libération Nationale</i> (National Liberation Front, Algeria)
Frelimo	Frelimo (a political party in Mozambique since 1977)
FRELIMO	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> (Mozambique Liberation Front, until 1977)
GDR	German Democratic Republic
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISArC	Instituto Superior de Artes e Cultura (Higher Institute of Arts and Culture, Maputo)
KGB	<i>Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti</i> (Committee for State Security, USSR)
MAC	<i>Movimento Anti Colonialista</i> (Anti-colonial Movement)
MANU	Mozambique African National Union
MFA	<i>Movimento de Forças Armadas</i> (Armed Forces Movement, Portugal)
MI	Mozambique Institute
MLSTP	<i>Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe</i> (Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe)
MNA	<i>Museu Nacional de Arte</i> (National Art Museum, Maputo)
MPLA	<i>Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola</i> (Peoples' Movement for the Liberation of Angola)
MUVART	<i>Movimento de Arte Contemporânea de Moçambique</i> (Mozambique Contemporary Art Movement)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NESAM	<i>Núcleo dos Estudantes Secundarios Africanos de Moçambique</i> (Centre for African Secondary Students of Mozambique)
Núcleo	<i>O Núcleo de Arte da Colónia de Moçambique</i> (The Art Centre of the Colony of Mozambique), later <i>O Núcleo de Arte</i> (The Art Centre)
OAU	Organisation of African Unity



OSPAAAL	<i>Organización de Solidaridad con los Pueblos de Asia, África y América Latina</i> (Organisation of Solidarity with the People of Asia, African and Latin America, Cuba)
PAIGC	<i>Partido Africano da Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde</i> (African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde)
PCP	Portuguese Communist Party
PIDE	<i>Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado</i> (International and State Defense Police, Portugal)
Renamo	<i>Resistência Nacional Moçambicana</i> (Mozambique National Resistance)
SKSNAA	<i>Sovetskiy Komitet Solidarnosti s Narodami Azii i Afriki</i> (Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa)
Stasi	<i>Ministerium für Staatssicherheit</i> (Ministry for State Security, GDR)
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
UNEMO	<i>União Nacional dos Estudantes Moçambicanos</i> (National Union of Mozambican Students)
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UDENAMO	<i>União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique</i> (National Democratic Union of Mozambique)
UN	United Nations
UNAMI	<i>União Africana de Moçambique Independente</i> (African Union for Independent Mozambique)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union

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## Introduction

Mozambique became the focus of intense networks of international solidarity and diplomacy during its struggle for independence. These networks generated, among other things, a range of possibilities for art education and patronage. This thesis follows the itinerary of three artists through four of these pedagogies, namely colonial education, informal workshops, anti-colonial cultural policy and Soviet education.

From the early 1960s, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO<sup>11</sup>) solicited support not only from the Soviet Bloc, Eastern Europe, Cuba and China but also from the US and Western European countries. These international networks intensified after independence, as the country became a proxy battleground for Cold War<sup>12</sup> conflict. Support for FRELIMO arrived in the form of military equipment, goods and capital, but also in the form of personnel to work at their bases in Tanzania and Mozambique, and scholarship programmes for Mozambican students to train abroad. Intended to enhance bi-lateral cooperation with Mozambique, these scholarship programmes provided first military training, and later school and university-level training in a range of disciplines, including Fine Art and Design, to address the skills shortage left by the inadequate colonial education system and the rapid departure of the Portuguese.

This pedagogic aid generated an intense flux of people, objects and ideas into, and out of Mozambique, through socialist, south-south and non-aligned networks that explicitly resisted the global channels forged by European colonial-capitalism. This research was motivated by the belief that revisiting this period of exchange might open up possibilities for telling an alternative art history of globalisation; a

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<sup>11</sup> In its capitalised form, the abbreviation FRELIMO (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*) refers to the guerilla movement established in 1962, as opposed to 'Frelimo', the contemporary political party into which it developed following independence. I follow this convention throughout the thesis.

<sup>12</sup> I therefore use the term Cold War here cognisant that it is a misnomer in the context of the "Third

history of transnational<sup>13</sup> affiliations sustained not by capital, but by the logic of anti-colonial solidarity, understood here as an emotional proximity to often geographically distant others, born in response to moral injustice. These pedagogic networks have only recently begun to receive scholarly attention. Constantin Katsakioris, along with others at the ELITAF project at the Sorbonne in Paris<sup>14</sup> have made important contributions to understanding the experience of African students studying in the USSR, primarily from a Soviet perspective, and Jason Verber<sup>15</sup> and Tanja R. Müller<sup>16</sup> have both documented the experience of Mozambican students at the *Schule der Freundschaft* in the GDR. In the context of Art History, however, there has as yet been no sustained study of how these pedagogic networks brought African artists into relation with the global south and the socialist world.

When I began this project there was a dearth of research on both the cultural impact of the Cold War in Africa, and the history of art in Lusophone Africa. The recent pioneering work of Delinda Collier,<sup>17</sup> Adriano Mixinge<sup>18</sup> and Nadine Siegert<sup>19</sup> has done much to address some of these silences in the context of Angola, as has Kate Cowcher's<sup>20</sup> work on art under the Derg in Ethiopia. However, beyond Alda Costa's encyclopaedic survey<sup>21</sup> and Vanessa Días Rivas' recent analysis of

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<sup>13</sup> In this thesis I use transnationalism to refer to a set of global relations which transcend borders, and internationalism to refer to a political ideology with its roots in the socialist international.

<sup>14</sup> The Programme ELITAF (elites africaines formées dans le pays de l'ex-bloc soviétique) is a research project founded in 2012 to document the experience of African students in the USSR.

<sup>15</sup> Quinn Slobodian, ed., *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World* (New York and Oxford: Berghan Books, 2015).

<sup>16</sup> Tanja R. Müller, *Legacies of Socialist Solidarity: East Germany in Mozambique* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014).

<sup>17</sup> Delinda Collier, *Repainting the Walls of Lunda: Information Colonialism and Angolan Art* (Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2016); Delinda Collier, "A 'New Man' for Africa? Some Particularities of the Marxist Homem Novo within Angolan Cultural Policy," in *De-Centering Cold War History: Local and Global Change*, ed. Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney and Fabio Lanza (Routledge, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> Adriano Mixinge, *Made in Angola: Arte Contemporânea, Artistas e Debates* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> Nadine Siegert, *(Re)Mapping Luanda: Utopische und nostalgische Zugänge zu einem kollektiven Bildarchiv*, 1. Aufl. (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2016).

<sup>20</sup> Kate Cowcher, "From Pushkin to Perestroika: Art and the Search for an Ethiopian October," in *Red Africa: Affective Communities and the Cold War*, ed. Mark Nash (London, UK: Black Dog Publishing Ltd, 2016).

<sup>21</sup> Alda Costa, *Arte E Museu Em Moçambique: Entre a Construção Da Nação E O Mundo Sem Fronteiras (1932-2004)* (Lisbon: Babel, 2013).

contemporary practice,<sup>22</sup> there has been very little discussion of the academic fine arts in Mozambique. No attention has been paid, for example, to art in the context of Frelimo's shifting cultural policy, and aside from a conference paper by Harun Harun,<sup>23</sup> this thesis is also the only extant study of art education in Mozambique.

I began this enquiry with a focus on those artists who had studied in the Soviet Bloc and Cuba as part of the much larger cohort of *bolseiros* (bursary-holders) during the early years of independence. Arriving in Mozambique in early 2010, I started sifting through archival records from the art school (ENAV), ARPAC, AHM, the Ministries of Culture and Education, and the National Museum of Art (MNA) as well as periodicals such as *Tempo* and *Voz da Revolução*, and reports of Soviet, East German and Cuban solidarity projects in the field of education. The speeches and party statements that filled these publications confirmed my preconceptions of this period. Mozambique's 'natural allies' in the socialist world had, out of solidarity, offered educational aid to support the formation of the 'new man', for the post-revolutionary state. Scores of photographs documented President Samora Machel's feverish diplomatic itinerary of the embassies and runways of the world, his beaming smile and emphatic embraces offering tangible evidence of Frelimo's global friendships. Through this material, I encountered a heady vision of Mozambique's solidarity networks as a rare, utopian instance of intersection between socialist internationalism and post-colonial euphoria.

Over the course of the year, I also met and talked with over 40 artists and cultural workers who had been active at the time, the majority of whom had trained abroad. Malangatana had studied in Lisbon, and Jorge Dias and Victor Sousa had studied in Brazil (the latter by correspondence course), but the others had studied in socialist countries during the 1980s, on programmes ranging from one month to seven years. I asked them about their education in Mozambique, the USSR, GDR

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<sup>22</sup> Vanessa Díaz Rivas, "Contemporary Art in Mozambique: Reshaping Artistic National Canons," *Critical Interventions* 8, no. 2 (May 4, 2014): 160–75.

<sup>23</sup> Harun Harun, "The Fine Arts in Mozambique: Aspects of Arts Education and Art Criticism That Have Contributed to the Development of Fine Arts in Mozambique," in *Structuring Africa(s): Cultural Policies and Their Differences and Similarities, or How to Deal with Needs and Desires* (Cape Town: Aica Press, 2007).

and Cuba in an attempt to understand how these international solidarities had been transmitted and experienced through the medium of art education. Perhaps naively, I had expected to hear nostalgia for this utopian moment, and to see in their work traces of an itinerary through global solidarity networks and pedagogies. Their memories, and the scant archive of their work from the time, suggested a much more complex, ambiguous picture. There was little legible trace of these networks in their work, and their recollections of education under Soviet and Cuban socialism spanned a breadth of experience, from friendship, enlightenment and idealism, to racism, violence and fear. Whilst these educational programmes had been formulated in the Cuban and Soviet traditions of international socialism, with the anticipation that students would go on to devote their labour to the construction of a socialist society in Africa, they in fact often produced conflicting results, with artists returning to Mozambique determined to follow different modes of practice. Artists who had studied in the USSR rarely, of course, went on to make socialist realist art, just as artists who studied under US-funded schemes rarely made abstract, apolitical art.

To take full account of the complex and unpredictable nature of this interaction between the state, the institution and the artist, it became clear both that Soviet interventions in art education needed to be understood in the context of the reflexive counter-actions of the US in funding cultural initiatives in Africa, and that Mozambique's post-colonial cultural policy needed to be understood in the context of colonial education policy. Listening to the accounts of these artists, I also realised that I would need to confront my own expectations for this moment of transnational solidarity, which, working in an era of hardened borders and ultra-nationalism seemed more politically urgent than ever.

David Chioni Moore has argued that a broad silence on the Soviet world in post-colonial discourse stems from 'the belief, not without reason, that the First World largely caused the Third World's ills, and an allied belief that the Second's

socialism was the best alternative'.<sup>24</sup> Most postcolonial scholars, coming from a Marxist perspective, are therefore, he argues, reluctant to make actually existing socialism the subject of critique. The rich early scholarship on FRELIMO shared this reluctance, coming largely from writers similarly affiliated to the front during the struggle and early years of independence, beginning with the work of Eduardo Mondlane.<sup>27</sup> In 1986, however, an article was published in Mozambique which inaugurated a less binary approach to Frelimo's official histories of the liberation struggle.<sup>29</sup> Written by Congolese historian Jacques Depelchin, and Samora Machel's advisor, Aquino de Bragança (shortly before his death in the plane crash that also killed Machel), the article guards against the problems of writing history from a position of solidarity, suggesting that:

*'While the enemies of the Mozambican revolution can deliberately distort its history, the same can be done by those who, out of sympathy, support, solidarity, seek to defend it. Unfortunately, the commitment can sometimes blind one to the realities and only make one see the idealised version of that reality.'*<sup>31</sup>

The need to penetrate the idealised gloss of official narratives of art education and solidarity in Mozambique became a driving logic of my research methodologies. Seeking to explore the intersections of state protocol and lived experience, or between the macro and the micro-histories of art pedagogy, I approached this research from three perspectives: the official, the biographical and the visual. In each case, I drew methodology from the disciplines in which I have worked since the late 1990s: African History, Postcolonial Studies, Material Culture and Art History. This multi-disciplinary approach seeks to contribute both visual

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<sup>24</sup> David Chioni Moore, "Is the Post- in Postcolonial the Post- in Post-Soviet? Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique," *PMLA (Modern Language Association)* 116, no. 1 (January 2001): 117.

<sup>27</sup> Eduardo Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969); See also Allen Isaacman and B. Isaacman, eds., *Mozambique From Colonialism to Revolution 1900-1982* (Boulder Colorado: Westview, 1983); John Saul, ed., *A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985); and Iain Christie, *Machel of Mozambique* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1988).

<sup>29</sup> de Bragança, Aquino, and Jacques Depelchin, "Da Idealização da Frelimo à Compreensão da História de Moçambique," *Estudos Moçambicanos* 5, no. 6 (1986): 29–52; Translated as Jacques Depelchin and Aquino de Bragança, "From the Idealization of Frelimo to the Understanding of the Recent History of Frelimo," *Review* 11, no. 1 (1988): 162–78.

<sup>31</sup> Depelchin and Bragança, "From the Idealization of Frelimo to the Understanding of the Recent History of Frelimo," 163.



perspectives to the scholarship on the Cold War and decolonisation in Africa, and geopolitical perspectives to the art historical scholarship on Mozambique.

My first level of enquiry used historical methodology to focus on the official narratives of art pedagogy and solidarity, as evidenced through the archival records and national press accounts described above. This material allows for an exploration of the claims and objectives of initiatives in art education and patronage made available to Mozambican artists through the direct or indirect support of, in turn, Portugal, the US, Frelimo and the USSR.

My title, *um só povo* ('just one people') borrows a Frelimo catchphrase to allude to these claims, by referencing Portugal's vision of the colonial subject as citizen of a single, transcontinental nation; as well as the three communities imagined for Mozambique, by the US, Frelimo and the USSR, as alternatives to this notion of empire. On this level of enquiry, I explore how art institutions were implicated in these projects of community building, in each case defining a particular role for art and the artist in relation to nation, history and identity. This approach allows for an understanding of these international interventions in art practice not simply as an expression of solidarity, but also as an apparatus of cultural hegemony, understood in Antonio Gramsci's classic terms, as the imposition of a ruling class's worldview as natural and inevitable.

This level of enquiry draws on the assertion of Brazilian anthropologist Peter Fry, that the shifting modes of governance in Mozambique and its Southern African neighbours can be broadly understood to have oscillated between policies of assimilation and segregation, seeking to produce in the local popular consciousness a sense of on one hand, universalism, and on the other, difference.<sup>32</sup> The colonial presence in Mozambique, he argues, was primarily defined by the rhetoric of assimilation, a policy that later found echoes in both Frelimo and the Soviet Union's attempts to construct a universalised *Povo* ('the People') from a

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<sup>32</sup> Peter Fry, "Cultures of Difference. The Aftermath of Portuguese and British Colonial Policies in Southern Africa," *Social Anthropology* 8, no. 2 (June 1, 2000): 117–43.

disparate population, echoes which have also been analysed by Michael Mahoney.<sup>33</sup> Fry contrasts this assimilationism to the British and US models of intervention in Africa, which followed patterns of segregation and indirect rule, to sustain a mythology of cultural and racial difference.

In what follows, I extend Fry's analysis in order to assess the claims of these art pedagogies in Mozambique. I argue that the oscillation he describes, between segregationist and assimilationist modes of colonial governance, also finds resonance in the polarised terms of the cultural Cold War, as manifested through art pedagogies in Mozambique. Broadly speaking, this Cold War rhetoric lent primacy to, on one hand, an understanding of art as an apolitical expression of individual identity, most famously in the tradition of abstract expressionism (an affirmation of difference), and on the other, a universalised conception of art in the service of class and national consciousness, in the tradition of socialist realism (an affirmation of sameness). Analysed through the lens of Mozambique's art institutions, this formulation offers the potential for shedding new light on how the cultural Cold War intersected with the process of African decolonisation. To what extent however, did these pedagogies effectively reproduce the ideological and aesthetic paradigms of the donor state?

Whilst my first level of evidence is deeply implicated in the polarised macro-discourse of the Cold War and decolonisation, or the language of authority, my second level of methodology is concerned with the micro-histories and agency of those who experienced and inhabited these institutional and ideological landscapes. Drawing on extended interviews carried out over the course of 2010, I focus on the accounts of three artists: Malangatana, João Craveirinha and Celestino 'Cejuma' Matavele, asking how they responded to these shifting parameters for art and the artist. Whilst this level of enquiry uses ethnographic methods of extended fieldwork and conversations, what follows are oral histories rather than

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<sup>33</sup> Michael Mahoney, "Estado Novo, Homem Novo (New State, New Man): Colonial and Anticolonial Development Ideologies in Mozambique, 1930–1977," in *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War*, ed. David C Engerman et al. (University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 165–198.

ethnography in the classic sense. I do not seek to assert conclusions about the specificity of the Mozambican experience, but rather to foreground three unique trajectories through this political and pedagogic landscape.

Like the official accounts, these oral histories are inevitably prone to silences, censorship, polemic, inhibition, self-presentation and reconstruction. This subjectivity yields a partial kind of knowledge, but one that nevertheless allows for a critical texture, nuance and ambiguity that responds to Bragança and Depelchin's call for a less idealised history of the independence period.

In the years since I began this research, my work has been enriched by the contributions of scholars who have similarly sought to foreground the unofficial, affective implications of Frelimo's cultural policy and transnational networks.<sup>34</sup> These conversations are yet to take account of Fine Art practice and pedagogy, but I nevertheless owe a debt to Patricia Hayes' and Rui Assebuji's concerns to trace a 'second thinking' in photographer Kok Nam's work, and to recover 'a more delicate sublime'<sup>37</sup> than the collective hallucination of Frelimo's Popular Republic. Similarly, in her analysis of poetry in the context of the liberation struggle, Maria Benedita Basto has drawn attention to the play between 'the workings of the *performative* dynamics from below in relation to the *pedagogical* statements of a state power'.<sup>38</sup> In her analysis of 'socialist friendship' in Mozambican cinema, Ros Gray has argued that the emotional, affective bonds forged through these solidarity networks were often 'surplus to ideological identification', and instead offered

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<sup>34</sup> Paolo Israel's studies of masquerade and song, Alexander Bortolot's work on Makonde masquerade and Drew Thompson's account of photography in the liberated zones have also added vital new perspectives to the visual and cultural histories of Frelimo. See, for example: Drew A. Thompson, "Constructing a History of Independent Mozambique, 1974-1982: A Study in Photography," *Kronos* 39, no. 1 (January 2013): 158-84; Drew A. Thompson, "Visualising FRELIMO's Liberated Zones in Mozambique, 1962-1974," *Social Dynamics* 39, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 24-50; Alexander Bortolot, "Artesãos Da Nossa Patria: Makonde Blackwood Sculptors, Cooperatives, and the Art of Socialist Revolution in Postcolonial Mozambique," in *African Art and Agency in the Workshop*, ed. Sidney Littlefield Kasfir and Till Förster (Indiana University Press, 2013); Paolo Israel, *In Step with the Times: Mapiko Masquerades of Mozambique*, 1 edition (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2014); and Paolo Israel, "The Formulaic Revolution," *Cahiers D'études Africaines* No 197, no. 1 (May 11, 2010): 181-216.

<sup>37</sup> Rui Assubui and Patricia Hayes, "The Political Sublime: Reading Kok Nam, Mozambican Photographer (1939-2012)," 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Maria-Benedita Basto, "Who Is Written? The Representation of the Other in Rewriting Experiments during the Portuguese Colonial War and the Mozambican Liberation Struggle," *Italianistica Ultraiectina* 1 (December 2006): 95.

communities ‘in which friendship functioned as a resource for transnational anti-capitalist collaboration’.<sup>39</sup> In different ways, their analyses have opened radically new perspectives on this period, by foregrounding the phenomenology of the independence moment, and I seek here to add to these conversations.

My third level of enquiry draws on art historical method to give close visual analysis of three key works by these artists, situating them as an entry point to understanding the broader biographical and geopolitical moments of their production. Executed in 1961, 1979 and 1986, they mark, respectively, the emergence, zenith and decline of Frelimo’s socialist commitment. A canvas, a mural and a series of posters, these three works were produced in radically different contexts, yet all depict the struggle for independence, at various stages of resolution, in terms that on the surface, seem to comply with the bifurcated logic of the ideological and aesthetic landscape.

Rather than viewing these works as monolithic expressions of Cold War or state ideology however, I seek to open up the more unresolved layers within these paintings. I draw here on David Craven’s understanding of art not ‘as a cohesive and self-consistent expression of *the* ideology of *the* ruling class’, but as ‘an open-ended site of contestation... an uneasy synthesis – more or less stable but *not* conclusively resolved – of hegemonic values with subordinate ideological tendencies’.<sup>40</sup> Seen in these terms, the work becomes ‘not *merely* a tool for political struggle, but by its very nature a *location* of ongoing political conflict’.<sup>41</sup> Attending to the visual in this way therefore allows for a foregrounding of perspectives which are otherwise absent from official and biographical accounts,

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<sup>39</sup> Ros Gray, “Haven’t You Heard of Internationalism? The Socialist Friendships of Mozambican Cinema,” in *Postcommunist Film - Russia, Eastern Europe and World Culture: Moving Images of Postcommunism*, ed. Lars Lyngsgaard and Fjord Kristensen (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 53; See also Kodwo Eshun and Ros Gray, “The Militant Image: A Ciné-Geography,” *Third Text* 25, no. 1 (January 1, 2011): 1–12; See also the recent critical and curatorial discourse around the theory and practice of solidarity, including the work of the artists’ collective Travelling Communiqué on the contemporary potential of the non-aligned movement and Doreen Mende’s theorisation of the image within Algeria-GDR solidarity networks: Doreen Mende, “The Itinerant” (Goldsmiths College, 2013).

<sup>40</sup> David Craven, “Abstract Expressionism and Third World Art: A Post-Colonial Approach to ‘American’ Art,” *The Oxford Art Journal* 14, no. 1 (1991): 45–46.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

and in what follows, I also understand these works as a site of struggle in ways that extend beyond the figurative or iconographic. In line with this reasoning, I ultimately ask, to what extent did the artists understand their work as a counter-hegemonic space for alternative expression, a space uncolonised by the prevailing ideology?

I seek to answer this question in terms of the dissonance between these three layers of history. Exploring this dissonance, manifested as struggles between the hegemonic manoeuvres of a series of pedagogies, and the agency with which artists responded to these manoeuvres, allows, I suggest, for a more complex history of art production in the context of Mozambique's independence moment.

In Chapter One, I consider how Portuguese colonial rhetoric sought to assimilate the African population into a transcontinental empire, and how this policy was resisted, on multiple fronts, in the context of schools and art education in Mozambique. Understood from the perspective of Malangatana's early education, it follows how colonial administrators, Swiss Missionaries, and later, informal art educators, for very different reasons, all challenged the policy of assimilation by emphasising difference in Malangatana's work. Focusing on his 1961 painting *Monstros Grandes*, I argue that Malangatana drew selectively on the technologies offered by this diverse education, but in important ways also resisted it, by engaging with emergent forms of anti-colonial resistance and African socialism to develop a uniquely politicised aesthetic.

Chapter Two traces the development of Frelimo's cultural policy, from a commitment to African socialism during the early years of the independence struggle, to an articulation of nationalism in socialist internationalist terms during the 1970s. It explores how the disavowal of ethnicity, race and authorship which undergirded Frelimo's nation-building project came into tension with the practice of the party's graphic designer, João Craveirinha. Focusing on his design for the mural in Maputo's Praça dos Heróis Moçambicanos, it considers how the editing of his work enacted a struggle between competing historical narratives, and evolving definitions of the artist.

Chapter Three explores the impact of socialist solidarity networks on art education in Mozambique during the 1980s, specifically by following both the work of international *cooperantes* and local art educators in the new national art school, ENAV, and the experience of Mozambican artists training on solidarity scholarships in the USSR, Eastern Europe and Cuba. Focusing on the trajectory of Mozambican artist Celestino 'Cejuma' Matavele through a Fine Arts degree in Tashkent's Benkov Art College, it considers *The Fight for Peace*, a series of posters submitted as his final degree work, as a negotiation between Soviet cultural hegemony, Mozambican nationalism, and socialist internationalism. Through his utopian vision of a 'new life', I suggest that Cejuma's work offers a social critique with enduring potential for the present.

## 1.1 *Monstros Grandes*: Pedagogies of Portuguese Empire

Laurenço Marques, 1961



Figure 2 Malangatana Ngwenya *Monstros Grandes Devorando Monstros Pequenos* Oil on Unitex 121x153cm, 1961. Collection: Galeria Museu Hloyasi, Maputo. Source: [casacomum.org](http://casacomum.org)

Malangatana's 1961 painting *Monstros Grandes Devorando Monstros Pequenos* (Large Monsters Eating Small Monsters, Figure 2) depicts a violent struggle, a tangled mass of horns and fangs, of bodies consuming bodies, blood pouring down the canvas. Beneath them, a woman sleeps while teeth gorge at her flesh. Eyes, wide with adrenalin, witness the carnage. In this liminal space, men morph into animals, vacillating in an uncertain zone between earth and spirit worlds. Victims

become aggressors, poised at the pivotal moment between life and death. Teeth break through skin, transgressing the boundary between self and other.

In this work, Malangatana established an aesthetic which not only defined his career, but which would later lend visual form to a negotiated understanding of Moçambicanidade (Mozambican-ness). In this sense, the unresolved struggle that plays out across the surface of this canvas can be understood in dialogic terms, as an open-ended articulation of self and other.

The literature about Malangatana tends to take one of two approaches. Whilst early texts on Malangatana described him, and his work, in a mystical language of primitivist expressionism, as a 'visionary',<sup>42</sup> entirely insulated from international politics, post-independence commentaries from writers including Betty Schneider and Jean Kennedy, describe him as a 'revolutionary artist'<sup>43</sup> and an 'artist of the revolution',<sup>44</sup> claims which Mario Pissarra has substantiated in a recent article.<sup>45</sup> What has not yet been explored is how these ongoing attempts to locate Malangatana's work on a political/apolitical axis were paralleled in the contexts of his training and patronage, and evoke in significant ways, the struggle over the role of art that underscored the cultural Cold War. I argue, in other words, that the partial, bifurcated nature of the literature on the artist is symptomatic of much broader currents of discourse competing to define a decolonial aesthetic, already beginning in 1961.

I seek to unfold some implications of these currents throughout the three micro-histories of this thesis. Chapters Two and Three deal with moments, in the late 1970s and mid 1980s, when Mozambique's nationalism was figured in terms of an alliance with the socialist world, a context with profound implications for the structures of aesthetic production. Chapter One, however, traces earlier contexts

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<sup>42</sup> Ulli Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1968), 71.

<sup>43</sup> Jean Kennedy, *New Currents, Ancient Rivers: Contemporary African Artists in a Generation of Change* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 150.

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth Schneider, "Malangatana: Artist of the Revolution," *African Arts* 21, no. 3 (1988), 58.

<sup>45</sup> Mario Pissarra, "Re-Reading Malangatana," *Asai*, January 2008.



and discourses of art production in Mozambique, addressing in the first part, the pedagogic intentions of late Portuguese colonialism, and in the second part, the emergence of competing modes of aesthetic resistance to it. Using a range of interviews and archival sources, including unpublished documents from Malangatana's personal archive and the interview he gave me in Maputo shortly before his death, this chapter revisits his early work, through a mapping of the institutions in which he confronted these broad meta-narratives of late colonialism and the Cold War. In their broadest rhetoric, these pedagogies promoted on one hand, a form of universalism, and on the other hand particularism, intentions which were in both cases wrought with paradox, and from which Malangatana selectively appropriated. I argue that, just as the anthropophagic 'monsters' in his 1961 painting wrestle in unresolved tension, so too did Malangatana refuse to lend dominance to any one ideology, positioning his work instead as the site of an unresolved struggle between them.

### **Colonial Education and the Rhetoric of Assimilation**

Throughout his early life, Malangatana participated in a series of institutions which promised to assimilate him into Portuguese nationhood, and at the same time put insurmountable barriers in the way of him achieving this goal. In what follows I trace the genealogy of the transformative desires which undergirded the policy of assimilation and colonial schooling in Mozambique, before turning to Malangatana's biography to understand how these policies were experienced by him throughout his early art education.

The Portuguese approach to Africa was defined from the start by the claim to transform African subjects into members of a transcontinental nation. Education was central to this claim, but in practice Portugal provided sparse opportunities on the ground, and assimilationist policies were challenged on multiple fronts.

Arriving at Ilha de Moçambique in 1498, Vasco da Gama encountered one of several coastal ports that had been active nodes in the cosmopolitan networks of Indian Ocean trade for over eight centuries. A range of educational institutions were already in place by this time, including Koranic schools and peer-group

associations.<sup>46</sup> Portugal subsequently relied on the Catholic missions for disseminating education, and there are records of church schools operating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but their impact was minimal, Silva Rego claiming that ‘the promulgation of knowledge is most strenuously opposed by the priests as utterly subversive.’<sup>47</sup> The first official primary school wasn’t opened until 1799, 301 years after Vasco de Gama’s arrival. Faced with a lack of schools, wealthy settler families tended to send their children to Goa or Portugal for their education.<sup>48</sup> This was also used as a strategy for gaining control over African populations, such as when in the face of Jesuit competition, the Dominicans attempted to convert the Karanga kingdom in the south by sending young Karanga princes for education in Goa and Portugal.<sup>49</sup> Later iterations of this model of long-distance education are explored in Chapter Three.

The 1820 liberal revolution in Portugal, and the 1822 constitution which followed, set in place the assimilationist policy for the Portuguese colonies. The constitution secured an alliance between church and state, and, inspired by French

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<sup>46</sup> Coastal ports such as Sofala were, from the seventh century CE, participating in a global maritime trade networks which connected the kingdoms of the interior, such as Monomotapa, via the Indian Ocean, to the Arabian and Persian peninsulas, the Mediterranean, India, China and Indonesia. The coastal city-state of Sofala (near present-day Beira) represented the most southerly port of what became known as the ‘Swahili corridor’, a string of over 400 trading centres stretching 3000km up the coast to Mogadishu. These cosmopolitan ports, are described in the first century CE merchant’s guide *The Periplus of the Erithraen Sea* as far south as ‘Rhapta’, which archaeologist Felix Chami claims to have found at the mouth of the Rufiji River in Tanzania. In these intercultural spaces, communally regulated methods of education, such as initiation and peer-group associations, remained under the control of local political authorities. At the same time, Koranic schools taught Arabic literacy, and introduced students to the cultures and languages of the Swahili trade networks. Even prior to the arrival of the Portuguese then, educational structures in the region fostered, through linguistic, cultural and religious training, a sense of affiliation and solidarity with both local and far-reaching global communities.

<sup>47</sup> The first attempt to establish a mission was only in 1560, when a group of Jesuits led by Gonçalo da Silveira attempted to convert the court at Monomotapa. Accounts of the time suggest that the early missions were deeply fraught. Da Silveira was murdered, probably by court order (Monomotapa would eventually turn to Christianity in 1629). Another group of Jesuits established a base on Mozambique Island in the 1560s-70s, running a seminary and hospital between 1610 and 1760, but were widely accused of corruption, Silva Rego observing that “the decadence increased as rapidly as the jungle grows on Monsoon rains”. The Dominicans, who were largely hostile to the Jesuits, also established a centre on Mozambique Island around the same time, as well as at Vila da Sena in Zambezia, where, according to Rego, they “held great tracts of land which they administered like any prazero, collecting head taxes and dealing in slaves”. See Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, 111; and Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era* (Paris: UNESCO, 1974), 52-53.

<sup>48</sup> Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1995), 439.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

revolutionary ideology, envisioned the Portuguese territories as a single nation, in which all indigenous people were citizens of Portugal. These principles remained in place until the First Republic (1910-1926), and underscored the rationale of teaching Catholicism, Portuguese language, history and culture in colonial schools.<sup>50</sup> Along these lines, an 1845 decree promised a colonial education system that was unique at the time in drawing no legal distinction between Africans and Europeans. For nineteenth century liberal theorists, this 'civilising' mission provided a rhetorical strategy for addressing the contradictions between Enlightenment claims for equality and universalism, and European colonial practice. However, under pressure from Portuguese settlers, a further decree was passed in 1869 that defined different terms of education for Africans and Europeans in the colonies.<sup>51</sup> By 1875, there were only eight public primary schools in Mozambique, with a total of 226 pupils.<sup>52</sup> Two of the most vocal critics of liberal education policy were the Portuguese high commissioners of Mozambique, António Ennes (1894-5) and Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1896-7), who wrote in 1899 that:

*the education system was nonsense and folly. Eternally preoccupied about assimilation with the metropolis, schools were scattered along the coast; even in the interior, there were schools where improvised teachers claimed to offer primary instruction to native children. Attendance at these schools was minimal, even when they were turned over to secular priests; the profit derived, none. But, since the arrangements resembled what Portugal had, the Liberal spirit of symmetry was satisfied. The schools were a fiction ... As far as I am concerned, what we have to do to educate and civilize the indigena is to develop his aptitude for manual labour in a practical way and take advantage of him for the exploitation of the province.<sup>53</sup>*

Ennes was equally sceptical of the assimilation process, suggesting that 'the peoples of Africa must necessarily pass through an extensive period of intellectual and moral development before becoming confirmed Christians, and education will

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<sup>50</sup> Ana Isabel Madeira, "Portuguese, French and British Discourses on Colonial Education: Church-State Relations, School Expansion and Missionary Competition in Africa, 1890-1930," *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 1-2 (February 1, 2005): 45.

<sup>51</sup> Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era*, 57.

<sup>52</sup> Madeira, "Portuguese, French and British Discourses on Colonial Education" 49.

<sup>53</sup> Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque, *Moçambique 1896-1898* (Lisbon, 1913), 508.

shorten this period but will not substitute it'.<sup>54</sup> His parting shot at the universalist ideals of the liberal regime was the 1899 labour law, which enshrined a distinction between two classes of citizen, *indígena* (indigenous) and *não-indígena* (non-indigenous), primarily for tax and labour purposes.

Following Salazar's 1930 Colonial Act, Africans who had abandoned local customs and adopted Portuguese language, culture and Catholicism, could in principle apply to their local administrator for a certificate confirming their status as '*civilizados*' (civilised, or from 1954, '*assimilado*' or assimilated). This certificate would exempt them from African taxation, forced labour and restrictions of movement. In practice, this status proved both undesirable and almost impossible to obtain, and the 1950 census listed only 5000 *assimilados*, accounting for less than 0.1% of Mozambicans.<sup>55</sup>

For some international observers, Portugal's colonial policy seemed to provide the model for a post-racial society. After visiting the Third Pan-African conference in Lisbon in 1923, WEB Du Bois remarked that 'between the Portuguese and the African and the near-African there is naturally no racial antipathy – no accumulated historical hatreds, dislikes and despisings'<sup>56</sup>. This idea was supported by the notion of Luso-tropicalism developed by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, and first laid out in his 1933 book *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (The Masters and Slaves). With reference to Brazilian society, he argued that the Portuguese were uniquely adapted to the tropics and that the history of miscegenation in the colonies had led to racial harmony that set Portugal apart from other European colonisers.<sup>57</sup>

In the 1950s, under mounting international pressure, Marcello Caetano (then Minister for the Colonies) and Sarmiento Rodrigues (governor of Guinea) saw that

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<sup>54</sup> António Ennes cf Peter Fry, "Cultures of Difference. The Aftermath of Portuguese and British Colonial Policies in Southern Africa," *Social Anthropology* 8, no. 2 (June 1, 2000): 126.

<sup>55</sup> Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in Africa* (London: Hurst, 1981), 138.

<sup>56</sup> cf G. Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese* (London: Heinemann, 1978), xxi.

<sup>57</sup> During the 1930s, Salazar's thinking was in the thrall of racist ideologies and he initially expressed disapproval of Freyre's celebration of miscegenation.

assimilation and Luso-tropicalism could offer an intellectual defence of the Estado Novo's colonial project. The 1951 Colonial Act re-branded Portugal as a 'multi-continental nation' and renamed the colonies 'overseas provinces.' In the same year, Rodrigues invited Freyre to visit Portugal and its 'provinces' in Asia and Africa. Freyre's books *O Luso e o Trópico* (The Portuguese and the Tropics, 1961) and *Integração Portuguesa nos Trópicos* (Portuguese Integration in the Topics, 1958)<sup>58</sup> were subsequently published by the Portuguese government and distributed to embassies in the colonies. Theories of Luso-tropicalism also became a central element of training courses for future colonial administrators at the *Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos* (Institute for Overseas Studies).<sup>59</sup> By the early 1960s, the image of Portuguese colonies as humane and racially harmonious had become central to the legitimization of the 'third empire'. Defending Portuguese colonialism to the UN in 1964, Portuguese foreign minister Franco Nogueira argued that, among Europeans, the Portuguese 'alone practised the principle of multi-racialism, which all now consider the most perfect and daring expression of human brotherhood... in which men are only limited by their ability'.<sup>60</sup>

However, from the 1960s, as the disparity between rhetoric and practice in Portugal's colonies became more internationally visible, the idea of Luso-tropicalism in Brazil and Portuguese Africa came under attack from writers such as Peter Fry and Gerald Bender, who argued that the denial of racism only served to conceal the deep structural cleavages within these societies, making prejudice all

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<sup>58</sup> In this book, Freyre writes "We are, it appears, in the process of forming a third man or a third culture - a symbiotically Lusotropical man, a symbiotically Lusotropical culture - resulting from a reality still unfinished; and which has been formed by the Portuguese going to extremes, in a decisive era for extra-European development, as no other European has done, having renounced their purity, whether ethnic or cultural, in favour of hybrid forms of Man and culture, those which come from participating in races, atmospheres and tropical cultures.." Gilberto Freyre, "Integração Portuguesa Nos Trópicos," in *Uma Política Transnacional de Cultura Para O Brasil de Hoje. : , 1960, Pp. 65 - 117.*, by Gilberto Freyre (Belo Horizonte: Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos / Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Minas Gerais, 1960), 88 My translation.

<sup>59</sup> Peter Burke and Maria Lúcia G. Pallares-Burke, *Gilberto Freyre: Social Theory in the Tropics* (Peter Lang, 2008), 120.

<sup>60</sup> Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese*, xi.

the more difficult to confront and reject.<sup>61</sup> In a later article, Peter Fry returned to these criticisms, arguing that they need to be viewed in terms of the long-running Anglo-Saxon Protestant hostility towards the Portuguese Catholic tradition of assimilation.<sup>62</sup> Late 19<sup>th</sup> century travellers such as Livingstone had decried the Portuguese ‘moral delinquency’ of the ‘depraved Catholics’ in Mozambique, and Lord Lugard had described the ‘mulatto’ children there as ‘the worst of European creations’.<sup>63</sup> By the early twentieth century, British policy was resolutely opposed to the idea of assimilation, arguing instead that differences between European and African culture should be rigidly maintained and policed.<sup>64</sup> Jan Christiaan Smuts elaborated this position in 1929, attacking the Portuguese colonial system in an address at Oxford University:

*The political system of the natives was ruthlessly destroyed in order to incorporate them as equals into the white system... his native institutions were ruthlessly proscribed and destroyed. The principle of equal rights was applied in its crudest form, and while it gave the native a semblance of equality with whites, which was little good to him, it destroyed the basis of his African system which was his highest good... The British Empire does not stand for the assimilation of its peoples into a common type, it does not stand for standardisation, but for the fullest freest development of its peoples along their own specific lines.<sup>65</sup>*

Smuts’ ideas found their most extreme articulation in the South African policy of apartheid segregation, but were also influential in the administration of Rhodesia and the indirect rule policies applied in the Nigerian Protectorate and elsewhere in British-occupied Africa. The tension between these approaches intensified in the

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<sup>61</sup> See Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese* and Fry’s seminal essay; Peter Fry, “Feijoada E Soul Food: Notas Sobre a Manipulação de Símbolos É Nacionais,” *Ensaio de Opinião* 2, no. 2 (1977).

<sup>62</sup> Fry, “Cultures of Difference. The Aftermath of Portuguese and British Colonial Policies in Southern Africa.”

<sup>63</sup> David Livingstone and Lord Lugard cf *ibid.*, 121.

<sup>64</sup> Earlier British colonial policy had experimented with assimilationist ideas. Thomas Macaulay’s 1835 “Minute on Education” had, for example, aimed to reshape of Indian aristocracy, through schools based on British models, into “a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.” In creating a generation of Anglicised princes, the British government was anticipating a time when the princes would independently initiate western style reforms in their own states, predicting ‘a manly set of youths...burning with emulation to outstrip each other in the glorious task of elevating humanity. See William FB Laurie, *Sketches of Some Distinguished Anglo-Indians* (London : W. H. Allen & Co., 1888), 183; and Lawrence James, *Raj : The Making and Unmaking of British India* (London : Little, Brown, 1997), 335.

<sup>65</sup> JC Smuts, Rhodes Memorial Lecture, Oxford University, 1929. cf Fry, “Cultures of Difference. The Aftermath of Portuguese and British Colonial Policies in Southern Africa,” 124.

1960s, when, faced with international pressure to reform, apartheid policy in South Africa becoming increasingly segregationist and Portugal's policy in Mozambique became increasingly assimilationist (the legal distinction between *civilisado* and *indigena* was abolished in 1961, and all Mozambicans were, in principle, accorded equal status with Portuguese).

I argue below that by the time he made *Monstros Grandes* in 1961, Malangatana had confronted a range of institutions which rhetorically promised, but structurally failed, to assimilate him into this Portuguese 'nation', as well as a range of counter-narratives and dissenting voices within the Portuguese colonial system. Tracing his path through these institutions allows for an alternative account of how the Portuguese colonial metanarrative was experienced, and highlights the contradictions and paradoxes of Portugal's colonial project. I argue that these moments of fissure and contradiction in the colonial fabric had profound implications for Malangatana's practice.

### **Swiss Mission School, Matalana**

Malangatana was born in June 1936 in Matalana,<sup>66</sup> a small village 30km north of Lourenço Marques surrounded by Portuguese farming estates. He recounts that his mother worked as 'a marriage counsellor, a tattooist, she embroidered with beads and filed teeth to make girls pretty.'<sup>67</sup> His father initially worked as a miner on the South African Rand, before returning to work as a peasant farmer on the family's *machamba* or plot. 'My father wasn't what you would call rich', he recalled in an interview with Patrick Chabal in 1994, 'but at home we also weren't dying of

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<sup>66</sup> Many of Mozambique's visual artists originate from the area of Matalana and the nearby town of Marracuene. These include Mankew Mahumana (born 1934), Pais Ernesto Shikani (1934-2010), Dias Machlate (born 1958), Oblino (born 1940) and Fernando Machiana (born 1939).

Malangatana's activism in supporting younger artists through initiatives such as informal schools, exhibitions and the Matalana Cultural Centre (sculptor Dias Machlate remembers, for example, visiting an exhibition in 1968 which Malangatana had installed under some trees in Matalana, and being inspired to start producing and curating (interview with author, Windhoek, 16<sup>th</sup> August 2010)). The encouragement of Tobias and Zediquias Machiana in the Swiss Mission School in Matalana, where Mankew also studied, probably also played a role in supporting the older generation of painters.

<sup>67</sup> Isabel Noronha, *Ngwenya: O Crocodilo* (Marfilmes, 2007).

hunger.’<sup>68</sup> By selling cashews, maize and groundnuts from their plot, his mother raised enough for her three children to attend school. ‘It wasn’t much money,’ he recalled ‘but at that time it seemed a lot. It was ten escudos per year, but then we also had the problem of buying books... shoes and at least, a shirt’.<sup>69</sup>

The school at which Malangatana enrolled in the early 1940s<sup>70</sup> was the Swiss Protestant Mission School in Matalana. The school’s founder, Tobias Machiane, was a priest who had arrived from South Africa in 1903. Malangatana recalled that he had a ‘great curiosity in cultural life’,<sup>71</sup> and had earlier hosted the Swiss-born South African missionary anthropologist Henri-Alexandre Junod (1863-1934)<sup>72</sup> in his home. Malangatana’s teacher was Machiane’s son, Zedequias, who had a particular interest in local design and encouraged students to read and write in Ronga, and to learn drawing, basketry, pottery and woodcarving. Speaking to Ulli Beier in the 1960s, he attributes to the school his first encounter with the printed image: ‘Here in this school I first saw pictures in books, but I did not believe they were drawings’.<sup>73</sup> Speaking to Meira Visser in 1986 he remembers his early relationship with images in a more pragmatic way: ‘people say that when I was young I started... playing with sand, with little sticks, making some drawings around huts and on pots ... At school I was influenced by the drawings in the books, and I used to copy them.’<sup>74</sup>

The Protestant churches of Mozambique had emerged through the evangelising work of Mozambican migrant workers who had come into contact with

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<sup>68</sup> Patrick Chabal, “Malangatana,” in *Vozes Moçambicanas: literatura e nacionalidade* (Lisbon: Vega, 1994), 202–3.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 203. In an interview with Amadeu Neves da Silva in 2000, he contradicts this, stating that his school fees were 100 escudos. His mother was only liable to pay this, he suggests, because his parents ‘weren’t religious’ (da Silva “Entrevista a Malangatana Valente Ngwenya” Maputo 2000)

<sup>70</sup> Much literature, including the edited monograph on his work published by Júlio Navarro in 1998, states that Malangatana began school aged nine, but in his interviews with Chabal and Ulli Beier, Malangatana suggests that he enrolled in 1942, when he was six.

<sup>71</sup> Chabal, “Malangatana,” 203.

<sup>72</sup> Henri Junod’s 1912 two-volume ethnography *The Life of a South African Tribe* was published in Portuguese as *Usos e Costumes Bantos* in 1996.

<sup>73</sup> Malangatana cf Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa*, 63.

<sup>74</sup> Meira Visser, “Little School Let’s Play: The Children as Artists and the Artist as a Child” (Waterford Kamhlaba UWC, 1986), 20, Archivo do Património Cultural, Maputo.



missionaries working in South Africa.<sup>75</sup> Henri-Alexandre Junod was considered the figurehead of the Protestant Swiss Missionary movement in southeast Africa. Stationed at the Rikatla mission, near Matalana, in 1893, he encouraged the use of Tswa-Ronga languages as teaching media. Portugal mistrusted the Protestant missions from the start, suspecting them of harbouring British and South African interests, as well as anti-colonial sentiment. In his study of the Swiss Protestant missions' role in the Mozambique liberation movement, Robert Faris argues that the most significant point of contention for Portugal was the insistence that the Swiss missions preach and teach in local languages, and that 'the mission enterprise should be carried out with a knowledge and a respect for the indigenous culture'.<sup>76</sup> This policy was in direct opposition to the Portuguese policy of assimilation, and Portugal banned the use of African languages in the 1921 'Native Assistance Code'. Portugal also suspected the foreign missions of 'de-nationalising the natives',<sup>77</sup> and harboured a long-running resentment over perceived Swiss backing for the Gaza king Ngungunyane during the late nineteenth century wars of pacification. High commissioner Mouzinho de Albuquerque reasoned in 1899 that:

*Even if the missionaries do not have the slightest notion of serving any interest hostile to our rule, the simple fact that they join the quality of being foreigners to a difference of religion is sufficient for them to appear, in the eyes of the natives, as rivals of the Portuguese and consequently as aids in any reaction against our authority.<sup>78</sup>*

As Mozambican historian Teresa Cruz e Silva has shown,<sup>79</sup> his instinct was correct, and the Swiss missions went on to play a prominent role in the development of

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<sup>75</sup> Josefa Mhalmhala and his sister Lois Xintomane had founded the first churches at Antioca, Ricatla and Catembe in the early 1880s and led a religious revival known as "the Awakening". See Robert Faris, *Liberating Mission in Mozambique: Faith and Revolution in the Life of Eduardo Mondlane* (The Lutterworth Press, 2015), 2.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>77</sup> Michael Cross, "The Political Economy of Colonial Education: Mozambique, 1930-1975," *Comparative Education Review* 31, no. 4 (1987): 555.

<sup>78</sup> Mouzinho de Albuquerque, *Moçambique 1896-1898*, 99.

<sup>79</sup> Teresa Cruz e Silva, *Protestant Churches and the Formation of Political Consciousness in Southern Mozambique (1930-1974)* (Schlettwein, 2001).

political consciousness in Mozambique, educating many nationalist figures, including Eduardo Mondlane.<sup>80</sup>

The *Concordat* signed by Portugal and the Vatican in 1940 (and the *Acordo Missionario and Estatuto Missionario* of April 1941) sought to severely restrict the work of the Protestant and foreign Catholic missionaries in the colonies, and bolster Roman Catholic schools with state bursaries. The ideological implications of this, as Robert Faris has argued, were that the church was ‘co-opted to act as an agent of Portuguese colonial pacification and assimilation policy’.<sup>81</sup> The effects of the Concordat were directly felt by Malangatana, when in 1947, his school was disbanded. ‘One of the greatest shocks to me as a child was when the colonial administration closed down my school,’ he later recalled.<sup>82</sup> Throughout his career, Malangatana would campaign for education, and later returned to build a Cultural Centre in Matalana in honour of the Swiss Mission school. Within the framework of assimilationist policy, the Swiss school’s focus on local language and traditions became, for Malangatana, a critical point of resistance and defiance.

### **Catholic Mission School in Bulázi**

The closure of Malangatana's Swiss Mission School coincided with the onset of his mother's mental illness: ‘my father wasn't in Matalana so we went to live with my paternal aunt, who sent my mother to a *curandeiro* (healer),’ he remembered. Malangatana accompanied his mother during her treatment, serving as a *nyawuit* or apprentice to the healer.<sup>83</sup> Whilst staying with his aunt, he completed the third and final year of ‘rudimentary’ education at the Catholic Mission School in Bulázi, the *Escola de São Nuno Álvares Pereira de Magaia*, which, he remembered, ‘wasn't

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<sup>80</sup> Mondlane's early education was within Swiss Protestant Mission schools, first at Mause, then in Lourenço Marques, Ricatla (near Marracuene) and then from 1939, at the Cambine Methodist Episcopal Mission (near Inhambane), and from 1944 at the Swiss Mission Lemana Training Institute in the Transvaal, South Africa Faris, *Liberating Mission in Mozambique*, 29.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>82</sup> “Positive Fire,” *New Internationalist*, February 1989.

<sup>83</sup> Paulo Soares, “O Realismo Fantástico de Malangatana,” *Revista Do Patrimônio Histórico Artístico Nacional No Espcial* (1990): 78–79.

of the same standard... they had a strong interest in religious education [and] the white priests weren't good. They didn't speak the local language'.<sup>84</sup>

Despite Portugal's universalist claims, by the time Malangatana attended Catholic school, education was not only sparsely available but effectively segregated, between 'elementary' schools for *não-indígena* children, and 'rudimentary' schools for *indígena*. 'Rudimentary' education lasted three years and, for boys included



**Figure 3 Arnold Burel, Writing lesson, Swiss Mission school, Ricatla, Mozambique, 1908.**  
Source: University of Southern California



**Figure 4 'Handicrafts', Swiss Mission school, Ricatla, Mozambique. Unidentified Swiss missionary and crafts students.** Source: University of Southern California

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<sup>84</sup> Chabal, "Malangatana," 203-4.

training in arithmetic, science, design, manual work, religion, and physical and musical education, whilst girls received 'female education' in sewing, embroidery and cooking.<sup>85</sup> These schools were intended to train *indígenas* in the ideals of *nacionalização* and *moralização*, the latter understood, in Newitt's words, as 'the abandonment of idleness and the training of future rural workers and artisans to produce sufficient for their needs and for their social obligations'.<sup>86</sup> By 1930, Madeira suggests the number of pupils enrolled in 'elementary' and 'rudimentary' schools was only 35,400.<sup>87</sup> Having completed rudimentary school it was then possible, in principle, to transfer to an elementary school, but in 1954, only 2,500 students from a total of 180,000 rudimentary school pupils did so.<sup>88</sup> Malangatana wanted to follow this path, but the Vila Luisa school, which was the nearest option for the next level of education (levels 2 and 3 of 'elementary') only accepted white and *assimilado* pupils.

The approaches of the two schools attended by Malangatana therefore echo in many respects the long running tensions between opposing models of colonial thought, the first encouraging the maintenance of difference and segregation, the second claiming to offer (but structurally preventing) accession into a universal paradigm based on Portuguese, Catholic models. For Malangatana's visual education, these tensions emerged between his concern for, on one hand local cultural practices, and on the other, the imagery of the Catholic tradition, a tradition which was both imposed upon him and yet rendered inaccessible.

In a 1968 interview with Ulli Beier, Malangatana describes an incident which reveals much about his position in relation to the ambiguities of his Portuguese Catholic education:

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<sup>85</sup> Cross, "The Political Economy of Colonial Education," 560.

<sup>86</sup> Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 479.

<sup>87</sup> Madeira, "Portuguese, French and British Discourses on Colonial Education" 49.

<sup>88</sup> Harries of Cross, "The Political Economy of Colonial Education," 560.

*On religious holidays I used to decorate the house according to what I saw in the church and she [his aunt] used to get very annoyed when I lit candles in the house because she was afraid the house would burn down. So I made a shack outside where I could do everything I liked, where I hung holy pictures and other photographs which I cut out of magazines and also some drawings I made of various religious images which I copied out of books and catechisms.<sup>89</sup>*

What this episode makes clear is that while Malangatana did not actively reject his Catholic education, neither did he passively reproduce it. Instead, Malangatana's shrine offers an alternative, undecided space, between home and church, between iconoclasm and idolatry. His appropriation and re-configuration of the Catholic images and architecture can be read as at once both pious and subversive. This transgressive gesture can be understood in terms of the critical strategy of mimicry described by Homi Bhabha:

*Under cover of camouflage, mimicry, like fetish, is a part object that radically revalues the normative knowledges of the priority of race, writing, history. For the fetish mimes the forms of authority at the point at which it de-authorises them.<sup>90</sup>*

Claiming this visual language, he effectively occupies the colonial structures of power, reconfiguring the sacred on his own terms.

### **Lourenço Marques and the Industrial School**

Aged twelve, unable to continue his school education, Malangatana moved to Lourenço Marques, where he found work as a child-minder for Portuguese families. Under the Estado Novo's 'regime do indigenato', an *indígena* or unassimilated African (such as Malangatana) had no citizenship, and was required to carry and produce on demand a *caderneta indígena* or identity card in order to work, travel and use amenities. Having secured this, Malangatana enrolled on night classes to complete level 4 of elementary education at another Swiss Mission school, and began working in the Portuguese social clubs in the city, first at the

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<sup>89</sup> Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa*, 64.

<sup>90</sup> Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 130.

Clube Civil de Lourenço Marques in 1952, and then as a cook, waiter and ball-boy at the elite Lourenço Marques Club, where his uncle also worked.

In the liminal position of a black worker within strictly delineated white social space, Malangatana was able to observe the intimate dynamics of Portuguese society in Lourenço Marques. In an interview in 2000, he recalled 'I learnt there that among the whites there were two types, first and second. The Lourenço Marques Club only had the first class whites, but in contrast those at the Associação dos Naturais de Moçambique couldn't become part of this first class.'<sup>91</sup> Speaking in Isabel Noronha's 2007 film portrait, he reflected on the benefits of these insights:

*The fact of having worked in a lot of different situations, especially in the homes of rich families, gave me a splendid opportunity which was that of having been – without noticing it – on a veritable tour of various universities. The cultural diversities, the social behavior of each family and the inevitable intimacy of a servant penetrating inside that society, those families, gave me the opportunity to get well acquainted with everyone, from the so-called black, to the mulatto, the Muslim, the Indian, the Chinese, Portuguese, French etc. They're patches. It's as if one had gone to the tailor's, grabbed various bits of cloth to sew that pair of pants... what's important is that the pants, even if they're mixed up with various bits of cloth, served to cover my body. And today I feel at ease because in spite of having various bits of cloth stitched together over my body, various thoughts, various forms of conduct and of creating conflicts, today I believe that, being the Mozambican I am, I act in the interests of Mozambique even while seeking out other interests as may permit the Mozambican tower to be firmly built. But always without forgetting playing as a child in the trees with my Matalana friends.<sup>92</sup>*

Having completed elementary school, Malangatana was able to enrol on a course in 'Decorative Painting' at the Industrial School (*Escola Industrial*). This school had originally opened as the *Escola Técnica Sá da Bandeira* in Lourenço Marques in 1937, with the aim of providing technical training for commercial and industrial vocations, including courses in design and decorative painting. Through a state

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<sup>91</sup> Malangatana Ngwenya, Entrevista a Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, interview by Amadeu Neves da Silva, 2000.

<sup>92</sup> Noronha, *Ngwenya: O Crocodilo*.

decree of 1952,<sup>93</sup> the school was split into a commercial school and an industrial school. The latter opened in a former Masonic lodge, as the *Escola Industrial Mouzinho de Albuquerque e Andrade*.

The colonial regime and the Catholic missions had established *Escolas de Artes e Ofícios* (Arts and Crafts, or Vocational Schools) in several towns. These offered unassimilated African boys an equivalent education to the rudimentary schools, but instead of academic training, taught skills such as stonemasonry, ceramics, carpentry, blacksmithing, tailoring and shoemaking.<sup>94</sup> Equivalent girls schools offered classes in cooking and needlework. The Industrial School in Lourenço Marques offered this model of technical training at a higher level. Artist Dias Machlate described to me the role of the Industrial School: ‘it was a technical school - they trained builders, carpenters, mechanics, tanners and fitters, electricians... and artists!’<sup>95</sup> The curriculum of these schools aligned with much-debated directives of colonial education policy that held that Africans should receive vocational, rather than academic training in order to contribute to the colonial economy. Article 68 of the 1941 Missionary statute (which had led to the closure of the Matalana Swiss mission school) stated that the purpose of this education was:

*to make the native population national and moral, and to inculcate such work habits and skills for each sex as suit the conditions and requirements of the regional economics; moral education shall aim at curing laziness and preparing future rural workers and craftsmen to produce what they need to satisfy their own requirements and their social obligations.*<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Ministro do Ultramar, “Decreto Lei 386:80, Boletim Oficial de Angola E Mocambique,” 1952, A Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.

<sup>94</sup> Adelino A.M. Almeida, “Moçambique e o seu Ensino Específico: As Escolas de Artes e Ofícios 1878-1974,” *Africana 2* (1988): 99.

<sup>95</sup> Dias Machlate, Interview with author, Windhoek, Namibia, August 16, 2010.

<sup>96</sup> Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era*, 66.



**Figure 5** Students at the *Escola das artes e officios*, Ilha da Moçambique. Jerry Gomes da Silva

Overseas Minister Silva Cunha argued in 1957 that ‘by this means we are attempting to accelerate the assimilation or complete ‘Portuguezation’ of the natives, and to help improve their material situation by training them for more economically valid activities.’<sup>97</sup> It was clear however, that far from leading to the assimilation of African students, these schools served to create a secondary class of labourers and workers to support the colonial economy.

At the Industrial School, Malangatana enrolled on a course in ‘Decorative Arts’, which he described as ‘actually very good’.<sup>98</sup> Portuguese sculptor Jorge Silva Pinto taught here, as did, from 1941, Portuguese landscape painter Frederico Ayres (1887-1963), both of whom had studied at the *Escola de Belas Artes* in Lisbon.<sup>99</sup> A photo (Figure 6) from the Mario Soares archive shows Malangatana and his cohort at the Industrial School, flanking two Portuguese teachers identified as Silva Pinto and João Vasconcelos, (who would later give an opening speech at Malangatana's first solo exhibition). According to Alda Costa, Malangatana received a grant from the *Direcção dos Serviços de Negócios Indígenas* around this time, which afforded him time for study and painting.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Silva Cunha *Administração e Direito Colonial*, Vol. I, 161, (Lisbon: Edição da Associação Académica da Faculdade de Direito, 1957) cf *ibid.*, 66–67.

<sup>98</sup> Chabal, “Malangatana,” 204.

<sup>99</sup> Costa, *Arte E Museus Em Moçambique: Entre a Construção Da Nação E O Mundo Sem Fronteiras (1932-2004)*, 113.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.



The Industrial School was one of the only institutions effectively available for black Mozambicans to receive art training during this period, and many artists of Malangatana's generation also studied there, including Inácio Matsinhe (born 1945), João Craveirinha (born 1936)<sup>101</sup> and Abdias (Júlio Muhlenga, born 1940). There are also records of a teacher of painting (José do Nascimento) at the Vasco da Gama School, which enrolled a small number of African students, and of a design teacher at the Alberto da Cunha High School.<sup>102</sup> Almeida records four private art schools operating in Mozambique in 1966, with a total of 10 teachers



**Figure 6** End of the course at Industrial School. Malangatana (top row, third from right) with colleagues and teachers Silva Pinto e Vasconcelos,

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<sup>101</sup> Inácio Matsinhe, *Transformei-Me Em Tartaruga Para Resistir* (Lisbon: Casa Viva, 1975), 8.

<sup>102</sup> Alda Maria Costa, "Arte e Museus em Moçambique: Entre a Construção da Nação e o Mundo sem Fronteiras (c1932-2004)" (Universidade de Lisboa, 2005), 135.



**Figure 7 Design lesson in the Industrial School, Lourenço Marques, undated. Source: casacomum**

and 230 students (rising to 287 students and 18 teachers in 1970).<sup>103</sup> The most prominent institution of art training, however, was the art association *O Núcleo de Arte da Colónia de Moçambique* ('Núcleo', Art Centre of the Colony of Mozambique). Whilst these institutions were officially unsegregated, in practice, black artists were expected to produce 'craft' within the framework of vocational education, whilst 'fine art' practice was seen as a preserve of the white community, with its epicentre in Núcleo. Artist Victor Sousa (born 1952) described to me the dynamics which effectively segregated Núcleo:

*[Núcleo] was a centre of elite, privileged artists during the colonial era... Not everybody could go to Núcleo. That kind of cultural expression wasn't available for everyone. At that time, there were many people who would be considered artists now, but at the time didn't have the means... They wanted to, but it wasn't considered something that could be done by a black person.*

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<sup>103</sup> Adelino A.M. Almeida, "O Desenvolvimento do Ensino em Moçambique 1926-1974," *Africana* 1 (1987): 68.

*They thought black people could only do craft, or that what they did couldn't be called art. It was discrimination.<sup>104</sup>*

### **Núcleo de Arte de Colonia de Moçambique**

At the Lourenço Marques Club, Malangatana met Augusto Pereira Cabral (1922-2006), a biologist, and painter who in 1974 would become a director of the city's Natural History Museum. In 1999, Cabral gave the following account of their meeting:

*The ball boy for the tennis matches was one Malangatana Ngwenya (crocodile), who at the end of play one afternoon approached me to ask if, by chance, I had at home a pair of old sandals to give him.<sup>105</sup>*

Cabral recounts that at his house that evening, 'a painter was born' when Malangatana saw the canvases he'd been working on and said, 'teach me to paint.' Cabral gave him paints, brushes and plywood boards, and told him to depict 'what's inside your head, the thoughts you have, the dreams, the stories which your uncle told you'.<sup>106</sup>



<sup>104</sup> Victor Sousa (visual artist), Interview with author, Maputo, November 28, 2010.

<sup>105</sup> Augusto Cabral, "Malangatana E O Imaginário Africano," in *Malangatana – de Matalana a Matalana. Catálogo Da Exposição Montada Por Julio Navarro*. (Lisbon: Instituto Camões, 1999), 31. My translation.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

**Figure 8 João Ayres *O Terceiro Grupo* 1949 123.5x135 cm**

In 1958, Cabral took Malangatana to Núcleo, where Portuguese painter João Ayres (1921-2001, the son of Frederico Ayres) was running classes. João Ayres, who was head of the centre's 'Art Theory and Criticism' section, was producing bold, semi-abstract canvases that addressed social themes. His 1949 oil work *O Terceiro Grupo* (Figure 8), for example, depicts lines of anguished, contorted stevedores facing a sinister battalion of cranes against a brooding storm, presaging the early anti-colonial tension which would soon unfold in the dockyards of the Portuguese colonies.<sup>107</sup> These themes and techniques stood in sharp contrast to the more conservative, idealised images of Mozambique produced by the older generation of artists, including his father, Frederico Ayres, and Silva Pinto. Malangatana was drawn to João Ayres' works, but was only able to attend his 5pm classes occasionally because they clashed with his shift at the club. After hours, however, he befriended and worked with one of Ayres' students, the Portuguese painter José Júlio (born 1925). Pancho Guedes later recalled finding:

*Malangatana painting in the same room as José Júlio, a professional signalman and amateur painter then stationed in the city, who had taught him to use oils and to prepare the pressed wood boards that we all need to paint on. He had also turned to José Júlio to learn neocubist triangulations, which he immediately transformed into a very idiosyncratic style.<sup>108</sup>*

In a 1987 interview with Luis Patraquim however, Júlio recalls that, rather than teaching Malangatana his style, their working relationship was one of mutual exchange:

*[Malangatana] would only arrive at Núcleo de Arte at 10pm and the only person he'd find working there at that time was me. João Ayres sometimes appeared and gave his opinion, but it wasn't in this way that Malangatana found his path. Over several years, Malangatana and I worked together until 2am, with great discipline. We were two colleagues, and we discussed with*

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<sup>107</sup> In 1959, PIDE suppressed a dockworkers' strike in Pidjiguity, Guinea Bissau. The victims of the suppression are often cited as the first casualties of the anti-colonial struggle against Portugal in Africa, and are referenced in Chris Marker's 1983 film *Sans Soleil*.

<sup>108</sup> Amâncio d'Alpoim Guedes "Remembering the painter Malangatana Valente Ngwenya when he was still young" in Júlio Navarro, ed., *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya*, trans. Harriet C McGuire, Zita C Nunes, and William P Rougle (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2003), 9–10.

*each other what we were doing, and that was really an intercultural exchange.*<sup>109</sup>

Both artists focused on nudes during this period. In works such as *Blue Woman Crying* (1958-9 (Figure 9), *Story of the Letter in a Hat* (1960) and *The Day of the Divorce* (1960) Malangatana depicts women with long straight hair in interior scenes, embroiled in domestic dramas. Other works such as *Nude with Crucifix* (1960) and *Adam and Eve in Front of the Cathedral of Lourenço Marques* (1960, Figure 10) bring Christianity and eroticism into confluence, a gesture that unveils desires repressed by both Catholic doctrine and the sexual politics of the colonial encounter. The sexual protocols entwined within the Portuguese ideal of assimilation reflected a rigidly gendered colonial power dynamic, such that while



**Figure 9 (L) Malangatana *A Mulher Azul Que Chora (The Blue Woman Crying)* 1958-9, Oil on board. Source: Casa Comum**

**Figure 10 (R) Malangatana *Adam and Eve in Front of Lourenço Marques Cathedral* 1960 Oil on board. Source: Casa Comum**

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<sup>109</sup> Luis Patraquim, "Entrevista Com José Julio 'Hoje' Todos Foram Mestres de Malangatana Valente," *Diário de Moçambique*, June 27, 1987.

the image of the ‘mulatto’ born to a black mother was held as visual proof of a racial democracy, the white female body was framed as strictly out of bounds for African men. For Malangatana, this subject matter therefore represented at once an accession into the visual language promoted by Western European fine art academies, and a transgression of the sexual taboos of the colonial order. A selection of these early works was nevertheless included in a group exhibition at the ‘Casa do Metr pole’ in Lourenço Marques in 1959.

N cleo had been established in 1936 with the aim of ‘disseminating aesthetic education and promoting the progress of art within the settler population’.<sup>110</sup> According to its statutes, its remit was to organise exhibitions and visits from Portuguese artists, and ‘to contribute, in every possible way, to the artistic exchange between Mozambique and the metr pole’.<sup>111</sup> In many respects, N cleo therefore provided an aesthetic apparatus for the *Estado Novo’s* fantasy of a unified, multi-continental Portuguese nation. This was one of a series of projects established by the *Estado Novo* in support of cultural exchange between the metropole and the colonies. The *Casa da Metropole* in Lourenço Marques organised art competitions, exhibitions such as one of Portuguese art (in 1948) and Mozambican art (in 1950), and a series of film screenings in the Xipamanine football ground to ‘show Portugal to the indigenous people’.<sup>112</sup> This deployment of the visual to produce a commitment to Portuguese nationhood evokes the process described by Benedict Anderson as ‘political museumising’,<sup>113</sup> in which the museum is deployed in the construction of a nation’s visual lineage, lending tangible form to a narrative of belonging. What is remarkable in this case is the expanded, pluri-continental scale of the *Estado Novo’s* exercise, as it sought to produce homogenous community in a dislocated, geographically distant territory.

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<sup>110</sup> Alda Costa, “Revisitando Os Anos Em Que Pancho Guedes Viveu Em Moçambique: As Artes E Os Artistas,” in *As  frias de Pancho Guedes / The Africas of Pancho Guedes*, ed. Alexandre Pomar (Lisbon: Sextante Editora, 2010), 26.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Costa, *Arte E Museus Em Moçambique: Entre a Constru o Da Na o E O Mundo Sem Fronteiras (1932-2004)*, 126.

<sup>113</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 181.

These desires were also manifested in the curriculum at Núcleo. The first art teacher invited to teach there was the same Silva Pinto who taught at the Industrial School. He had arrived in Mozambique in 1938, having studied at the *Escola de Belas Artes* in Lisbon, and inaugurated an ambitious plan to 'bring Portuguese artists to 'feel' and 'interpret' the beauty of the empire'.<sup>114</sup> Silva Pinto and landscape painter Frederico Ayres taught techniques they had learned at the *Escola de Belas Artes*,<sup>115</sup> and from its inception, the Fine Art department ran art courses which were certified by the Lisbon School.<sup>116</sup> Since the 1930s, formal art education in Lourenço Marques had therefore broadly followed the conservative protocols of the Portuguese academy. African bodies and landscapes were acceptable subjects within the genres of landscape, portraiture and history painting, but local visual traditions were rigidly excluded.

By the 1950s, a shift in colonial policy led to an increased effort to demonstrate Portugal's 'civilising' function. One aspect of this was encouraging black Mozambicans to take art lessons in European techniques. Alda Costa has shown that several African students studied with Frederico Ayres during this time, including Jacob Estevão (1933-2008), Elias Estêvão (1937-1960?), Vasco Campira (born 1933) and Agostinho Mutemba (born 1937), and that Ayres' work was exhibited in Mozambique and Portugal as evidence of this 'civilising action'.<sup>117</sup> Although Ayres encouraged his students to follow his model of history painting and landscape painting, aside from Jacob Estevão, few followed this path. Pais Ernesto Shikani (1934-2010) also enrolled at Núcleo. I interviewed him in July 2010, and he recalled studying sculpture for one year at Núcleo with 'a dear teacher' a student of Ayres, Lobo Fernandes:

*I didn't study painting at all – only sculpture – I found it easier. In 1959, I held an exhibition in Núcleo de Arte, only of sculpture in plaster. I later made work*

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<sup>114</sup> Costa, *Arte E Museus Em Moçambique: Entre a Construção Da Nação E O Mundo Sem Fronteiras (1932-2004)*, 107.

<sup>115</sup> Costa, "Revisitando Os Anos Em Que Pancho Guedes Viveu Em Moçambique: As Artes E Os Artistas," 139.

<sup>116</sup> Costa, *Arte E Museus Em Moçambique: Entre a Construção Da Nação E O Mundo Sem Fronteiras (1932-2004)*, 111.

<sup>117</sup> Alda Costa, "Arte E Artistas Em Moçambique: Falam Diferentes Gerações E Modernidades (Parte 1)," accessed October 7, 2016, [www.buala.org](http://www.buala.org).

*in wood, but at that time, wood wasn't available. Around that time, came the force of Malangatana...*<sup>118</sup>

In spite of the 'civilising' project of art education, Shikani argued that fine art practice at this time was discouraged in the black community by the colonial government, who:

*didn't give [artists] any support, because they knew that if they gave support, people would work 24 hours a day to develop an awareness of their identity, they would begin to understand that their land belonged to them. Apart from this consciousness, we were walking the path towards war, and through this we met people of all nationalities... I made sculpture... about how we couldn't speak freely, about the colonial government, who wouldn't allow free speech.*<sup>119</sup>

Shikani's assessment makes clear the contradictions at the heart of the *Estado Novo's* claims of a homogenous, pluri-racial, pluri-continental nation. In practice, black artists during the late colonial period confronted boundaries of space and media which were rigidly policed, any transgression of which was perceived as a critical threat to the fabric of the regime.

In this sense, Malangatana's negotiation into Núcleo's segregated space, and claiming of the canvas as a legitimate space for black cultural production, can be read as a radically transgressive gesture. Repeatedly confronted by the internal contradictions of colonial assimilationist rhetoric, Malangatana exposes its hypocrisy and occupies its structures. In this way, Malangatana's graphic depiction of cannibalism can be understood in terms of Brazilian modernist artist Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago*.<sup>120</sup> For de Andrade, the cannibalistic rites of the Tupinambás supplied a metaphor for an assertive re-appropriation of

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<sup>118</sup> Pais Ernesto Shikani, Interview with author, Maputo, July 21, 2010.

<sup>119</sup> Pais Ernesto Shikani. Interview with author, Maputo, July 21, 2010; Samate Machava also recalled to me the censorship which artists faced under the colonial regime: 'If I painted anything against the government, anything political, I would go to prison. The colonial government would come and see what we'd painted, and if we'd painted something against them we would have gone to prison' Samate Machava. Interview with author, Maputo, July 22, 2010. My translation.

<sup>120</sup> Oswald de Andrade, "O Manifesto Antropófago," trans. Leslie Barrie, *Revista de Antropofagia* 1, no. 1 (May 1928); See also Antonio Luciano de Andrade Tosta, "Modern and Postcolonial? Oswald De Andrade's Antropofagia and the Politics of Labeling," *Romance Notes* 51, no. 2 (May 1, 2011): 217.



Portuguese cultural colonialism. Suely Rolnik theorises this strategy as: ‘a continuous process of singularisation, resulting from the composition of particles of numberless devoured Others ... a poetic response—with sarcastic humour—to the need to confront the presence of the colonising cultures.’<sup>121</sup> *Antropofagia* offered a model for trans-cultural relations quite different to the sexualised metaphors of miscegenation or hybridity. The anthropophagic act marks the ultimate resolution of a violent hierarchy or power struggle, the consummation of victory. Understood in these terms, *Monstros Grandes* becomes an image, not of imperial domination, but of resistance. In a radical reversal, metropolitan culture is transfigured here from hegemonic power into a source of cultural nourishment, a visual language to be digested. However Malangatana’s visual education was not restricted to colonial frameworks. In the second half of the chapter we track his path through another, very different form of pedagogy.

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<sup>121</sup> Suely Rolnik, “Avoiding False Problems: Politics of the Fluid, Hybrid, and Flexible,” *E-Flux* 25 (May 2011).



## 1.2 *Monstros Grandes*: Pedagogies of Freedom

*Monstros Grandes* signals a radical, lasting change in Malangatana's aesthetic. The receding domestic interiors of previous works are gone, all perspective collapsed into a single plane, the figures flattened onto the surface of the canvas in single blocks of colour. The narrative realism of earlier paintings gives way to an ambivalent chaos of mutated, deformed creatures. The female nude at the base of the image is the sole remainder from the earthly world. She seems to be a passive victim, oblivious in her slumber to the complex, tangled network of violence that surrounds her. Yet she is also, perhaps, the protagonist, her state of sleep the access-point into the subconscious realm where this drama can take form.

The timing of this sudden, dimensional shift in Malangatana's aesthetic frame is significant. In 1960, he had begun participating in a trans-African network of European patrons and art educators, including Portuguese architect Pancho Guedes, German university lecturer Ulli Beier (based in Nigeria), British curator Frank McEwen (in Rhodesia), and South African architect and artist Julian Beinart. In what follows I argue that the methods and discourses promoted by these patrons were in important ways diametrically opposed to the Portuguese colonial schema of education and art education in Mozambique. Where Catholic schools and colonial associations sought to engender identification with a broad, transnational community, the pedagogic approach of these patrons sought to plumb the inner depths of the individual artists' psyche. Motivated by discourses of ethnographic surrealism and Jungian principles of the unconscious, they encouraged an 'unschooling', in order that African artists access an innate, primitive creativity, which they claimed was autonomous from politics, art academies and the market. What I seek to demonstrate is that, in an echo of the systemic failure of the assimilationist rhetoric of the *Estado Novo*, these claims masked a host of contradictions, since the discourse and economy of their projects was inextricably bound into broader ideological work. Taking *Monstros Grandes* as

an entry point, I argue that, far from passively reproducing these ideologies, Malangatana critically and strategically occupied their discourse and in ways that have not been previously recognised, resisted it.

### **Pan-African Networks, 1960**

Malangatana's friendship with Pancho Guedes began in late 1959. He recalled their initial encounter in a 2003 interview:

*I was at the Núcleo de Arte club with one of the student members [when] Pancho appeared. I didn't expect to be watched by that kind of person while I was painting – they were my first attempts. He was accompanied by his wife Dorothy, and the Frank McEwens, friends of the Guedes. They spoke to each other in English and looked intently at my naïve pictures. Pancho introduced himself to me and asked if I was willing to sell him three paintings a month.<sup>122</sup> I didn't understand why he wanted to do this, but all the same I began to take my pictures to no.915 Rua de Nevala where he lived and had his architectural office.<sup>123</sup>*

Shortly afterwards, Pancho Guedes approached Otto Barbosa da Silva, president of the Lourenço Marques club, and asked him to release Malangatana from his contract, so that he could come to live and work in his house. 'I was wild with delight' recalled Malangatana, 'but trembling with fear at the same time. I hadn't ever lived on a familiar footing in a white man's house before.' Before accepting, he discussed the proposal with his parents.

*They were very happy, but had some doubts. They told me to ask that man to come to Matalana and explain exactly what he wanted of me. My wife was also curious to see this family who wanted me to come and live in their home. Pancho Guedes drove to Matalana in his black Mercedes which got stuck in the sand many times before he reached our house. My father was a great cook and prepared the food together with my mother and his other wife. My uncle spiced up the meal with music on the concertina and dancing, which pleased the Guedes family a lot.<sup>124</sup>*

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<sup>122</sup> In another account, Malangatana recalls that Pancho promised to purchase two paintings per month (Chabal 205), but most accounts cite the arrangement as one painting per month. The relationship between Malangatana and Guedes was explored in the 2010-11 Lisbon exhibition *As Áfricas de Pancho Guedes* (curated by Alexandre Pomar and Rui Mateus Periera), and its catalogue.

<sup>123</sup> Valente Ngwenya Malangatana, "Pancho Guedes," in *Viva Pancho*, trans. Dorothy Guedes (Durban, 2003).

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

In January 1960, Malangatana arrived at the Guedes' home, and was given a studio space in the garage. Before starting work, Guedes proposed that Malangatana travel to the countryside around Matalana, and 'stay for 30 days away from your family'. Malangatana later recalled:

*I went on a journey well into the interior of the bush. He wanted me to absorb scenes, expressions, visions, that I would see, hear and feel, and re-live my past/present. He wanted me to be with my ancestors. Those stories told to me by the young and old people in that remote area led me into a cultural and spiritual gold mine.<sup>125</sup>*

Over the following three years, Malangatana would participate in an intense programme of international events and exhibitions. This began with the Summer School (*escola de verão*) workshop organised by Guedes and his South African friend Julian Beinart, an architect and professor at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) in January 1961. The workshop was held in one of Guedes' unfinished buildings (the Piramidal Nursery School), and was attended by art and architecture students from Wits, artists including Malangatana and Sidney Kumalo (1935-1988), and labourers who were working on the building and had taken an interest in the event.

During a tour of southern Africa in 1960, German anthropologist Ulli Beier had met Malangatana, Pancho Guedes and Julian Beinart in Lourenço Marques. Impressed by the results of the summer school, Beier later invited Guedes and Beinart to hold a workshop for art teachers at Ibadan in 1961, and another, run by Beinart and Guyanese painter and art historian Denis Williams in 1962.<sup>126</sup> Both workshops

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa*, 62 In personal communication, John Picton recalled that Ayo Ogunseye, a former trade unionist and Head of the Extra-Mural Department at the University of Ibadan, had suggested the idea of In due course a former trade unionist, Ayo Ogunseye, became head of dept and it was his idea that Ulli should (a) travel around Africa to survey contemporary art making; and (b) run artists' workshops in Nigeria making use of visiting artists from around Africa, although his contribution is rarely acknowledged in subsequent accounts.



**Figure 11 Pancho Guedes and Malangatana during the Summer School, Lourenço Marques, January 1961. Source: Pancho Guedes archives from Pomar In search of new African art buala**

were funded by a US body, the Farfield Foundation, as part of their support for the Mbari Writers' and Artists' club.

In April 1961, Malangatana produced his first solo exhibition, held at the headquarters of the *Actividades Económicas* in Lourenço Marques, and opened with speeches by Pancho Guedes, Augusto Cabral and João Vasconcelos. The following year, *Black Orpheus* (the journal founded in 1957 by Beier, and edited by Wole Soyinka and Ezekiel Mphahlele) published two poems<sup>127</sup> by Malangatana and an article on his work, with excerpts from his autobiography, by Julian Beinart.<sup>128</sup> Concurrently, Beier curated the solo exhibition 'Exhibition of Paintings by Malangatana', at the Mbari club in Ibadan in June 1962, and at the Mbari Mbayo club in Oshogbo in September of that year.

<sup>127</sup> Valente Ngwenya Malangatana, "Two Poems," *Black Orpheus* 10 (1962): 28–33.

<sup>128</sup> Julian Beinart, "Malangatana," *Black Orpheus* 10 (1962): 22–27.



**Figure 12 Malangatana with Miranda Guedes (Pancho) at an exhibition in Matalana. In the background, *Monstros Grandes Devorando Monstros Pequenos* c.1962. Source: casacomum**

Malangatana's work was also exhibited and discussed at the International Congress of African Culture, organised by Frank McEwen at the Rhodes National Gallery in Salisbury in August to September 1962, with funding from the Ford Foundation. The event was intended as the first of a series of biennial events, for which the Paris-based Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) had promised support.<sup>129</sup> Subtitled a 'Festival of African and Neo-African Art and Music and Influences on the Western World', the event comprised a music festival, an exhibition featuring 'one hundred masterpieces of ancient African sculpture', Contemporary African Art from most parts of Africa (South of the Sahara)', and 'African Influences in Paris, Brazil, the West Indies, and North America',<sup>130</sup> and was

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<sup>129</sup> Alexandre Pomar, "Ulli Beier, Frank McEwen, Pancho Guedes and Julian Beinart," accessed October 17, 2016, [http://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre\\_pomar/2011/03/ulli-1.html%20Alexandre%20Pomar%202011](http://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2011/03/ulli-1.html%20Alexandre%20Pomar%202011).

<sup>130</sup> Frank McEwen, *First Biennial International Congress of African Culture : Festival of African and Neo-African Art and Music and Influences on the Western World*. (Salisbury: Rhodes National Gallery, 1962), 6.

described by *Time Magazine* as the largest of its kind to date.<sup>131</sup> The Congress itself promised to ‘examine intrinsic values and some of the prominent influences of African and of Neo-African Art and Music on XXth Century culture in the World’<sup>132</sup> The 37 delegates at the Congress included Alfred Barr, founding director of the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York, William Fagg from the British Museum, Dadaist poet Tristan Tzara (who also visited Guedes and Malangatana in Lourenço Marques), and Roland Penrose, director of the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA), London. Penrose invited Beinart to speak at the ICA, initiating a touring exhibition of Malangatana’s work. Also sponsored by the CCF, this touring exhibition manifested as a joint show with Sudanese artist Ibrahim el Salahi at the ICA in 1963, and, from 1963 as a three-person show including works by Nigerian artist Uche Okeke, which toured to Calcutta, Bombay, Pakistan and Paris.<sup>133</sup>

The events and textual analysis of this period implicated *Monstros Grandes* and other early work by Malangatana in a discursive grid which sought to define and produce a modern African art in terms of primal authenticity. Because this authenticity was understood to spring from an unconscious font of creativity, any contact with politics, intellectualism, formal education, the state or industrialisation was perceived as deleterious. As a result, the methods and discourse deployed by this group of patrons encouraged isolation, differentiation, and psychoanalytic investigation.

Central to this was a rejection of formal art education, inspired by the ‘art brut’ approach of French artist Jean Dubuffet (1901-1985), and apparent in Pancho Guedes’ suggestion that:

*There are two kinds of art, the cooked and the raw; the pastiche and the original. The cooked kind is made through forced feeding at art schools; it ruffles the baggage that others has already carried; it hides its head in the sands of techniques; it progresses incessantly by eating its own tail; it fills the galleries of the world with comfortable reproductions. Raw art is the art of*

<sup>131</sup> “Art: The Dark Gift,” *Time Magazine* 13 (September 28, 1962).

<sup>132</sup> McEwen, *First Biennial International Congress of African Culture*, 6.

<sup>133</sup> Ulli Beier and Jehangir Art Gallery, *Exhibition of African Art: Salahi \* Okeke \* Malangatana* (Bombay: Jehangir Art Gallery?, 1964) See also Alexandre Pomar “Malangatana First Years” [http://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre\\_pomar/2013/10/malangatana-first-years.html](http://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/alexandre_pomar/2013/10/malangatana-first-years.html).



*authentic artists who have a compulsive need to communicate their own visions; it does not get around on crutches.<sup>134</sup>*



**Figure 13 Malangatana in curandeiro attire, with his work *Buloyi (Feitiço)* c.1962 Source: casacomum**

In a stark application of this position, Malangatana later recalled that on arrival at the Guedes residence, the architect had stipulated certain conditions, intended to 'avoid pollution'<sup>135</sup>:

*He did not allow me to go to Núcleo de Arte, and he also did not allow me to go to his library, or to see his paintings. He advised me not to go too often to art exhibitions until I was able to organise my first one-man exhibition.<sup>136</sup>*

<sup>134</sup> Pancho Guedes, 1982 address at the Studio Gallery, University of Witwatersrand, opening of Tito Zungo Retrospective. cf Andries Botha, "Tito Zungo," *Revisions: Expanding the Narrative of South African Art*, n.d., <http://www.revisions.co.za>.

<sup>135</sup> Malangatana, "Pancho Guedes."

<sup>136</sup> Visser, "Little School Let's Play: The Children as Artists and the Artist as a Child," 20.

Beinart's summer schools were also intended as a critical response to academic fine art training, and their methodology was defined by a focus on liberation and individualism, a kind of shock therapy intended to free participants from their inhibitions and return them to a primal state. Writing in 1965, Beinart described how the events aimed:

*to create for a short time an environment of complete liberation and intense work, in which young people with different backgrounds and varying amounts of previous training could find personal solutions to set problems... [in art and architectural schools] the student starts his education 'encumbered with a mass of accumulated information which he must abandon before he can achieve perception and knowledge that are really his own.'*<sup>137</sup>

Beinart reasoned that the process of 'unschooling' was easier in Africa, because '[i]n the African situation, the student does not have as much which must be broken down.'<sup>138</sup> In 1968, Beier described Beinart's methods for achieving these goals:

*In a series of violent exercises the students were made to 'play themselves free', to lose their inhibitions and gain new vision. Beinart achieved surprising results because his own feverish energy and inspired enthusiasm carried everyone with him into a state of euphoria and creative activity in which people shed all preconceived ideas about art and beauty'*<sup>139</sup>.

This model would be broadly followed in the Oshogbo workshops of the 1960s, although whilst Beinart's summer schools focused on 'cleansing' practising artists and art students of their previous education, the Nigerian workshops focused on those without formal education. This approach drew on the methods of Austrian art educator Frank Cizek (1865-1946) whose 'Juvenile Art Classes' in 1920s Vienna sought to foster self-realisation and imaginative creativity in children's painting. Beier and his first wife, Austrian artist Susanne Wenger, had run such a workshop in a psychiatric hospital in Abeokuta in the late 1950s. Writing in *Black Orpheus* in 1959, he recalled their methodology:

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<sup>137</sup> Julian Beinart, "Visual Education for Emerging Cultures: The African Opportunity," in *Education of Vision*, ed. Gyorgy Kepes (London: Studio Vista, 1965), 196-98.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>139</sup> Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa*, 105.

*We took great care not to teach, but merely to encourage. Painting was something completely new for the patients, they had never handled a brush and had never seen paintings or pictures... To our astonishment more than half of the people who tried... turned out to be gifted artists. Each of them developed a completely individual style. Our own job consisted merely to create an atmosphere in which these artists were able to produce highly original work, because there was neither an inhibiting social pressure, nor had they been prejudiced towards tradition by a form of Western education, because they were all more or less illiterate.<sup>140</sup>*

Whilst the Beiers' approach can be understood as an expression of a broader movement in Western Europe which was defined by its antagonism to formal art education, it can also be seen as a reaction to the assimilationist model of colonial art education which encouraged students to adopt a mode of painting closely modeled on a conservative European practice. In a 1959 article for *Black Orpheus*, Beier had expressed frustration with art students in Nigeria who turned to a 'superficial realism which is 'safe' and socially acceptable', and who did so, he argued:

*because the tastes of most Europeans in Africa who are likely to influence them is singularly Victorian. The road from traditional African art to modern European art is almost a sort of short cut, but nobody seems to guide the young African in this direction. Instead he is led into the blind alley of nineteenth century realism and he is content to report instead of to interpret the world.<sup>141</sup>*

In this he developed, in different terms, the pedagogical approaches of British art teachers such as Kenneth Murray in Nigeria and Margaret Trowell in Uganda, who had sought from the 1920s and 1930s to encourage students to develop a local, African aesthetic rather than following Western academic models. Chika Okeke-Agulu understands Murray's 'adaptationist' approach in the context of British policies of Indirect Rule,<sup>142</sup> and argues that while Beier later developed this approach, he also differed from Murray in his focus on the 'tactical root-finding' of

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<sup>140</sup> Ulli Beier, "Two Yoruba Painters," *Black Orpheus* 6 (1959): 30.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>142</sup> Chika Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in Twentieth-Century Nigeria* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 39–69.

pan-Africanism as a strategy to foster a post-colonial modernism in Nigeria.<sup>143</sup> Beier, Okeke-Agulu argues, sought artists whom he judged had ‘attained the right mix of modernist, anti-academic impulse and a sympathetic translation of indigenous African forms and concepts’.<sup>144</sup>

Beinart and Guedes were also in contact with the Cape Town-based society of artists known as the New Group, which included Walter Battiss (1906-1982) and Austrian-born architect Jean Max Friedrich Welz (1900-1975), who had, from 1943, taught art at his Hugo Naudé Art Centre in Worcester, South Africa, also along the principles of Frank Cizek.<sup>145</sup> Like several members of the New Group, Beier had fled Europe following the rise of fascism in Germany. Perhaps informed by this experience, Beier’s methods and later writing reflect a desire to counteract centralised state authority, and to insulate culture from politics. Indeed he repeatedly stressed that his activities were apolitical, claiming that:

*I have seldom been determined by ideologies; have always worked on the basis of personal relationships, across ideologies, institutions, boundaries and races. This has been my strength - because it makes for lateral thinking - and my weakness, because it constantly lays one open to attack from all sides.*<sup>146</sup>

An understanding of art and politics as separate realms is also clear in Pancho Guedes’ later writing, including his assertion that in the 1950s-60s, there were three distinct groups of intellectuals, artists, writers, journalists and poets: ‘those aligned with the powers that be, those opposed, and other [sic] who *knew* that the arts had little or nothing to do with politics.’<sup>147</sup> Similarly, in his introduction to the 1962 International Congress of African Culture, Frank McEwen sought to define an artistic landscape distinct from all political affiliations (oblivious to the paradox of describing African subjectivity as a depolitical position):

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>145</sup> E. J. Verwey, *New Dictionary of South African Biography* (HSRC Press, 1995), 267.

<sup>146</sup> Beier cf. Peter Benson, *Black Orpheus, Transition, and Modern Cultural Awakening in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 34.

<sup>147</sup> Amâncio d’Alpoim (Pancho) Guedes, “Remembering the Painter Malangtana When He Was Still Young,” in *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya*, ed. Júlio Navarro (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2003), 9. My emphasis.

*Art claims to exist in a separate world of its own. If this is true our idea is non-political, non-national, non-racial but profoundly African. Its concern is with permanent artistic values and with African influences in modern times.*<sup>148</sup>

MOMA director Alfred Barr (who had attended McEwen's 1962 conference) had made a similar claim for American art in 1952, by arguing that 'the modern artist's nonconformity and love of freedom cannot be tolerated within a monolithic tyranny and modern art is useless for the dictator's propaganda'.<sup>149</sup>

The desire for an aesthetic practice uncontaminated by formal education or politics is apparent in the discursive framing of Malangatana's work during this period. Guedes wrote, in a text for the catalogue to the artists' first solo exhibition:

*These paintings are the result of little more than a year and a half's work by an ex-waiter. Malangatana is a natural and complete painter. With him, composition and the harmony of colour is not an intellectual game; they occur to him as naturally as stories and visions do. He knows without knowing.*<sup>150</sup>

In the publicity for Malangatana's 1962 exhibition at Mbari, Beier similarly described Malangatana's work in de-intellectualised, mystical terms, distancing him from European art:

*we must not equate this with the intellectual games of Western surrealists like Dali. Malangatana comes from a world where witchcraft is a reality, and magical practices are to be reckoned with in ones daily lives... the world of imagination and unconscious... wild and powerful... far from being repelled by the scenes of horror we are brought under an irresistible spell*<sup>151</sup>

In his 1968 book *Contemporary Art in Africa*, Beier goes on to claim that 'Malangatana may have been the first African artist to find the short cut – to

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<sup>148</sup> McEwen, *First Biennial International Congress of African Culture*.

<sup>149</sup> Alfred Barr "Is Modern Art Communistic?" *New York Times Magazine* 14 December 1952. cf Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 1999), 268.

<sup>150</sup> Amâncio d'Alpoim (Pancho) Guedes "O Pintor Completo" Navarro, *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya*, 203 Translated by Alexandre Pomar.

<sup>151</sup> Ulli Beier, "Valente Malangatana. Invitation to Exhibition of Paintings. Mbari, Ibadan," June 1962, Available at <http://alexandrepomar.typepad.com/>.

become a sophisticated artist, while bypassing education'.<sup>152</sup> Similarly, Beinart wrote in *Black Orpheus*: 'he probably does these things quite unconsciously... Malangatana has his own brand of surrealism'.<sup>153</sup>

Malangatana recalled to me that he was, by this stage, familiar with the work of Hieronymous Bosch, Salvador Dali, Pablo Picasso, the Bauhaus movement, the Dadaists (he had met Tristan Tzara at Guedes' house), and Mexican muralists including Diego Rivera.<sup>154</sup> Despite this, and his previous art training at school, Núcleo and the Industrial school, Beier, Guedes and Beinart attribute any formal parallels with European art to either coincidence or a kind of subconscious, involuntary impulse. Guedes continues:

*His vision has odd parallels with the European tradition. Certain paintings are close to the primitive Catalonians; some are like the macabre apparitions of the Dutch visionaries, while others suggest an involuntary, direct and magical surrealism. He seems to come from that tradition without ever having had access to it or any form of training. He is visited by spirits; certain paintings are hallucinations, fragments of a hell that once belonged to Bosch. Malangatana has a thorough understanding of man's subterranean reasons, which, combined with his extraordinary formal vision, produces painting of such a rare totality that, despite being a beginner, he is already one of Africa's major painters.<sup>155</sup>*

These excerpts reveal a desire to mysticise and infantilise Malangatana's biography. Whilst these patrons implicitly positioned themselves in opposition to institutional authorities, and, like André Breton had in the 1920s, saw in ethnographic practice a means to critique the western colonial-industrial complex, their language frames him within the colonial trope of 'discovery', a cultural resource primed for extraction.

The understanding of Malangatana's work as a 'short-cut' to the 'subterraneous', 'natural' and 'magical' also betrays Beier's theoretical debt to Carl Gustav Jung's

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<sup>152</sup> Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa*, 72.

<sup>153</sup> Beinart, "Malangatana," 26.

<sup>154</sup> Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, Interview with author, Bairro de Aeroporto, Maputo, July 26, 2010.

<sup>155</sup> Amâncio d'Alpoim (Pancho) Guedes "O Pintor Completo" Navarro, *Malangatana Valente Ngwenya*, 203 Translated by Alexandre Pomar.

notion of the collective unconscious. Jung had proposed a structure of the psyche comprised of three main parts: the ego (the conscious mind), the personal unconscious (populated by an individual's suppressed and forgotten memories), and the collective unconscious, a level which was shared by all humans and which bore the imprint of evolutionary history, such that 'the form of the world into which [someone] is born is already inborn in him, as a virtual image'.<sup>156</sup> Jung proposed that myth and legend provided evidence of this level, arguing that 'the whole of mythology could be taken as a sort of projection of the collective unconscious'.<sup>157</sup> Jung suggested that these deeper levels of the unconscious could be integrated into a patient's consciousness through processes of 'individuation' such as dreams, free association or art practice. The workshop methodologies deployed by Beinart drew heavily on this process of individuation, and followed Jung's definition of art as 'a kind of innate drive that seizes a human being and makes him its instrument'.<sup>158</sup>

Like Beier, Jung was strongly motivated by an antipathy to centralised state power. The integration of the unconscious into consciousness was, Jung argued, essential to resisting the 'mass mentality' which had brought Hitler and other fascist leaders to power, a mentality which he attributed to the alienation from nature instigated by industrial development. Presaging Ulli Beier's desire for a de-intellectualised subject, Jung argued in 1939 that:

*Through scientific understanding, our world has become dehumanized. Man feels himself isolated in the cosmos. He is no longer involved in nature and has lost his emotional participation in natural events, which hitherto had a symbolic meaning for him... He no longer has a bush-soul identifying him with a wild animal. His immediate communication with nature is gone forever, and the emotional energy it generated has sunk into the unconscious.*<sup>159</sup>

In 1925, Jung had undertaken a five-month 'psychological expedition' to Kenya and Uganda in the belief that he would find, in the 'African mind' a more direct route to

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<sup>156</sup> C. G. Jung, *Collected Works of C.G. Jung: The First Complete English Edition of the Works of C.G. Jung* (Routledge, 2015), 188.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 325.

<sup>158</sup> Carl Gustav Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (Psychology Press, 2001), 173.

<sup>159</sup> Carl Gustav Jung, *The Symbolic Life: Miscellaneous Writings* (Routledge, 2014), para. 585.

this collective unconscious. Echoing Guedes' claim that Malangatana 'knows without knowing,' Jung described, in his autobiography, the Athai Plains in Kenya:

*'This was the stillness of the eternal beginning, the world as it had always been in the state of non-being; for until then no one had been present to know that it was this world.'*<sup>160</sup>

Jung's attempts to locate the most basic, universal level of the unconscious in Africa led him to map the structure of the psyche in racialised terms, proposing that European consciousness could be differentiated by its higher historical 'layers':

*In the collective unconscious, you are the same as a man of another race. You have the same archetypes, just as you have, like him, eyes, a heart, a liver, and so on. It does not matter that his skin is black. It matters to a certain extent, sure enough – he probably has a whole layer less than you. The different strata of the mind correspond to the history of the races.*<sup>161</sup>

In an echo of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, this mapping of psychic structure onto the physical landscape is symptomatic of long-running Enlightenment discourse that sought to define European subjectivity in terms of a primitive (unconscious) other in Africa. As William Pietz<sup>162</sup> and Donald Preziosi<sup>163</sup> have argued, this opposition structured, in important ways, an Enlightenment schema of materiality which posited the notion of the 'fetish' object (understood as irrational and primitive) as the implicit foil to the emerging canon of European art (understood as rational, civilized, and disinterested). Claims for the 'magical', 'wild' and 'involuntary' qualities of Malangatana's practice propose an explicit opposition with the rational, industrialised fine art practice of western Europe.

Jung's journey from the urban to rural Africa parallels in important ways, the voyage into the bush on which Pancho Guedes sent Malangatana. By instructing

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<sup>160</sup> Carl Gustav Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, ed. Aniela Jaffe, trans. Clara Winston and Richard Winston, Reissue edition (New York: Vintage, 1989), 240.

<sup>161</sup> Jung, *Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, 18, 46.

<sup>162</sup> Pietz, William (1985) 'The Problem of the Fetish I' *Res* 9 (Spring)

<sup>163</sup> Preziosi, Donald (1998) 'The Art of Art History' in Donald Preziosi (ed) *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* Oxford: Oxford University Press p516.



him to avoid his family, and focus instead on sourcing myths from the area, 'to be with [his] ancestors, to search out the unknown that [he] knew without knowing',<sup>164</sup> Guedes clearly hoped, like Jung, that he would access a collective, rather than personal unconscious.

Like the *Estado Novo*, Beier and his network sought, through art education, to produce a universal collective consciousness, but on radically different terms. Where colonial education policy had imposed political identity from above, these patrons sought to recover an internal, primordial collectivity from the recesses of the psyche, an alternative universalism to be accessed through individuality and difference. What they had not realised was that ultimately, this, too, was being recuperated into a broader political project.

In 1967, the network's dynamic programme of events and publications ground to an abrupt halt. This was in part due to the advent of the Biafran war in Nigeria, which prompted the Ulli Beier and his second wife Georgina Beier, to leave for Papua New Guinea. The primary factor for this cessation in activities, however, was the revelation that their primary funding sources, the Farfield Foundation and the Congress for Cultural Freedom, were CIA operations.<sup>165</sup>

### **Congress for Cultural Freedom in Africa**

Considerable attention has been paid to the CIA's covert support for American Abstract Expressionism, particularly its backing of the exhibition 'Twelve Contemporary American Painters and Sculptors' which toured western Europe in 1953-54. In her seminal 1974 article 'Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War' Eva Cockcroft explored the CIA's relationship with MOMA, arguing that 'Braden and his fellows in the CIA recognized that dissenting intellectuals who

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<sup>164</sup> Malangatana, "Pancho Guedes."

<sup>165</sup> In the spring of 1966, the New York Times reported rumours that the CCF and Encounter magazine were covertly funded by the CIA, and a year later, Rampart magazine ran an exposé suggesting the National Student Association was also receiving Agency funding. These rumours were confirmed on 20th May 1967, when Thomas Braden blew the CIA operation in a Saturday Evening Post article "I'm Glad the CIA is Immoral". Thomas Braden, "I'm Glad the CIA Is Immoral," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 20, 1967.

believe themselves to be acting freely could be useful tools in the international propaganda war',<sup>166</sup> an argument expanded by Serge Guilbaut in his 1983 book *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*. In her detailed study of the CIA's cultural operations, Frances Stonor Saunders argues 'there were few writers, poets, artists, historians, scientists or critics in post-war Europe whose names were not in some way linked to this covert exercise'.<sup>167</sup> Stonor's book and Peter Coleman's earlier study of the CCF, *The Liberal Conspiracy*, both focus on the internal workings of the Congress rather than its global or cultural impact. These texts, like much of the literature on the cultural Cold War, primarily consider the US and Western Europe as the audience for the CCF's manoeuvres, documenting the political appropriation of art which defined itself in rigidly apolitical terms.

In his 2015 book *Neither Peace nor Freedom*, Patrick Iber explores the implications of Cold War sponsorship for writers in Latin America, and to date, the studies of the CCF's activities in Africa have also been limited to the literary field, the most sustained investigations being Peter Benson's 1986 book about the development of Anglophone literary journals in post-independence Africa, and doctoral theses by Megan Engle and Asha Rogers (forthcoming) on the same subject.<sup>168</sup> The impact of the CCF on the visual arts in Africa is yet to receive scholarly attention. Chika Okeke-Agulu, for example, in his important study of art and decolonisation in Nigeria, mentions Beier's receipt of CCF funding but does not expand on it.<sup>169</sup>

In December 1947, OSS agent Melvin Lasky submitted to the US military governor, General Lucius Clay, a document which proposed that culture represented the most critical battleground for fighting the 'Communist danger'. The 'Melvin Lasky Proposal,' which became a kind of blueprint for the US cultural cold war, described a failure 'to win the educated and cultured classes', and a need to demonstrate that

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<sup>166</sup> Eva Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War," *Artforum* 15, no. 10 (June 1974).

<sup>167</sup> Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, 2.

<sup>168</sup> Benson, *Black Orpheus, Transition, and Modern Cultural Awakening in Africa*; and Megan C. Engle, "The Congress for Cultural Freedom, Modernization, and the Cultural Cold War in Anglophone Africa, 1958-1967" (Ph.D., State University of New York at Binghamton, 2014).

<sup>169</sup> Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism*, 149, 151, 228, 301n42

'behind the official representatives of American democracy lies a great and progressive culture, with a richness of achievement in the arts, in literature, in philosophy, in all the aspects of culture which unite the free traditions of Europe, and America.'<sup>170</sup> By 1950, Thomas Braden, a former executive secretary of MOMA, and assistant to deputy director of the CIA Allen Dulles, had also proposed that the US needed to organise a centralised, cultural response to international Communism. The Soviet Union, he contended, was by that point spending US\$250 million annually on cultural propaganda campaigns, and as a result they had 'stolen the great words,' to the extent that the youth of 'underdeveloped countries, young men who had come to maturity during the Cold War, assumed that anyone who was for 'Peace' and 'Freedom' and 'Justice' must also be for Communism'.<sup>171</sup> The Cold War could be won, he argued, through the Marxist intelligentsia of Western Europe, many of whom had become disillusioned by Stalin's regime, such that 'in much of Europe in the 1950s... socialists were the only people who gave a damn about fighting Communism.'<sup>172</sup> The avant-garde discourse of artistic autonomy and freedom presented the US with a viable response to Soviet socialist realism and state-centred patronage. Where the Soviets promoted homogenous cultural identity through state-centred policy and patronage, the US would promote diversity, individualism and artistic freedom.



**Figure 14 Congress for Cultural Freedom, Arthur Koestler (speaker), Titania Palast, Berlin, 1950. © UPI / Süddeutsche Zeitung**

<sup>170</sup> Lasky 1947 cf Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, 28.

<sup>171</sup> Braden, "I'm Glad the CIA Is Immoral."

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

Braden's proposal for a cultural counter-offensive led to the formation of the International Organization Division of the CIA in 1950, 'the first centralized effort to combat Communist Fronts', and he went on to organise the Agency's cultural activities from 1951-54. Agents were posted in London and Paris to promote the 'proposition that cultural achievement and political freedom were interdependent'. The Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) was the centrepiece of this programme of cultural propaganda. The ostensibly autonomous association of writers, artists and musicians was operated from headquarters in Paris from 1950 until 1967 under the directorship of CIA agent Michael Josselson. Through the CCF, and a range of dummy foundations, the US financed a vast arsenal of journals, books, conferences, exhibitions, events and awards which, it was hoped, would nudge the intelligentsia away from Marxism, and affirm the US as the 'land of the free'. The dividends of these investments came in the form of cultural prestige, and Braden reasoned that 'the Boston Symphony Orchestra won more acclaim for the U.S. in Paris than John Foster Dulles or Dwight D. Eisenhower could have bought with a hundred speeches'.<sup>173</sup>

By the late 1950s the US was increasingly looking to gain influence in the decolonising world, and the CCF offered a 'soft power' approach for winning sympathy in the new African nations, many of which were adopting socialist frameworks. CCF director Michael Josselson had written to Ulli Beier in 1960, seeking advice for ways to celebrate Nigerian independence in October of that year. The two became friends, and shortly afterwards, the CCF began funding *Black Orpheus*. In 1961, Josselson and Farfield Foundation director John Thompson recruited South African writer and artist Ezekiel Mphahlele (1919-2008), as director of the African branch of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, replacing African American scholar and diplomat Mercer Cook.<sup>174</sup> Beier was also a friend of John Hunt, a Director of the CCF in Paris, and it was through this connection that Mphahlele arranged the funding of the three Mbari clubs in Nigeria

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe* (Free Press Collier Macmillan, 1989), 203-5.

(in Ibadan, Oshogbo and Enugu) and the Chemchemi Cultural Centre in Nairobi. The latter, which was established by Mphahlele as a 'sister to the three Mbari writers' and artists' clubs',<sup>175</sup> comprised a gallery, studios, library and theatre, and hosted a further workshop by Julian Beinart in January 1964. Writing in the journal *The New African* in 1962, Mphahlele described the work of the CCF in Nigeria, under his directorship. Referring to the exhibitions, publications, a music festival and Beinart's two 'schools of visual arts' which had been held at Mbari in its first year, he outlines an ambiguous tension between cultural production and the state:

*[i]t was natural, in the first place, for Mbari to come to life in Nigeria... it is a free country and cultural activity can flourish without any state control or sanctions. The state can of course be called in to assist if necessary. This may not always be so, and it may not be the right thing, but it does, in the first instance, allow for free play of people's initiative and drive.<sup>176</sup>*

By 1963, a Congress letterhead boasted a list of 35 regional affiliates, which included, in Africa, Brazzaville, Cairo, Ibadan and Khartoum, as well as eleven Western European cities, twelve Asian cities, six south and central American cities, New York and Sydney.<sup>177</sup> In 1965, the Congress passed financial responsibility for these ventures to the New York-based Fairfield Foundation, a dummy front also established by the CIA. In addition to *Black Orpheus*, which it funded from 1960-67, the Foundation supported a broad range of journals in Africa, including the leftist journal *Transition* (edited at the time by Rajat Neogy in Kampala), *The New African* (South Africa 1962-68) and the literary magazine *The Classic*, published in Johannesburg between 1963 and 1966, of which Julian Beinart was a trustee.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Ezekiel Mphahlele, "Chemchemi Creative Centre, Nairobi," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 3, no. 1 (February 1965): 115.

<sup>176</sup> Ezekiel Mphahlele, "Mbari: First Anniversary," *The New African* 1, no. 8 (August 1, 1962): 7.

<sup>177</sup> Congress for Cultural Freedom News Bureau, "Professors Meet to Promote African Literature Courses in Continent's Universities," April 1963, Fundação Mário Soares, <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04614.070.032#11>.

<sup>178</sup> Other projects funded by the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Africa included the Conference of African Writers of English Expression at Makerere University in Kampala in 1962, which brought together leading Anglophone writers, and the Transcription Centre, founded in London in February 1962 by British artist and teacher Dennis Duerden (1927-2006) to record interviews with writers, intellectuals and artists from African and the Caribbean (this archive is now at the University of Texas). Duerden, who had worked for the BBC in Nigeria, expanded this remit to include funding exhibitions, films, radio plays and stage productions by black artists in London. After touring

The American Society of African Culture (AMSAC) was also a recipient of CIA funds. Founded by a group of African American intellectuals, AMSAC aimed to develop awareness of African culture through a programme of exhibitions, lectures, concerts and conferences.<sup>179</sup> Penny von Eschen has documented how from 1956 until the early 1970s, the CIA (via AMSAC and other organisations) funded international jazz tours in an attempt to counter perceptions of American racism.<sup>180</sup> Many of these tours travelled to African countries, including Louis Armstrong's 1960 tour to Cameroon, the Republic of the Congo, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In an attempt to recover the US's reputation in Africa, which had been tainted by revelations of their involvement in coups in Ghana (1966) and the Republic of Congo (1965), the US secretary of state Dean Rusk advised that backing cultural events across the continent would help in 'developing attitudes favorable to the West'.<sup>181</sup> The US accordingly agreed to fund a series of 'nonmilitary' programmes in 1966-67, the largest being Leopold Sedar Senghor's 1966 Festival of Black Arts (FESMAN) in Dakar, which was co-sponsored by the Senegalese government, UNESCO and AMSAC (Senghor was an honorary president of the CCF). For the US, who had just passed the Civil Rights Act in 1964, the presence of black dignitaries such as Duke Ellington and writer Langston Hughes 'represented the achievements and hopes of American liberalism.' In practice, however, the festival witnessed 'unprecedented assertions of black solidarity'<sup>182</sup> which stepped far outside the CIA's official exultant narrative of a post-racist era in US history.

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several African countries on behalf of the Congress, Duerden reported back to them in 1961 the suspicion he had met in Nigeria, Sudan and Ghana: "I had to explain how I came to be seconded to the Congress... Where does its money come from? It must be a subtle instrument of American politics." He warned that "it is important that parallel Congress activities should not create the impression that the Congress has a Cold War stance [in order that it] could grow into a sort of club for the promotion of the art of Africa and the study of Africa." Dennis Duerden, Report to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, 1961 cf Gerald Moore, "The Transcription Centre in the Sixties: Navigating in Narrow Seas," *Research in African Literatures* 33, no. 3 (2002): 169.

<sup>179</sup> See Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 197-224.

<sup>180</sup> Penny M Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

To view the work of Malangatana and his patrons as monolithic expressions of US cultural policy would be simplistic and inaccurate. On a policy level, there were numerous examples of CIA-funded cultural activities which ran directly counter to US ideological desires (such as pro-Soviet articles published by *Transition*, and the black power overtones at FESMAN, described above). Writing in *Transition* in 1967, Ezekiel Mphahlele asked:

*why the CIA would be interested in helping intellectuals, musicians, actors, writers and so on in Africa, - people who must eventually realise the emptiness of the American dream, the naiveté in so much of the 'Great Society', some of the cruel realities of private enterprise; people who must come to hate the arrogance of power in the United States. One reason must be that the Agency does not know some of the activities it sponsors.*<sup>183</sup>

More fundamental to the defence of CCF beneficiaries in Africa, however, was a faith in the sanctity of their creative autonomy. Mphahlele continued his mitigation with what Stonors calls the 'blank cheque' response,<sup>184</sup> arguing that the funding came with no conditions and simply enabled them to work independently.

*Yes the CIA stinks... We were had...[but] In Africa we have done nothing with the knowledge that the money came from the CIA; nor have we done anything we would not have done if the money had come from elsewhere.*<sup>185</sup>

He had taken the job at the Congress, he argued, on the explicit understanding that:

*cultural freedom has various interpretations depending on the socio-political conditions of any territory; that Africa should not be turned into another theatre of the cold war; that in any case we are working at grassroots in Africa, and cultural activity here, where it is intellectual, should not be expected to develop with reference to the reflexes of the West.*<sup>186</sup>

In a 2011 interview, Wole Soyinka recalls a more pragmatic reaction to the news that the journal *Transition* was receiving CIA funds:

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<sup>183</sup> Ezekiel Mphahlele, "Letters to the Editor," *Transition*, no. 34 (1967): 34.

<sup>184</sup> Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, 4.

<sup>185</sup> Mphahlele, "Letters to the Editor."

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

*We were tainted from this source, but that was no reason why we should consider what we had been doing as negative ... I sometimes felt, 'ah, what a pity we didn't know from the beginning. We would have expanded the magazine using their money, you know!' [laughter] 'Before the whole world knows it, let's move this magazine!' So if I have any regrets, it was that I didn't operate tactically [laughter]*<sup>187</sup>

Ulli Beier refrained from commenting publicly on the revelations, although Peter Benson records that Beier and his colleagues were 'relatively unperturbed by the news for the simple reason that *Black Orpheus*, unlike *Transition*... had always been so obviously non-political'.<sup>188</sup>

Yet this claim for political autonomy leads to a double bind. Just as Guedes, Beinart and Beier claimed to provide Malangatana with the means to freely express himself, so too did the CCF claim to provide Beier with nothing more than the material support to act according to his own free will. The paradox is that it was precisely this pretense of depoliticised, free will that made both Malangatana and Beier valuable to their respective patrons. A US National Security Council directive of 1950 supports this point, defining the most effective kind of propaganda as the kind where 'the subject moves in the direction you desire for reasons which he believes to be his own'.<sup>189</sup>

The critical task, then, is to interrogate the notion of cultural autonomy whilst simultaneously acknowledging the agency of the individual practitioner. This task inherits a line of Marxist materialist analysis developed by theorists including Adorno, Gramsci, Foucault and Said, who have each sought, in different ways, to expose how the fiction of pure, autonomous culture has been deployed as an apparatus of political hegemony. In his analysis of the relationship between culture and administration, for example, Theodor Adorno outlines a case for the illusory (alienated) nature of claims for cultural autonomy. Culture, he contends,

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<sup>187</sup> Wole Soyinka and Tommie Shelby, "From Africa to the 'Global Black,'" *Transition*, no. 106 (2011): 41–42.

<sup>188</sup> Benson, *Black Orpheus, Transition, and Modern Cultural Awakening in Africa*, 296 n55.

<sup>189</sup> National Security Council Directive, 10 July 1950. cf Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, 4.



'would like to be higher and more pure, something untouchable which cannot be tailored according to any tactical or technical considerations'.<sup>190</sup> Yet culture and administration have been historically and systematically entangled in a constitutive pattern of interaction, such that: 'whoever speaks of culture speaks of administration as well... the single word 'culture' betrays from the outset the administrative view, the task of which, looking down from on high, is to assemble, distribute, evaluate and organise'. As a result, 'culture is viewed as the manifestation of pure humanity without regard for its functional relationships within society'.<sup>191</sup> This position was later developed by Edward Said, in relation to the power dynamics of knowledge production: 'the general liberal consensus that 'true' knowledge is fundamentally non-political... obscures the highly, if obscurely organised, political circumstances obtaining when knowledge is produced'.<sup>192</sup> In line with this reasoning, despite their claims for individual creative freedom and cultural autonomy, Malangatana and his network of patrons were unknowingly, and inescapably, drawn into reproducing a particular understanding of artistic production that was grounded in a Euro-American power complex. Because this manoeuvring took place without their knowledge, the crucial question is not to ask whether these patrons (and, by implication, Malangatana) were submissive to US ideological interests, but rather, to identify the nodal points of unspoken ideological alignment which warranted US investment.

Several of these 'nodal points' have been discussed above, including the discursive grid which assumed an impermeable line between art and politics, Jung and Beier's emphasis on individualism, and a broad antagonism to cultural didacticism and centralised state authority. These positions resonated with the US counter-response to the state-driven cultural policy of the Soviet Union, and supported the image of liberal cultural and political freedom that the US wanted to project on the global stage. It is perhaps, therefore, unsurprising that Jung was posthumously revealed to have been an agent of the CIA's predecessor, the Office of Strategic Security (OSS) during the Second World War, writing, among other things, an

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<sup>190</sup> Theodor Adorno, *The Culture Industry* (London: Routledge, 2001), 107.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 107–8.

<sup>192</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 10.

influential analysis of how best to encourage the German population to accept defeat in 1945. Known as 'Agent 488', his handler, Allen W Dulles later commented that 'nobody will probably ever know how much Prof Jung contributed to the allied cause during the war'.<sup>193</sup>

Whilst the CCF ostensibly positioned itself in opposition to policy directives of any nature, archival evidence suggests that, in line with these patrons, members of the CCF administration advocated a notion of cultural authenticity, understood as a preservation of cultural difference in opposition to universalism. In a letter written to Ulli Beier in 1972, for example, Nicolas Nabokov (son of the novelist) reveals how, as Secretary General of the Congress for Cultural Freedom from 1951 until 1967, he aspired to police an imagined cultural purity. In language reminiscent of British attacks on Portuguese assimilationism, he replies to an invitation to take part in a music festival:

*As time goes by I become more and more persuaded that this so-called 'cross-fertilisation' is nothing but humbug...during all of my 'Congress for Cultural Freedom' career and later in Berlin, I was more concerned with the preservation of pure, as yet untarnished (ie uncrossbred) non-European music... I have deplored the 'potpourri' of inherent musical nonsense produced by Yehudi Menuhin and Ravi Shankar... [I] only wish they would exercise their art separately and not serenade each other in joint 'jumbo-mumbo' activities. Nothing is worse than mish-mash yet, I'm afraid that this is what has been taking place in the formerly colonial worlds of which Africa is, I suppose, the saddest victim.<sup>194</sup>*

While Portuguese colonial education had encoded a particular brand of transnational universalism, the pedagogies Malangatana encountered through this network of European patrons tended towards the opposite: an active fostering of individual, and folkloric, difference.

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<sup>193</sup> "Falling from Favour," *The Economist*, March 11, 2004, <http://www.economist.com/node/2498706>.

<sup>194</sup> Nicolas Nabokov, "Letter to Ulli Beier," February 26, 1972, Nicolas Nabokov papers of Ian Hugh Wellens "Even the Truth Needs a Barnum" University of Plymouth 1999163. Original emphasis.

## Anti-colonial Networks

To what extent, then, can *Monstros Grandes* be read as Malangatana's response to the intersecting desires of the *Estado Novo* for political sameness and of the US for individual difference? How did Malangatana inhabit and challenge this ideological landscape through his work? In conversation, he gave surprising answers to these questions.

Speaking in 2010, Malangatana described a willing participation in the infrastructure of these institutions. Whilst Núcleo and the Industrial School had provided him with technical training, Guedes' economic patronage afforded him time and space to develop his work, and enabled him access to a pan-African artistic network. He described to me how:

*[Pancho] did a wonderful job not only by helping me to get facilitation to work, and also to clear my security – he also did very well the transportation of my work to Nigeria, to Paris, to America New York, and London etc. He did it very well. Because when I was in Lagos, of course we started to say 'hello, what's your name? Where are you from?' 'Hello I'm from Mozambique, I'm Malangatana' 'oh are you Malangatana!' 'Oh are you Jimoh Buraimoh!' 'Oh are you Dennis Moko the architect!'<sup>195</sup>*

Methodologically, Malangatana also expressed deep commitment to the Jungian psychoanalysis promoted by Beier, Beinart and Guedes, who, he argued, 'well knows how to shape people. Pancho sculpted and burnished my soul, anthropologised me internally, made me dig into my entrails to lay bare the mythologies within'.<sup>196</sup> What is caught in balance here, is again the tension between autonomy and ideology, as Malangatana on one hand submits to Guedes' project to 'shape' and 'burnish' him as a cultural worker, and on the other hand performs a self-directed interrogation of his own psyche.

Produced at the axis of critical assimilation and this notion of self-anthropologising, *Monstros Grandes* seems paradigmatic of what Mary Louise Pratt

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<sup>195</sup> Ngwenya, Interview with author, Bairro de Aeroporto, Maputo.

<sup>196</sup> Malangatana, "Pancho Guedes."

terms the ‘autoethnographic text’, a text in which ‘people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them.’<sup>197</sup> Understood as a phenomenon of what she describes as a ‘contact zone’ (that is, ‘social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power’<sup>198</sup>), the autoethnographic text is differentiated from ‘indigenous expression’ in its

*selective collaboration with, and appropriation of, idioms of the metropolis or the conqueror. These are merged or infiltrated to varying degrees with indigenous idioms to create self-representations intended to intervene in metropolitan modes of understanding.*<sup>199</sup>

Pratt’s analysis rests on the basis of two pure, discrete cultures coming into contact, a position which fails to account for the shifting, heterogeneous nature of both educational frameworks discussed above. Nevertheless, the notion of self-representation as a critical response to disempowerment lends insight into the agency of Malangatana’s practice. In neither case did he passively reproduce the demands of his patrons, but rather strategically appropriated the platforms and technologies for new purpose.

I refer here to a third sphere of discourse, in which Malangatana was covertly, but actively, opposing the colonial regime and the apolitical desires of his patrons. In the late 1950s Malangatana had become friends with the poet José Craveirinha and Daniel Tomé Magaia, the uncle of Albino Magaia. Through them, he encountered a network of anti-colonial writers who had been active since the 1940s, based in the Mafalala district on the outskirts of Maputo. Malangatana recalled ‘we often talked politics... and I start to have an involvement, not deep, but serious, in politics... I confess that at that time, I didn’t understand much of their conversations, but I understood when they talked about Jomo Kenyatta and others’.<sup>200</sup> He began to hear of intellectuals being imprisoned by the Portuguese secret police (PIDE), and

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<sup>197</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession*, 1991, 35.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*, 35–36.

<sup>200</sup> Ngwenya, *Entrevista a Malangatana Valente Ngwenya*.

sent to São Tomé without trial.<sup>201</sup> In his interview with me, he recalled that a pretence of naïvety in his work in fact provided a cover for anti-colonial expression: ‘symbols help so much to make them [PIDE] think that I was naïve. Oh yes, they thought I was naïve really. They used to call me naïve, and could not understand the meaning!’<sup>202</sup> In other words, Malangatana knowingly performed innocence, as a strategy of resistance.

1961, the year Malangatana made *Monstros Grandes*, was a moment of seismic shifts in global power. While the FLN (National Liberation Front) and Charles de Gaulle negotiated over the independence of Algeria, ending the most lethal independence struggle in Africa to date, the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Africa was just beginning. Inspired by the previous year’s collapse of the regime in the neighbouring Belgian Congo, a group of workers in the Malanje Province of Angola staged a protest against the repressive methods of the Portuguese cotton company Cotonang. The uprisings that followed shook the *Estado Novo* to the core, but Salazar resolved to fight for the ‘third empire’, insisting that the African ‘provinces’ were an integral part of Portugal.<sup>203</sup> He would be forced to concede Goa to Indian troops in December, but in Angola, the Portuguese Army, aided by white vigilante groups, brutally suppressed that year’s uprisings.

In 1961, shortly before the opening of his first solo exhibition, Malangatana met Eduardo and Janet Mondlane at the Guedes’ house.<sup>204</sup> ‘This night transformed me’, Malangatana recalled, ‘Eduardo Mondlane gave a reading of my work which

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<sup>201</sup> Noronha, *Ngwenya: O Crocodilo*.

<sup>202</sup> Ngwenya, Interview with author, Bairro de Aeroporto, Maputo.

<sup>203</sup> G. Clarence Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire* (Manchester: MUP, 1985), 192.

<sup>204</sup> In 1961, Eduardo Mondlane had returned to Mozambique, aged 41, having obtained his doctorate in Anthropology from Northwestern University, Illinois, and secured positions at Syracuse University and the United Nations. According to a 1969 Frelimo report, he made the visit ‘to see if conditions had changed for the better in his homeland [and] hoped against hope that the Portuguese had bent under international pressure and begun to ease their oppressive colonial rule.’ The report describes ‘the lingering hope in the eyes of the young people as they visited Mondlane’s house to talk about how they could continue in school’. Frelimo, “Mozambique and the Mozambique Institute (Brief History),” 1969, 1, [aluka.org](http://aluka.org).

showed me things I hadn't seen before.'<sup>205</sup> Soon after this meeting, Mondlane left for Dar es Salaam to oversee the formation of FRELIMO, and through these new networks, Malangatana began an enduring relationship with the liberation front. By the early 1960s he was wanted by the police for his attendance at the *Centro Associativos dos Negros de Moçambique*. 'I started to go there often, without being a member', he recalled, 'I went there because it was a place where people danced. But I never participated in student groups'.<sup>206</sup> In 1964, following an investigation into their connection with the 'Fourth Military Region' guerillas based in Dar es Salaam, Malangatana and several of his associates would be imprisoned by PIDE for 'crimes against the security of the state'.<sup>207</sup>

Also in 1961, President Julius Nyerere had begun outlining his *ujamaa* philosophy of African socialism for newly independent Tanganyika. For Nyerere, the Swahili term, meaning 'familyhood' offered a theoretical bridge between local philosophy and communal structures, and the socialist economic policy which he would go on to implement through the 1967 Arusha Declaration. Eschewing both orthodox Marxism-Leninism and Western capitalist development models, Nyerere used the

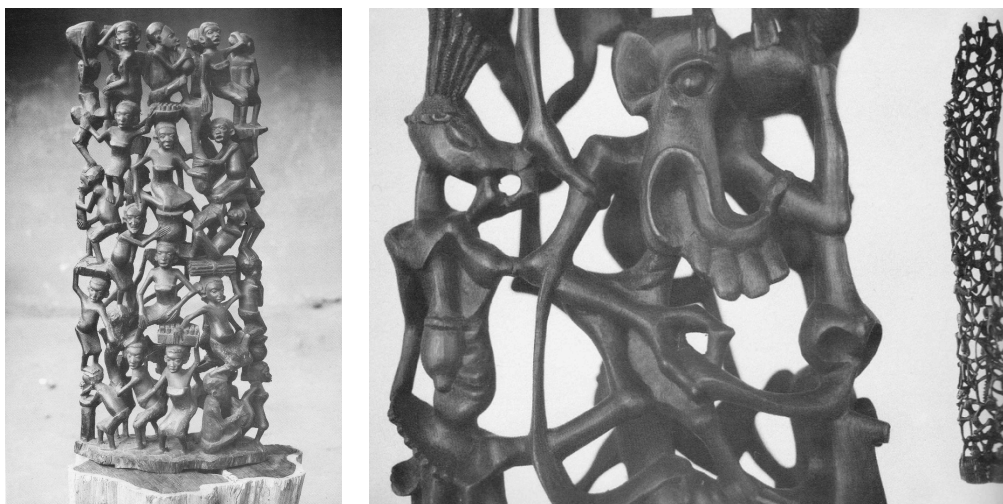
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<sup>205</sup> Malangatana, "Pancho Guedes," 17.

<sup>206</sup> Ngwenya, *Entrevista a Malangatana Valente Ngwenya*; Nationalist groups had emerged in both the metropole and Portuguese colonies, although these were relatively small and often quickly suppressed. The Liga Africana, established in Lisbon in 1923 hosted the WEB DuBois Third Pan-African Congress but was soon shut down with the advent of the Estado Novo regime. Groups that were established in the African territories were often infiltrated by Salazarist leaders, as happened at Liga Nacional Africana (Angola), and the Centro Associativos dos Negros de Moçambique (CANM, formerly the Instituto Negrófilo) which Malangatana frequented. In 1963 Eduardo Mondlane described these organisations as "at best simply bourgeois social clubs, often called upon to shout their part in the militarized chorus of allegiance to Salazar." Mondlane and other members of the CANM founded, in the late 1940s, the Núcleo dos Estudantes Secundarios Africanos de Moçambique (NESAM), which ran debates and organised exhibitions. By the 1950s, artists and writers began to organise cultural initiatives in opposition to colonialism. Assimilado and "mestiço" writers and activists gathered through associations such as the African Guild, the African Association of the Colony of Mozambique and the Instituto Negrófilo. William Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1973), 56.

<sup>207</sup> Mondlane, Dr Eduardo C, "Communique of PIDE about Arrests in Mozambique," *Mozambique Revolution*, August 1965, 17 Mondlane cites here a PIDE press release, which details the organisations "special attention to the liasons and ramifications of FRELIMO in Lourenço Marques and environs" and the arrest of "persons who participated most actively in its conspiratorial activities and supported its attempts at subversion". Along with Malangatana ("bookkeeper and painter"), fourteen detainees are named, most of whom were active in the CANPM, including Daniel Tomé Magaia and the writers Luis Augusto Bernardo Honwane, José Craveirinha, João Correia dos Reis and Rui Nogar. Malangatana details his arrest and imprisonment in a lengthy interview with Amadeu Neves da Silva in 2000. See also Armando Pedro Muiwane *Datas e Documentos da História da Frelimo* Maputo 2006, pp55-78.

policy to underscore his commitment to non-alignment. Evoking a precolonial past in which 'land was the property of all people',<sup>208</sup> and the means of production had been collectively owned, Nyerere proposed that socialist relations had always existed in Africa. As a result, he argued, the Marxist class struggle had been effectively bypassed in Tanzania, and socialism could be achieved through a reinvigoration of local tradition and social structures, and the establishment of collectivised *ujamaa* villages.



**Figure 15, Felipe Mauricio Mateus, 2001 (L) and Felix Jaime Moamedi, 2003 (R) *Ujamaa* sculptures, blackwood. Source: Kacimi and Sulger (eds) *Makonde Masters*, Maputo 2003**

In the early 1960s in Dar es Salaam, a Makonde carver named Roberto Yacobo Sangwani<sup>209</sup> was credited with initiating a genre of sculpture which lent visual form to Nyerere's philosophy of *ujamaa* (Figure 15). Characterised by a single column of wood, these intricately carved works depicted a tangled mass of bodies working together, an analogy for the Makonde social unit, but also for collective resistance and cooperative modes of labour in the context of Nyerere's policies.<sup>210</sup> The style became pervasive among the Makonde sculptors who had emigrated from Mozambique to work in the city. Malangatana's sudden shift in aesthetic

<sup>208</sup> President Julius Nyerere, "Leaders Must Not Be Masters. 1966 Speech, Mafia Island," in *African Philosophy: An Anthology*, ed. EC Eze (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 77; See also President Julius Nyerere, "Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism," in *Freedom and Unity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).

<sup>209</sup> Zachary Kingdon, *A Host of Devils: The History and Context of the Making of Makonde Spirit Sculpture*. (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 87.

<sup>210</sup> Edward A. Alpers, "Representation and Historical Consciousness in the Art of Modern Mozambique," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 22, no. 1 (1998): 83.

corresponds directly to the rise of this tradition, pointing to a shared understanding of the body politic and a depiction of the crowd as a cypher for collective social structures and political resistance. The brutal struggle depicted in *Monstros Grandes* can in this sense be understood as a metonym for colonial violence, and the monsters as agents of an oppressive apparatus. As he recalled to me:

*I was using the monsters as a way of saying or showing the feelings of that period... I started to use myself not only as a painter but also as someone in the world who has something to say about the mistakes, about the horrors, that were going on, about the way we were colonised, the brutalities, and I could not use another way to show how angry, how cross in that minute colonised people were, but only through the expressions in my paintings, the faces, the eyes.<sup>211</sup>*

The inter-relations depicted in *Monstros Grandes* can therefore be seen not simply as an exercise in European surrealism or an expression of the subconscious, but, in dialogue with all his previous pedagogies, as the rendering of colonial violence and collective resistance. This aesthetic evolved from a discursive matrix of the time, in which anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist thought were converging, precipitating a re-configuration of the social role of the artist. However, in sharp contrast to the universalist socialist aesthetics that FRELIMO would soon promote, Malangatana ultimately looks to Tanzania, framing this revolutionary impulse in terms of an indigenous, Makonde aesthetic and Nyerere's understanding of *ujamaa*, as a socialism deeply embedded in African tradition. Importantly, this resistance was framed not only against Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, but also in terms of a global struggle against oppression. As he told me:

*Big Monsters Eating Small Monsters was about big powers – not only the power of colonialism [and] what was going on in African countries that were ruled by the Portuguese, but of the world itself. I remember I was always worried with what was going on in Vietnam, and what happened with the French against the Vietnamese, and how the Americans went against them and what ... I started to hear from other people, in Japan at Nagasaki. So only I started to receive through my body a lot of information that they never let me be quiet! So I did a lot of monsters to illustrate my feelings.<sup>212</sup>*

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<sup>211</sup> Ngwenya, Interview with author, Bairro de Aeroporto, Maputo.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.



Through the terms of a specifically African socialist aesthetic, *Monstros Grandes* articulates Malangatana's concern for global justice: his own expression of transnational solidarity.

## 2. *Os Heróis: Pedagogies of the Mozambican Revolution*

### Maputo 1979

Stretching 105 metres around the edge of a roundabout in Maputo's airport district, the mural at Praça dos Heróis Moçambicanos (Square of the Mozambican Heroes, Figures 16-21) narrates, in vivid planes of colour, a sequence of struggles between the Mozambican people and foreign agents of capitalist and colonialist aggression.

Assuming the format of a comic strip or cinematic storyboard, the visual narrative begins at the left, with a visceral depiction of colonial violence. A dusky pink hand grips a wooden paddle, a *palmatória*, poised to retrace an arc onto the palm of a hand outstretched below. An instrument used to force labour, compliance and self-surveillance in the African population during the colonial regime, the *palmatória* was perforated with holes which would suck in flesh with each blow, causing swelling, bleeding and intense pain.<sup>213</sup> A woman pulls at the shackles round her neck, but a second figure bursts forth, axe and flame held high, broken chains trailing from his wrist, mouth open in triumphant battle cry. His companion charges forward with a spear, but it splinters against the armour of the Portuguese mercenary pushing them back, blunderbuss in hand. With this, the manacles are restored, clamping together the necks of four African men; the spiked iron balls of a triple flail swinging above their heads. Again they resist, a bare-chested Magiguane<sup>214</sup> battling with the sword-wielding, mounted figure of Mouzinho de

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<sup>213</sup> Benedito Luís Machava, "State Discourse on Internal Security and the Politics of Punishment in Post-Independence Mozambique (1975–1983)," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 593–609. Machava describes here how Samora Machel reintroduced the *palmatória* as a method of punishment, through the *Lei da chicotada* [law of flogging], number 5/83, on 31 March 1983. Machel justified this reversion to colonial methods at a rally in Chibuto (Gaza Province), arguing that 'violence is necessary in the exercise of power' ("Povo é Construtor da Paz", *Tempo*, 27 February 1983, pp. 14–23); See also Jeanne Penvenne, *African Workers and Colonial Racism: Mozambican Strategies and Struggles in Lourenço Marques, 1877-1962* (Portsmouth, NH : Johannesburg : London: Heinemann, 1994).

<sup>214</sup> Magiguane (c1850s-1897) was commander-in-chief of army of the Gaza (Shangaan) empire, under Ngungunyane, until their defeat by Mouzinho de Albuquerque in 1895. He was killed in 1897 during a final, futile battle to resist Portuguese domination. Mark R. Lipschutz and R. Kent

Albuquerque before emerging against a backdrop of flames, de-shackled fist to the sky. But again they return to bondage, this time labouring in cotton fields while a pith-helmeted *chefe do posto*<sup>215</sup> shadows over them, leather *chicote* (whip) clenched in one fist, the shaft of a goldmine in the other. Inside the mine, a black silhouette strains to push the products of his labour to the surface. Above him, a messianic figure rises next to a glowing silhouette of the continent, chevrons vibrating from its centre. His arms stretch out across the liberated west of the continent, but in Mozambique to the east, a man is being wrenched away from an open book by a visored PIDE officer. Devices of colonial discipline reappear, this time in the forms of barbed wire, cell bars and a flailing cat o' nine tails, until a sharp diagonal line signals a dramatic scene change. The yellow, black and green bands of the Mozambican flag unfurling behind them, victorious Mozambicans raise a new weapon to the sky: the AK47. From the centre of the flag, a vast image of Eduardo Mondlane presides over this radical shift in dynamic, his eyes fixed to the right, on a future horizon. Guerrillas trek through the undergrowth beneath him, and peasant farmers raise hoes in the background. From here, an army converges, their attention focused in the direction of Samora Machel's pointing finger, their bayonets and rifles speeding forward in parallel lines against a backdrop of flames and a final act of colonial violence, the murder of a child. Finally the troops raise their weapons to the sky, heralding the climactic image of Samora Machel at the microphone. Beside him, a hand grips the *chama da unidade* or 'flame of unity' torch which accompanied his month-long 'Triumphal Journey' from the northern border of the Rovuma river, to the Maputo river in the south, where he would declare independence. With this, the explosions suddenly subside, and the narrative transcends into a radiant utopia of flickering flags and bountiful harvest, set against a rising sun.

Like *Monstros Grande*, the mural depicts forces at struggle. But while Malangatana's monsters are ambiguous, amorphous, undecided figures, wrestling in an unresolved battle, the mural's antagonists seem conclusively anchored in

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Rasmussen, *Dictionary of African Historical Biography* (University of California Press, 1989), 130–31.

<sup>215</sup> Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 388.

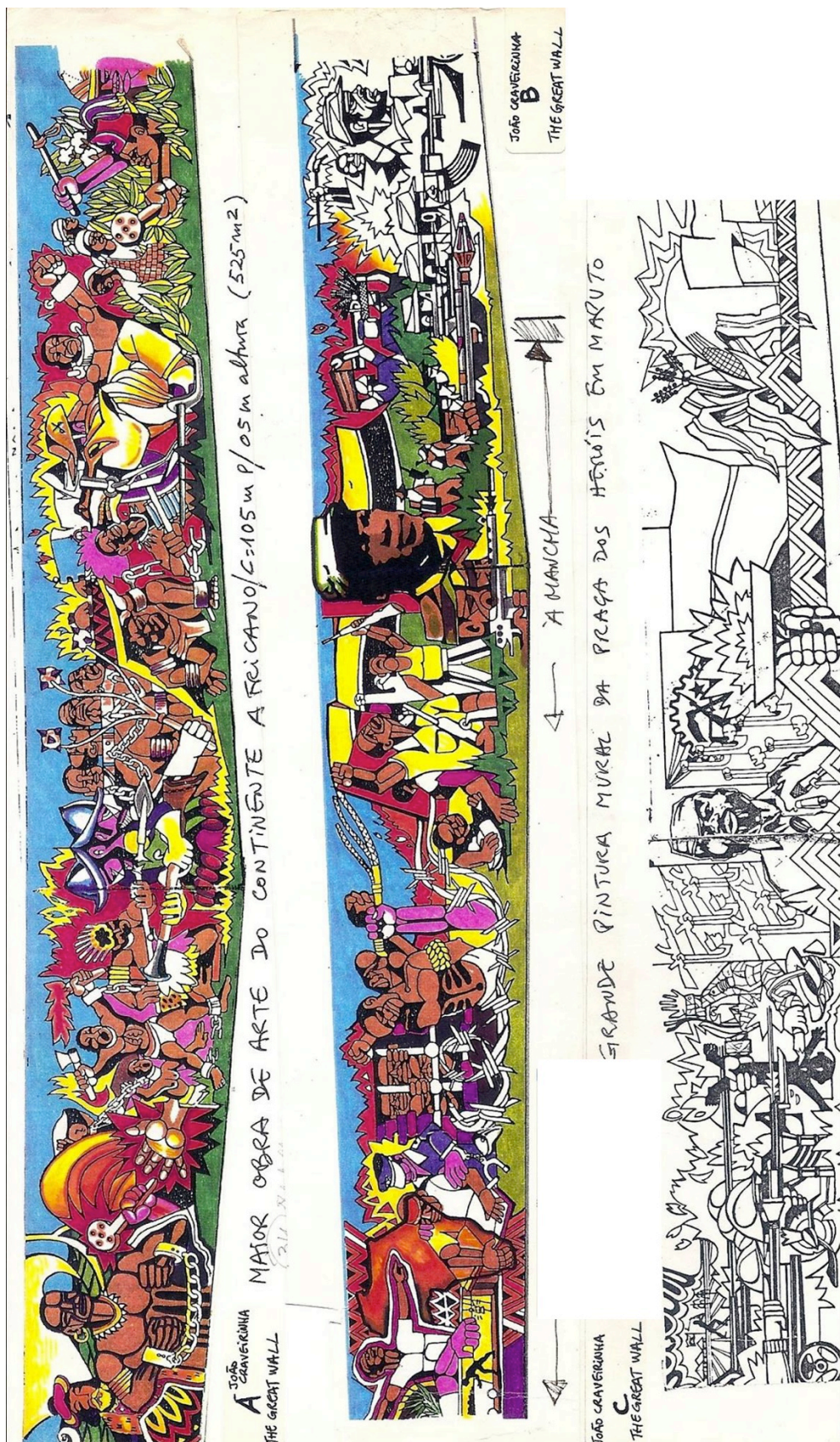


Figure 16 João Craveirinha Final design for mural at Praça dos Heróis, Maputo 1979.  
 Courtesy João Craveirinha



Figure 17 Mural at Praça dos Heróis Moçambicanos 1979 (restored 2005) Note the first images of the design have been excluded.



Figure 18 Mural at Praça dos Heróis Moçambicanos 1979 (restored 2005)





Figure 21 Mural at Praça dos Heróis Moçambicanos 1979 (restored 2005)

starkly Manichean terms. Based on an original design by João Craveirinha, with editorial input from José Freire, the first rendering of the mural was carried out by a group of art students and volunteers in 1979, four years after Machel had declared independence, and two years after the country had returned to war, this time against Rhodesia-backed opposition group RENAMO. During the years of struggle, independence, and civil war, it had become heavily incumbent on Frelimo to mobilise a unified national consciousness. The '*luta*', or struggle against Portuguese colonialism, was in many cases the only shared experience across Mozambique's ethnically and linguistically diverse population. Seeking a mythology to legitimise their authority within the context of a 'single-party democracy', Frelimo therefore looked to the *luta* to construct a genealogy of resistance, a narrative construction which João Paulo Borges Coelho has termed the 'liberation script'.<sup>216</sup> Necessarily binary in approach, the 'liberation script' provided a methodology for sanctioning power, and for cleaving Self, *O Povo* (The People) from Other, *O Inimigo* (The Enemy). In this sense, the mural renders visible the righteous path of the *luta*, neatly compressed into a seamless dialectic of national becoming.

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<sup>216</sup> João Paulo Borges Coelho, "Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique: A Set of Epistemological Notes," *Kronos* 39, no. 1 (January 2013): 20–31.

This dialectic articulates the anti-colonial struggle as coterminous with anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle. The Portuguese slave trader, land grabber and tax collector figure here not only as agents of empire, but also as a rapacious bourgeoisie. Against a backdrop of violence, slaves, peasants and indentured labourers struggle against exploitation until, under a benign hero, they finally achieve consciousness and organise collective resistance. Despite the *de facto* lack of an industrialised working class proletariat, the conflict between colonised and the coloniser is recounted here in terms of classical Marxist teleology, as a historical dialectic over the means of production, ultimately resolved by popular revolution and collectivisation.

This rhetorical positioning can be seen as symptomatic of, and instrumental to, increasingly active networks of global relations. Whilst profoundly nationalist in character, Frelimo's definition of Self was simultaneously allied, through affective bond of solidarity, to an extended geography of 'Natural Friends': socialist and non-aligned states, including, to various degrees, the USSR, China, Cuba and Eastern Europe. Contingent to this process was the delineation of the 'Enemy', a shifting configuration which included, at different moments, apartheid South Africa, Ian Smith's Rhodesia, US imperialism, racism, capitalism, as well as 'internal' enemies such as moral delinquency, 'tribalism', 'obscurantism' and religion.

I argue in this chapter that the shifting terms of Frelimo's international networks had fundamental implications for the development of the party's cultural policy, in ways that can be understood in three distinct phases. I suggest that the first phase, from 1962 to 1969, when Mondlane was seeking to tread a careful path of non-alignment, can be loosely characterised as a moment of African cultural nationalism. The second phase, from 1970 to 1977, saw a dramatic shift in positioning which, I argue, can be understood in terms of Frelimo's international networks, with a particular relation to Maoism. The third phase, which began with a formal pledge to Marxism-Leninism at the Third Party congress in 1977, and lasted until roughly 1984, saw the crystallisation of policy which instrumentalised



culture for the formation of a centralised, single-party state, primarily (but not exclusively) along Soviet lines.

In this chapter I trace these three periods of cultural policy from the perspective of Frelimo's graphic designer, and principle author of the mural, João Craveirinha. Whilst the mural's heavily edited narrative of national memory appears to offer a matrix with no space for ambiguity, these intersecting and often turbulent histories reveal a much more ambiguous, contested understanding of the new nation. Just as Malangatana had experienced, these intersections became the site of dialogic tension between universalism and particularism, between collectivity and individualism, and between competing visions for how history should be narrated and how the future should be imagined.

## Lourenço Marques 1962

João Craveirinha was born in Ilha da Moçambique in 1947 to a highly educated family.<sup>217</sup> He described to me a comfortable, yet constrained, vision of his early family life in Lourenço Marques:

*My father was the director of the income tax department of colonial finance and my mother was working at the university as one of the secretaries of the Rector... [but] of course there was colonialism, of course there was a colour bar, of course there was discrimination.*<sup>218</sup>

His paternal uncle, the celebrated poet José Craveirinha (1922-2003), would lead a formative role in his life. Like Malangatana, João Craveirinha studied at the Industrial School, where, from 1962 to 1966, he took a course in Decorative Arts, learning techniques of oil painting and design. He recalled to me that he had been active in the city's anti-colonial networks, serving from 1962 to 1967 as a leader within the *Mocidade* youth wing of the *Associação Africana da Colónia de Moçambique* (AACM, African Association of the Colony of Mozambique). Here he helped to organise lectures, exhibitions, music and theatre events (including the children's play 'Coal Black and the Seven Dwarves', directed by Bertina Lopes). During this time he also collaborated with the newspaper *O Brado Africano* (The African Cry). He was a founding member of the *Grupo Sete* (Group Seven), a collective of seven students from the Industrial School,<sup>220</sup> who collaborated on projects including a 1965 group show at the AACM. A pamphlet accompanying the exhibition described them as: 'seven youths... for whom life is not easy, but who find the time, the strength, the will... to construct a world that is theirs alone - a

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<sup>217</sup> His father, João Craveirinha senior (1920-1997) and his uncle José Craveirinha ('Zé', the poet) were born in Lourenço Marques to a very young mother, Mangachane Mafumo ('Carlota') from the vaJonga Muianga and Mafumo lineages, and a Deputy police chief and poet from the Algarve, Portugal. The artist's mother was also born to a Portuguese father (from Abrantes, central Portugal) and to a distinguished muJonga mother, descended from the Mphumos, the former rulers of the Maputo region. According to João Craveirinha Junior, in 1961, they became the first 'coloured' family to own a house in the elite COOP district of Lourenço Marques, where they employed three domestic servants. João Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon, February 19, 2017.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>220</sup> The seven members of the Grupo Sete were: Fernando Martins, Clóvis de Assunção, Emanuel (o Pica-Pau), Inácio Matsinhe, Aquino, João ('Zito') Craveirinha and Ribeiro Couto. See Matsinhe, *Transformei-Me Em Tartaruga Para Resistir*, 8.

world of beauty and dreams'.<sup>222</sup> Aged 15, he began researching various African visual traditions through his uncle's books: 'big albums full of sculptures, in English, with pictures',<sup>223</sup> as well as Mexican and European art canons. In a 1966 interview for the newspaper *A Tribuna*, João Craveirinha recounts his artistic influences as 'Mayan (Mexican) and Egyptian painting' and cites his preference for the works of Picasso, Gauguin, Rivera and Orozco.<sup>225</sup> His first solo exhibition, held in 1967 at the French Gallery on Eloff Street in Johannesburg, comprised a series of oils on canvas.

During this time Lourenço Marques was rife with rumours about the growth of anti-colonial networks outside the country. Exiled Mozambicans had established various nationalist movements in nearby African states,<sup>226</sup> three of which were invited by Tanganyika's new president, Julius Nyerere, to relocate to Dar-es-Salaam in 1961. With the encouragement of CONCP<sup>227</sup> and Nyerere, these three parties merged in 1962 under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane, to form FRELIMO.

In 1967, aged 19, João Craveirinha resolved to travel to Dar es Salaam and join the liberation front. He was motivated, he told me, by the 'unjust situation... I thought I must contribute to Mozambique'.<sup>228</sup> Travel from Lourenço Marques to Tanzania was highly restricted by PIDE at this time. His exhibition in Johannesburg gave a pretence for leaving the country. From there, he described to me a journey which

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid. My translation.

<sup>223</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 11. Recounting his influences to me, fifty years later, he described a visual geography more firmly anchored on the continent: 'sculpture from West and Central Africa, from Mali and Senegal and [from Mozambique], Makonde masks and Ronga woodcarving'; João Craveirinha, Telephone interview with author, March 10, 2016.

<sup>226</sup> The three parties were UDENAMO (*União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique*), formed on 2 October 1960 by exiles in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and led by Adelino Gwambe; MANU (Mozambique African Nationalist Union), which formed in Kenya out of several small groups from Northern Mozambique and Tanganyika; and UNAMI (*União Nacional Africana de Moçambique Independente*) formed in Malawi by exiles from the Tete district.

<sup>227</sup> In April 1961, Marcelino dos Santos attended a meeting of nationalist leaders from Lusophone Africa in Casablanca, Morocco, which saw the formation of the CONCP (Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies). "I Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (CONCP)," April 18, 1961, Direcção-Geral de Arquivos, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo.

<sup>228</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.

took him first to Gaborone, Botswana, where he was put in a private plane, chartered by Amnesty International, destined for Lusaka. Mid-way through the flight, the plane diverted to the Zambian Copperbelt city of Ndola, near the border with the conflict-riven Katanga region of Democratic Republic of Congo. There, without paperwork, he was arrested and detained in a cell for two months, until a fellow prisoner was able to send a message to FRELIMO, who arranged his release. His health ailing, he then hitch-hiked from the prison to Ndola station and caught a train to Lusaka, where he was stationed in a safe house with FRELIMO guerillas who were awaiting orders to launch an offensive in the Cahora Bossa region of Tete, in north-west Mozambique. Here, he met Eduardo Mondlane for the first time. Discussions ensued within the FRELIMO leadership about how best to integrate the young artist in the Front's activities. Mondlane wanted to send him to study Fine Art at Syracuse University in New York, where he had worked, but João Craveirinha recalls that Joachim Chissano had objected, arguing 'this is an intellectual from an intellectual family - if you send him to the US he'll never come back!'<sup>229</sup> It was decided instead that he should become a military cartographer, and so he was sent, via Tunduma and Mbeya, to the Nachingwea training camp in southern Tanzania.

### **Nachingwea 1968**

Nachingwea, 100 miles north of Mozambique border with Tanzania (defined by the Rovuma River) was home to FRELIMO's most important military training camp. Established in October 1965 by Samora Machel, the camp was based in an arid, sandy area surrounded by forest, in an old colonial farm which had been abandoned due to drought.<sup>230</sup> João Craveirinha spent two years here, receiving training in reconnaissance and cartography from Chinese instructors. 'Everybody had to have some sort of guerilla training, for three months, four months', he explained, 'in reconnaissance you have to go to prepare the way, to see where the

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<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> Assubuji and Hayes, "The Political Sublime," 71.

enemy is and give the coordinates to go forward. Most of the time I was sick, and I was not prepared for that'.<sup>231</sup>

Two drawings survive from João Craveirinha's period in Nachingwea. In the first, a 1968 ballpoint drawing, he depicts his uncle, José Craveirinha, in leopard-skin loincloth, hands bound at his back (Figure 22). Behind him, anguished figures peer through cell bars and howl in pain against a backdrop of razor wire, chains, spotlights and bloodied walls. Floating in the mid-ground, a densely patterned layer of lines and chevrons recall the zigzag motif common in Makonde tattoos. Another strand of geometric bands at the base of the frame overlay a skull, identified by a monogram, 'PM,' as a victim of the *Polícia Militar* (military police). José Craveirinha's muscular frame pushes away from the scene, his eyes set on the horizon in dignified resolve. Text in the background locates the scene as the '*cadeia civil*' (civic prison), more specifically Jamangwane in Machava, the Central Jail of Lourenço Marques where the poet was interred along with compatriots including Malangatana, Rui Nogar and Luís Bernardo Honwana (see Chapter One). José Craveirinha had been arrested in 1965 following the publication of his first poetry anthology *Chigubo*, and was being held in solitary confinement, only to be released in 1969, a year after his nephew made these drawings.

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<sup>231</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.



Figure 22 João Craveirinha (Craveirinha Mpfumo) *José Craveirinha na Prisão Ballpoint* pen on paper, 1968



Figure 23 João Craveirinha *O feitiço misterioso de Nengue uá iNssuna* Ballpoint pen on paper, 1968

The second drawing (Figure 23) again depicts a bare chested man with his gaze fixed to a point beyond the left of the frame, the pictorial space filled with geometric motifs. A string of beads, horn vessel and flywhisk identify the figure as a *nhamussoro* (diviner or sorcerer). His open mouth suggests a cry, echoed by a roar from the jaws of a colossal lion sitting behind him. Harry West has shown how, on the Mueda Plateau, sorcery was a critical apparatus of political power, not least because sorcerers were credited with the ability to create, or transform into, man-eating lions.<sup>232</sup> João Craveirinha identifies this particular sorcerer as the renowned Nengue uá iNssuna (a XiRonga term meaning ‘leg of the mosquito’) who worked from around 1900 to the 1950s from an area near the Zimbabwean border

<sup>232</sup> Harry West, *Kupilikula: Governance and the Invisible Realm in Mozambique*, New edition edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); and Harry West, “Sorcery of Construction and Socialist Modernization: Ways of Understanding Power in Postcolonial Mozambique,” *American Ethnologist* 28, no. 1 (February 2001): 120.

with a large population of lions, elephants and other fauna. Nengue uá iNssuna was often visited by white Portuguese clients who would seek his blessing before hunting in the region. A signature at the bottom right corner of each image reads 'Craveirinha Mpfumo', a reference to his matrilineal ancestors, the Mpfumo chieftdom from the northern part of the Maputo Bay area. The signature and the choice of *nhamussoro* as subject matter in João Craveirinha's drawings are therefore particularly remarkable, because within two years, both would become impermissible under FRELIMO's cultural policy.

### Cultural Policy 1962-69

In his 1969 book *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Eduardo Mondlane argues that:

*The paintings of Malangatana and José [sic] Craveirinha (the nephew of the poet) draw their inspiration from the images of traditional sculpture and from African mythology, binding them into works explosive with themes of liberation and the denunciation of cultural violence.*<sup>233</sup>

For Mondlane, a trained anthropologist, local tradition and mythology needed to be defended and rescued from historical effacement under the colonial regime. 'We can learn from other cultures, including the Europeans' he argued 'but we cannot graft them directly onto our own. It is for this reason that a certain understanding of our own cultures and our own past is essential.'<sup>235</sup> Writing about Mozambican poetry of the 1940s and 50s he traced a similar concern for historical primacy in: 'the reaffirmation of Africa as the mother country, spiritual home and context of a future nation' and the expression of 'the common roots of all Mozambicans in a pre-colonial African past'.<sup>236</sup>

I argue that, in its first phase of cultural policy, a phase which spans from the foundation of the Front in 1962 until around the time of Mondlane's assassination

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<sup>233</sup> Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, 108.

<sup>235</sup> Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*; See also Michael Mahoney, "Estado Novo, Homem Novo (New State, New Man): Colonial and Anticolonial Development Ideologies in Mozambique, 1930–1977," in *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War*, ed. David C Engerman et al. (University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 165–198.

<sup>236</sup> Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, 109.



in 1969, FRELIMO tended towards models of African socialism which to a large degree embraced ethnic difference and particularism. Whilst from the beginning the party sought to mask ethnic divisions and unite Mozambicans into a supra-ethnic nationhood, the initial years saw a series of attempts to assimilate, rather than erase, local and regional tradition and belief. This position articulated debates which were prevalent in newly decolonised African states at the time, about the role tradition should play in the formation of the new nation. Mondlane's position bears affinity with Frantz Fanon's contemporaneous work *The Wretched of the Earth*, in which he identifies culture as both the site at which colonial violence was enacted, and the font from which a new national consciousness could emerge.<sup>237</sup>

I argue that this position needs to be understood in the context of Mondlane's international networks, and his determination to maintain a non-aligned position in the geopolitical climate of the time. The lexicon of Marxism-Leninism had been entirely absent from the proceedings of the first party congress in 1962, which instead emphasised pan-African connections, affirming that: 'The Mozambique Liberation Front adheres to the spirit of Pan-Africanism and neutrality in the Cold War',<sup>238</sup> and arguing that the Front intended:

*to collaborate with all African peoples who are struggling for their complete independence, particularly [...] of Portuguese colonies [...] and to collaborate with all progressive forces and peace-loving countries in the whole world [...] on the basis of mutual respect of National Sovereignty and territorial integrity, no aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and reciprocity of advantages, and peaceful existence.*<sup>239</sup>

As George Roberts has shown, Dar es Salaam offered a space in which British and American officials could develop a covert relationship with Mondlane which would

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<sup>237</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin, 1961).

<sup>238</sup> Congresso da Frente De Libertação De Moçambique (FRELIMO) (Dar-Es-Salaam : 23-28 de setembro de 1962) and FRELIMO, "Estatutos e programa" (FRELIMO. Departamento de Informação e Propaganda, September 28, 1962), University of Southern California, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.chilco040>. My translation.

<sup>239</sup> Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), "'Mozambique Liberation Front' Constitution" (FRELIMO, 1962), 4-5, Chilcote Collection, Aluka.

have provoked Portugal had it taken place in Washington or London.<sup>240</sup> Initially, Mondlane therefore managed to draw material and logistical support for the Front from across the ideological divides of both the Cold War and the Sino-Soviet split. The Mozambique Institute, for example, was staffed by teachers from Sweden, India, the US, the UK, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Mozambique<sup>241</sup> and FRELIMO received bi-lateral aid and donations from states including China, Finland, Sweden, Poland, the USSR, Britain, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and from the US.

From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Christian missionaries and philanthropic foundations had been providing bursaries in the US for international students, such as Mozambican student Kamba Simango, who studied in the US in the 1920s.<sup>242</sup> From 1945 these programmes became part of a Cold War effort to increase America's global influence. Spearheaded by the Ford Foundation, these bursaries aimed to educate an elite class in Asia, Africa and Latin America, who, it was hoped, would return home to spread and promote an American model of modernisation, although in practice, many students on these programmes experienced racial discrimination and returned home with a less than favourable impression of the US.<sup>243</sup> By the early 1960s, the US was running three such programmes for African students.<sup>244</sup> Mondlane was the second black Mozambican to take up one of these

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<sup>240</sup> George Roberts, "The Assassination of Eduardo Mondlane: FRELIMO, Tanzania, and the Politics of Exile in Dar es Salaam," *Cold War History* 17, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 1–19.

<sup>241</sup> FRELIMO, "Mozambique and the Mozambique Institute (Brief History)"; and Michael A. Samuels, "The FRELIMO School System," *Africa Today* 18, no. 3 (July 1971): 69–70. At Frelimo's Second Congress in 1968, it was decided that 'the admission of non-Mozambican teachers be firstly discussed with the Political and Security Departments, and that they declare, in a written statement, that they agree to work in accordance with the political principles of FRELIMO'. "Resolutions of the Central Committee," *Mozambique Revolution*, September 25, 1968, 6, Archive of the Bishopsgate Institute, London.

<sup>242</sup> Dr Eduardo C Mondlane, "A Brief Account of the Situation of the Mozambican Students Abroad and of Their Participation in the Struggle for National Liberation," in *African Historical Studies*, trans. Douglas Wheeler, vol. 2, 2, 1969, 323.

<sup>243</sup> For analysis of US educational exchange programmes see Liping Bu, *Making the World Like Us: Education, Cultural Expansion, and the American Century* (Praeger, 2003).

<sup>244</sup> The three programmes were: the 'Emergency Program for Kenyan Students'; the 'African Students Program in American Universities' initiated by Harvard University; and a programme run by the Cultural Section of the State Department, which aimed to train personnel for newly independent countries.

US scholarships, and whilst at Syracuse began arranging bursaries for other Mozambican students to study in the US.<sup>245</sup>

Although Portugal's membership of NATO prevented the US from offering overt support to FRELIMO, Mondlane also built on US connections to secure aid for education projects in Tanzania. In 1962, his American wife Janet Mondlane successfully applied to the Ford Foundation in New York for a grant to build a boarding house in Dar es Salaam for 52 young Mozambican refugees to attend local secondary schools. Two years later, Mondlane met with Robert Kennedy<sup>246</sup> and secured a \$96,000 grant from the Ford Foundation to establish a school for the Mozambican refugees near Dar es Salaam, the Mozambique Institute (MI).<sup>247</sup> In a sense then, Mondlane's position on culture can be understood in terms of his connections to the discursive matrix discussed in the second half of Chapter One, a discourse which lent primacy to an indigenous, African form of particularism and cultural individualism.

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<sup>245</sup> Dr Eduardo C Mondlane, "A Brief Account of the Situation of the Mozambican Students Abroad and of Their Participation in the Struggle for National Liberation," in *African Historical Studies*, trans. Douglas Wheeler, vol. 2, 2, 1969, 321. Mondlane states that only two black Mozambicans had attended a Portuguese University before the 1950s: Francisco Xavier Mabunda who graduated and returned to Mozambique around 1940 and the writer João Dias who died in 1949 before finishing his degree. In a 1967 text, Mondlane lists the students he had arranged scholarships for, including Guilherme Mabunda, who graduated from Oberlin, Ohio in 1963, and José Chicuarra Massinga who enrolled at New York's Fordham University in 1962.

<sup>246</sup> The transcript of a phone call on 8th May 1963 between Robert Kennedy and his brother President John F Kennedy records the US decision to fund Mondlane:  
*RFK: Now, one other thing. Uh, . . . I've had some conversations the last couple of weeks with a fellow by the name of Mondlane ... who's from Mozambique... and he's the fellow that's leading the effort to, uh, make Mozambique independent. He's a terrifically impressive fellow.*

*President: That's Portuguese?*

*RFK: Yeah ... Some of his people have gotten... He's the head of it, but some of his people have gotten some aid and assistance from Czechoslovakia and Poland. He needs help from the United States for two reasons. Number one, so that he can indicate to them that there are people in the West at least sympathetic to his efforts, and, uh, number two, just to keep 'em going. And, uh, the figure that he's mentioned, that they'll need for a year is a... uh... is quite reasonable. First, he needs fifty thousand dollars for help with the refugees. Uh, I think that they... It's a possibility that they can get the second fifty thousand dollars from the Ford Foundation. At least they're working on that...*

*President: 'Course, we wouldn't want him to be saying that he got anything from us.*

*RFK: No, but you wouldn't have that, you see. You'd have it though some private foundation.*

Full transcript available at [delagoabayworld.wordpress.com/category/pessoas/eduardo-chivambo-mondlane/](http://delagoabayworld.wordpress.com/category/pessoas/eduardo-chivambo-mondlane/)

<sup>247</sup> J. Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy* (Springer, 2001), 18.

Mondlane's association with the US infuriated FRELIMO's allies in Algeria, Ghana and Cuba. Accra's *Freedom Fighter* newspaper labelled him an 'imperialist stooge',<sup>248</sup> and his meeting with Che Guevara in 1965 had not ended well, after he refused to send FRELIMO troops to the Congo. By the mid 1960s political pressure led the Ford Foundation to withdraw funding, and Mondlane sought increasingly to distance himself from the US, arguing in 1964 that it:

*cannot identify itself with our ideals for self-determination and independence... we are forced to conclude that when our people finally rise to take arms against Portuguese imperialism, the United States of America, like the Republic of South Africa, will intervene against us in support of Portugal.*<sup>249</sup>

Arguably more influential on Mondlane's thinking was the specific strand of African socialism developed by his host in Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, in particular his evocation of the past as a model for collectivised production. Asked about his plans for post-independence policy, in a 1965 interview, Mondlane affirmed this, replying that:

*we will follow mainly the same lines as, say, Tanzania is following. We will be an independent African state, non-aligned in the sense that Tanzania is, and we will make friends with any country with which we feel we have a common interest and a common policy.*<sup>250</sup>

For Nyerere, as for other proponents of African Socialism such as Modibo Keita, Léopold Sédar Senghor, and Kenneth Kaunda, tradition offered an indigenous resource from which to develop both nationalism and socialism on specifically African terms. For Mondlane, Mozambique's diverse visual traditions could be deployed, through these structures, as a weapon in the struggle against colonialism at both psychic and military levels. As he argued at the party's opening congress: 'it is the moment... for FRELIMO to organise and orient cultural and artistic work

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Mondlane, Dr Eduardo C, "The Point of View of the US Government," in *The African Liberation Reader*, ed. Aquino de Bragança and Immanuel Wallerstein, vol. 3 (London: Zed Press, 1982), 51.

<sup>250</sup> Eduardo C. Mondlane, "Interview with the President of Frelimo," *Mozambique Revolution*, August 1965, 3-4, Archive of the Bishopsgate Institute, London.

as part of the political and military fight for liberation'.<sup>251</sup>

The most immediate example of this early cultural policy was FRELIMO's appropriation of the Makonde blackwood carvers who were working in Tanzania and the liberated zones. During the 1940s, these carvers had found a market within the colonial economy, producing *mapico* helmet masks and *machinamu* human figures for the local administration and Catholic missions as an alternative to forced labour in the fields.<sup>252</sup> From 1959, the carvers' most prominent subject matter had been *shetani* (ambiguous spirits in Makonde cosmology) typically depicted as single, disfigured human forms,<sup>253</sup> a style later developed in ceramic by sculptor Reinata Sadhimba.<sup>254</sup> From the early 1960s, as discussed in Chapter One, carvers also began producing intricately populated works which lent graphic form to Nyerere's *ujamaa* principles of African socialism. In December 1966, Alexander Bortolot records that the party organised 62 Makonde guerrillas into a sculptors' cooperative in a liberated zone of northern Mozambique, and encouraged other carvers to collectivise.<sup>255</sup> Works produced by civilian sculptors from the cooperatives were taken over the border by FRELIMO and sold in Mtwara, Tanzania to subsidise the costs of war, and works produced by the soldiers' cooperative were used as diplomatic gifts to present to representatives of

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<sup>251</sup> Eduardo Mondlane, Documentos bases da FRELIMO, 1o Congresso da FRELIMO realizado em Dar-es-Salaam de 23 a 28 de Setembro de 1962. cf Carlos Jorge Siliya, *Ensaio sobre a Cultura am Moçambique* (Maputo: Cooperação Suíça, 1996), 19.

<sup>252</sup> Salazar's 1930 Colonial Act had revised and consolidated imperial policy with the aim of extracting economic benefit from the colonies. In Mozambique, the Act effectively rationalised the *chibalo* forced labour practices, which had been introduced by the chartered companies. For Makonde sculptors' response to this, see Paulo Soares, "Mozambique: Art on the Move," in *Mozambique! Exhibition, Workshop, Programmes*, ed. Kerstin Danielsson (Stockholm: Kulturhuset, 1988).

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 Kingdon credits the carver Samaki Likankoa as the first to depict *shetani* in blackwood sculpture, whilst working under the patronage of Mohamed Peera, in 1959.

<sup>254</sup> Reinata Sadimba, interview with author, Maputo, November 4, 2010. Sadimba participated in the liberation war in Cabo Delgado, and moved to Lourenço Marques in 1975, where she developed a career in ceramic sculpture. In our interview, she described *shetani* as follows: '*Shetani* is a ghost. There are *shetani* who are good, and there are *shetani* who do harm to people, but this one is a good one, it won't do harm to anyone. This one is a woman who died. You can sit, anoint it and then explain "I am suffering, I am poor, I never get paid any money, I can't do this. If things turn out well I will be thankful to you". People do these things. You have to go to the cemetery, and give them some drink, or some small change, and they will help you.' See also Polly Savage (ed) *Making Art in Africa 1960-2010* (Farnham: Lund Humphries, 2014): 257.

<sup>255</sup> Bortolot, "Artesãos Da Nossa Patria: Makonde Blackwood Sculptors, Cooperatives, and the Art of Socialist Revolution in Postcolonial Mozambique," 259.

the states that had offered solidarity to FRELIMO.<sup>256</sup> Carvers were also dispatched to teach their craft to students at FRELIMO's school in Tunduru.<sup>257</sup>

Bortolot has documented how, under FRELIMO's patronage, Makonde sculptors adapted their production to socialist subject matter, primarily depictions of colonial brutality.<sup>258</sup> He argues convincingly that FRELIMO framed Makonde blackwood sculpture as an example of collective artistic practice, a paradigm of anti-colonial, socialist production. Yet to be taken account of is how the successive strands of socialist policy adopted by FRELIMO during its first two decades shifted the terms for the front's patronage of the arts, shifts which would lead to a much more complex relationship with the carvers by the early 1970s. Craveirinha and Malangatana would also confront these shifting parameters soon, but in the late 1960s, their evocation of Makonde tradition and cultural particularism were largely admired and supported by Mondlane and the Front.

### **Dar es Salaam 1969**

In 1969, shortly after Mondlane's assassination, the Director of FRELIMO's Department for Information and Propaganda (DIP), Jorge Rebelo, requested that João Craveirinha be transferred to the Front's headquarters in Dar es Salaam. The city had by this time become a nodal point of exchange for the liberation movements, and Craveirinha recalls meeting there leading figures of resistance from Sudan, Eritrea, the US, Haiti, Angola, and Portuguese Guinea, including Agostinho Neto, Amílcar Cabral and Walter Rodney.

João Craveirinha was appointed as Rebelo's deputy at the DIP. 'Information and Propaganda' had been defined as priorities at FRELIMO's two Congresses, in 1962, and in 1968 when it was argued to be 'very important in our Revolution,

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<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

<sup>257</sup> Machel, Samora "Educar o homem para vencer a guerra, criar uma sociedade nova e desenvolver a pátria: Mensagem à 2.a Conferência" President Samora Machel, *Mozambique: Sowing the Seeds of Revolution London: Committee for Freedom* (London: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, Russell Press Ltd, 1974), 41.

<sup>258</sup> Alexander Bortolot, *Revolutions: A Century of Makonde Masquerade in Mozambique* (Wallach Art Gallery, 2007), 24.

particularly in the mobilisation of the people for the struggle'.<sup>259</sup> This directive corresponded to Mao's first stages of guerrilla warfare, which he defined as '[a]rousing and organizing the people [and] achieving internal unification politically'.<sup>260</sup> It also became strategically important for FRELIMO to disseminate a visible image of its activities in order to attract aid and support from the international arena.

The production of this international image took place on multiple stages, and with much success, as from the mid-1960s, FRELIMO became the focus of diverse and expansive solidarity networks. As Ros Gray has shown<sup>261</sup>, film and photography offered effective media for this purpose, and FRELIMO invited foreign filmmakers, journalists and writers to visit and document the liberated zones, including Yugoslav director Dragutin Popović in 1966 and British director Margaret Dickinson in 1971. Drew Thompson has documented how FRELIMO encouraged solidarity workers to train its soldiers as photographers (arguing they were the only liberation movement to do so), and Berit Sahlström records that personnel were also sent to Romania to learn photographic techniques.<sup>262</sup> During the Algerian war of independence (1954-1962), Yugoslav filmmaker Stevan Labudović had also organised a photography school for Algerian partisans to document the battlefield, similarly enabling a technology of self-representation, as an act of solidarity.<sup>263</sup> João Craveirinha worked from the FRELIMO darkroom, developing and editing the reels that arrived from the liberated zones, publishing them in the Front's periodicals and forwarding them to foreign press agencies.

**FRELIMO also organised cultural delegations and exhibitions for various international fairs, including the Pan-African festival in Algeria and Tunisia in 1968 and 1969, and the World Festival of Youth and Students in the GDR in 1973. Raimundo Pachinuapa records that a**

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<sup>259</sup> "Resolutions of the Central Committee," 6.

<sup>260</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (Courier Corporation, 1937), 43.

<sup>261</sup> See Gray, "'Haven't You Heard of Internationalism?'" and; Eshun and Gray, "The Militant Image."

<sup>262</sup> Berit Sahlström, *Political Posters in Ethiopia and Mozambique: Visual Imagery in a Revolutionary Context* (Stockholm: Uppsala, 1990), 60.

<sup>263</sup> For careful analysis of the aesthetic and political implications of Labudović's project, see Doreen Mende, "The Itinerant" (Goldsmiths College, 2013).

**delegation of children from the Tunduru camp in Tanzania and the liberated zones presented dance routines at a youth fair**

in the GDR in 1968, and again in Moscow in 1973.<sup>264</sup> Cultural delegations were also despatched to Zambia, Zanzibar and Kenya. In 1971, FRELIMO participated in the First Pan-African Fair in Nairobi. For the 'Liberation Movements Pavilion', they constructed 'A CASA DA FRELIMO' (Figure 25), a house that replicated the dwellings of the liberated zones, using reeds transported from Mozambique. The FRELIMO house, which has been so far overlooked in the literature about the



**Figure 24 FRELIMO stand at the 1972 Pan-African fair in Nairobi Mozambique Revolution 8, March 1972**

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<sup>264</sup> Raimundo Domingos Pachinuapa, *II Congresso da Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO): Memórias* (Maputo: Elográfico, 2009), 118.





A Casa da FRELIMO constituiu uma grande atracção para os visitantes

**Figure 25 The FRELIMO House, at the 1972 Pan-African Fair in Nairobi Mozambique Revolution 8, March 1972**

struggle, was visited by President Jomo Kenyatta, and featured inside, a display of photographs, text and objects about Portuguese colonialism and FRELIMO's resistance. The delegation to the fair included Joaquim Chissano, Sérgio Vieira, Oscar Monteiro, João Nankuta (as a technician), Eduardo Mondlane Junior (as a 'tourist'), and around 40 students from the Tunduru school, who, under the direction of Sergio Vieira, performed in the main arena, a 'spectacle of Mozambican song and dance'<sup>265</sup> (later described by João Craveirinha as 'folkloric dance in the genre of communist China'<sup>266</sup>) as well as dramas about colonialism and liberation. Craveirinha was asked to produce a poster for the fair, of which no record has survived.

<sup>265</sup> FRELIMO, "A FRELIMO Na 1a Feira Panafricana," *A Voz da Revolução*, March 1972, 3.

<sup>266</sup> Direcção-Geral de Segurança, "Apresentação," July 15, 1972, Direcção-Geral de Arquivos, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo.

In his role at the DIP, João Craveirinha produced FRELIMO's radio broadcasts for Namibia, apartheid South Africa, Angola and Mozambique, through Radio Tanzania's external services. "Agora FRELIMO!",<sup>267</sup> that was my voice', he recalled. He also continued producing maps. In 1970, Portugal launched Operation Gordian Knot, its largest attack on the liberated zones of Northern Mozambique. Led by Brigadier General Kaúlza de Arriaga, the campaign deployed Portuguese airforce to drop napalm on the liberated zones. João Craveirinha was tasked with coordinating maps of the offensive and proposed counter-offensive. In 1971, Machel led a FRELIMO delegation to China, North Korea and Vietnam, where, in Hanoi, he met with General Vo Nguyen Giap, and presented him Craveirinha's maps.<sup>268</sup>

The primary focus of João Craveirinha's role in the DIP, however, was graphic design, particularly the layout for FRELIMO's periodicals including the Front's official Portuguese language organ, *A Voz da Revolução* (1966-1981) and its English language counterpart, *Mozambique Revolution* (1967-1975) (Figure 26). These publications had begun as monochrome, and then bi-chrome, stapled pamphlets, produced in small runs on a manually operated mimeograph machine (Figure 30).

The covers of early editions featured a hand-drawn outline of the African continent, with stenciled lettering. The first cartoon published by the Front appears inside *Mozambique Revolution* 23 in December 1965 (Figure 28). It depicts a featureless, overweight, white figure raising a *chicote* to a group of black figures, bound together at the wrist. He puffs at a cigar, oblivious to the corps of

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<sup>267</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.

<sup>268</sup> "AIM Information Bulletin" (Mozambique Information Agency, 1980), 15.

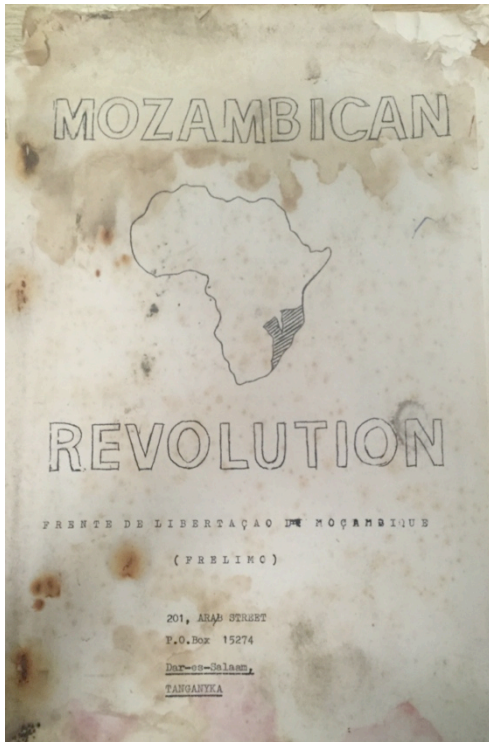


Figure 26 (L) Cover of *Mozambique Revolution* Issue 1, 1962



Figure 27 (R) *A Voz da Revolução* Issue 6 September 1966



Figure 28 João Brito Munguambe The first cartoon published by FRELIMO, *Mozambique Revolution* 23, Dec 1965



Figure 29 João Brito Munguambe *Voz da Revolução* Issue 6, 1966



Figure 30 FRELIMO 'mimeograph' printing press at use in the liberated zone. Centro de Formação Fotografico, Maputo. Document number CJ11

resistance fighters assembling on a hill behind him. This image prefigures the first graphic elements to appear on the cover of *A Voz da Revolução*, the sixth edition of which (in September 1966) featured a black figure in silhouette, striking a drum from which bayoneted rifles fan out (Figure 27). This sixth edition also features another cartoon, in which Portugal, figured again as a bloated white man in shorts, clutches a suitcase, as he is booted headlong into FRELIMO's fist by two black feet, his pith helmet sent flying (Figure 29). These previously unattributed images, are, according to João Craveirinha, the work of João Brito Munguambe, one of the founding members of FRELIMO.<sup>269</sup> Significantly, the images depict the opposing factions of the war as anonymous, black and white silhouettes. This graphic rendition of racial polarity reflects a debate that was polarising FRELIMO factions at the time, concerning the role of white solidarity workers within the movement. Mondlane had insisted from its foundation, that FRELIMO's enemy was colonialism rather than the Portuguese people, and that the fight should not assume racial lines. A faction within the Front disagreed, and in March 1968, students at the Mozambique Institute rose up in rebellion, encouraged by the interventions of an African Catholic priest, Father Mateus Gwenjere,<sup>270</sup> and demanded the removal of white teachers from the MI, including the director, Janet Mondlane. Gwenjere had exploited the perception that black students from northern Mozambique were

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<sup>269</sup> Another prolific, and largely uncredited illustrator for FRELIMO, was Captain Agostinho Elias 'Milhafre' Analingonda, a Makonde political cartoonist who arrived in Tanzania from Cabo Delgado in 1966, and who worked alongside João Craveirinha at the Mozambique Institute from 1969 to 1971, and again at the DNPP from 1976 to 1981. João Craveirinha recalls that, whilst at the DNPP, Milhafre saved his life by hiding him from arrest by Frelimo's firing squad department, and warning him to contact Samora Machel (via José Craveirinha and Luís Bernardo Honwana) to intervene and prevent his execution. Milhafre died after returning from military training in Cuba, following exposure to radiation in the Cape Canaveral region. João Craveirinha, Email communication, 28 August 2017. For further discussion of Agostinho Milhafre's work, see Sahlström, *Political Posters in Ethiopia and Mozambique: Visual Imagery in a Revolutionary Context*, 60–61.

<sup>270</sup> The students' other demands included the use of English rather than Portuguese as a teaching medium, and further scholarships to study abroad. Before 1967, education of cadres had been a central priority of FRELIMO's campaign, and students had received training both in the MI and abroad, including in the US, China and Algeria. In 1967, the Central Committee realised the need for increased military operations and recalled students from their studies, demanding more emphasis on military training and action. "THE STRUGGLE IS THE MOST IMPORTANT AND BEST TRAINING SCHOOL THERE IS IN THE WORLD" proclaimed Mondlane in a white paper addressed to the students. The paper provoked a furious response from the students, including UNEMO scholars in the United States. See Mondlane, "A Brief Account of the Situation of the Mozambican Students Abroad and of Their Participation in the Struggle for National Liberation"; and UNEMO, "The Unemo 'White Paper' of 1968, a Student Reply to Eduardo Mondlane's 1967 Paper," trans. Douglas L. Wheeler, *African Historical Studies* 3, no. 1 (1970): 169–80.

becoming ‘cannon fodder’ for a leadership dominated by southern *assimilados* and *mestiços*.<sup>271</sup> Following the suppression of the uprising, graphic depictions of the struggle tended to avoid the racial polarities depicted in Milhafre’s early work.

In 1970, a student group in Finland coordinated a solidarity campaign (*Taksvärkki-69*) to donate a Gestetner printing press to the Mozambique Institute. Kit Ahlfors, a Finnish publisher, travelled to Dar es Salaam to install the machine, before travelling to the liberated zone to see how Finnish support was being used.<sup>272</sup> ‘This donation was really important’ recalled Jorge Rebelo in 1996, ‘it brought about a big change in our information work... We could put much more material in each bulletin and the quality improved dramatically’.<sup>273</sup> FRELIMO had outlined the need for the production of textbooks at the Second Congress in 1968,<sup>274</sup> and the first publication produced on the Gestetner was *História de Moçambique*, a history textbook for FRELIMO’s schools, designed by João Craveirinha. The 87-page textbook covered the Monomatapa Empire, slavery, the establishment of *prazos*, the start of the armed struggle in 1964, and a final section covering ‘1964 to the future’, a period ‘not to be studied, but lived’.<sup>275</sup> The Geography textbook which followed (for the second class) emphasised the need to develop a nationalist and internationalist consciousness, stressing that ‘our party – FRELIMO – and the armed struggle continue to unite us more and more to each other... [but our

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<sup>271</sup> A second riot broke out in May 1968, shortly after a group of Makonde had seized the keys to the FRELIMO offices, the ensuing violence leading to four injuries and one death. For analysis of the student conflict within the Mozambique Institute see W. Opello, “Pluralism and Elite Conflict in an Independence Movement: Frelimo in the 1960s,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 2, no. 1 (1975); Cabrita, *Mozambique*, 51–54; and Michael G. Panzer, “The Pedagogy of Revolution: Youth, Generational Conflict, and Education in the Development of Mozambican Nationalism and the State, 1962-1970,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35, no. 4 (2009): 803–20.

<sup>272</sup> Iina Soiri and Pekka Peltola, *Finland and National Liberation in Southern Africa* (Nordic Africa Institute, 1999), 24–40.

<sup>273</sup> Jorge Rebelo, Interviewed by Tor Sellström in Maputo, May 1, 1996, Nordic Documentation on the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa, <http://www.liberationafrica.se/intervstories/interviews/rebelo/?by-name=1>.

<sup>274</sup> “Resolutions of the Central Committee” FRELIMO’s second congress was held in the recently liberated northern province of Niassa from 20-25 July 1968, and was attended by British historian Basil Davidson.

<sup>275</sup> Samuels, “The FRELIMO School System,” 70 By late 1966, growing numbers of refugee children in Tunduru led FRELIMO’s Department of Education and Culture to open another school. By 1969 the school had around 350 students enrolled in three primary classes. By 1971, FRELIMO claimed to have built 125 schools serving 20,000 children in the liberated zones of Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Tete, although Samuels is sceptical of these statistics, arguing that such large gatherings would risk attracting the attention of the Portuguese.

struggle is also] connected to the struggle of other people around the world'.<sup>276</sup>

My archival research yielded several drawings by João Craveirinha from this period. These images, many of which are previously unattributed, constitute an invaluable, and hitherto overlooked, body of work, which provide critical insight into the trajectories of both the artists' career, and FRELIMO's relationship to aesthetics during the liberation war. Particularly valuable for understanding how the artist confronted FRELIMO's shifting vision of the Mozambican nation, is his design for the cover of the *História de Moçambique* textbook (Figure 31). The image is bisected by a vertical divide, a no man's land across which Africans and Portuguese glare aggressively. This construction prefigures his later mural design in its binary depiction of colonial relations, in which Mozambicans look right, to the future, opposing the Portuguese who push back to the past, to the left. However it also differs from the mural significantly in its iconography, specifically in its depiction of conflict between different systems of religious belief. The right panel depicts the arrival, by ship, of two Portuguese agents. They lurch towards the Africans, blunderbuss and sword in one hand, Catholic cross in the other, Portuguese Order of Christ cross blazoned on their armour. By contrast, depictions of Portuguese in the mural are entirely devoid of Catholic iconography or reference to missionary activity, focusing instead on the capitalist motives of Portugal's engagement.

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<sup>276</sup> FRELIMO, *Geografia - 2a Classe: Editado pelo Departamento de Educação e Cultura da FRELIMO*, Wallerstein Collection (Imprensa do Instituto Mocambicano, c.1971), 5.

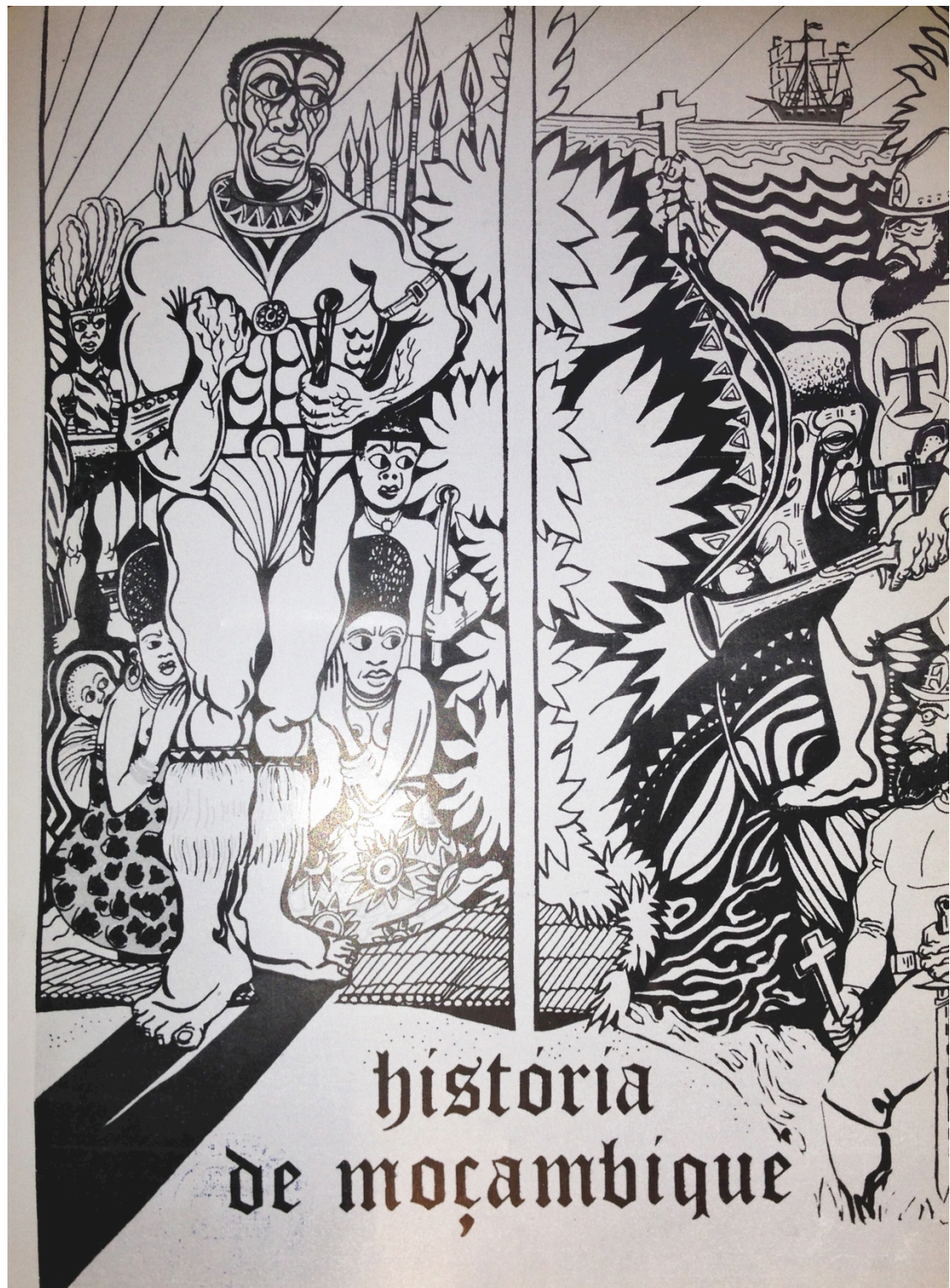


Figure 31 João Craveirinha, Design for História de Moçambique FRELIMO schools textbook. Reproduced in Mozambique Revolution 48, 1971



The left panel is dominated by a muscular chief, his powerful fist poised in defiance while women and children shelter behind him, wrapped in *capulana* fabrics. In this device, which persists throughout João Craveirinha's work for FRELIMO, the force of indigenous resistance takes metonymic form in the physical strength of a single, male body. In this early rendition however, the body is empowered not simply by brawn, but by regalia including a beaded collar, *amishoba* cow tufts at his legs, and a *knobkerrie* club. These objects points to Tsonga and Shangaan traditions from the south of the country, while lines across his cheeks and forehead suggest Makonde facial tattooing and scarification from the north of the country. Together they allude to the potential for an individual agent to invoke metaphysical forces as a strategy in the anti-colonial struggle.



**Figure 32 Invasion Oppression Resistance. Poster featuring 1971 drawing by João Craveirinha , DNPP c1976**

João Craveirinha's drawing was reproduced, after independence, on a poster entitled '*Invasão, Opressão, Resistência*' (Figure 32). Part of a series of three posters intending to inform the public of Frelimo's primacy in the liberation struggle, the layout combines, at the left, a tract of text about the *luta*, wrapped

around a map of the country, and at the right, images of colonial excess, including a graphic depiction of the welts caused by a *palmatória*, and a white man carried from a boat in a palanquin. João Craveirinha's drawing is at the centre of the poster, but in radically edited form: only the right panel, featuring the Portuguese, is included. Whilst the 'enemy' remains unchanged, the image of 'popular resistance' is visibly shifted here. In place of Craveirinha's rural family and forest of spears, a photographic collage at the base of the poster shows a seated crowd, a visual synecdoche for *O Povo*, their focus fixed on a central point. In both images, a central hero figure leads the resistance, fist raised, but on the poster, in place of Craveirinha's spiritual leader, is Eduardo Mondlane, in battle fatigues, mid oratory. This substitution in the image of the people, and their heroes, reveals much about the significant shifts in political discourse that would follow.

An image that has received more visibility is João Craveirinha's design for the cover of FRELIMO's 1971 poetry anthology, *Poesia de Combate* (Figure 33).<sup>277</sup> The monochrome drawing depicts another muscular male figure, here wearing loincloth and wristbands, lines emanating from his body, a patterned *capulana* billowing at his back, his hands pounding a drum. In place of the regalia of previous male figures, he carries a different 'agent of change':<sup>278</sup> an AK47, slung over his shoulder. This shift in weaponry is significant not only for what it reveals about changing approaches to tradition and local authority figures within Mozambique, but also because it binds FRELIMO's self image into broader military, politic and aesthetic relation with a global network of solidarity. Cheap, easy to use and effective, the AK47 was reputed to function after two years buried under sand, making it the global guerillas' weapon of choice. By the 1960s, the AK47 had become emblematic, not only of the Soviet support for the African liberation movements, but also of an internationalist aesthetic which shared ties

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<sup>277</sup> For analysis of the shifting imperatives guiding the editing of *Poesia de Combate* see Maria-Benedita Basto, "Writing a Nation or Writing a Culture? Frelimo and Nationalism During the Mozambican Liberation War," in *Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique*, ed. Eric Morier-Genoud, 2012, 103–26.

<sup>278</sup> Mustafa Mirzeler and Crawford Young, "Pastoral Politics in the Northeast Periphery in Uganda: AK-47 as Change Agent," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 38, no. 3 (2000): 407–29. Mirzeler and Young argue here that possession of the AK47 in Uganda has enabled young men to elude the authority of the elders.



Figure 33 Covers: *Poesia de Combate* Volumes 1, 2 and 3, with 1971 drawing by João Craveirinha. Bottom right: Subsequent edition with photographic cover, 1974

to Cuba's Tricontinental movement, the Chinese cultural revolution, resistance movements in Vietnam and Latin America, and the 1968 student uprisings. The visual juxtaposition of the AK47 and emblems of 'African tradition' was a persistent motif in the screen-printed solidarity posters produced by Jesús Forjans for Cuba's OSPAAAL, and which circulated internationally as foldouts within the *Tricontinental* journal launched at the 1966 Havana conference (Figures 34-37). The gun had also featured in João Craveirinha's (unassigned) design for the cover of *Mozambique Revolution* 40 (1969, Figure 38): another muscular male figure with an AK47 slung over his shoulder, burning torch held high.



**Figure 34 (L) Jesús Forjans *Day of Solidarity with the People of Zimbabwe* 1969 Offset lithography poster OSPAAAL, Cuba. Source: ospaaal.com**

**Figure 35 (R) Jesús Forjans *Day of Solidarity with the People of Mozambique* 1969 Offset lithography poster OSPAAAL, Cuba. Source: ospaaal.com**



**Figure 36 Fidel Castro addresses the Tricontinental First Conference for Solidarity with the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America, Havana 1966**

Several other works by João Craveirinha feature as illustrations in the pages of *Mozambique Revolution*. Depictions of the 1960 Mueda massacre feature in editions 43 (1970) (Figure 39) and 47 (1971) (Figure 40) of the periodical, both showing a line of gun barrels firing on a distorted tangle of pained bodies, the space filled with swirling lettering and patterns. Edition 46 (1971) features his depiction of Portugal's 1970 Gordian Knot offensive (Figure 41). Again split into vertical panels, FRELIMO's guerilla fighters emerge from the undergrowth, pushing forward from the left, while Portuguese forces bear down from the right. Kaúlza de Arriaga advances towards the guerillas, weary eyed and unshaven, while rifles fire back at a fighter jet raining missiles from above. A cross-section of the ground below them reveals rows of Portuguese casualties receding into the distance, and a landmine poised to detonate under the weight of the General's boot. Shortly after producing this work, Craveirinha would find himself on the other side of these battle lines.



Figure 37 Jesús Forjans *Week of Solidarity with Africa* 1969 Offset lithography poster  
 OSPAAAL, Cuba. Source: ospaaal.com



Figure 38 João Craveirinha, Cover for Mozambique Revolution 40, 1969



Figure 39 João Craveirinha *Mueda* 1960 Illustration in *Mozambique Revolution* 43 1970 p12



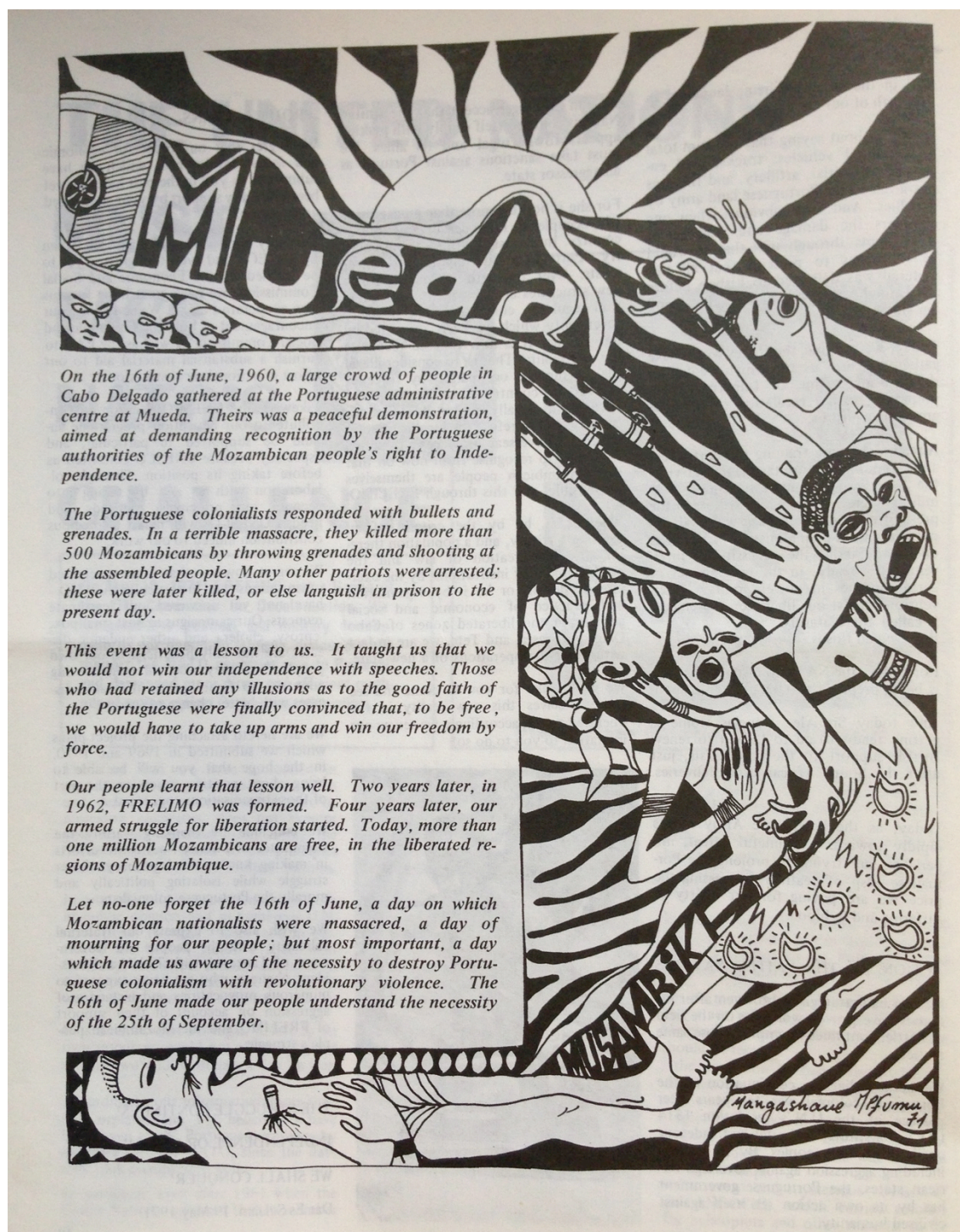


Figure 40 João Craveirinha (Mangashane Mpfumo) *Mueda* 1971. Illustration in *Mozambique Revolution* 47, 1971



Figure 41 João Craveirinha *Operation Gordian Knot* Reproduced on back cover of *Mozambique Revolution* 46 Jan-Apr 1971

From 1969, João Craveirinha's role also included working as a curator in the FRELIMO warehouse in the suburbs of Dar es Salaam, where Makonde blackwood sculpture was stored. These works, which were gathered from carving collectives in Dar es Salaam and the liberated zones, were sold on by FRELIMO to raise funds for the struggle. He describes this job as pivotal in the turn to 'Makonde style' in his work.

The market for Makonde sculpture in Dar es Salaam had been fostered by the Ismaili Zanzibari dealer Mohamed Peera, who had begun selling carvings to an American collector in the 1950s.<sup>279</sup> Zachary Kingdon has shown how Peera played a formative role in the growth of the market into the 1960s, operating a studio in the Chang'ombe district of Dar es Salaam from which over twenty carvers worked. João Craveirinha recalled to me that, unknown to FRELIMO colleagues, he would visit Peera's shop in his free-time, and sell him 'A4 drawings done with china ink'. Peera exhibited Craveirinha's drawings at an art fair in Frankfurt, where he recalls he was presented as a Makonde artist:

*I said 'OK, well sort of!' [laughs] He needed a market. The Germans and the Japanese and the Americans liked the work and said 'who is this guy, where is he living?' And he said 'oh he's a Makonde artist'... <sup>280</sup>*

Early in 1972, a German delegation visited the FRELIMO offices, accompanied by Peera. Jorge Rebelo showed them around, and as they were leaving, offered them one of Craveirinha's drawings as a gift. 'There's no need', they replied, 'we can buy them from the artist directly, at Peera's Gallery'.<sup>281</sup> After they'd left, Jorge Rebelo called an emergency meeting in which Craveirinha was charged with the following:

*fomenting discord in information; not obeying party rules of political comportment; lacking respect for 'Comrade President'; selling his drawings without authorisation and using the name of the revolution to accumulate funds. <sup>282</sup>*

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<sup>279</sup> Kingdon, *A Host of Devils*, 77.

<sup>280</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Direcção-Geral de Segurança, "Apresentação."

Relations with Rebelo broke down, and on May 6<sup>th</sup>, João Craveirinha was told he would be sent back to Nachingwea. Early that morning, he slipped out of the FRELIMO offices and boarded a bus to Kenya, travelling from there back to Lourenço Marques, where he was detained by PIDE.<sup>283</sup>

### **Cultural Policy 1970-77**

Whilst in 1969, Mondlane had supported João Craveirinha's work, by 1972, FRELIMO leaders had outlined radically new parameters for the role of the artist, which jarred with Craveirinha's practice. In what follows, I trace how shifts in FRELIMO's position on culture between 1968 and 1972 triggered the conflict between Jorge Rebelo and João Craveirinha. These shifts were indicative of a move towards ideals of universalism within the broader programme of outlining the character of the new nation, and its enemies. Articulated in the syntax of Marxism-Leninism, these ideals were to be achieved through a radical re-invention of the citizen, at a psychic level, in the figure of the *homem novo*, or new man. This second phase of cultural policy, which I argue spans from 1970 until 1977, was articulated in strongly nationalist terms, yet drew on a broad internationalist network of material and ideological relations. I trace some of these connections, which included Cuba's Tricontinental movement, the events of May 1968, and primarily, the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

By the late 1960s, internal tensions had polarised FRELIMO. In addition to the student clashes described above, the Front was divided on ideological lines between African nationalists (including Lazaro Nkavandame and Uria Simango), and younger, more hardline Marxists (including Samora Machel, Jorge Rebelo and Marcelino dos Santos). Where necessary, FRELIMO had formed strategic alliances with the *curandeiros* (healers) and *régulos* (local hereditary chiefs) in the liberated zones, but the Marxist faction within the Front was fundamentally opposed to their authority.<sup>284</sup> In January 1969, Nkavandame, a Makonde headman who was the Central Committee member in charge of the Cabo Delgado liberated zone, was

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<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> William Finnegan, *A Complicated War: The Harrowing of Mozambique* (University of California Press, 1992), 117.

purged from the party and defected to the Portuguese, following accusations of profiteering from the cooperatives he administered.<sup>285</sup> The Tanzanian police implicated him (as a PIDE agent) in Mondlane's assassination, by letter bomb, one month later.<sup>286</sup> Simango, Machel and dos Santos took power as a triumvirate until February 1970, when Simango was expelled. In May 1970, the Central Committee confirmed Machel as President, and dos Santos Vice President.

At FRELIMO's Second Party Congress in July 1968, the Front had defined its aim to: 'destroy Portuguese colonialism in all its forms, political, economic, social and cultural.'<sup>287</sup> Two years later, at the second conference of the Department of Education and Culture in September 1970, Samora Machel expanded the aims of the struggle to include a self-critique of Mozambican society. In this new configuration, FRELIMO waged war not only against an external enemy, but also against what he would later call 'the enemy within'.<sup>288</sup> His speech, titled 'educate man in order to win the war, create new society and develop the country',<sup>289</sup> defined three possible modes of education in Mozambique. The first, he argued, was 'traditional' education, in which 'superstition takes the place of science', and 'all progress is prevented'.<sup>290</sup> The second was colonial education, described as an apparatus of capitalism which promotes 'individualism', 'prevents the exploited from uniting with their comrades to overcome oppression', and seeks to 'depersonalise the Mozambican... to become a black-skinned Portuguese, a docile tool of colonialism whose highest ambition is to live like the settler in whose image

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<sup>285</sup> Funada-Classen Sayaka, *The Origins of War in Mozambique: A History of Unity and Division* (African Minds, 2012), 251; and Margaret Hall and Tom Young, *Confronting Leviathan: Mozambique Since Independence* (C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1997), 17.

<sup>286</sup> Edward A. Alpers, "Ethnicity, Politics, and History in Mozambique," *Africa Today* 21, no. 4 (1974): 49.

<sup>287</sup> FRELIMO "Programma do II Congresso" 1968.

<sup>288</sup> Samora Machel, *The Enemy within*, Building a Nation (Maputo: Department of Information and Propaganda, 1982).

<sup>289</sup> Samora Machel, *Educar o homem para vencer a guerra, criar uma sociedade nova e desenvolver a pátria: Mensagem à 2.a Conferência do DEC* (Edição do Departamento do Trabalho Ideológico FRELIMO, 1978), 3. My translation.

<sup>290</sup> President Samora Machel, "'Educate Man to Win the War, Create a New Society and Develop Our Country' Speech at the Second Conference of the Department of Education and Culture, September 1970," in *Mozambique: Sowing the Seeds of Revolution* (London: Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné, Russell Press Ltd, 1974), 38.

he is created'.<sup>291</sup> The third, ideal system of education, he argued was 'revolutionary education and the creation of the New Man'.<sup>292</sup>



**Figure 42 Militants' orientation session, FRELIMO school, Tanzania, 1974. From left: Matias Mboa, Marcelino dos Santos (speaking), Rui Nogar, Jacinto Veloso, Josefate Machel (?), José Craveirinha, Oscar Monteiro and Malangatana.**

The concept of the New Man has a broad genealogy within the context of international socialism and decolonisation. The New Soviet Man was embedded in Soviet discourse from the 1920s, outlined by Trotsky as 'higher social biologic type, or, if you please, a superman'.<sup>293</sup> The idea was also central to the thought of Mao Zedong, for whom a process of 'ideological remoulding' would produce 'new men with new minds, new ideas, new emotions, and new attitudes'.<sup>295</sup> Frantz

<sup>291</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>293</sup> Leon Trotsky, "Revolutionary and Socialist Art," in *Literature and Revolution*, trans. Rose Strunsky (New York: Russell and Russell, 1924).

<sup>295</sup> Theodore Hsi-en Chen, "The New Socialist Man," *Comparative Education Review* 13, no. 1 (February 1, 1969): 88–95.

Fanon proposed in *The Wretched of the Earth* that ‘decolonisation is the veritable creation of new men’,<sup>297</sup> ending the book with a call for the Third World to ‘turn over a new leaf... work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man’.<sup>298</sup> In proposing the transformative effects of grass-roots education and literacy campaigns, Brazilian educator Paulo Freire defined the new man as ‘neither oppressor nor oppressed, but man in the process of liberation’.<sup>300</sup> Che Guevara also used the term frequently in his writings, arguing in 1965 that ‘to build communism it is necessary, simultaneous with the new material foundations, to build the new man and woman’.<sup>301</sup> In his address to the 1966 Tricontinental Conference in Havana, Amílcar Cabral referenced Che’s use of the term, proposing that the Cuban project of the ‘New Man, fully conscious of his national, continental and international rights and duties... constitutes a particular lesson for the national liberation movements, especially for those who want their national revolution to be a true revolution’.<sup>302</sup> Significantly, the term threads through the globally networked discourse in which FRELIMO increasingly participated from 1970, and was later consolidated as a central tenet of the Party’s post-independence directives by Sérgio Vieira.<sup>303</sup>

In his 1970 speech, Machel deploys the term in pursuit of the party’s watchword, ‘unity’, through the apparatus of education. ‘The struggle to create new structures would fail’, he argued

*without the creation of a new mentality. Creating an attitude of solidarity between people to enable them to carry out collective work, presupposes the*

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<sup>297</sup> Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 63.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>300</sup> Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Penguin, 1996), 38.

<sup>301</sup> Che Guevara, “Socialism and Man in Cuba (1965),” in *The Che Reader* (Ocean Press, 2005).

<sup>302</sup> Amílcar Cabral, “The Weapon of Theory. Address Delivered to the First Tricontinental Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America Held in Havana in January, 1966,” 1966. <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/cabral/1966/weapon-theory.htm>.

<sup>303</sup> In a 1977 speech for a Ministry of Education and Culture conference, Sérgio Vieira outlined his vision for the New Man. The success of the Revolution, would hinge, he argued, on the emergence of the New Man. Defined in terms of his opposition, he was not “colonised man”, not “bourgeois man”, not “feudal man”, but rather emerged from the forge of the luta, as the product of an “ideological struggle”. An important aspect of the New Man, he argued, was the development and diffusion of a “New Culture” (“I speak of culture, not of folklore”). S. Vieira, “O homem novo é um processo,” *Tempo* 398 (1978): 38; See also S.A. Zawangoni, *A Frelimo e a formação do Homem Novo (1964-1974 e 1975-1982)* (Maputo: Livraria Universitaria, 2007).

*elimination of individualism... In short, the teacher, the education cadre, united with the masses, must wage an internal struggle, must disinfect himself, getting rid of the old and wholly internalising the new.*<sup>304</sup>

In parallel with both Soviet and Chinese suppression of ethnic and regional differences, Machel argued that unity and the 'elimination of individualism' could only be achieved on supra-ethnic terms: 'We have to acquire a scientific attitude, open and free from the dead weight of superstition and dogmatic traditions'.<sup>305</sup>



**Figure 43 Frelimo *Xiconhoca* ('Long live racism, long live regionalism, long live tribalism' / 'The Enemy') 1979**

Under this new formulation, which FRELIMO would develop over the next decade, the fight was directed not only at colonialism, racism and imperialism in their broadest geographies, but also at 'subjectivism, individualism, tribalism, arrogance, superstition [and] ignorance' within the country<sup>306</sup> (these characteristics would later be consolidated in the cartoon figure *Xiconhoca*, (Figure

<sup>304</sup> Machel, "Educate Man to Win the War, Create a New Society and Develop Our Country' Speech at the Second Conference of the Department of Education and Culture, September 1970," 40.

<sup>305</sup> Machel, *Educar o homem para vencer a guerra, criar uma sociedade nova e desenvolver a pátria*, 3 My translation.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.



43) which first appeared in *Tempo* in 1976, and later featured in posters, murals and other publications).<sup>307</sup> ‘To unite Mozambicans’, argued Machel, ‘transcending traditions and different languages, requires that the tribe must die in our consciousness so that the nation may be born’.<sup>308</sup> The party would go on to launch a full-scale attack on local healers and belief systems, which were targeted as ‘obscurantist’, anti-progressive and divisive. Metaphysical beliefs and practices were denounced as ‘false consciousness’ and *régulos* were systematically supplanted by party representatives in a struggle for control over the population of the northern liberated zones.<sup>309</sup>

Machel’s disavowal of ‘the tribe’ raised a dilemma for the formulation of cultural policy. International socialism provided a location for Mozambique’s New Man within the global order, but this universalism left little recourse for FRELIMO’s critical imperative to fashion a distinctive national identity. This ambiguity would continue to antagonise FRELIMO’s relationship to the past, generating a tension which João Craveirinha and other visual artists would grapple with over the coming years, and which would play out across the surface of the mural. Mozambique’s diverse history provided a tangible resource for the construction of the new nation’s image, hence the need to ‘identify with the heroic traditions of our whole country: the fight of the Maguigane, the resistance of Barué, the splendour of Sofala and the magnificence of Monomotapa’.<sup>310</sup> However, a deft rhetorical manoeuvre was needed to synthesise these disparate traditions and histories into a consolidated image of national heritage, on Marxist-Leninist terms. This task was further complicated by the arbitrary nature of the territory, the

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<sup>307</sup> The name combines “Xico”, from “Xico-Feio” (a PIDE agent), and “nhoca”, the term for “snake” in several Mozambican languages. The cartoon is anonymous, but was probably drawn by Agostinho Milhafre. See Maria Paula Meneses, “Xiconhoca, o inimigo: Narrativas de violência sobre a construção da nação em Moçambique,” *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 106 (May 1, 2015): 09–52; and Lars Buur, “Xiconhoca: Mozambique’s Ubiquitous Post-Independence Traitor,” in *Traitors: Suspicion, Intimacy, and the Ethics of State-building*, ed. Sharika Thiranagama and Tobias Kelly (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

<sup>308</sup> Machel, “‘Educate Man to Win the War, Create a New Society and Develop Our Country’ Speech at the Second Conference of the Department of Education and Culture, September 1970,” 39.

<sup>309</sup> See West, “Sorcery of Construction and Socialist Modernization: Ways of Understanding Power in Postcolonial Mozambique.”

<sup>310</sup> Machel, “‘Educate Man to Win the War, Create a New Society and Develop Our Country’ Speech at the Second Conference of the Department of Education and Culture, September 1970,” 41.

boundaries of which had only been defined in 1891, by the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, and which bisected communities such as the Makonde, split between Tanzania and northern Mozambique. Machel's solution was to propose a culture which nominally assimilated elements of the past, but radically transformed them into a new, unified, national identity. 'Mozambique's cultural wealth does not belong to any one region', he argued:

*Let art seek to combine old form with new content, then giving rise to new form. Let painting, written literature, theatre and artistic handicrafts be added to the traditionally cultivated dance, sculpture and singing. Let the creativity of some become that of all, men and women, young and old, from the North to the South, so that the new revolutionary and Mozambican culture may be born of all.<sup>311</sup>*

The implications of FRELIMO's new policies for the visual arts were further developed by Armando Guebuza and Sérgio Vieira at a UNESCO-run seminar in Dar es Salaam, 'The Influence of Colonialism on the Artist, his Milieu and his Public in Developing Countries', held from 6-10 July 1971.<sup>312</sup> Outlining their vision for a 'new culture', they defined four parameters for the visual arts which would be foundational to cultural policy over the next decade, and against which João Craveirinha would soon come into conflict. The first, following Machel's invocation to 'kill the tribe', was the production of a national culture which superseded ethnicity in its media and distribution:

*we are building a new culture, a national culture which is negating and transcending both the tribal micro-cultures and the colonial anti-culture, a culture which is assuming the geographical and historical dimensions of the whole people, a culture which is making the masses in a given region assume the values of another region as their own.<sup>313</sup>*

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<sup>311</sup> Machel, *Mozambique: Sowing the Seeds of Revolution* London: Committee for Freedom, 41.

<sup>312</sup> In its 92nd session, the UNESCO Executive board adopted the decision to associate with representatives of the African liberation movements recognised by the Organisation of Africa Unity. This association tasked the Director General with tasks including "consultations with them on the preparation of the programme to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racialism" and "inviting persons belonging to these movements to participate in meetings, symposia and seminars". UNESCO would go on to play a long-running role in FRELIMO's cultural policy, through a series of grants, consultations, events, and publications. UNESCO, "Executive Board: Ninety-Fourth Session," April 30, 1974, 94 EX/29.

<sup>313</sup> Armando Guebuza and Sérgio Vieira, "The Growth of a New Culture," *Mozambique Revolution*, no. 49 (1971): 11.

They refer here to a FRELIMO initiative which compelled troops in the liberated zones to perform and teach each other dances and songs from different parts of the country, and the dispatch of Makonde carvers to teach at Tunduru school. By dislocating traditions from their original context, it was hoped that they could be repurposed in pursuit of national unity, such that:

*the Gaza dances are known and danced in Cabo Delgado, the people in Niassa are getting to know and further developing the musical rhythms from Manica, Sofala and Tete, Makonde carving is ceasing to be exotic and foreign and becoming national [and] Monomotapa's historic resistance has been assumed by all...*<sup>314</sup>

This issue resurfaced at FRELIMO's first Cultural Seminar, which Guebuza organised six months later in Tunduru, Tanzania 'to establish rules of orientation in cultural activities'.<sup>315</sup> Recommending that 'ways must be found for the Mozambican dances to retain their local tone but remain integrated within the context of the Mozambican nation',<sup>316</sup> the final resolutions concluded 'it is a significant task of the Mozambican Revolution to inspire the development of a Mozambican culture, making it national, popular and revolutionary'.<sup>317</sup> This factor helps to explain the absence and erasure of visual markers of ethnicity in official arts over the following decade, and João Craveirinha found his work was frequently edited to remove elements such as body adornments, *curandeiros'* implements, and local authority figures. Bortolot observed a similar erasure of ethnic markers such as lip plugs, facial tattoos from Makonde sculptures in the mid 1970s.<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Ibid. Cross-regional dance performances continued to be encouraged after independence, as part of the drive to manifest a unified national consciousness. Such performances include Mozambique's presentation at FESTAC 1977 in Nigeria and annual "Dance Festivals" which still take place throughout the country today.

<sup>315</sup> FRELIMO, "What Is Mozambican Culture? Frelimo's First Cultural Seminar," *Mozambique Revolution*, no. 50 (March 1972): 15.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid.

<sup>317</sup> "Brochura do 1o Seminário cultural organizada pela FRELIMO, através do DEC, Tunduru Dez 1971 a Jan 1972". cf. Siliya, *Ensaio sobre a Cultura em Moçambique*, 22; See also 25 de Setembro No. 72, 30 January 1972 p14; Basto, "Writing a Nation or Writing a Culture?"; and Barbara Barnes, "Creating a National Culture: An Overview," *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 8, no. 1 (1978): 36.

<sup>318</sup> Bortolot, "Artesãos Da Nossa Patria: Makonde Blackwood Sculptors, Cooperatives, and the Art of Socialist Revolution in Postcolonial Mozambique," 264.

The second imperative outlined by Vieira and Guebuza was that artists should disavow themselves of bourgeois art institutions, by relocating their work into new social and economic structures:

*as artists our place is not in libraries and museums', they argued, 'our role is not to be in the middle of the public square on monuments; we should be there only when the people have created freedom there... We are not working for a gadget culture, a luxury culture; our art, our culture, emerges from our involvement in day-to-day life.'*<sup>319</sup>

This imperative concerned the location in which art was consumed, but also the status of the art-object within the new, partially centralised economy. In the absence of a fully communist, state-controlled economy, objects such as Makonde sculptures continued to circulate as commodities within Tanzania's market, and FRELIMO, in the role of a proto-state, assumed control of this trade in order to generate profit for the struggle. In 1970, the Tanzanian government had taken further steps in this direction by forming the National Arts of Tanzania (NAT, an offshoot of the National Development Corporation), and nationalising the art market. Galleries and art-dealerships, including Peera's business, were reassigned to the state, and Peera was appointed first manager of NAT.<sup>320</sup> João Craveirinha had therefore contravened the imperatives of both TANU and FRELIMO, in bypassing state structures to sell work via Peera. As Boris Groys has argued, in the Soviet Union, participation in the art market had similarly been seen as symptomatic of the misdirected individualism of Modern Art, such that:

*What the absolute freedom of the artist meant to the modernist was absolute control over the context of the artist's work. But from the point of view of Soviet culture, the modernist artist merely served the market, unlike the Soviet artist, who participated in the collective project of reconstructing the world.*<sup>322</sup>

The third imperative outlined by Vieira and Guebuza concerned the role of the artist. The conception of the visual artist as a uniquely individual agent, self-

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<sup>319</sup> Guebuza and Vieira, "The Growth of a New Culture."

<sup>320</sup> Sidney Littlefield Kasfir, "Patronage and Maconde Carvers," *African Arts* 13, no. 3 (1980): 68.

<sup>322</sup> Boris Groys, "A Style and a Half: Socialist Realism between Modernism and Postmodernism," in *Socialist Realism Without Shores*, ed. Thomas Lahusen and Evgenii Aleksandrovich Dobrenko (Duke University Press, 1997), 80.

motivated and autonomous from political context, was the antithesis of FRELIMO's vision for the New Man. Assimilating the visual artist into the new social order and collective consciousness therefore demanded the dissolution of individual authorship. Within the new, revolutionary society, they argued:

*Our theatre, our music, our songs, our sculpture, our painting, our literature, are all forged with the active participation of the masses, without the distortion created by the contradiction between the public as object and the creator as subject.*<sup>323</sup>

The success of the artist, they argued, would depend on integration with 'revolutionary values' which were 'universal at the same time as being national', and which would bind the nation's artists into global relations 'because it is a part of the struggle of all of mankind for social and cultural liberation'.<sup>324</sup> Primarily though, the path to this sublimation was through allegiance to the party:

*This possibility of solving the contradiction between an object public and a creative public starts with the artist joining the political formation which is leading the people to transform society, or at least with the artist seeing his activity as a task and this task being bound up with the revolutionary process of transformation.*<sup>325</sup>

Seeking to enforce these imperatives without submitting to more authoritarian models of cultural discipline, they added an ambiguous caveat to anchor the artists' authenticity in autonomous ideological commitment:

*This does not mean that the Party directs the artist administratively. Quite the contrary, the Party provides the basic ideological definition without which the artist would isolate himself in aesthetics, removed from the peoples' problems and their concrete struggle. The authenticity of the artist is then to be found in the coherence between his creative work and his life, his integration with the masses'.*<sup>326</sup>

A visible strategy for this 'integration with the masses' was a directive which barred artists and authors from signing their work. Visual material produced

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<sup>323</sup> Guebuza and Vieira, "The Growth of a New Culture," 11.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

within FRELIMO between 1970 and 1982 is almost exclusively unattributed; João Craveirinha's design for the cover of *Poesia de Combate* is signed 'FRELIMO', for example, as were many of the poems inside.

As Drew Thompson has observed, FRELIMO also prevented the attribution of authorship in the photographs which they processed and published. Oscar Monteiro explained to him that this was a function of the Front's desire for equality and collective production:

*We [were] living in an organization where everyone [was] more or less equal. Then you see a picture which [has] been made possible by many people. Then you put [the name] Daniel Maquinasse. Then there was the feeling [of] putting Daniel Maquinasse a bit up.*<sup>328</sup>

Jorge Rebelo elaborated this point, arguing for the primacy of the Party in processes of image production:

*Saying I, Rebelo, did this would weaken the liberation movement. A photograph, okay it was taken by a photographer but how did he manage to produce this? It was thanks to the liberation struggle, because if there was no struggle he would not be able to.*<sup>330</sup>

In her 1970 discussion of Cuban OSPAAAL posters, Susan Sontag explores the uncomfortable place of artistic individualism within collective political projects. 'The place of the artist in a revolutionary society', she argues, 'is always problematic'.

*The modern view of the artist is rooted in the ideology of bourgeois capitalist society, with its highly elaborated notion of personal individuality and its presumption of a fundamental, ultimate antagonism between the individual and society ... Thus, it has seemed self-evident to the leadership of every modern revolutionary government, or movement, that in a radically reconstructed social order the definition of the artist would have to change.*<sup>332</sup>

By this logic, the tension Sontag outlines between the society and the individual can only be resolved through submission to collective identity as defined by the

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<sup>328</sup> Oscar Monteiro, 2008, cf. Thompson, "Visualising FRELIMO's Liberated Zones in Mozambique, 1962–1974," 46–47.

<sup>330</sup> Jorge Rebelo, 2008, cf. Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> Susan Sontag and Dugald Stermer, "Introduction," in *The Art of Revolution: 96 Posters from Cuba* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1970), xv.

Party, as Vieira and Guebuza suggest. This policy met with some intransigence from several visual artists in Mozambique, including João Craveirinha, who continued to sign many of his drawings with pseudonyms including ‘Mpfumo Craveirinha’ (from 1964), ‘Mangashane Mpfumo’ (from 1970), and ‘Kraveirinya’ (from 1972).

The fourth imperative outlined by Vieira and Guebuza in their 1970 speech took this call further, by proposing that not only the artist, but the concept of art itself, should be reinvented for a revolutionary context:

*Our art grows with the maize we are cultivating in the cooperatives, with the adults and children to whom we are teaching literacy, with the enemy bases we are destroying. Because our art is revolutionary, it both dies and is born in praxis.*<sup>333</sup>

This reconfiguration of the bounds of art parallels Amílcar Cabral’s much-cited claim that ‘national liberation is necessarily an act of culture’.<sup>334</sup> Speaking at a memorial lecture for Eduardo Mondlane at Syracuse University, New York, Cabral had performed a crucial inversion of Mondlane’s earlier call for culture to be a weapon of liberation. For Mondlane, existing cultural resources could be deployed as the syntax with which the struggle was articulated. For Cabral, the revolutionary moment demanded a complete reinvention of culture itself, a new mode of being, forged from the experience of the struggle.

A similar argument was developed by Mário Pinto de Andrade at the Cultural Congress in Havana,<sup>335</sup> which he attended in January 1968, along with Marcelino dos Santos.<sup>336</sup> In his address, Mário Pinto de Andrade framed the anti-colonial

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<sup>333</sup> Guebuza and Vieira, “The Growth of a New Culture,” 11.

<sup>334</sup> Amílcar Cabral, “‘National Liberation and Culture’ Address for Eduardo Mondlane Memorial Lecture Series at Syracuse University, New York,” February 20, 1970.

<sup>335</sup> Bringing together at least 440 delegates from 66 countries, the congress featured over 150 papers on the theme of “Colonialism and Neo-colonialism in the Cultural Development of Peoples”. See Rebecca Gordon-Nesbitt and Jorge Fornet, *To Defend the Revolution Is to Defend Culture: The Cultural Policy of the Cuban Revolution* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2015), 221–74.

<sup>336</sup> “Lista Dos Delegados Dos Diferentes Países Que Participaram No Congresso Cultural de Havana,” October 1968, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, Instituição: Fundação Mário Soares.

revolution as ‘a poetic act par excellence’.<sup>337</sup> Citing an excerpt from Jorge Rebelo’s *Poem of a Militant*,<sup>338</sup> he argued, the ‘chants of the old negritude are stifled by the crackling of these miraculous weapons... the armed struggle has aesthetic demands’.<sup>339</sup> In its position on popular culture and the New Man, the General Resolution of the Congress prefigured the line FRELIMO would adopt two years later. Mass media, it argued, ‘must inform, educate, guide and unify the entire people...[and] help the great masses to understand the world that surrounds them and to create a revolutionary culture’.<sup>340</sup> In its third phase of cultural policy, Frelimo would go on to draw from Cuba’s particular brand of internationalism, in particular by giving popular culture primacy as, in Basto’s terms, ‘the central motor of the revolution’.<sup>341</sup>

In addition to this Cuban strand of discourse, Vieira and Guebuza’s cultural policy also owed a profound, although largely unacknowledged, debt to Maoist thought, particularly in its emphasis on forging a new, revolutionary culture which spurned the dead weight of tradition. The Cultural Revolution in China had focused on the destruction of the ‘four olds’: old customs, cultures, habits and ideas,<sup>343</sup> and Mao Zedong had told the visiting French writer André Malraux in 1965 ‘the thought, culture, and customs which brought China to where we found her must disappear, and the thought, customs and culture of proletarian China, which does not yet exist, must appear’.<sup>345</sup> The violence and iconoclasm of the Cultural Revolution was never replicated in Mozambique, but in discursive terms, FRELIMO’s line often had a Maoist inflection, for example in Vieira’s assertion that ‘the demarcation line between the old and the new has been clearly drawn... [the party] is fighting to introduce new values and rejecting those of colonial capitalism and feudal

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<sup>337</sup> Mario Pinto de Andrade, “Sur Le Congrès Culturel de La Havane,” *El Moudjahid*, April 10, 1968, Arquivo Mario Pinto de Andrade, Fundação Mário Soares.

<sup>338</sup> ‘Your gun will break all the chains, Open all the prisons, Kill all the tyrants, Restore the land to our people, Mother it is beautiful to fight for liberty, There is a message of justice in every bullet I fire.’ Jorge Rebelo cf. *Ibid.* My translation.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>340</sup> “Proceedings of the Cultural Congress of Havana,” *Granma*, January 21, 1968.

<sup>341</sup> Basto, “Writing a Nation or Writing a Culture?,” 103.

<sup>343</sup> Richard Curt Kraus, *The Cultural Revolution*, Original edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 44.

<sup>345</sup> Mao Zedong 1965, cf *ibid.*, 13.



tradition'.<sup>346</sup>

Following the 1955 Bandung conference, China had become keen to develop ties in Africa, largely in competition with both the US, and the USSR after the Sino-Soviet split. Zhou Enlai had visited ten African countries in 1963-4, promising economic, technical and military support to African countries and liberation movements, and returning in June 1965 visit Nyerere in Tanzania. The second issue of *Mozambique Revolution* also reported two FRELIMO state visits to China in 1963, the first by Marcelino dos Santos, the second by Eduardo Mondlane, following a trip to West Germany. Both representatives met with Chairman Mao Zedong and discussed 'the situation in our country, our difficulties and our needs in the revolutionary struggle'.<sup>347</sup> On his return, Mondlane wrote that the visit had convinced him 'that the historical struggle of the Chinese people had relevance to the present struggle of the people of Africa'.<sup>348</sup> Despite FRELIMO's continuing relations with the USSR, Mao responded with an offer of military aid, which was administered through the African Liberation Committee of the OAU (to ease the concerns of FRELIMO's other allies). Shortly afterwards, FRELIMO adopted Mao's strategy of 'guerilla warfare', drawing also on the notion of 'People's War' proposed by Vietnamese General Vo Nguyen Giap.<sup>349</sup> Chinese support for this endeavor included scholarships at the Nanjing Military Academy, and the dispatch of personnel, such as the Chinese military instructors stationed at Nachingwea, who trained João Craveirinha in guerilla techniques of reconnaissance.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>346</sup> Guebuza and Vieira, "The Growth of a New Culture."

<sup>347</sup> "Mozambican Leaders Visiting China," *Mozambique Revolution*, January 1964, 9, Archive of the Bishopsgate Institute, London.

<sup>348</sup> cf Thomas H. Henriksen, "Marxism and Mozambique," *African Affairs* 77, no. 309 (October 1978): 443.

<sup>349</sup> Vo Nguyen Giap, *People's War People's Army: The Viet Cong Insurrection Manual for Underdeveloped Countries* (Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961). The guerilla approach was preferred over other models such as insurrection in the capital, which had failed in Luanda in 1958 and in Guinea Bissau in 1959.

<sup>350</sup> Ian Taylor cites an estimate that 50 FRELIMO cadres received military training in China, and 300 in the Soviet Union, and that China's military support for the Front totaled US\$1 million, as opposed to US\$15 million worth of munitions donated by the USSR. Ian Taylor, *China and Africa: Engagement and Compromise* (Routledge, 2007), 94-95.

With some adaptations, the 1945-8 campaigns of the China's People's Liberation Army in Manchuria provided a template for strategy in the liberated zones, and Craveirinha recalls that his instructor was a 'war hero' who had participated in this conflict. 'They showed us a lot of films, documentaries shot on location, of the Chinese intervention in Korea, the war against the Japanese', and 'they would try to indoctrinate us against the Soviet Union'.<sup>351</sup>



**Figure 44 Chinese delegation with Samora Machel and other FRELIMO representatives in recently liberated post Muidame, 1972. *A Voz da Revolução* 7 Jan-Feb 1972 p4**

At a policy level, Maoism provided a resource for applying a Marxist teleology in a Mozambican context. As former Frelimo Minister Sérgio Vieira later wrote, 'there were those among us, although rare, who had studied the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao and found in them theoretical answers to the situations being experienced by our people'.<sup>353</sup> Machel had visited China in 1968, at the height of

<sup>351</sup> Craveirinha, Telephone interview with author; In his autobiography, Sérgio Vieira recalls that the Chinese instructors at Nachingwea "refused to train us with Soviet weapons, insisting on using Chinese copies which were rarely as good as the originals. They alleged that we could not trust them, and that they might be booby-traps!" He describes the Chinese contingent as "modest, diligent, extremely competent", recalling that they celebrated Chinese festivals together "with a beer and the rice spirit Mo Tay". Sérgio Vieira, *Participei, Por Isso Testemunho* (Maputo: Ndjira, 2010), 616.

<sup>353</sup> Vieira, *Participei, Por Isso Testemunho*, 575.

the Cultural Revolution and in 1974 had argued for the particular relevance of Mao in the Mozambican context: 'Mao developed Marxism-Leninism in a creative way and that is the fundamental thing: how to apply Marxism given specific conditions? That is the only way to avoid making Marxism into a dogma'.<sup>354</sup> The industrialised working class in Mozambique, at the time of independence, was a tiny minority compared to the peasantry (whilst there were 115,000 workers in the South African mines at independence, most wage labour within the country had been carried out by the Portuguese – there was only one Mozambican train driver in 1975, for example).<sup>355</sup> This configuration left little hope for socialist revolution in an orthodox Marxist sense, at least for a few generations. In contrast to Soviet thought, Maoism provided a solution to this dilemma, by framing the peasantry as historically oppressed masses who could be mobilised for revolution. As Michael Mahoney and others have argued, Marxism-Leninism (both Soviet and Maoist) also provided a radical model for modernisation that visibly departed from colonial alliances, as well as a practical plan for consolidating centralised authority as a revolutionary party.<sup>356</sup>

Subsequent analysts have argued that FRELIMO's move towards this strand of Marxism-Leninism was also a pragmatic choice. Michael Panzer, for example, suggests that the policy was necessitated by the contingencies of securing international aid.<sup>357</sup> The shift occurred at a time when the superpowers were vying to align themselves with the 'Third World' liberation movements, by sending personnel, supplies, military equipment and funds. Speaking to Tor Selltröm in 1996, Jorge Rebelo affirmed the latter aspect of this more pragmatic side to FRELIMO's policy decisions:

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<sup>354</sup> Samora Machel 1974, cf João Titterington Gomes Cravinho, "Modernising Mozambique: Frelimo Ideology and Frelimo State" (University of Oxford, 1995), 131.

<sup>355</sup> Christie, *Machel of Mozambique*, 134.

<sup>356</sup> Mahoney, "Estado Novo, Homem Novo (New State, New Man): Colonial and Anticolonial Development Ideologies in Mozambique, 1930–1977."

<sup>357</sup> Michael Panzer, "Pragmatism and Liberation: FRELIMO and the Legitimacy of an African Independence Movement," *Portuguese Journal of Social Science* 14, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 323–42, doi:10.1386/pjss.14.3.323\_1.

*We wanted as much support as possible, wherever it came from... we knew that it was not because the Soviet Union liked Mondlane or the Mozambicans that they were giving us support. Nor China. They had their geo-strategic interests. There were certain moments—in fact many moments—when their support was given under very strict conditions. The basic condition was to support their policies and condemn—now that expression no longer exists—imperialism... we could not say as much as I am telling now. We depended absolutely on their support for the war effort.<sup>358</sup>*

Nevertheless, FRELIMO rigidly defended their autonomy from foreign policy influence, and Samora Machel insisted that Frelimo's socialism was an indigenous, emancipatory philosophy which originated in the experience of colonialism, telling Ian Christie:

*Marxism-Leninism did not appear in our country as an imported product. Mark this well, we want to combat this idea... Our party is not a study group of scientists specialising in reading and interpretation of Marx, Engels and Lenin.<sup>359</sup>*

João Craveirinha recalled to me how Chinese attempts to promote Maoism were met with some resistance in the liberation camps:

*We had theoretical classes in between where they stay and where we stay. We had to sing some words in praise of Mao Zedong. Even now I can sing it: 'Dōngfāng hóng, tàiyáng shēng, Zhōngguó chū liǎo ge Máo Zédōng'<sup>361</sup> They used to give us those red books of Mao Zedong about the Cultural Revolution, translated into Portuguese. Some people used them as toilet paper, and one day some pages were found in the rubbish. The Chinese instructor and the delegation of Chinese wanted to talk with Samora about this, they said it was disrespectful. Samora Machel called a meeting to announce: 'we are not going to accept any gifts of books from Mao Zedong whatsoever. We told our Chinese comrades not to give these books. The majority of our guerrillas don't even know Portuguese anyway'.<sup>363</sup>*

Between these poles of idealism and pragmatism, I argue the cultural implications of FRELIMO's policy shift can also be understood as an articulation of the multiple

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<sup>358</sup> Jorge Rebelo, Interviewed by Tor Sellström in Maputo, May 1, 1996, Nordic Documentation on the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa, <http://www.liberationafrica.se/intervstories/interviews/rebelo>.

<sup>359</sup> Samora Machel cf Christie, *Machel of Mozambique*, 128.

<sup>361</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon "The east is red, the sun is rising. From China comes Mao Zedong". *The East is Red* became China's de facto anthem during the 1960s Cultural Revolution.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid.

discursive and affective transnational networks converging on the Front during this time. FRELIMO's policies were formulated in Tanzania at a time when Nyerere was also developing close relations with China, an alliance which supported the funding of the Tazara railway link between Dar es Salaam and the Zambian Copperbelt, and which was reflected in Nyerere's a penchant for Mao-style suits. Priya Lal has documented other diffusions of Maoist cultural expression in Tanzania during this time, including film screenings organised by the Chinese embassy in Dar es Salaam, dance and theatre events (including a public production of *The East is Red* performed by Chinese cultural troupes, attended by TANU leaders) and the distribution of badges featuring Mao's portrait in secondary schools.<sup>364</sup>

The inflections of FRELIMO's policy on culture can also be traced through their connections with Western Europe. An early hub for anti-colonial networks had been the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* (CEI, House of the Students of the Empire) in Lisbon. Marcelino dos Santos (FRELIMO's Vice President from 1970) and Jorge Rebelo (later Director of the DIP) had both studied in Lisbon, and met with Amílcar Cabral, Mário Pinto de Andrade, Agostinho Neto and other nationalist leaders through the CEI.<sup>365</sup> Here, they had come into contact with various activist groups and alliances including the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP). Under pressure from PIDE, dos Santos and de Andrade relocated to Paris in 1950, where they became involved with Alioune Diop's literary journal *Présence Africaine*, and in 1957 helped to form the Anti-colonial Movement (MAC). By the time dos Santos left Paris in the early 1960s, the radical left in France were increasingly looking to Mao's China for inspiration, a commitment explored in Jean-Luc Godard's film *La Chinoise* and by Kristin Ross, who has argued that from the early 1960s, the French 'third-worldists' saw in the liberation struggles in Cuba, Africa and Vietnam, the possibility for the 'merging of the themes of anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism,

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<sup>364</sup> Priya Lal, "Maoism in Tanzania: Material Connections and Shared Imaginaries," in *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History*, ed. Alexander C. Cook, 2014, 107–10.

<sup>365</sup> For analysis of Lisbon as a centre of transnational networks during the period of decolonisation, specifically in relation to Mário de Andrade, see Manuela Ribeiro Sanches, "(Black) Cosmopolitanism, Transnational Consciousness and Dreams of Liberation," in *Red Africa: Affective Communities and the Cold War*, ed. Mark Nash (London, UK: Black Dog Publishing Ltd, 2016).

the theoretical justification was loosely provided by Maoism'.<sup>367</sup> These discourses, she notes, allowed 'the geography of a vast international and distant struggle—the 'North/South axis'—to become transposed onto the lived geography, the daily itineraries, of students and intellectuals in Paris in the early 1960s'.<sup>369</sup> In a sense then, Frelimo's Maoism was refracted, in part, through Paris.

Marcelino dos Santos travelled extensively during this time, not only in Western Europe, but to also to deliver addresses to conferences including the 'First Afro-Asian People's Writers' Conference' in Tashkent in 1958, the All-African Peoples Congress at Tunis in 1960, the foundation of the Organisation for African Unity in Addis Ababa in 1963, Havana in 1968 (as described above) and many other locations, including, Natalia Telepneva suggests, poetry readings in Moscow in the early 1960s.<sup>370</sup> As will be discussed later, dos Santos used these contacts to help negotiate aid for FRELIMO.<sup>371</sup> Dos Santos' participation in these networks opens the possibility for understanding FRELIMO's cultural policy not only as a pragmatic policy choice, or an indigenous philosophy, but also as a resonance of more complex transnational networks which superseded Cold War polarities. As Chapter Three explores, through these networks, a circulation of people, arms, education, print media, objects, images and capital generated a vast, shifting geography of ideas and affect, which bound FRELIMO's struggle into globally expansive relations.

### **Nachingwea 1975**

On 25th April 1974, Portugal's *Estado Novo* regime was ousted in a coup led by the left-leaning *Movimento das Forças Armadas* (MFA), headed by General António Spínola. The MFA included a number of ex-combatants who had fought against FRELIMO in Mozambique, the MPLA in Angola and PAIGC in Guinea Bissau. One of

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<sup>367</sup> Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago, IL, USA: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 80.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>370</sup> Natalia Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty: The Soviet Union, the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese Colonies, and the Cold War, 1961--1975" (London School of Economics, 2014), 52.

<sup>371</sup> Natalia Telepneva, "Mediators of Liberation: Eastern-Bloc Officials, Mozambican Diplomacy and the Origins of Soviet Support for Frelimo, 1958–1965," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43, no. 1 (February 2017): 67–81.

the first steps taken by the new regime was to order a ceasefire and begin negotiating with these groups a rapid timetable for decolonisation.

Three months later, after ‘conversations at a distance’, João Craveirinha presented himself at the FRELIMO headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam. Following an extended detention in a basement in the city, he was transferred to Nachingwea. Here, on 16 March 1975, he stood trial as one of a group of 240 Mozambicans accused of treason against FRELIMO during the liberation struggle. Also on trial was Lazaro Nkavandame and former FRELIMO vice-president Reverend Uria Simango who had initially succeeded Mondlane as president (from February to April 1969), and then formed part of the triumvirate with Machel and dos Santos, before defecting to become leader of the rival liberation movement COREMO, based in Cairo, in 1970. A recently declassified document from the US Department of State’s Bureau of African Affairs describes the trial as follows:

*The ceremony, according to eye-witness, was impressive if degrading spectacle lasting some seven hours... the six main offenders<sup>372</sup> were required to read aloud long and detailed confessions of their crimes, culminating in what Machel called his ‘Christmas Turkey’, Uria Simango... Craveirinha also roughly treated and forced to confess to drunkenness... After each confession the reader was told to ask crowd what punishment he deserved, with crowd generally loudly demanding hanging. However, all were pardoned, or at least reprieved.<sup>373</sup>*

Five of these six detainees subsequently disappeared, and are thought to have been secretly executed at some point between 1977 and 1983<sup>374</sup>, but João Craveirinha was sent from here to a re-education camp in Niassa. He describes a hostile environment, in which detainees shared a water resource with wild animals, and were often killed by lions or snakes.<sup>375</sup> He remained there until April 1976, when Samora Machel issued him a pardon.

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<sup>372</sup> The six were: Paulo Gunamo, Faustin Kambeu, Assahel Johassane Mazula, Uria Simango (all involved in rival independence movement COREMO), Lazaro Nkavandame and João Craveirinha. Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State, “Frelimo Pardons 240 ‘Traitors,’” Wikileaks Public Library of US Diplomacy (Tanzania Dar es Salaam, March 18, 1975), [https://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1975DARES00806\\_b.html](https://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1975DARES00806_b.html).

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Hall and Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, 48.

<sup>375</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.

By 1976, Henriksen estimates Frelimo was holding around 3000 people in ten re-education camps across the country,<sup>376</sup> although by 1992, Lars Buur suggests that the total 'sent away' was between 30,000-50,000.<sup>377</sup> Detainees included FRELIMO defectors, Portuguese settlers who had been imprisoned following Peoples' Tribunals, 'ideological dissidents', drug dealers, and prostitutes who had been rounded up in Maputo as part of the new government's attempt to eradicate the sex industry. Nachingwea and the re-education camps were considered by FRELIMO the 'forge and the laboratory' from which the New Man emerged; in Samora Machel's terms, the 'filter and the mould of consciousness'.<sup>378</sup> During the struggle, those who studied abroad received training in the camps before leaving and on return, in order to 'readapt themselves'. Political military training was, argued Machel, 'the forge of national unity, of a common way of thinking, of a patriotic and class consciousness':



**Figure 45 Marcelino dos Santos and Samora Machel with Paulo Gumane and Uria Simango in Nachingwea in 1975, prior to their trial. Simango and Gumane were both subsequently executed.**

<sup>376</sup> Henriksen, "Marxism and Mozambique," 457.

<sup>377</sup> Buur, "Xiconhoca: Mozambique's Ubiquitous Post-Independence Traitor," 25.

<sup>378</sup> Machel, *The Enemy within*, 28–29.



*We entered Nachingwea as Makondes, Macuas, Nianjas, Nyungués, Manicas, Shanganas, Ajauas, Rongas, Senas, we left Mozambicans. We entered blacks, whites, coloureds, Indians; we left Mozambicans... we brought with us vices, defects, egoism, liberalism, elitism. We destroyed these negative values, reactionary values. We learned to acquire the habits, the behaviour of the FRELIMO militant.*<sup>379</sup>

Malangatana was also sent for re-education, in Nampula, in 1976.<sup>380</sup> He described it in very different terms to João Craveirinha, as a process by which elite political cadres were trained:

*It was a re-education directed at people that FRELIMO wanted to become cadres. For me it was a test, not only in terms of capacity, but also to see how far you could have confidence in those elements, those people. Therefore I say that many of them became great leaders of the party or the government. I myself, when this time was over, was given some duties.*<sup>381</sup>

### **Cultural Policy 1977-1984**

At the Third Party Congress in February 1977, Frelimo formally announced its transition to a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, and its 'historic mission... to lead, organise, orientate and educate the masses'. All sectors of society were included in this vision, and along with a strategy for transition to a centralised planned economy and village settlements, the Congress declared a position on culture, seeking to: 'promote the appreciation of all cultural manifestations of the Mozambican people, giving them a revolutionary content and spreading them in the national and international field, to project the Mozambican personality'.<sup>382</sup> This was to be implemented through the guidance of cultural production including literature, visual arts, music, theatre, painting and dance, and a programme of competitions, exhibitions and seminars. In April 1977, the 'Cultural Offensive of

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<sup>379</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>380</sup> Malangatana's period of "re-education due to his comportment during the colonial period" has been largely glossed over in the literature. See for example Rhandzarte, "Introduction," in *9 Artistas de Moçambique* (Expo, 1992), 57: "Following independence his involvement in political activities meant that his creative output slackened."

<sup>381</sup> Ngwenya, "Entrevista a Malangatana Valente Ngwenya". On his return to Maputo, Malangatana was appointed Director of the Craft Department, charged with organising craft cooperatives, and planning of the new *Museo Nacional de Arte*.

<sup>382</sup> Bulletins 9 and 10 (Congress Special Issue), Mozambique Information Agency, 1977 p19. cf. Barnes, "Creating a National Culture," 36.

the Working and Peasant Classes' was launched to implement these mandates, and included the formation of cultural groups within schools, factories and offices to encourage 'revolutionary culture'. The Congress also sanctioned the establishment of *Casas da Cultura* (Houses of Culture) throughout the country, described by the National Institute of Culture as 'formative centres where dancing, singing, poetry reading and other manifestations can take place', with the aim of creating 'conditions for the Mozambican labouring classes to transform and develop their artistic and creative activity... stimulating a critical interchange between the artists and the masses'.<sup>383</sup> 'Cultural facilitators' or *grupos dinamizadores* were stationed throughout communities and work places, including in the *Casas da Cultura*, to guide local communities on correct modes of cultural production.<sup>384</sup>

During this third phase of cultural policy, the imperatives outlined by Vieira and Guebuza in 1970 were consolidated into policies which sought to define the role of the visual artist in this new, revolutionary society. Cultural workers were appointed state positions, as Cândido Nombureta, Director of International Relations at the Ministry of Culture recalled to me:

*When Frelimo came to power, they created opportunities for all people to work – to be employed somewhere. Those artists who painted, sang, wrote literary works – they were workers of the state, in the cultural sector. Most*

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<sup>383</sup> "A luta dos Trabalhadores e uma Revolucao Cultural," in *Noticias*, edicao especial, June 25, 1977, pp. 25-26. cf *ibid.*, 35-36; Cândido Nombureta at the Ministry of Culture explained to me how *Casas da Cultura* were later adapted to the post-socialist economy: "Casas de Cultura [now] serve as institutions of the state to improve techniques and develop learning in terms of dance, music, singing, in terms of other cultural manifestations – cooking, techniques of craft production – to preserve those recipes and methods. The *Casas de Cultura* promote techniques which can then be used in the market place – this knowledge can enable people to put food on their table. Transmitting these techniques can improve people's income. They are also a way of encouraging community'. Cândido Zaqueu Nombureta, *Tecnico de relações internacionais*, Ministério da Cultura (International Relations, Ministry of Culture), Interview with author, Maputo, October 18, 2010.

<sup>384</sup> On the relationship between the dynamising groups and Makonde mapiko masquerade practices see Bortolot, *Revolutions: A Century of Makonde Masquerade in Mozambique*, 20; *Grupos dinamizadores* emerged from Frelimo party committees during the transition to independence. They were stationed throughout the country, including in factories, shops, farms, neighbourhoods and government departments. By 1986 they remained as local community groups only. Cravinho, "Modernising Mozambique: Frelimo Ideology and Frelimo State," 141-42; and Christie, *Machel of Mozambique*, 132.

*artists worked in state institutions which dealt with culture [and their] artworks were used by the state.... They were functionaries of the state*<sup>385</sup>

Intense debates about the role of art and the artist in the new society frequently surfaced at conferences and in the press. The problem of defining a unified 'art of the people' was framed in binary terms, as a dialectical struggle between bourgeois and popular art, between commercial and public art, between the individual and the masses, and between future imaginaries and the dead weight of tradition. One of the first iterations of these debates followed the 1976 exhibition *Arte Popular* organised by the National Directorate of Culture in the ex-Casa de Goa to mark the first anniversary of independence.<sup>386</sup> 'Bourgeois art', argued the exhibition catalogue:

*sells itself, markets itself, by... a reduction of all thoughtful material to the market place. Popular art, by definition, rejects this... it is only truly popular art which expresses popular culture's way of being in the world; a form of existence radically opposed to bourgeois civilisation.*<sup>387</sup>

Reviewing the exhibition, the newspaper *Notícias* described these works as 'a consequence of the revolutionary winds that have strengthened the minds of our youth, and of our artists, who allow the creation of one to become the creation of all, so that the true culture of the whole of Mozambique can be born'.<sup>388</sup> An editorial in *Tempo* was more critical, defining 'two types of work' in the exhibition. Whilst professional artists focused on 'new themes' of colonial oppression and 'aspects of building the New Society', their participation in the art economy was,

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<sup>385</sup> Nomburete, Técnico de relações internacionais, Ministério da Cultura (International Relations, Ministry of Culture), Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>386</sup> The exhibition "Arte Popular" featured design, batik, sculpture, ceramic, "craftworks coming from almost every part of the country", 133 paintings by 36 Mozambican artists, including Augusto Cabral, Mangueu Mahumana, Samate, Maria Senzani and Malangatana, and sculptures by Naftal Langa, Zefanias Numaio, José Lobo Fernandes and others. Also featured were drawings and collages made from newspapers and photographs by students of the high schools and technical school, and a wooden model of a collective village, built by Mozambican students "for those who don't yet have a clear of a communal village and its objectives." "Exposição de Arte Popular: Renascimento Impetuoso da Cultura Moçambicana," *Notícias*, June 29, 1976.

<sup>387</sup> Direção Nacional de Cultura, *Arte Popular: 1o Aniversário da Independência de Moçambique*, 1976.

<sup>388</sup> "Exposição de Arte Popular: Renascimento Impetuoso da Cultura Moçambicana."

argued *Tempo*, proof that they had not yet fully ‘interiorised’ the new values of the nation:

*The fact that they continue to attribute a ‘price’ to their works shows they have not yet considered the contradiction between their motivation – money as incentive and the commercialisation of their talent and technical enrichment as a mode of individual benefit – and the ideology inherent in their new themes. This contradiction, which announces but does not interiorise the new values, is that which, at its most serious, leads (as it always did) to the recuperation by the bourgeoisie – those who can acquire (buy) and ‘take home’ their works – these are the fundamental targets of the fight of the working classes.<sup>389</sup>*

By contrast, it suggested, the works with ‘truly popular character’, were anonymous, and included sculpture, embroideries, gold-work, artisan tools, basketry, pottery and other tools and clothes. Through these diverse works, argued the editorial, a common thread of Mozambican identity could be established:

*Of particular interest in the inclusion of ‘works’ from all regions of the country, is the resulting homogeneity of all the works together, despite the particular traces which identify their regional origins. This alone evidences the common cultural values of all the Mozambican people, resulting from the similar atmosphere, way of life and production, development of productive forces, and which are decisive evidence of the identity of the Mozambican people, which effectively constitutes from the Rovuma to Maputo as one.<sup>390</sup>*

*Moçambicanidade* or Mozambican-ness, was to be accessed, in other words, through a myth of supra-ethnic historical authenticity, ‘the invention of tradition’, to use Terence Ranger’s term,<sup>391</sup> but a tradition which had a place only as a floating signifier of a universal identity. Since Frelimo’s revolution promised the dissolution of class difference, it was theoretically reasoned that all cultural difference should also be dissolved, in the process of constituting a unified culture of the people.

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<sup>389</sup> “Arte Do Povo Para O Povo,” *Tempo*, no. 305 (August 8, 1976): 18–26.

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>391</sup> Terence Ranger, “The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm, Reissue edition (Cambridge Cambridgeshire: Cambridge University Press, 2012).



Figure 46 Anon Ofensiva Cultural das Classes Trabalhadores: Danças / Cultural Offensive of the Working Classes: Dance Two colour offset lithography poster, INAC-DNPP Maputo  
Source: Centro de Formação Fotografica Maputo

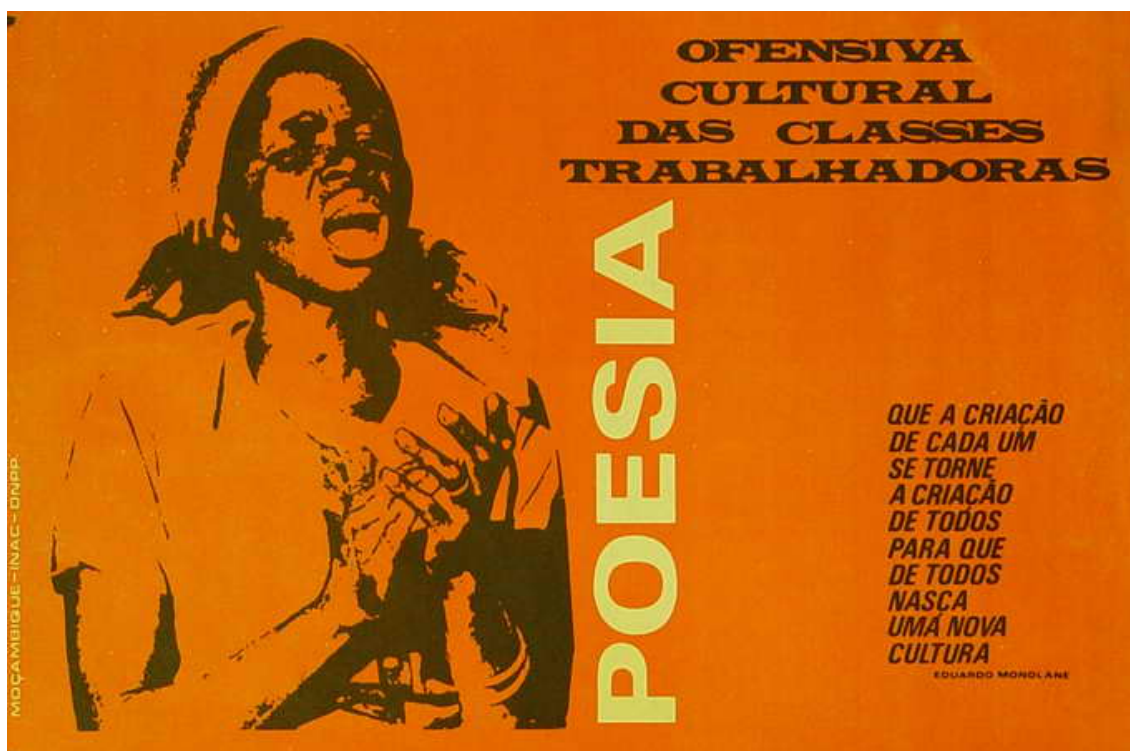


Figure 47 Anon Ofensiva Cultural das Classes Trabalhadoras: Poesia / Cultural Offensive of the Working Classes: Poetry Two colour offset lithography poster, INAC-DNPP Maputo  
Source: Centro de Formação Fotográfica Maputo

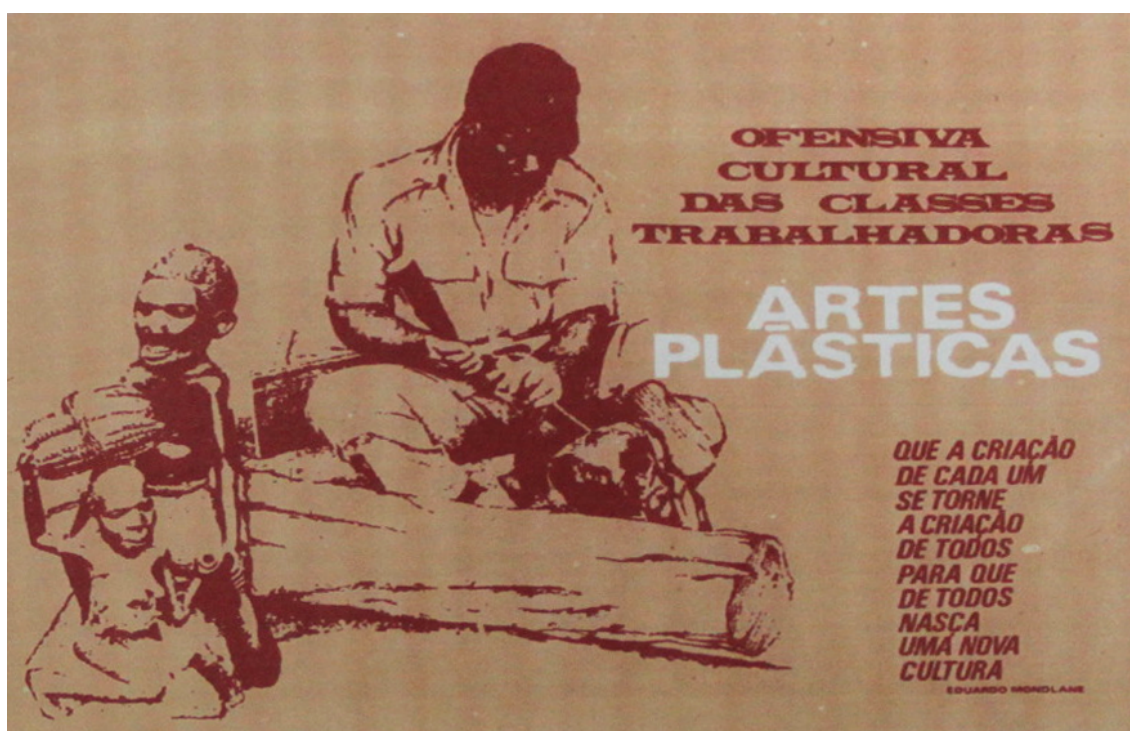


Figure 48 Anon Ofensiva Cultural das Classes Trabalhadoras: Artes Plásticas / Cultural Offensive of the Working Classes: Plastic Arts Two colour offset lithography poster, INAC-DNPP Maputo Source: Centro de Formação Fotográfica Maputo



Figure 49 *Arte Popular* exhibition catalogue 1976, National Directorate of Culture

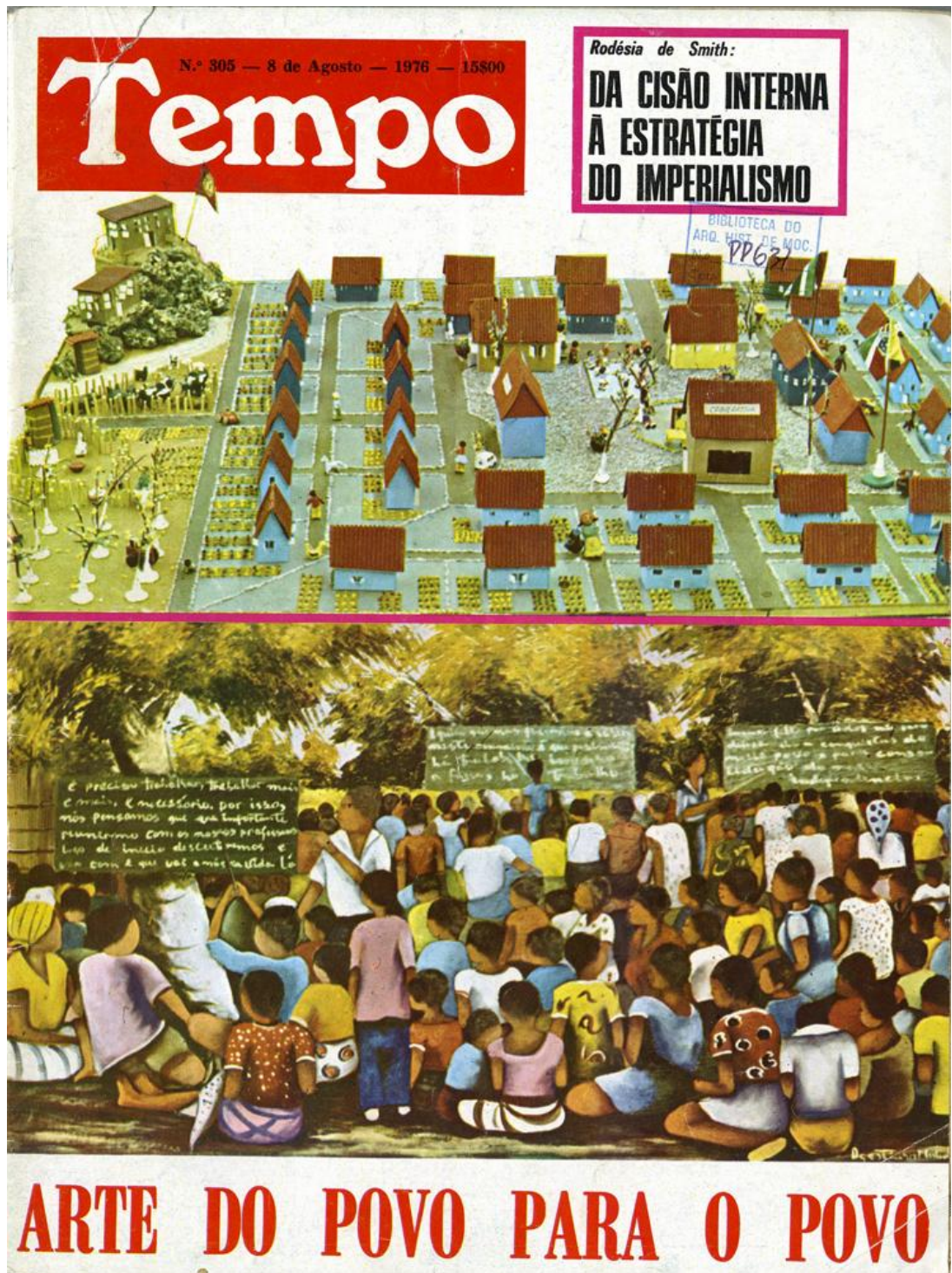


Figure 50 'Art of the People for the People' *Tempo* 305 cover, featuring works from the 1976 *Arte Popular* exhibition. 8 August 1976.



Clear boundaries were therefore drawn. Art should be accessible to, and produced by, the masses. It should be removed from the market economy, and integrated into the planned economy such that the state became the sole patron of the arts. It should deploy indigenous media but only in ways that were national, universal, and supra-ethnic. In terms of content, art should address new, revolutionary subject matter or the history of Frelimo's struggle. A question to the COAP artists' collective,<sup>392</sup> by *Tempo* journalist Orlando Mendes made these latter limits explicitly: 'Are artists more concerned to represent the life of the people in colonial times, their exploitation, oppression and humiliation, or are they more concerned with representing the conquests which the People achieved through the Mozambican Revolution?' 'Artists are still very concerned with humiliation of the colonial era', they replied 'but we need to advance the Revolution too, we need to construct'.<sup>393</sup>

João Craveirinha described to me the parameters for artists during this period as follows:

*A Mozambican artist, to survive in that society, had to follow the regime's rule of 'revolutionary political line correctness'... No subjectivity was allowed. Design and art painting for public exhibitions had to be simple and clear with a mobilising message. That applied to all forms of art, music, dance, fashion, behaviour...because 'big brother' was watching you. Out of this context someone could be considered 'with petite bourgeois thought or reactionary'.<sup>394</sup>*

Speaking to me in 2010, artist Victor Sousa also described the pressure to address specific themes:

*After independence, painting became something connected to the war, to revolution. Painting was more painting when it had guns, victory, something political and revolutionary. It wasn't pure art - it was art mixed with politics. It was a form of government. It was a way of conscientising people to take on*

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<sup>392</sup> The *Centro Organizativo dos Artistas Plásticos* or Organisational Centre of Visual Artists (COAP) was a collective of 30 visual artists based in at Núcleo.

<sup>393</sup> Orlando Mendes, "Encontro Com O Centro Organizativo Dos Artistas Plásticos," *Tempo*, no. 510 (July 20, 1980): 52.

<sup>394</sup> João Craveirinha, email correspondence with author, 12 October 2016.

*patriotic feeling. For me this has nothing to do with art... you had to dedicate yourself to being one and not the other... the majority who were political at that time were bound by a sense of 'us'. It was a revolutionary question, for anyone who was there at the time. You had to speak in a certain manner, be seen to be in a certain manner, to show that you were with 'us'. Nobody was forced to do anything political, but you were always aware of it...*<sup>395</sup>

This immersive context compelled visual artists to participate in Frelimo's project of narrating the 'liberation script', a sequence of historical events which secured the Party's undisputed primacy as the representative of the Mozambican people, and in Paolo Israel's terms, 'an apparatus located at the intersection of power and knowledge, which has legitimised the exercise of authority in the post-colonial period'.<sup>396</sup> This narrative also provided the logic for the *Museu da Revolução* which opened in Maputo on 25 June 1978. Machel had visited North Korea's Museum of the Revolution in Pyongyang in 1971, and North Korean advisors helped to design the museum, while North Korean artists contributed two mural paintings, which hang in the entrance to the building on Avenida 24 de Julho (Figure 51).<sup>397</sup> Just as the North Korean museum focused exclusively on the Kim dynasty, so too did Maputo's museum construct a carefully edited account of Frelimo's history through objects including Makonde sculptures, Portuguese weapons and Eduardo Mondlane's car.<sup>398</sup>

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<sup>395</sup> Victor Sousa (visual artist), Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>396</sup> Paolo Israel, "A Loosening Grip: The Liberation Script in Mozambican History," *Kronos* 39, no. 1 (January 2013): 13.

<sup>397</sup> Vieira, *Participei, Por Isso Testemunho*, 626.

<sup>398</sup> See Pedro Pereira Leite, "Casa Muss-Amb-Ike : Viagem Pelos Museus de Mozambique" (Universidade Lusófona, 2010).



**Figure 51 Samora Machel views the North Korean mural at the inauguration of the Museum of the Revolution, Maputo, 25 June 1978. Source: António Sopa (ed) *Samora: Man of the People* Maputo: Maguezo**

The city space itself was also reconfigured in support of this new narrative, with roads renamed to honour the allies and heroes of the liberation struggle: Avenida Ho Chi Min; Avenida Vladimir Lenin; Avenida Mao Tse Tung; Avenida Kim Il Sung; Rua José Craveirinha; Avenida Julius Nyerere. The spiritual epicentre of the nation, however, was to be the Praça dos Heróis Moçambicanos. Machel had promised to re-inter Mondlane's remains in Mozambique, and in 1978, shortly before the tenth anniversary of the leader's assassination, a large traffic circle near the airport was chosen as the location for a heroes' mausoleum. Designed by Mozambican architect José Forjaz and Portuguese painter and poet António Quadros, the marble mausoleum took the form of a star with five points, inside of which would be housed the remains of the liberation struggle's heroes, including Mondlane, Josina Machel and Filipe Samuel Magaia. Construction had already commenced when João Craveirinha was commissioned to design a mural for the site.



**Figure 52 Praça dos Heróis Moçambicanos, Maputo. The star-shaped heroes' mausoleum was designed by Mozambican architect José Forjaz and Portuguese painter and poet António Quadros**

When João Craveirinha had returned to the city, in 1977, he had been appointed to work under Portuguese graphic designer José Freire at the newly formed DNPP,<sup>399</sup> the government body that had taken over the role of the DIP. Here, he worked on the layout for *Tempo* magazine and other Frelimo publications, and, together with Freire, João Azevedo and Agostinho Milhafre, designed many of Frelimo's political posters. These posters (Figures 54-61), many of which survive in Mozambique's Historical Archive (AHM), together constitute an invaluable visible archive of how the party imagined itself and the People, during the early years of independence.<sup>400</sup> Like Cuban posters of the late 1960s and early 1970s, many of these posters sought to forge collective identity through an intensive calendar of political anniversaries and 'solidarity days', and deployed two or three colour screen-printing and offset lithography to overlay photographic outlines onto solid fields of colour. Recurring visual motifs include hero figures (primarily Mondlane and

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<sup>399</sup> Direcção Nacional de Propaganda e Publicidade (National Directorate of Propaganda and Publicity, DNPP).

<sup>400</sup> For a detailed study of the political posters produced for Frelimo see Sahlström, *Political Posters in Ethiopia and Mozambique: Visual Imagery in a Revolutionary Context*.

Machel), an outline of the country, figures raising hoes, fists and rifles, collective farming, crowd scenes and icons from 'friendly states' including Nyerere and Lenin (Figures 58 and 60). Frelimo had produced posters from the mid-1960s, but the medium was identified as a priority during the DIP conference in Macomia in November 1975, (Figure 54)<sup>401</sup> which had concluded that: 'in the revolutionary phase of our country, propaganda is the most important instrument to use in the dissemination of the political and ideological line of Frelimo'.<sup>402</sup>

Like posters, murals offered an accessible, non-commodified medium for transmitting a political message that was well suited to Frelimo's new discursive context. This shift in medium was encouraged, and many visual artists, João Craveirinha and Malangatana included, moved from the canvas to these more public modes of visibility. This shift to didacticism can be understood in Boris Groys's terms, as a move performed under the rubric of Socialist Realism, away from focus on the artwork and towards the consciousness of the audience: 'the primary interest of Socialist Realism' he argues, 'was not an artwork but a viewer... better people, less decadent and less corrupted by bourgeois values. The viewer was conceived as an integral part of a Socialist Realist work of art'.<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>401</sup> The fifth session of the conference was held under the presidency of Jorge Rebelo, and analysed "the situation of propaganda and its forms of expression with the basis of design, cartoons, posters and photographs", in light of experiences described by delegates from across the country. The session concluded that "given the very high rate of illiteracy existing in our people", these media offered a valuable tool to transmit to the masses the "orientations of the structures of the party and government". As far as possible, it warned, this material should come from the people, who should be encouraged "to unleash their creative initiative, motivating him to the elaboration of drawings, caricatures and posters in which are reflected his Mozambican personality". FRELIMO, *Documentos da Conferência Nacional do Departamento de Informação e Propaganda* (Department of Information and Propaganda, 1975).

<sup>402</sup> Ibid.

<sup>403</sup> Boris Groys, *Art Power* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 2013), 147.

  
 REPÚBLICA POPULAR DE MOÇAMBIQUE  
 MINISTÉRIO DA INFORMAÇÃO  
**DIRECÇÃO NACIONAL DE PROPAGANDA E PUBLICIDADE**  


nome JOÃO CRAVEIRINHA JR cartão n.º 007  
 função Segundo Oficial  
B. I. n.º 22677  
 emitido em 24.6.976-NAMPULA  
  
 O DIRECTOR NACIONAL



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ESTE CARTÃO É PESSOAL E INTRANSMISSÍVEL  
 Assinatura do titular   
 Maputo, 1 / 7 / 1977 Válido até 1 / 7 / 1978

Figure 53 João Craveirinha's DNPP identity card, issued in 1976 and signed by DNPP director José Freire. Courtesy of João Craveirinha.

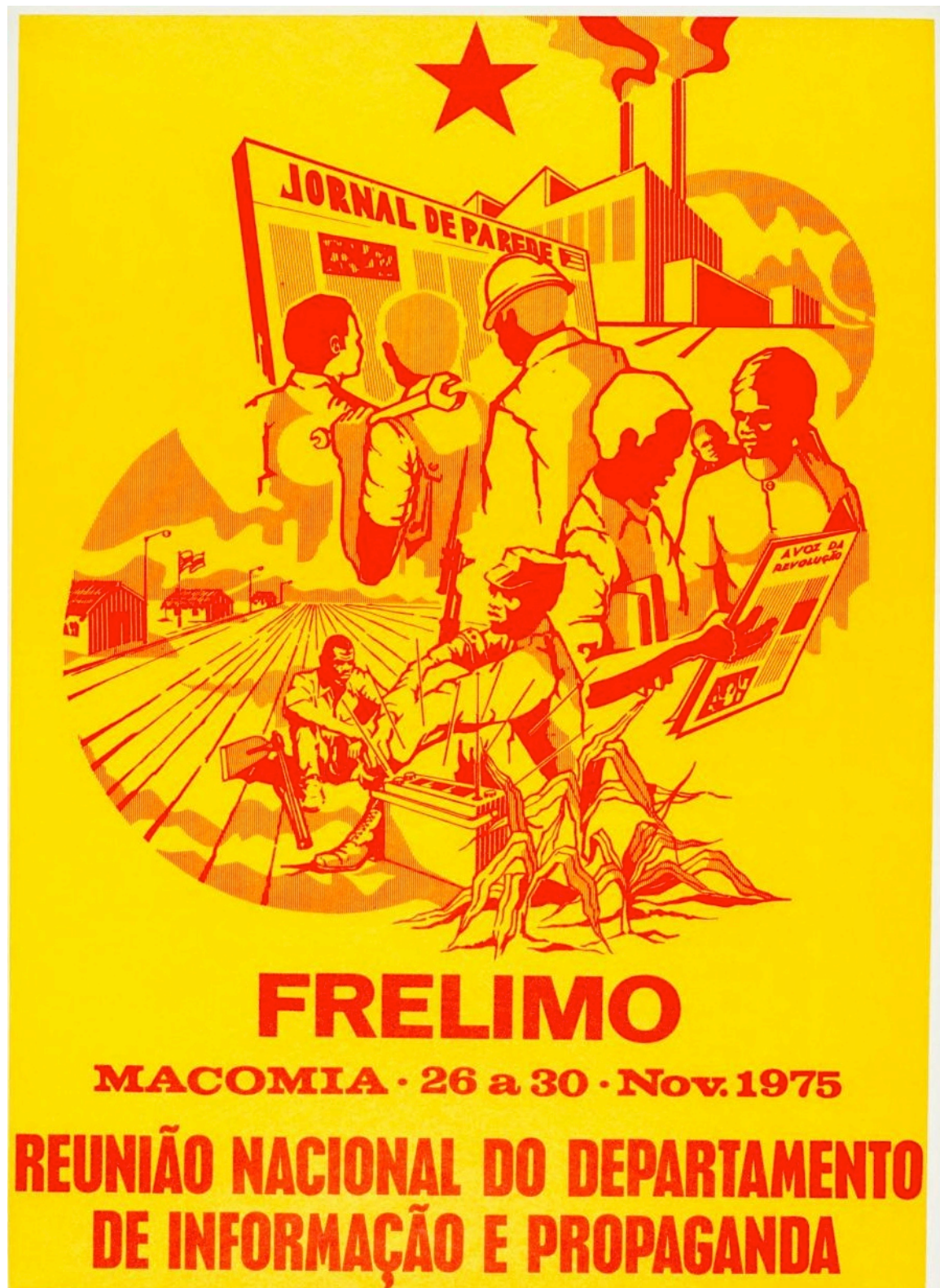


Figure 54 National Meeting of the Department of Information and Propaganda, Macomia 26-30 November 1975. Poster



Figure 55 João Craveirinha *1o Maio dia do trabalhador / 1st May Day of the Worker* Four-colour offset lithography poster DNPP c.1979





Figure 56 João Craveirinha 7 de Abril 1977 Dia da Mulher Moçambicana / 7 April 1977 Day of the Mozambican Woman Two colour off-set lithography poster 1977 Source: Centro de Formação Fotografica Maputo



Figure 57 José Freire *Rovuma Maputo* Two colour offset lithography poster, 1975 Source: Centro de Formação Fotografica Maputo



Figure 58 José Freire *Bem-vindo Nyerere / Welcome Nyerere* Three colour offset lithography poster, 1975 Source: Centro de Formação Fotográfica Maputo



Figure 59 José Freire 25 de Junho 1976 *Um ano de Independência* / 25 June 1976 *A Year of Independence* Three colour offset lithography, 1976 Source: Centro de Formação Fotografica Maputo



Figure 60 José Freire *1917/1977* Screen-print poster, 1977 Source: Centro de Formação Fotográfica Maputo



Figure 61 João Azevedo *Samora Machel* Screen-print poster, 1977 Source: Centro de Formação Fotográfica Maputo

During the late 1960s, informal murals had become a prominent medium of anti-colonial sentiment in Lourenço Marques. After independence, Mozambique took in refugees fleeing from right-wing regimes in Brazil, East Timor, South Africa and Chile. Several of the Chilean refugees who arrived in the city had been members of mural painting brigades who had worked in support of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity movement in run up to Chilean elections in September 1970. The groups, which usually consisted of 15-20 muralists, often depicted copper miners, since Allende's nationalisation of the mining industry had been a key policy of the 1970 election (Figure 64). Their distinctive aesthetic of bold black outlines with solid blocks of colour is clear in several of Maputo's murals, including one depicting miners at the Cinema Matchedje, by a collective led by Chilean artist Claudio Reis and his wife Madalena (Figure 63), and another at Maputo hospital, by Chilean artist Moira Toha and a collective of volunteers (Figure 62). Like José Freire, the Chilean *muralistas* drew heavily on the work of Cuban screen-print poster artists such as Raúl Martínez (1927-1995), as well as the Mexican mural tradition and US and UK pop art and psychedelia (Alejandro Gonzalez, appointed head of BRP by Allende in 1971, recalled the influence of the Beatles' *Yellow Submarine* animations).<sup>404</sup> João Craveirinha is dismissive of the Chilean influence on mural design, asserting that 'there were Cubans and Chileans [who] came as volunteers to help paint it, but we didn't need all this outside influence - Mozambicans can paint their own history'.<sup>405</sup> Malangatana, Cossa and Mankeu also produced several murals throughout the city, although, save for Craveirinha's and Malangatana's, few survive.

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<sup>404</sup> The most well-known of these groups was the Brigada Ramona Parra (BRP), which had been founded in 1968 by the Communist Youth, and took its name from Ramona Parra, a 19-year-old woman shot dead by the police during a protest in Santiago in 1946. Rodney Palmer, *Street Art Chile* (Eight Books Ltd, 2008), 11; See also Camilo D. Trumper, *Ephemeral Histories: Public Art, Politics, and the Struggle for the Streets in Chile* (Univ of California Press, 2016).

<sup>405</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.



**Figure 62** Collective led by Moira Toha, Mural at General Hospital, Maputo, 1977. Source: Albie Sachs Images of a Revolution, 1983.



**Figure 63** Collective led by Claudio and Madalena Reis Mural at Cinema Matchedje, Maputo (detail) c.1978. Source: Albie Sachs Images of a Revolution, 1983.





Figure 64 Ramona Parra *Brigade Copper for Chile* mural, Valparaiso, Chile c.1972 Source: [art-for-a-change.com](http://art-for-a-change.com)



Figure 65 Raúl Martínez *Rosas y Estrelas (Roses and Stars)*, 1972 Source: [http://www.thefarbercollection.com/artists/raul\\_martinez](http://www.thefarbercollection.com/artists/raul_martinez)

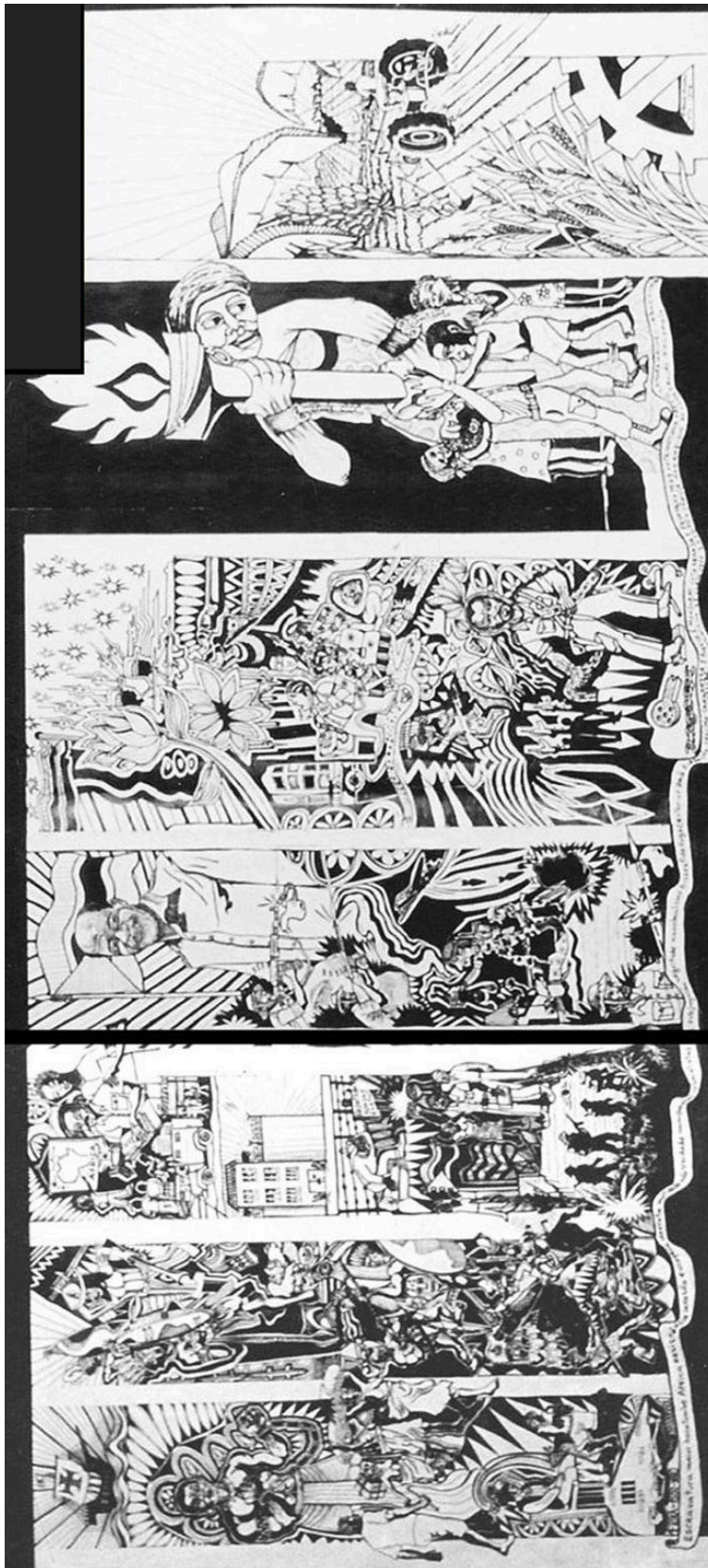
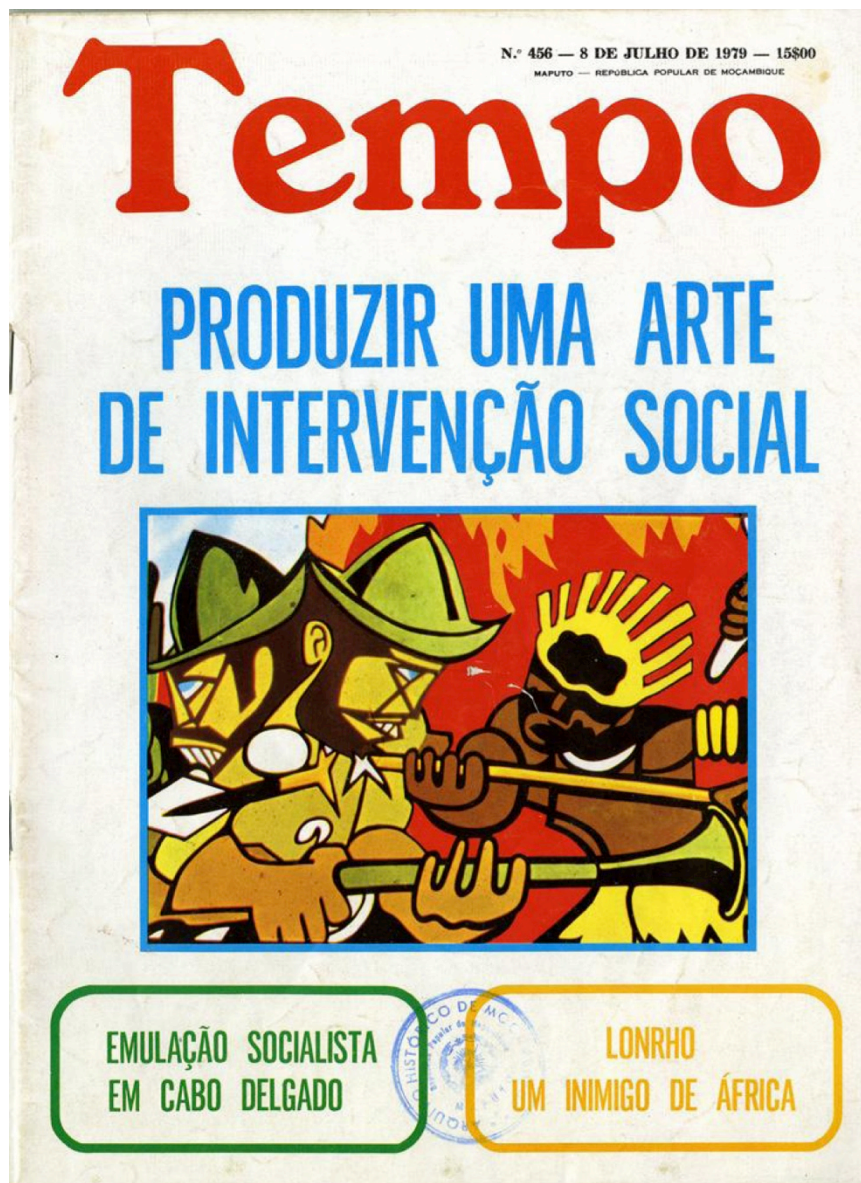


Figure 66 João Craveirinha Prototype for mural at Praça dos Heróis Ink on paper. c.1976.  
 Courtesy João Craveirinha



Figure 67 David Alfaro Siqueiros From the Dictatorship of the Porfirio Diaz to the Revolution the People in Arms, Mural, 1957



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Figure 68 'Produce an art of social intervention.' Cover featuring detail of mural at Praça dos Heróis, Tempo 456 8 July 1979



**Figure 69 Samora Machel greets crowds in Praça dos Heróis Moçambicanos, on 'Armed Forces Day', 26 September, 1980. Notícias. Centro do Formação Fotografico Document number rep.7 361-c 112642CFE**

The commission to produce the mural for Praça dos Heróis was initiated after José Freire had noticed one of João Craveirinha's ink drawings (Figure 66) during a social visit to his house. Much like the design for the *História de Moçambique* textbook, the work comprises a series of vertical tableaux, each relating to a period of Mozambique's history. Here, the field is divided into seven panels, several of which survive in the final mural, including the arrival of the Portuguese, early resistance to the slave trade, Mondlane against the backdrop of the new flag, the *chama de unidade*, and the final utopian scenes of communal agriculture. He recalls:

*The next day I was called by the Minister for Information, Jorge Rebelo... Samora used to travel everywhere – Cuba, China, Moscow. He had come back with the idea that he wanted to build a mural... Rebelo asked if I was able to do this big mural.* <sup>406</sup>

João Craveirinha described how his design had been influenced by a combination of comic strips, Mexican murals and Soviet cinematic storyboards:

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<sup>406</sup> Ibid.

*I collected different types of comic books... We grew up with these American Marvel comics, like Spiderman, Batman, Captain America and Tarzan, although Tarzan was very racist. Also some from Brazil. I used to collect 'O Amigo da Onça' by Pericles,<sup>407</sup> I liked it so much. This mural, if you see, I was mixing two things: comic books, but also the work of David Alfaro Siqueiros,<sup>408</sup> the Mexican mural artist [Figure 67]. I learnt so much about murals from the Mexican school, Siqueiros, and [Diego] Rivera. Also [Sergei] Eisenstein, because this is like a storyboard, for cinema.<sup>409</sup>*

He sent Machel a sketch for approval. There followed a series of editorial revisions to the design, primarily from José Freire. In his brief study of Maputo murals, Albie Sachs describes these revisions as 'collective activity... the original design of the mural was the product of many hands and many discussions'.<sup>410</sup> The mural was initially to be tiled, but time and budget constraints led to the use of paint. Comparison of the prototype with the final design also reveals extensive changes in the content, and Freire's imprint is clear, for example in the portraits of Machel and Mondlane, which reproduce the photographic overlays of his poster designs (Figure 1). Freire also reduced the number of figures in order to render complex historical events in synecdochic form, a process Sachs describes as 'symbolising'.<sup>411</sup> João Craveirinha describes a much more tense relationship with Freire, claiming his interventions were a form of censorship:

*I painted that mural in 1979 with anger in my heart, because it had been censored by the Portuguese... they insisted that I change it. It was very different to my original model.<sup>412</sup>*

Five major changes caused friction. In Craveirinha's final design, the narrative sequence begins with the arrival of Vasco da Gama, diminutive behind the bare, muscular frame of a Monomotapa king, with gold at his ear and neck and manacles

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<sup>407</sup> *O Amigo da Onça* [The Friend of the Jaguar] was a Brazilian comic drawn by Péricles de Andrade Maranhão (1924-1961). It was in publication from 1943 to 1961.

<sup>408</sup> Siqueiros (1896-1974) was one of the founders of the Mexican mural movement. His 1957 mural *From the Dictatorship of the Porfirio Diaz to the Revolution the People in Arms* (pictured above) documents the 1910 Mexican Revolution. Its sequential and dialectical composition bears close comparison with Craveirinha's mural.

<sup>409</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.

<sup>410</sup> Albie Sachs, *Images of a Revolution: Mural Art in Mozambique* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1983), 18-19.

<sup>411</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>412</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.

at his wrists.<sup>413</sup> According to Craveirinha, Freire cut this element from the design during the production of the mural, claiming that the wall was not long enough to accommodate it.<sup>414</sup> Craveirinha also recalls that Freire adjusted the depiction of both Mouzinho de Albuquerque and the PIDE officer arresting José Craveirinha by strategically placing, respectively, a horse and a visor, to obscure their faces. In the sugar cane fields, next to the Portuguese *chefe do posto*, Freire added an African man in a red fez hat, wielding a *palmatória*. Finally, where João Craveirinha had depicted Frelimo's Chief of Defence Filipe Samuel Magaia (1937-1966) in profile, overseeing troops at the start of the armed struggle, Freire substituted a portrait of Samora Machel.

The first rendition of the mural was painted over 22 days in January and February 1979, by a team of art students and Chilean, Cuban and Mozambican volunteers, overseen by João Craveirinha and José Freire. The outline of the design was drawn onto sheets of glass, projected onto the wall using lanterns, and then painted, through fabric, onto the surface below. Craveirinha was taught this diapositive technique by a Chinese friend he had met at the Industrial School. He recalls:

*I used to help a Chinese colleague, Ha Man, whose family ran away to Mozambique during Chaing Kai-Shek's fight with Mao Zedong... He used to decorate a Chinese restaurant with his paintings in a traditional, Imperial style. He had left Communism, and he didn't like the Maoist style. I used to go with him to help with the painting. The technique he used was invented by the Chinese and adapted by the Russians... When Eisenstein was in Mexico in 1931 shooting 'Que Viva Mexico', Rivera and Siqueiros helped him use it for the big scenes.<sup>415</sup>*

In many ways, João Craveirinha's concern to depict Mozambique's history married well with Frelimo's need for a legitimate genealogy. However, as the editing of the design made clear, the process of constituting the People and their Heroes, of establishing a symbolic order for the nation, necessitated a purification of these

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<sup>413</sup> The Monomotapa empire, centred in present-day Zimbabwe, had supplied Indian Ocean networks with gold from the tenth century, via powerful trading ports such as Sofala (near present-day Beira).

<sup>414</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid.

histories, to cleanse them of ambiguity. As Borges Coelho suggests, this entailed a flexible approach to historical research, since, in the context of Frelimo's liberation script: 'history could have a highly counterproductive impact by bringing complexity to what was simple in the first place and should remain simple'.<sup>416</sup> Bragança and Depelchin had made a similar point in 1986, arguing that 'what happened between 1962 and 1975 is seen as unproblematic and therefore not necessitating serious study'.<sup>417</sup>

The edit which severed the Monomotapa king from the start of the mural illustrates this point, suggesting a concern to refocus authority away from tradition, and towards Machel's universalist future-oriented leadership. As shown above, this process had already been prefigured in the removal of historical African resistance figures from subsequent reproductions of João Craveirinha's drawing for *História de Moçambique*.

The removal of Filipe Samuel Magaia is also illustrative of this battle over the image of resistance. Magaia had undertaken military training in Algeria in 1963 (as part of the first FRELIMO group to do so), and then in China, before returning to Dar es Salaam to take the post of FRELIMO's first Chief of Defence. On the night of 10 October 1966, he was shot dead by a FRELIMO soldier, Lourenço Matola, while crossing a river in the Niassa province. A FRELIMO report into his death described it as an accidental shooting,<sup>418</sup> whilst a Tanzanian investigation concluded that 'the killer was a PIDE agent planted to kill Magaia in order to create confusion and division.'<sup>419</sup> However, rumours continue to circulate that Matola in fact acted on orders from FRELIMO, specifically from Samora Machel, who assumed Magaia's position as Chief of Defence after his death.<sup>420</sup> The appointment of Machel, who

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<sup>416</sup> Borges Coelho, "Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique," 25.

<sup>417</sup> Depelchin and Bragança, "From the Idealization of Frelimo to the Understanding of the Recent History of Frelimo," 166.

<sup>418</sup> Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty: The Soviet Union, the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese Colonies, and the Cold War, 1961--1975," 124.

<sup>419</sup> cf. Iain Christie, *Machel of Mozambique* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1988).

<sup>420</sup> Opello, "Pluralism and Elite Conflict in an Independence Movement: Frelimo in the 1960s," 73. Narcise Mbule, for example, has asserted that this "unleashed a reign of terror throughout FRELIMO, with those who supported Magaia being killed if they opposed Machel's appointment". Opello also cites here an anonymous source who indicated that Magaia was murdered

spoke Shangaan, and came from the south of Mozambique, in place of Magaia, who came from Zambezia to the north of the country, was also seen by some factions within FRELIMO as another ploy to prevent northerners taking authority.<sup>421</sup> João Craveirinha's inclusion of Magaia introduced an ambiguity that did not marry well with Frelimo's aims.

Freire's obscuring of the Portuguese role in the struggle presents a more complex question. On one hand, this intervention supports the position maintained by Frelimo, that the Enemy was colonialism and not the Portuguese people, and that the struggle was a class war rather than a race war. From João Craveirinha's perspective, José Freire's edits reflected his affiliation with Portugal, and the aesthetic legacy of his work as a graphic designer in Salazar's Portugal.<sup>422</sup> From Freire's perspective however, the editing may also have been triggered by the fact that Craveirinha had depicted Vasco da Gama's face in Freire's likeness!

Having been previously identified as an 'internal enemy', the 'excess' of Frelimo's notion of self, João Craveirinha's position was also fraught with ambiguity. 'They still called me traitor', he recalled, 'they tapped my phone and when a South African journalist from Drum magazine called me to arrange an interview about the mural, they sent the secret police round'.<sup>423</sup> In 1981, he resigned from his post in the DNPP, citing differences with the Director, and the Minister of Information. Two years later, in February 1983, his wife Gigi stepped into a lift on the eighth floor. The cabin was missing and she fell to her death. Shortly afterwards, he left for Europe with their three young children, settling first in Andorra, then Spain and Lisbon, where he now lives and works as a graphic designer and journalist. In 2000, he returned to Maputo to restore the weathered mural. Working on scaffolding, five metres above the ground, a team of painters re-traced the design in fresh colour, and added a blue sky. Before the scaffolding came down, João

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by a man who believed he had committed adultery with his wife; See also UNEMO, "A Document for the History of African Nationalism," 171.

<sup>421</sup> Opello, "Pluralism and Elite Conflict in an Independence Movement: Frelimo in the 1960s," 73.

<sup>422</sup> Craveirinha, Interview with author, Lisbon.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.



Craveirinha made a final addition. At the far end of the mural, high out of reach, he added his signature.

Much is revealed in the disjuncture between the monoglossia of the national mythology depicted in the mural at Praça dos Heróis Moçambicanos, and the heteroglossia of the turbulent, transnational histories of its production. Populating these interstices, oscillating between the official and the dissenting, are João Craveirinha's recurrent protagonists, the strong male figures of African resistance. Raising fists, breaking chains and crying freedom in the face of oppression, they were at times deployed as signifiers for liberation in Frelimo's visual rhetoric, and at other times edited out the frame. These men complicated the official narrative of universalism, in their insistence on race, on individualism, on metaphysical power, on regional authority, on historical specificity. In Craveirinha's recollection, they were a metaphor for his own experience, and for liberation imagined on different terms:

*One of my ways to survive, to feel more comfortable my work, was getting inspired by the History of African people who fought for their freedom... In reality, the slaves depicted in my artwork are searching for liberty... [just as I was fighting] for my own freedom of expression.<sup>424</sup>*

Through these men, then, he inscribed his agency into the liberation script.

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<sup>424</sup> João Craveirinha, email correspondence with author, 12 October 2016.

### 3. *A Luta Pela Paz: Pedagogies of Soviet Internationalism*

#### Tashkent 1986

The 1986 degree show at Tashkent's Benkov Art College featured a series of five airbrushed poster designs on the theme of '*A Luta Pela Paz*' (The Fight for Peace, Figure 70). Submitted by Mozambican student Celestino 'Cejuma' Matavele, the works are visually bound together by the coursing lines of the green, red, black and yellow stripes of the Mozambican flag. In the first work of the series, the stripes flare into space from Mozambique's tiny spot on the globe, to describe the digits '25' on a galactic scale. '*De Junho*' confirms it as the date with particular prominence in Frelimo's calendar: 25 June 1975 was chosen as the day of independence to mark the anniversaries of the Party's foundation (on 25 June 1962), and of the start of the armed struggle (on 25 June 1964), as well as referencing 25 April 1974, the date of the Carnation Revolution. The flag's lines mark a bold 'P' in the second work, naming '*Partido Frelimo*' (Party Frelimo), a red star at the centre. Another star soars across the background of the third work, the flag curling around it. In the foreground, a translucent white dove, contorted into the shape of the African continent, hovers over monumental letters declaring 'PAZ' (peace). In the fourth poster, a red curtain partially labelled 'Mozambique' is peeled back by another star to reveal a bucolic blue sky, the flag's stripes rippling in gentle waves below. '*A Nova Vida*' reads the caption: 'The New Life.' '*A Luta Pela Paz*' (The Fight for Peace), the final work of the series, zooms back out to depict the flag springing from the globe in the form of a bird. Spread across the sky, its wings are marked with the term 'peace' in three languages: in Portuguese and English to the west and in Russian (Мир) to the east.



Figure 70 Celestino Matavele *A Nova Vida* Airbrushed poster series, Final year work, Tashkent State Institute of the Arts Degree Show 1986. Photograph courtesy Celestino Matavele.

In tiny detail, in the birds' eyes and at the corner of the first work, Cejuma depicted the National Emblem adopted by Samora Machel's new government from 1975 (Figure 71. It was slightly redesigned in 1982). Featuring a rising sun flanked by an ear of maize and a sheaf of sugarcane bound in red ribbon, the crest is closely modelled on the banners allocated to each of the Soviet Republics. Crossed tools appear under a five-pointed star, but Mozambique's crest features a hoe rather than a hammer, a reference to the peasant farmers who maintained food production during the country's war of liberation, and an open book in reference to Frelimo's drive to improve literacy. Across the hoe, still today, is not a sickle, but an even more potent reminder of the USSR's material support for the nation's armed struggle: an AK-47 automatic assault rifle.

This chapter takes Cejuma's posters as a focal point from which to explore the aesthetic reverberations, during the 1980s, of socialist educational aid programmes for Mozambique. As documented in the previous two chapters, international support for Frelimo had already generated wide-reaching networks by the mid 1960s. Sustained by both grassroots solidarity movements and bilateral alliances, these networks opened channels through which people, objects, capital, ideas, arms, print media, posters, photographs and film had circulated throughout the liberation struggle, with profound consequences for producing images and imagining communities. After independence, thanks to an energetic international relations drive, these networks continued and bilateral agreements were forged with several socialist countries, including the USSR, Cuba, the GDR, North Korea and Eastern European states. In addition to a continuing flow of arms, now to aid the war against Renamo, these agreements supported a range of education projects which aimed to address the skills shortage left by the rapidly departing Portuguese and the critical inadequacies of the colonial schools system. This educational aid took the form of volunteers (*cooperantes*) dispatched to Maputo to help with teaching and other forms of reconstruction, and bursary programmes to train Mozambican students (*bolseiros*) abroad. This chapter



Figure 71 Mozambique symbols of state 1980, including national flags and coat of arms ('To decorate your places of work, cut out these symbols and stick them up!'). Source: CFF, Maputo.

explores the interflow of ideas and knowledge generated by these exchanges, specifically in the disciplines of Visual Art and Design.

As with the contexts of patronage and education described in previous chapters, pedagogic solidarity networks offered Mozambique's artists access to techniques, materials and professional opportunities, and at the same time imposed specific parameters on their practice. On one hand, these pedagogic programmes sought to effect a *metanoia*, to produce a generation of 'new men', a decision-making elite who would advocate socialist models and alliances on their return home. On the other hand, as the accounts of Cejuma and his cohort of *bolseiro* art students show, these itinerant educations spawned a network of exchanges which would survive, appropriate and resist these global paradigms. Whilst at a surface reading, Cejuma's posters articulate a profound commitment to specific political communities, I argue that a close analysis of the works reveals a more complex map of affiliation.

### **Celestino 'Cejuma' Matavele**

Celestino Matavele was born on 10<sup>th</sup> April 1959 in Chirime, a small settlement just north of Xai Xai in Mozambique's Gaza Province. His weekly schedule at primary school included a small element of arts and craft education, or 'Design'. However, he recalled, 'the teacher was rarely there and it wasn't rigorous – it was a way for the children to play'.<sup>425</sup> Undeterred, he taught himself to draw. 'I felt really comfortable doing that', he remembers:

*it was really my vision, my dream to be a designer... I had a notebook, without lines, for school. Whenever I saw magazines or newspapers with images of people I would copy them into this book. They came out well, so I carried on drawing and drawing. It wasn't part of the school programme, it was something inside me that I wanted to do.*<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>425</sup> Celestino Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo, November 16, 2010.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid.

Having finished basic school, he tried unsuccessfully to find a place at both the general school in Xai Xai and a commercial school in Maputo, before a friend suggested he take his drawings to the recently opened *Centro de Estudos Culturais* (CEC, Centre for Cultural Studies). 'I passed easily', he says 'so I did my studies there and they said I was one of the best students'.<sup>427</sup>

### **Cooperantes at CEC and ENAV**

CEC was created in 1976 and opened in May 1977 as one of the first initiatives of the new government's cultural drive. Intended to 'revitalise and to educate communities',<sup>428</sup> and 'to instil in the young generations an artistic sentiment, a love for the arts, a taste for beauty',<sup>429</sup> the centre offered training in fine art, dance, music, theatre and cultural heritage. The school's approach was defined in accordance with Frelimo's aesthetic guidelines, discussed in Chapter Two. A ministerial report in July 1979 described the impetus of the school's curriculum as follows:

*The CEC aims to provide art teaching within a Marxist pedagogy and aesthetic, forming, both politically and technically, leaders suited for the realisation of artistic and cultural work, in the revolutionary perspective of art at the service of the people, energetically fighting the bourgeois conception of art for arts sake.*<sup>430</sup>

The initial years of the centre were fraught with staff shortages and a lack of materials and space. A report by the *Direcção Nacional de Cultura* to the third national meeting of the Ministry of Culture and Education in May 1979 outlined 'the necessity for a rapid training of leaders for cultural dynamisation',<sup>431</sup> and described the difficulties faced by teachers at the centre, proposing that no further students be admitted until adequate conditions were found.

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<sup>427</sup> Ibid.

<sup>428</sup> Harun, "The Fine Arts in Mozambique," 2–3.

<sup>429</sup> Frelimo, "Síntese sobre 'O Conceito de Cultura'" (ARPAC, Maputo, n.d.).

<sup>430</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid., 7.



**Figure 72 ENAV, Maputo, 2010 (The school was originally located on Rua de Chinês).**

**Author's photo**

Due to a lack of trained arts teachers, *cooperantes* initially formed the majority of teaching staff at CEC and ENAV (the School of Visual Arts which devolved from CEC in 1983<sup>432</sup>). Victor Sousa was the first Mozambican teacher at ENAV. He remembers: ‘there were Bulgarians, Germans, Portuguese, Soviets, from socialist countries... we had Cubans, Latin Americans like Brazilians, and Europeans’.<sup>433</sup>

‘In my memory it was a very exciting, interesting time’, recalled Gemuce, who was part of the first class of students at ENAV in 1983: ‘the atmosphere was that we have to continue the revolution... We really knew that our teachers were helping Mozambicans to construct the country, so people were really engaged in studying as a way of taking part in the revolution’.<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>432</sup> The Escola Nacional das Artes Visuais “National School of Visual Arts” devolved from CEC along with a National School of Dance and the National School of Music. In 1983, ENAV began offering basic courses in Ceramics, Graphics and Textiles. Harun Harun records that by 2002, the school employed 24 teaching staff, all Mozambican. Harun, “The Fine Arts in Mozambique,” 3.

<sup>433</sup> Raimundo Macaringue, a colleague of Matavele’s, remembered an Italian teacher at ENAV, along with Bulgarians, Cubans and Soviets. Carmen remembered two Cuban teachers: “Masiñera” (who went onto Finland) and Leonardo (who went back to Cuba). Gemuce recalled “Romuald” from the Soviet Union, as well as Polish and Bulgarian teachers Victor Sousa (visual artist), Interview with author, Maputo; Raimundo Macaringue (Raimundo), Professor of Painting and Visual Education, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo, November 11, 2010; Carmen Muianga, Interview with author, Maputo, September 11, 2010; Hilário (Gemuce) Pompílio, Interview with author, Maputo, July 19, 2010.

<sup>435</sup> Hilário (Gemuce), Interview with author, Maputo, July 19, 2010.





**Figure 73** Maria Senzani *Untitled* 1986 Acrylic on Canvas Image courtesy: Lizzy Attree

One of the technicians sent by the USSR was artist and textile-designer Maria Senzani (born 1937). Senzani arrived in Maputo in 1975, and initially worked in Mozambique's largest textile factory TEXTLOM, where she advised on fabric design, before going on to teach at ENAV.<sup>436</sup> Senzani's work for the exhibition commemorating the first anniversary of independence included a depiction of the Mueda massacre, and others outlining 'a hatred of fascism'.<sup>437</sup> A 1986 painting recently discovered in a private collection in London (Figure 73), shows fine brushwork and a debt to the *ujamaa* aesthetic developed by Malangatana and

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<sup>436</sup> Frelimo had taken over textile factories after independence and capulana production flourished in the early years of independence before war broke out. As the textile industry declined in line with the war-time economy, shipments of clothes were donated by the GDR, and distributed through rationing cards, in fabrics which designer Adélia Tique recalls were "unfit for the climate". "Maria Senzani No Nucleo de Arte," *Domingo*, June 4, 1986.

<sup>437</sup> "Exposição de Arte Popular: Renascimento Impetuoso da Cultura Moçambicana."

Mankeu, a style which would not have sat well within the Russian Academy at the time.



O escultor Wolfgang Eckardt moldando em Rostock, na RDA, o busto do Presidente Samora Machel que, já pronto, se vê ao lado tal como foi exposto na Galeria da Prosul, em Maputo

**Figure 74 Wolfgang Eckhardt with his bust of Samora Machel, Maputo, 1987. Source: O Bronze Oferece-me mais Espaço de Expressão – Afirma Escultor Wolfgang Eckardt da RDA,” Tempo, December 13, 1987, 50–53**



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1984-0418-303  
Foto: Sindermann, Jürgen | 18. April 1984

**Figure 75 ‘Wolfgang Eckhardt has two trainees from Mozambique’ 19 April 1984 Source: Bundesarchiv Bild 183-1984-0418-303, Rostock, Auszubildende aus Mosambik, Freizeit**

Another *cooperante* to become involved in art education in Maputo was sculptor Wolfgang Eckhardt (1919-1999), from Rostock in the GDR. In 1987, he produced a bust of Samora Machel (Figure 74) and donated an extensive shipment of art supplies, and three bicycles, to the artists at Núcleo as ‘an act of solidarity and fraternity with the Mozambican people’.<sup>438</sup> A photograph from the Rostock Museum archive (Figure 75) also shows him receiving two unidentified Mozambican art students in the GDR in April 1984.



**Figure 76 Noel Buchillón, Cuban art teacher at ENAV, with his work. Source: Domingo 29 October 1989**

Noel Buchillón (born 1945 Figure 78) was a Cuban painter who had trained in Havana and the Soviet Union before coming to teach at ENAV in 1987. ‘The Mozambican student has great possibilities’, he told the *Domingo* newspaper in 1989, ‘it haunts me, the ease with which they assimilate art’.<sup>439</sup> Ulisses Oviedo (born 1952)<sup>440</sup> was the last of the Cuban *cooperantes* to teach at the art school. He recalled three other Cuban art teachers who had also been posted at ENAV:

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<sup>438</sup> “O Bronze Oferece-me mais Espaço de Expressão – Afirma Escultor Wolfgang Eckardt da RDA,” *Tempo*, December 13, 1987, 50–53.

<sup>439</sup> Almiro Santos, “Moçambique Na Mão Do Pintor,” *Domingo*, October 29, 1989.

<sup>440</sup> In Cuba Oviedo had taught at the San Alejandro Academia das Belas Artes, and at ISA from 1967. In 2010, along with Gemuce, he was one of the founding staff at ISAARC, Mozambique’s first tertiary

*The first was René Negrín [born 1949], between 1983 and 85. Everyone remembers him, even though he returned to Cuba in 1985, because he was the first. He was there when the school opened, and he helped to build a lot of things, for example he built a kiln for the school with his own hands. Next was Rogério Machalo, from 1985-87 and Ramiro Ricardo from 1987-90.<sup>441</sup>*

When Ulisses arrived in 1990, the ENAV staff included ‘one English woman who was my girlfriend, two Chileans, one East German, one Bulgarian teacher, and me, the Cuban’.<sup>443</sup> Although Oviedo had specialised in making posters in Cuba, the topic was covered at ENAV by the German teacher, ‘Hans’. Ulisses instead worked on ENAV’s curriculum, seeking to shift the emphasis away from Applied Arts, and more towards Fine Art, introducing ‘Medium Level’ visual arts training in 1996. He also taught art history:

*a ‘universal’ course, covering Egypt, Mesopotamia, Africa, Mozambique, Greece, Rome and Indian architecture. No Cuban art history, although the programme of study in Cuba was very influential here... in painting, design, in murals, in the way the people were represented... In my lessons, I taught a lot of Cuban design, the idea of popular art and the new man. For the Bulgarian teacher, he had trained in the USSR so his way of teaching art was influenced by that training, a very deep, rigorous realism.<sup>444</sup>*

When his two-year contract expired, Ulisses decided to stay ‘because Africa was the terrain of my work... it became home’.<sup>446</sup>

Cândido Nombueta at the Ministry of Culture described to me how the curriculum at the art schools had been modelled on dual approach which included both Soviet and indigenous models, as sanctioned by the Ministry of Education and Culture:

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level arts school. Julieta Massimbe, *Ulisses Oviedo: Retrospectiva 1991-2003* (Maputo: Museu Nacional de Arte, 2004); Ulisses Oviedo, Interview with author, Maputo, November 29, 2010.

<sup>441</sup> Oviedo, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>443</sup> Ibid.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid.

<sup>446</sup> Ibid.

*The first curriculum of our art schools was influenced by the USSR – there were classical disciplines – but we also had to create our own disciplines to support and promote our own cultural values. So there was a duality. In our dance schools – they learnt classical dance and national dance. In music schools, they learnt Mozart and so on – but the children also learnt to play our own traditional instruments. The curriculums were approved by the Ministry of Education and Culture at that time, because in the first years of independence the sector of culture fell under that Ministry.<sup>447</sup>*

Since the 1968 conflict over foreign staff at the Mozambique Institute, the contribution of the *cooperantes* had been both welcomed and contentious. The topic was raised at a major conference on the ‘state apparatus and its public duties’<sup>448</sup> in October 1976. Headed by Oscar Monteiro, the conference had laid out Frelimo’s plan to apply a Marxist-Leninist blueprint onto the Mozambican state, and insisted that ‘the practice of workers with public duties must reflect the line of Frelimo’.<sup>449</sup> This included an outline of the ‘situation of *cooperantes* and foreign workers’, whose recruitment, it concluded, was a necessary recourse of the National Reconstruction programme, due to the lack of skilled technicians and staff, but only if they exhibited ‘the spirit to learn from the Mozambicans who work with them’.<sup>450</sup>

Victor Sousa, who worked alongside *cooperantes* at ENAV for over a decade, raised a similar issue. ‘They taught art as well as they could’, he recalled, ‘but they didn’t incorporate the culture of their students... Someone who comes here, needs to teach using examples from here’.<sup>451</sup> Instead of passively receiving instruction, he argues, students drew selectively on the teachings of the *cooperantes*, just as Malangatana had during his colonial education:

*From the Cubans, from all the people who passed through here, we learned some things. In a certain way, they influenced culture, opened our vision. [We] received it, but we didn’t change. In terms of our culture, we always kept it the*

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<sup>447</sup> Nomburete, Técnico de relações internacionais, Ministério da Cultura (International Relations, Ministry of Culture), Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>448</sup> Frelimo, *Vamos Construir Um Estado Do Povo Ao Serviço Do Povo: 1º Vol. Documentos Do 1º Seminário Nacional Do Aparelho de Estado E Função Pública*, 1976; See also Hall and Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, 71.

<sup>449</sup> Frelimo, *Vamos Construir Um Estado Do Povo Ao Serviço Do Povo*, 77. My translation.

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>451</sup> Victor Sousa (visual artist), Interview with author, Maputo.

*same. The Portuguese who stayed here for fifty years still didn't speak my languages. But I know how to speak their language... People who came here for cultural cooperation came to give help with another type of vision. They wanted to substitute Portuguese culture with something else... to continue a type of universal culture. So we started to see the habits, the cultures of the foreigners. The Mozambicans knew the Portuguese, knew the Soviets, knew Cuban culture. We became like a bridge - all came and all left, and we received... we came to know clearly that our culture was not the culture of others.<sup>452</sup>*

The influx of international teachers, in other words, gave Mozambican students a cultural literacy through which they articulated their own aesthetic, and a uniquely international perspective, which Sousa argues the teachers did not have. Whilst the Portuguese, Frelimo and the Soviets all sought to develop art and culture on universal terms, this circulation of people and ideas paradoxically contributed to a profound degree of diversity and plurality within Mozambique.

Describing his teaching methods, Ulisses revealed a profound sensitivity to these dynamics:

*'I couldn't go into this place thinking, 'these people know nothing, they are like children', no. That is not the right way to teach. That is colonialism. To say 'I know more than you, say nothing', it doesn't work. Teaching is an exchange - you learn from me, I learn from you... This is my philosophy of teaching. It's a kind of respect. I don't come here as a coloniser. Not like the Portuguese. I came to learn.'<sup>454</sup>*

*Cooperante* workers were usually posted on two-year contracts, and the programme was to be phased out as Mozambican trainees entered the workforce. In this way, Sousa recalled, ENAV aimed to gradually replace foreign staff with Mozambicans in the school's teaching posts.<sup>455</sup> Teacher training was therefore given high priority, and graduates of the Schools of Visual Arts, Music and Dance were expected to disseminate their skills throughout the community rather than develop individual careers, as a 1987 Frelimo briefing made clear:

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<sup>452</sup> Ibid.

<sup>454</sup> Oviedo, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>455</sup> Victor Sousa (visual artist), Interview with author, Maputo.

*The graduates of such centres become the instructors in the broader school system, or transmit their skills to amateur groups in a strategy of promoting excellence on a mass basis rather than institutionalising a professional elite. Professionalism does exist but this is at the option of the individual rather than a prime purpose of the state's intervention...*<sup>456</sup>

International scholarship programmes were considered a critical tool for nationalising the workforce in this way.

In 1981, a group of twenty students were selected by the Director of CEC, Gabriel Simbine, to meet with a Russian representative. Following a series of exams which assessed their aptitude, physical health, and psychological suitability, seven students were selected for scholarships for study in the Soviet Union: Gilberto Cossa (born 1962), Domingo Xilenge, Judite da Graça Miranda, Calisto Namburete, Raimundo Macaringue, Celestino 'Tisonto' José Duce and Cejuma.

### **Bursary Programmes: Perspectives from the USSR<sup>457</sup>**

The Soviet Bloc had offered scholarship programmes to students from the Global South for most of the twentieth century. The motivations behind this policy ranged from an ethical commitment to narratives of racial equality and anti-colonial liberation, to a strategic need to cement a global network of alliances, to an ideological imperative to secure the Soviet brand of socialism as the exclusive paradigm for modernity. The US offered similar scholarships, such as the one Mondlane undertook (see Chapter Two), but were quick to label the Soviet project either 'red propaganda'<sup>458</sup> aimed at indoctrinating the world's youth or a futile investment which paid little political dividend. Higher education for the decolonising world, especially Africa, became in this way a potent signifier for state

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<sup>456</sup> Frelimo, *Mozambique Briefing No 4: The Weapon of Culture* (Maputo: Information Department, FRELIMO Party Central Committee, 1987), 8–9.

<sup>457</sup> For an extended version of this discussion of the Soviet bursaries for African students see Polly Savage, "Reading Between the Lines: African Students in the USSR," in *Red Africa: Affective Communities and the Cold War*, ed. Mark Nash (London, UK: Black Dog Publishing Ltd, 2016).

<sup>458</sup> Roosevelt, Edith Kermit, "Red Jim Crowism," *The Spokesman Review*, Issue 218 Spokane, Washington, December 18, 1960.

legitimacy during the Cold War and a powerful device through which competing visions of a brighter future could be reproduced.

For the Soviet Union, the international scholarship programmes represented the praxis of Lenin's theories that the colonised peoples of the world (or 'the Toilers of the East') were the Bolsheviks' natural allies, and that decolonisation was an inevitable and essential stage in the march towards world Communism. To this end, Lenin had argued that 'all Communist parties should render direct aid to the revolutionary movements among the dependent and underprivileged nations for example, Ireland, the American Negroes, etc and in the colonies',<sup>460</sup> and a series of institutions was duly established across the USSR to provide training for future Party cadres from around the world. The first of these was the Communist University of Toilers of the East (KUTV), founded in Moscow in 1921, with branches in Baku, Irkutsk and Tashkent. This was followed in 1925 by Sun Yat-sen Communist University of the Toilers of China in Moscow, which provided training for Chinese cadres until its closure in 1930, and the Lenin International School, which functioned in Moscow between 1926 and 1938, and which aimed to 'Bolshevise' members of the European and North American communist parties. KUTV was aimed primarily at training members of the Soviet colonies to become party cadres, and initially the school enrolled students from across Asia. In July 1923, control over the school shifted from Stalin's Narkomnats to the Comintern, and the following year the doors were opened to all non-Europeans, including Africans and African Americans.<sup>461</sup> This move took place against a backdrop of widening debates about racism, following the efforts of the American Lovett Fort-Whiteman to raise the topic in official discourse.<sup>462</sup> Between 1925 and 1935, a total

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<sup>460</sup> Lenin, Vladimir, "Draft Theses on National and Colonial Questions For The Second Congress Of The Communist International", 1920, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/jun/05.htm>, accessed 8 April 2016.

<sup>461</sup> McClellan, Woodford, "Black Hajj to Red Mecca: Africans and Afro-Americans at KUTV 1925-1938," in *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: Three Centuries of Encounters* Trenton, Matusevich, Maxim, ed, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2007, pp 62-63.

<sup>462</sup> In 1925, Fort-Whiteman was assigned to recruit a contingent of black Americans for KUTV, returning to Moscow with seven prospective students. However, as Woodford McClellan has revealed in his extensive study of KUTV, "black communists" proved difficult to find and recruit; despite the intentions of the Comintern, it had been simply impossible, in George Padmore's words, to "gather up ready-made Bolsheviks on the banks of the Congo or the Nile". Flouting Moscow's



of 1,664 foreign students enrolled at KUTV, from which official records indicate only ten were African and twenty were African-American.<sup>464</sup>

Nevertheless, by the 1930s, Lenin's rhetoric of colour-blind internationalism and solidarity with the 'Toilers of the East' had resonated across the colonial world, and rumours of racial harmony led to a convergence of African, African-American and Caribbean intellectuals on the 'Red Mecca' of the Soviet Union.<sup>466</sup> Among them were the young Kenyan Jomo Kenyatta (who enrolled at KUTV in 1932), Jamaican writer Claude McKay, and African-Americans including actor, musician and activist Paul Robeson, actor Wayland Rudd and writers Homer Smith and Langston Hughes. Hughes described how on their arrival in 1932, many of his group 'left the train to touch their hands to Soviet soil, lift the new earth in their palms, and kiss it'.<sup>468</sup> Robeson, during the first of many visits to Moscow, told the press in 1934: 'here, I am not a Negro but a human being for the first time in my life.... I walk in full human dignity.'<sup>470</sup>

However the 1930s saw Stalin reverse Lenin's policies of internationalism. Turning his back on the colonies, he declared that 'the proletariat will not support so-called 'national liberation' movements... [who] have been acting in the interests of the bourgeoisie'.<sup>472</sup> During the 'Great Terror,' Stalin's purges sent a wave of xenophobia across Russia and led to the closure of KUTV in 1938. A board outside the University announced:

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orders, the US Communist Party had discouraged black membership, and in the 1920s the Comintern's only representation in Africa was the all-white South African Communist Party. See McClellan, "Black Hajj to Red Mecca: Africans and Afro-Americans at KUTV 1925 - 1938"; Woodford McClellan, "Africans and Black Americans in the Comintern Schools, 1925-1934," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 26, no. 2 (1993): 372.

<sup>464</sup> McClellan, "Black Hajj to Red Mecca", 2007, p 64.

<sup>466</sup> See Carew, Joy Gleason, *Blacks, Reds and Russians: Sojourners in Search of the Soviet Promise*, New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2010 and Blakely, Allison, *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought*, Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1986.

<sup>468</sup> Hughes, Langston, *I Wonder as I Wander: An Autobiographical Journey*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1993, p 71. See also Carew, *Blacks, Reds and Russians*, 2010, p 117.

<sup>470</sup> Nollen, Scott Allen, *Paul Robeson: Film Pioneer*, Jefferson NC: McFarland, 2010, p 53.

<sup>472</sup> Davidson, Apollon and Irina Filatova, "African History: A View from behind the Kremlin Wall", in *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: Three Centuries of Encounters*, Matusevich, Maxim, ed, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2007, p 113.

*the practice of training students from the ranks of the barely literate and sometimes illiterate who have no practical experience of organizational work with the masses has not produced the desired results.*<sup>474</sup>

After Stalin's death in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev began partially reversing his predecessor's repressive and isolationist policies. Censorship in press and the arts and restrictions on travel were eased, and efforts were made to re-establish Soviet internationalism. Marking this shift in policy, Moscow hosted the sixth World Festival of Youth and Students in 1957, receiving over 34,000 young people from 131 countries.<sup>475</sup> Khrushchev instructed the officials of the Communist Union of Youth to 'smother foreign guests in our embrace',<sup>476</sup> and over three million euphoric Muscovites flocked to the streets to welcome their 'exotic' visitors. Reeling from the Stalin years, young urbanites eagerly embraced the revival of Lenin's 'socialism with a human face', and by the end of the 1960s, 40 million Soviet citizens were members of international friendship societies.<sup>477</sup>

In the decade following the Festival, aid and investment were widely distributed to national liberation movements and decolonised nations in the Global South, and by 1966, diplomatic relations had been forged with 25 sub-Saharan African states.<sup>479</sup> From the early 1960s, thousands of Soviet (as well as Cuban, Eastern bloc, North Korean and Chinese) technicians, teachers, artists and military trainers were sent to newly independent nations such as Ghana, Mali and Algeria, and training centres were established across the continent with Soviet support, such as the Worker's University which opened in Conakry in 1961, for training trade union officials.

The cornerstone of Khrushchev's diplomatic drive was the generous programme of scholarships. In October 1960, the Peoples' Friendship University was established in Moscow specifically to cater for Third World students, alongside similar

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<sup>474</sup> McClellan, "Black Hajj to Red Mecca", 2007, p 63.

<sup>475</sup> Zubok, Vladislav, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*, Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007, pp 174–5.

<sup>476</sup> Zubok, *A Failed Empire*, 2007, pp 174.

<sup>477</sup> Rupperecht, Tobias, *Soviet Internationalism after Stalin: Interaction and Exchange between the USSR and Latin America during the Cold War*, Cambridge University Press, 2015, p 6.

<sup>479</sup> Kanet, Roger E, "African Youth: The Target of Soviet African Policy", *Russian Review* 27, no 2, April 1968, p 161.

institutions in Leipzig, Prague and other cities. Renamed Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University in 1961, following the US-led assassination of Congo's independence leader, the University received over 43,000 applications for just 597 places in its first academic year.<sup>481</sup> By 1966, over 24,000 students from almost 130 countries were enrolled in 300 Soviet educational institutions,<sup>483</sup> compared to only 46 students a decade earlier.<sup>484</sup> Khrushchev assumed that by assisting in the training of personnel, African states would be better placed to industrialise and develop into sympathetic and profitable trading partners and military allies. Particular support was offered to those states which appeared to be likely to move in a socialist direction, starting in the late 1950s with Egypt, Mali, Ghana and Guinea.

However, it proved difficult for these states to disentangle themselves from the West. Moscow had extended support to Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah following the publication of his 1964 book *Consciencism*, in which he developed a locally specific thesis of 'African Socialism', but after his turn towards Marxism-Leninism, he was promptly ousted in a CIA-backed *coup d'état* in 1966. Similarly, in Mali, Modibo Keita's socialist and pro-Soviet policies led to his forced removal from office in 1968. In Guinea, Soviet relations quickly deteriorated after 1959, as the state fell increasingly under a Western sphere of influence. Egyptian leaders proved equally difficult to retain; al-Nasser angered Moscow by suppressing the Egyptian Communist Party, and Soviet relations broke down completely when al-Sadat took power.<sup>486</sup> Students returning from Soviet training thus found their education increasingly at odds with the prevailing ideology of their home states.

Having assumed power in 1964, Brezhnev initiated a period of retrenchment, assessing the scholarship programmes to be too expensive, and the post-colonial

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<sup>481</sup> Kanet, "African Youth: The Target of Soviet African Policy", 1968, p 189.

<sup>483</sup> Barghoorn, Frederick C, "Soviet Cultural Effort", in *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, vol 29, 1969, 162-163.

<sup>484</sup> Kanet, Roger E, ed, "African Youth: The Target of Soviet African Policy", *The Russian Review* 27, April 1966, p 166.

<sup>486</sup> Thiam, "Africa and the Socialist Countries", 1999, p 809.

regimes in Africa ‘too unreliable to warrant major investments in their loyalty’,<sup>488</sup> a view compounded by these failed attempts to gain allies in Ghana, Mali, Egypt and Guinea, and by an increase in Western aid to Africa during the 1960s. In Khrushchev's final years, economic aid to Africa accounted for around 25 per cent of new Soviet commitments; by the early 1970s it had fallen to well under 10 per cent,<sup>490</sup> although the scholarship programme did continue operate.

Two events of the mid 1970s effected a shift in this policy on Africa. The first was the 1974 coup in Addis Ababa which saw the *Derg* (a committee of police and army officers led by General Mengistu Haile Mariam) depose Emperor Haile Selassie and declare Marxism-Leninism the state ideology, explicitly repudiating Ethiopia's long-standing relations with the West. The second was the 1974 Carnation Revolution in Lisbon and subsequent transfer of power in Lusophone Africa. The Marxist-Leninist alignment of new governments such as Frelimo's reignited Soviet hopes for Africa after the disappointments of earlier Socialist experiments. During the mid-1970s Brezhnev therefore re-emphasised the scholarship programmes, which he hoped would reap immediate benefits in the ideological battles of the era. By 1981, when Cejuma and his cohort arrived, the USSR and Eastern Europe were training 72,090 foreign students (including 34,805 from Africa)<sup>492</sup> and over the next five years, Russia would provide scholarships worth the equivalent of over US\$1.7 billion.<sup>494</sup> Taking advantage of these programmes, Mengistu sent over 15,000 Ethiopian students to study in the USSR during the second half of the twentieth century, and around 2,000 to other Socialist countries.<sup>496</sup> By 1985, the USSR had signed agreements with thirty-seven African countries.<sup>498</sup>

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<sup>488</sup> Lawson, Colin W, “Soviet Economic Aid to Africa”, *African Affairs* 87, no 349, October 1988, p 505.

<sup>490</sup> Lawson, “Soviet Economic Aid to Africa”, 1988, p 505.

<sup>492</sup> Lawson, “Soviet Economic Aid to Africa”, 1988, p 512.

<sup>494</sup> Lawson, “Soviet Economic Aid to Africa”, 1988, p 501.

<sup>496</sup> Pankhurst, Richard “The Russians in Ethiopia: Aspirations of Progress”, *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: Three Centuries of Encounters* Trenton, Matusevich, Maxim, ed, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2007, p232.

<sup>498</sup> Thiam, Iba Der and James Mulira, “Africa and the Socialist Countries”, *UNESCO General History of Africa (Unabridged) Volume VIII*, Mazrui, Ali, ed, Oxford: James Currey, 1999, p 803.

### **Bursary Programmes: Perspectives from Mozambique**

The opening of the Soviet archives in the early 1990s has shed new light on the dynamics behind 'educational diplomacy', revealing that, rather than passively accepting these gestures of solidarity or soft power, the recipient states often actively negotiated and determined the terms of Soviet assistance and educational aid.<sup>499</sup> As discussed in Chapter Two, Frelimo had prioritised education since its foundation, and Mondlane and other members actively worked to secure scholarships for Mozambican students. Natalia Telepneva suggests this campaigning had already begun by October 1958, when Viriato da Cruz, Mário Pinto de Andrade, and Marcelino dos Santos attended the 'First Afro-Asian People's Writers' Conference' in Tashkent. Here, she suggests, they probably met with Ivan Potekhin, a leading figure in Soviet African studies, who had taught at KUTV in the 1930s, and who, in June 1959, sent Mário de Andrade a circular letter about the establishment of the 'Soviet Friendship Association with the African Peoples' and asking to meet with 'cultural figures, mass and youth organizations in their country'.<sup>500</sup> Mário de Andrade responded by asking for scholarships for students from the Portuguese colonies, but Potekhin declined due to a lack of resources in the Friendship Association.

Due to Frelimo's non-aligned position, the USSR had initially been reticent about an alliance,<sup>501</sup> but nevertheless donated arms during the independence struggle. Following independence, Frelimo's relations moved perceptibly away from China and towards the USSR, and a month after the official declaration of commitment to Marxism-Leninism at the 1977 third party congress, Mozambique signed a twenty-

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<sup>499</sup> See, for example, Engerman, David C, "The Second World's Third World", *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 12, no 1, 2011, pp 183–211 and Katsakioris, Constantin, "Transferts Est-Sud. Echanges éducatifs et formation de cadres africains en Union soviétique pendant les années soixante", *Revue d'histoire d'Outre-Mers* 95, no 354-355, 2007, pp80-103. On solidarity policies in East German education see Jason Verber 'True to the Politics of Frelimo? Teaching Socialism at the *Schule der Freundschaft*, 1981-90' in Slobodian, Quinn, ed, *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, New York and Oxford: Berghen Books, 2015, pp.188-210, and Müller, Tanja R, *Legacies of Socialist Solidarity: East Germany in Mozambique* Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014 .

<sup>500</sup> Telepneva, "Our Sacred Duty: The Soviet Union, the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese Colonies, and the Cold War, 1961--1975," 53.

<sup>501</sup> Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War": The USSR in Southern Africa*, 119–22.

year treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union.<sup>502</sup> When South Africa attacked ANC targets in Maputo suburbs in January 1981, the USSR sent two warships to the city and threatened military reprisals 'if anyone attacks our friends'.<sup>503</sup> Nevertheless, Machel resisted Soviet intervention in policy, supporting ZANU rebels in Zimbabwe (as opposed to the ZAPU, who the Soviets backed),<sup>504</sup> and refusing the USSR permission to build a naval base on Mozambique's Indian Ocean Islands. Whilst Machel referred to the USSR as one of Mozambique's 'natural allies', he also joked that Moscow was 'the Vatican of socialism'.<sup>505</sup>

In 1983, Mozambique launched a new programme for education, the *4/83 a lei do sistema nacional de educação* (the law of the national system of education), or SNE, based on socialist frameworks. The SNE established a specific department to deal with the scholarship programmes, the Directorship or Institute of Bursaries, which operated under the charge of the Department of External Relations.<sup>506</sup> The scholarship programmes were publicised as an expression of socialist fraternity, but as the head of International Relations at Mozambique's Ministry of Culture told me, the agreements were as much concerned with pragmatic strategy as ideology:

*It wasn't just solidarity. We had a market for their agricultural products here, electro-domestic goods, clothes – all these came from the USSR. All the military logistics too - the president's aeroplane came from there. In return we sent produce: prawns, cashew nuts and sugar. In the cultural sphere, the USSR didn't interfere in our decisions or our policies. We conceived our own programmes... they intervened in areas of commerce, military areas, but in the cultural domain we could do what we wanted.*<sup>507</sup>

The GDR and Cuba also offered educational aid to Mozambique. Following a Friendship and Cooperation treaty between the two countries in 1979, Margot Honecker and Graça Machel signed a further treaty in October 1981, which

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<sup>502</sup> Simpson, Mark, "Foreign and Domestic Factors in the Transformation of Frelimo", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 31, no 02, June 1993, p 322.

<sup>503</sup> Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique From Colonialism to Revolution 1900-1982*, 182.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid.

<sup>505</sup> Cravinho, "Modernising Mozambique: Frelimo Ideology and Frelimo State," 93.

<sup>506</sup> Baiane Eugenio Langa, Técnico, Instituto das Bolsas de Estudo, Ministério da Educação (Institute of Scholarships, Ministry of Education), Interview with author, Maputo, November 30, 2010.

<sup>507</sup> Nomburete, Técnico de relações internacionais, Ministério da Cultura (International Relations, Ministry of Culture), Interview with author, Maputo.

inaugurated the *Schule der Freundschaft* (Friendship School), a boarding school in Staßfurt near Magdeburg, GDR, at which a cohort of 899 Mozambican youths undertook six years' training.<sup>508</sup> The 1979 treaty also inaugurated work contracts for Mozambicans in the GDR, and during the 1980s around 16,000 'Madgermanes' (a term derived from 'made in Germany') travelled to East Germany to work in factories and other settings. These workers continue to stage weekly protests in Maputo over Frelimo's retention of 60% of their remittances during this period.<sup>509</sup>

Cuba's provision for Mozambican students included opportunities in Castro's extensive education project on the Isla de la Juventud. 56 schools had been built on the island between 1959 and 1981, including four specifically for Mozambican students and seven for Angolan students. By 1987, 3,581 Angolans and 2,231 Mozambican pupils were studying in these schools, out of a total (in 1988) of 13,098 foreign students studying on the island.<sup>510</sup> University scholarships were also extended to international students, as another expression of Tricontinental solidarity.

### **Fine Art and Design Scholarships**

During the war of liberation, Frelimo sent students to Socialist countries primarily for military training, although a few students trained in health or education and returned to assume those roles in the communities, helping to establish cooperatives. After independence, the focus of the programmes shifted to technical and vocational areas such as Medicine, Engineering, Social sciences, Education and

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<sup>508</sup> Tanja R. Müller, *Legacies of Socialist Solidarity: East Germany in Mozambique* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 34 Müller's book gives a detailed survey of Mozambican students' experiences at the Schule der Freundschaft. See also Slobodian, *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World* especially Jason Verber "True to the Politics of Frelimo? Teaching Socialism at the Schule der Freundschaft, 1981-1990."

<sup>509</sup> See Ulrich van der Heyden, Wolfgang Semmler, and Ralf Straßburg, *Mosambikanische Vertragsarbeiter in der DDR-Wirtschaft: Hintergrund - Verlauf - Folgen* (LIT Verlag Münster, 2014).

<sup>510</sup> Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *South-South Educational Migration, Humanitarianism and Development: Views from the Caribbean, North Africa and the Middle East* (Routledge, 2015), 34; For extensive analysis of Cuban-Angolan educational aid see Christine Hatzky, *Cubans in Angola: South-South Cooperation and Transfer of Knowledge, 1976-1991* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014) and; Christabelle Peters, *Cuban Identity and the Angolan Experience*, *New Concepts in Latino American Cultures* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Agronomy. As discussed in Chapter Two, the discipline of Fine Art had come under attack in state discourse during the early years of independence, and art education was low on the government's agenda. As Victor Sousa told me:

*It wasn't a priority of the state to send people abroad to study art... People didn't understand why we wanted to study art - very few people did it. They said 'food is for everyone, art is only for a few'.<sup>511</sup>*

Prior to independence, most opportunities for art education had been in Western countries: Malangatana, for example, studied Ceramics and Printmaking in Lisbon on a Gulbenkian Scholarship from 1971-1974 and Victor Sousa undertook a correspondence course in 1972, with a Brazilian university. However, in the early 1980s, Graça Machel, then Minister for Education and Culture, and her brother Gabriel Simbine (Director of CEC) managed to secure a number of scholarships for Visual Arts training in socialist states.

The cohort of seven from CEC were the first artists to take up these programmes. Subsequent Visual Arts *bolseiros* included Pais Ernesto Shikani (1934-2010) and Samate Machava (1939-2012), who in 1982 both undertook six-month courses in painting at a 'large academy' in Moscow. 'I learnt the techniques of painting there' recalled Samate, 'how to work in a more specialised way, but I still drew the same thing. My style stayed the same, but I learnt how to mix colours, these kind of techniques and so on'.<sup>512</sup> Shikani remembered arriving in Moscow: 'Opa! I had a physical shock...[but] this experience was very valuable because I came to know people, outside and inside the country. To know that this path is like this – that path is like that'.<sup>513</sup>

Dias Machlate (born 1958) spent six years studying art in Dresden, along with another Mozambican artist, Francisco Maria Conde (born 1957), and seven Ethiopian students. Arriving in 1983, he spent his first year studying language and History of Art, and his second year covering anatomy in the Medical Academy,

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<sup>511</sup> Victor Sousa (visual artist), Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>512</sup> Machava, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>513</sup> Shikani, Interview with author, Maputo.



followed by four years at higher level.<sup>514</sup> Pedro 'Dito' Jeremias Tembe (born 1960) also studied visual art in the GDR, arriving with 150 other *Madgermane* labourers in 1985 to work at the Lederwaren Suede Factory in Schwerin, Mecklenburg. There, he negotiated with the Mozambique Embassy to attend a three-year Visual Arts Course at the Russian & Germany Friendship House in Schwerin, from 1987 to 1989.<sup>515</sup>

Following their studies at ENAV, Pompílio 'Gemuce' Hilário (born 1963) and Bento Mukeswane (1965-1999) were sent with two others to study art in Kiev in 1985. After a year of language tuition, Gemuce completed a BA in Fine Art at the Institute of Fine Arts of Kiev, and then an MFA at the Ukranian Academy of Fine Arts, returning to Mozambique in 1993.<sup>516</sup>

The final Mozambican art students to take up bursaries through socialist networks were Carmen Maria Muianga (born 1974) and Marcos Bonifácio Muthewuye (born 1972). Both students at ENAV, they were selected for bursaries by the school's director Estela Texeira, and travelled to Cuba to study at the Instituto Superior de Arte in Havana, from 1991 until 1995.<sup>518</sup> Carmen specialised in Printmaking, and studied with artist Belkis Ayón (1967-99) and print-maker Agustín Bejerano (born 1964). Marcos recalled three Dance students from Mozambique (Philomena José, Augusto Coveillas and Maria Elena Pinto) and two Music students (Jonathan Zamba and Amelia Matsinha), who also studied in Havana.<sup>520</sup>

Artists from other African countries also received training with these programmes. Many Angolan artists studied in Cuba, including Jorge Gumbe (born 1959), who graduated in Painting and Design at the *Escola Nacional de Arte* in Havana in 1989, and art historian Adriano Mixinge (born 1968), who studied on the island for fourteen years, ultimately graduating in Art History at the University of Havana in

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<sup>514</sup> Machlate, Interview with author, Windhoek, Namibia.

<sup>515</sup> Pedro Jeremias Tembe (Dito), interview with author, Maputo, February 12, 2010.

<sup>516</sup> Hilário (Gemuce), Interview with author, Maputo, July 19, 2010.

<sup>518</sup> Muianga, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>520</sup> Marcos Bonifácio Muthewuye, Interview with author, Maputo, March 11, 2010.

1993.<sup>521</sup> Ethiopia had a long tradition of collaboration with Russia, and art students had travelled to Moscow from the 1950s. Geta Mekonnen records that, between 1961 and 1974, 14 out of 119 students enrolled at Addis Ababa School of Fine Arts were sent to study in Eastern bloc countries.<sup>522</sup> These numbers accelerated rapidly under the Derg. Bekele Mekonnen, Director of the Art School in Addis, studied at the Surikov Academy in Moscow for six years, beginning in 1987. He described it as a means of escape from Ethiopia's oppressive political climate:

*Socialism wasn't that beautiful for people. It wasn't a choice – it was imposed, so you had to tolerate it... For us, the youngsters who were thirsty enough to get more education and more civilisation, especially higher education in art ... you had to go to somewhere to expose yourself and the only narrow way of access to overseas was the Eastern bloc... It was not a destination by choice for study, just an exit to evacuate'.<sup>523</sup>*



**Figure 77 Anon. Ethiopian art students in Moscow, 1985. Source: lissanonline.com**

<sup>521</sup> Mixinge, *Made in Angola: Arte Contemporânea, Artistas e Debates*.

<sup>522</sup> Geta Mekonnen, "Beauty and the Beast: Art and Dictatorship in Socialist Ethiopia, 1974-1991' in," ed. Rebecca Martin Nagy (FL: Harn Museum, 2007), 31; See also Cowcher, "From Pushkin to Perestroika: Art and the Search for an Ethiopian October."

<sup>523</sup> Bekele Mekonnen Director, Addis Ababa School of Fine Arts, Interview with author, Addis Ababa, February 26, 2010.

For Dito too, the GDR offered an escape from Mozambique's war-ravaged economy in the mid-1980s. 'That was just at the time when things were getting bad, perhaps the worst time', he recalled:

*the objective was to go where everybody could have food and clothes. I was 25 years old and for young people like me it was very important to have Levi Strauss jeans and go to discos. Those who went to Germany said it was very nice because there was music and food and chicken. It wasn't important to know what we would do there, the most important thing for young people was just to leave the country... here you could lose your life, you could get killed... I left, to look for a better life in another country.<sup>524</sup>*

Tisonto was enthusiastic about going to the USSR: 'I was very happy', he recalled, 'because here was a possibility to learn the rules. I was always very curious to know how to make a portrait, like I had seen in books and magazines... this fed my curiosity'.<sup>525</sup> Likewise, Cejuma recalled his enthusiasm for the scholarships: 'by the grace of God' he said 'I will now be able to go travelling!'<sup>526</sup> Raimundo remembered 'I just wanted to study abroad - I didn't mind where'.<sup>527</sup> Gemuce was more hesitant, recalling how in 1985 he was sent against his will to study in Kiev: 'we didn't choose to continue our studies in the Soviet Union – it was more like a mission – say a state mission'.<sup>528</sup>

Baiane Langa described how the *Instituto de Bolsas de Estudo* prepared the selected students for their travels by running a series of information sessions and screening a series of films about life in the USSR:

*Our knowledge of these countries wasn't very broad... [but] we trained people to know what a country would be like, that it would be cold, and that people are like this, and so on... [and] above all to maintain a focus on study, study, study! To work hard and then come back and develop the country.<sup>529</sup>*

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<sup>524</sup> Tembe (Dito), interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>525</sup> Constantino Júlio Duce (Tisonto), Professor of Design and Graphics, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo, March 19, 2010.

<sup>526</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>527</sup> Macaringue (Raimundo), Professor of Painting and Visual Education, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>528</sup> Hilário (Gemuce), Interview with author, Maputo, July 19, 2010.

<sup>529</sup> Langa, Técnico, Instituto das Bolsas de Estudo, Ministério da Educação (Institute of Scholarships, Ministry of Education), Interview with author, Maputo.

Tisonto also recalled watching a film at the Russian consulate, about life for students in the USSR,<sup>531</sup> and thinking 'the USSR was a powerful country, good for weapons and war, and nothing more... we didn't think we would find men who talked about art! Some people said we'd be made into troops and die there'.<sup>533</sup> Cejuma also remembered knowing very little about the Soviet Union, but being eager to learn more about their political system:

*I didn't know much at all. I knew it was a socialist country, which at that time was accumulating land across the world. It was in the time when socialism was really ascendant. So I thought 'now I am going to understand what I had only heard about'. I had heard people say 'oh União Soviética, the USSR' and I thought 'I am going to be there!' It was marvellous. I went there prepared with the idea that this country could really teach me something.<sup>534</sup>*

## **Tashkent 1982**

On arrival in Moscow in 1981, the seven Mozambican students were informed they would study in Tashkent. Cejuma recalled his first impressions of the city: 'when we arrived there, it was really good fun to see how it was in this developed country... it was wonderful for us to visit their museums, their spaces. We were really happy to be there'.<sup>535</sup> The students were sent to a preparatory faculty, where they completed a year-long Russian language course which Cejuma described as 'very difficult...it has very heavy grammar... in the first year, we were foreigners, and in the place where we lived we didn't have much connection with the Russians'.<sup>536</sup> Similarly, Tisonto recalled that 'in the beginning we felt a little lost'.<sup>537</sup> After the first year, Cossa and Calisto returned to Moscow, and the other students enrolled at Tashkent's Benkov Republican College of Art.<sup>538</sup> Here, they began to forge closer friendships, as Cejuma recalls 'when we entered into the art

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<sup>531</sup> Duce (Tisonto), Professor of Design and Graphics, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>533</sup> Macaringue (Raimundo), Professor of Painting and Visual Education, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>534</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>535</sup> Ibid.

<sup>536</sup> Ibid.

<sup>537</sup> Duce (Tisonto), Professor of Design and Graphics, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>538</sup> Previously Turkestan People's School of Art (founded in 1919), the School was renamed in 1949 after artist Pavel Petrovitch Benkov (1879-1949). See Gulsara Babajanova, "On the History of Artistic Education in Uzbekistan," *San'at (Art)* 1 (2007).

school, we got to know them, and we realised that we were alike'.<sup>540</sup>

Laura Adams has argued that, during both Soviet and post-Soviet eras, Uzbek national rhetoric relied heavily on narratives of 'People's Friendship' and hospitality.<sup>541</sup> During the Second World War, the country had received hundreds of thousands of refugees and orphans from the European Soviet republics, including many artists and cultural workers who would play an important role in the developing art education. Offering the only higher level art education in Central Asia, the city attracted students from across the region, further adding to its cosmopolitan character.<sup>542</sup>

Although the strictest Marxist-Leninist approach held that nations, like classes, would dissolve with the onset of communism,<sup>543</sup> the idea of the nation remained embedded in Soviet thought and the very notion of a homogenous Uzbek identity was in fact Soviet in origin. The region had long been host to diverse populations, and was occupied by three feudal city-states (the Emirate of Bukhara, and the Khanates of Khiva and Kokand) and various nomadic ethnic groups when the current borders were drawn by the USSR in 1924.<sup>544</sup> The Soviets approached the challenge of defining a unified Uzbek national identity from these disparate groups by promoting Stalin's notion of 'the construction of culture national in form and socialist in content'.<sup>545</sup> As Adams demonstrates, the creation of this national culture was a selective process which involved 'emphasising elements that were seen as exotic or socialist, and excluding anything that might be considered less than progressive, such as religion'.<sup>546</sup> As documented in Chapter Two, Frelimo had undertaken a comparable process in Mozambique, where regional and ethnic

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<sup>540</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>541</sup> Laura L. Adams, *The Spectacular State: Culture and National Identity in Uzbekistan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 30.

<sup>542</sup> Babajanova, "On the History of Artistic Education in Uzbekistan."

<sup>543</sup> David Chioni Moore, "Is the Post- in Postcolonial the Post- in Post-Soviet? Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique," *PMLA (Modern Language Association)* 116, no. 1 (January 2001): 122.

<sup>544</sup> Adams, *The Spectacular State*, 35.

<sup>545</sup> Yuri Slezkine, "The Fall of Soviet Ethnography, 1928-38," *Current Anthropology* 32, no. 4 (1991): 481, doi:10.1086/203986.

<sup>546</sup> Laura L. Adams, "Invention, Institutionalization and Renewal in Uzbekistan's National Culture," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 2, no. 3 (September 1, 1999): 359, doi:10.1177/136754949900200304.

divisions had initially threatened the unity of the resistance movement.<sup>547</sup>

Ultimately however, policy and teaching in the Soviet Uzbek Republic promoted Russian culture as the exemplary paradigm, suggesting that ‘it was the role of the culturally superior Russians to bring the Uzbeks forward so they could join the modern world’.<sup>548</sup>

The Soviet Union rhetorically avoided the obvious contradictions between its anti-colonial rhetoric and its territorial ambitions by declaring itself ‘a multi-layered “voluntary” union of republics’,<sup>549</sup> as opposed to an empire. In many respects the Soviet Union’s brand of colonialism was significantly different to European models, for example, suggests Adams, in terms of the large-scale development programmes initiated in the Soviet Republics.<sup>550</sup> Nevertheless, the state’s promotion of a cultural hierarchy which privileged the metropole’s modes of production over those of the periphery also bears remarkable resemblance to the colonial discourses of Portuguese superiority which permeated Malangatana’s early schooling. Both promoted a form of nationalism characterised by Benedict Anderson as ‘official nationalism’, a homogeneity imposed from above through state action, of which ‘Russification’ was paradigmatic.<sup>551</sup>

## Curricula

In 1982, Cejuma and his Mozambican colleagues enrolled on a course in ‘Design and Graphics’, with a specialism in graphics, and studied techniques of realist painting and graphic design under the supervision of painter and graphic designer Victor Alexei Lebedev. Initially these techniques presented the Mozambican students with a major challenge, as the disparity in their art education became apparent:

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<sup>547</sup> Simpson, “Foreign and Domestic Factors in the Transformation of Frelimo,” 311.

<sup>548</sup> Adams, *The Spectacular State*, 38.

<sup>549</sup> Moore, “Is the Post- in Postcolonial the Post- in Post-Soviet? Toward a Global Postcolonial Critique,” 122.

<sup>550</sup> Adams, “Invention, Institutionalization and Renewal in Uzbekistan’s National Culture,” 333.

<sup>551</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 83; See also Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (Zed, 1986), 20.

*When we arrived there we didn't have the processes which the Russians had been learning since crèche ... I remember the professor there, with my first work, he said 'you know nothing - you are at zero - I don't know how I am going to work with you'.<sup>552</sup>*

'We felt very depressed', Cejuma recalled, 'but in us there was a bigger will to work.' Tisonto similarly recalled feeling 'behind' his Russian classmates at the start of the year:

*When the bursary started, I was at point zero in comparison to the Russians. Because the Russians learnt design from infancy, and had grown up knowing how to draw, to work with watercolours, gouache, clay... when we came here we didn't know how to hold a brush, we were completely lost. We were very thankful for the gestures of our professors in the USSR, who showed us in their free time, how to rise up to the level of the others.<sup>553</sup>*

The students spent their first year at the Institute observing the Russian students and practising techniques of colour mixing and painting. Cejuma remembered:

*By the end of the first year we understood how these processes worked... it took the greatest effort for us to get there... but by the second year we were much closer to the Russians in terms of how we worked... by the third year there really was no difference in design or in painting – we were totally equal.<sup>554</sup>*

Tisonto also recalled, with satisfaction, that they eventually achieved technical equality with the other students: 'by the end of the course, it was difficult to say this one here is African, this one here is European, or this one here is Mozambican, that one there is Soviet'.<sup>555</sup> Nevertheless, he recalls, the Director of the Art School had teased them:

*He'd say to me 'Constantino, do you know that I have already observed people from many different nationalities here - we have Uzbeks, we have Tajiks, and so on. All of them, when they draw Lenin, out comes a Tajik Lenin or an Uzbek Lenin! Now I'm going to see how you draw a Lenin - your Lenin - a black Lenin!' He was joking and of course we didn't do that!<sup>556</sup>*

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<sup>552</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>553</sup> Duce (Tisonto), Professor of Design and Graphics, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>554</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>555</sup> Duce (Tisonto), Professor of Design and Graphics, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>556</sup> Ibid.

The Tashkent syllabus included an element of Art History, the majority of which also focused on the history of Russian Socialist Realist painting. Raimundo recalled this bias in the curriculum:

*It was like the USSR was the entire world!<sup>557</sup> They didn't even know where Africa was. We only studied Russian artists, the ones they had consecrated, not the others. The Minister of Culture in Moscow had said we need to study their portraiture, their history, their artists. The Uzbek artists weren't considered important to them, because they were a republic, inside the USSR, so they said no we don't need to study their art.<sup>558</sup>*

Both artists recall being influenced by the work of Ukrainian artist Ilya Repin (1844-1930), whose work was often cited as a model for Socialist Realist artists to follow. Cejuma also cited Russian painters Ivan Xixkin and Wassily Kandinsky, as well as Leonardo da Vinci, whose work he had seen during a visit to The State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. He also owned a large book of Russian exhibition posters, which he often turned to for inspiration: 'It helped me a lot in terms of realising the different manners in which posters could be designed. There was definitely a big influence from Russian posters,'<sup>559</sup> he recalled.

On April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1932, when the Central Committee of the CPSU issued a decree disbanding all existing artistic groups in favour of artists' unions, the Soviet state

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<sup>557</sup> A lack of global perspective had caused problems in Soviet bursary programmes from the start. In September 1928, four African-American students presented a petition to the Comintern, complaining that living conditions in the University were "unendurable", and that: the PROGRAMME OF STUDY is not entirely suited to the ideological needs of students from Western countries. There is no course treating of American Imperialism as such or of the American labour movement, nor touching in any way upon the conditions of Negroes internationally'. McClellan records that the ninety-eight strong founding faculty of KUTV offered courses in Marxism-Leninism, Historical Materialism, Bolshevik History, Mathematics, Economic Geography, Russian language and the "National and Colonial Question", but knew little about the non-Soviet world. In response to the students' petition, the International Lenin School, at which African and African American KUTV students were required to attend courses, created a special section ("Section 9") for black students and initiated short courses on Imperialism and the "Negro question". See McClellan, "Africans and Black Americans in the Comintern Schools, 1925-1934," 375; and McClellan, "Black Hajj to Red Mecca: Africans and Afro-Americans at KUTV 1925 - 1938," 66.

<sup>558</sup> Macaringue (Raimundo), Professor of Painting and Visual Education, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>559</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.



effectively inaugurated a centralised approach to cultural production,<sup>560</sup> an approach with parallels to Frelimo's 'Cultural Offensive' in the early years of Mozambican independence. The somewhat vague terms of Socialist Realism, which determined that art must be 'realistic in form and socialist in content',<sup>561</sup> were outlined at the first Congress of the Soviet Writer's Union in 1934 and subsequently expanded to include all arts, including the visual arts. The criteria by which Socialist Realism was defined fluctuated over time, tightening dramatically under Stalin, softening after his death in 1952 and then becoming, suggests Groys, a 'stage on which the struggle against censorship was played out'.<sup>562</sup> By the 1970s, young artists in Moscow such as Ilya Kabakov and Erik Bulatov were increasingly challenging the boundaries of permissible visual practice, but the authorities continued to suppress non-confirming artists, the KGB allegedly murdering Ukrainian painter Alla Horska in 1970 and convicting her husband of the crime after she had signed a letter to the Party calling for increased artistic freedom.<sup>563</sup> Raimundo remembered strict aesthetic parameters in the Tashkent school:

*We couldn't just draw in any manner, any composition. When we arrived, we were taught not to work in an abstract way. It wasn't worth the trouble to do this. I don't know what would have happened. If you wanted to represent animals, you had to show animals, you couldn't show anything else.*<sup>564</sup>

Nevertheless, by the time the *bolseiros* had arrived in Tashkent in 1981, the foundations of Socialist Realism, like those of the Soviet state, were in the process of disintegrating. The death of Brezhnev in November of that year marked a turning point in Soviet policy, and the increased honesty permitted under Gorbachev's *perestroika* opened opportunities for artists to engage with religious subjects and a greater degree of social critique.<sup>565</sup> Cejuma suggests that his teachers allowed him freedom over his style and subject matter, and that he had made a number of abstract works during his studies. 'I could make whatever kind

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<sup>560</sup> Matthew Cullerne Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting* (Yale University Press, 1998), 134.

<sup>561</sup> Groys, *Art Power*, 141.

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>563</sup> Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting*, 458.

<sup>564</sup> Macaringue (Raimundo), Professor of Painting and Visual Education, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>565</sup> Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting*, 461.

of poster I wanted to... we could also work in an abstract way,' he recalls, 'but I liked realism... I really wanted to make something that looked real'.<sup>566</sup> However, whilst Cejuma suggested that the Institute's students 'could work in any way, any style... you choose the theme',<sup>567</sup> it was inconceivable for him that this theme might include social or political critique:

*it would have been complicated to do that... if it was a critical work, they wouldn't have accepted it... It would have very painful consequences. It would have been a real shock that people had those beliefs... Nobody ever spoke, because they had a very, very deep system of communication. People were very afraid... There were people who would have felt this inside, but it was very difficult to express it.*<sup>568</sup>

The apparent contradictions in Cejuma's assessment of his creative freedom in Tashkent reveal much about the nature of censorship in the Uzbek republic, and suggest that state ideology had been assimilated to the point that overt censorship was rendered unnecessary. As Laura Adams demonstrates, state control over the arts was welcomed as a means of safeguarding Uzbekistan's cultural standards against the degradations of popular culture; thus 'censorship was embraced as the guarantor of stable values and a constructive humanism'.<sup>569</sup> The assimilation of censorship under late state socialism is also explored by Miklós Haraszti, who argues that whilst 'traditional censorship presupposes the inherent opposition of creators and censors, the new censorship strives to eliminate this antagonism. The artist and censor – the two faces of official culture – diligently and cheerfully cultivate the gardens of art together'.<sup>570</sup>

The *bolseiros* in other Eastern bloc art colleges also received rigorous technical training in realist painting. Mekonnen described his training at the Surikov Academy as 'a replica of the Florentine, Vasari school... based on life model drawing and painting, intensively... there was no critical analysis, just technical training... the old professors were cultivated in a conservative academy, most of

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<sup>566</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid.

<sup>569</sup> Adams, *The Spectacular State*, 156.

<sup>570</sup> Miklós Haraszti, *The Velvet Prison: Artists under State Socialism* (London: Penguin, 1989), 7.

them socialist realists'.<sup>571</sup> In Kiev in the early 1990s, Gemuce's Art History classes were also closely focused on Socialist Realism. 'They taught Soviet history, Ukrainian History, psychology, aesthetics, ethics, Russian art history and European art history', he recalled 'but of course the focus was on Socialist Realism'.<sup>572</sup> By contrast, Dias Machlate's History of Art classes in Dresden covered Greek, Egyptian and Byzantine art, with only a very cursory mention of Russian art. He undertook a year's training in anatomy at a medical school, where he remembered studying the skeletal remains of World War II victims.<sup>573</sup> Encouraged by his lecturers, he then carried out research about African art in Dresden library and Museum, and received permission to access records dating to the Fascist period. 'I was encouraged to go deep into African roots',<sup>574</sup> he recalled. He began researching Benin brass casting traditions and was inspired to learn bronze casting and ceramic techniques at the college.

Carmen and Marcos' training in Cuba took a much more experimental approach. Che Guevara had openly criticised Soviet Socialist Realism in 1965, and as David Craven has shown, Castro's support for abstract and semi-abstract artists such as René Portocarrero (1912-1985) had horrified the Soviets.<sup>575</sup> Arriving shortly after the withdrawal of Soviet funding in 1991 had plunged the island into the 'Special Period', both students recalled their shock at finding conditions on a par with what they had left in Mozambique. Working during this time of shortage, staff at ISA encouraged students to work with whatever materials they had to hand. Muthewuye recalls: 'I went to a country which didn't have conditions for making art and I learned how to make art. I realised it is always possible to make art'.<sup>576</sup>

The students described how their History of Art classes at ISA took a militantly global perspective, reflecting the logic of the Havana Biennale's Tricontinental

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<sup>571</sup> Mekonnen Director, Addis Ababa School of Fine Arts, Interview with author, Addis Ababa.

<sup>572</sup> Hilário (Gemuce), Interview with author, Maputo, July 19, 2010.

<sup>573</sup> Machlate, Interview with author, Windhoek, Namibia.

<sup>574</sup> Ibid.

<sup>575</sup> David Craven, *Art and Revolution in Latin America, 1910-1990*, New edition edition (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2006), 75.

<sup>576</sup> Muthewuye, Interview with author, Maputo.

internationalism and rejection of Euro-centrism. Carmen remembered studying 'Latin American art, the Mayas, the Incas, the history of African art, Egypt, maybe the art of the Congo (all of these points made a triangle)... We also talked about Contemporary Art, installation, and performance'.<sup>578</sup> Marcos observed a huge appetite for African themes in Cuban art, which had been fostered in particular by painter Wifredo Lam (1902-1982). 'We talked a lot about 'subaltern culture', and they had started to see African culture and their own black people as an important part of the country', he recalled. This perspective encouraged Marcos to look back to Africa for inspiration, but with reservations about the 'burden of representation':

*I learnt there to discover my Africa – I discovered the artistic potential of my roots when I was in Cuba. I started to see how the Cubans would 'drink' from their ancestral roots, from their African roots... They didn't know anything of Africa – their Africa was a cultural memory. I said, 'OK I'm African but I don't want to just be in that closed space... I am also other things – I don't only want to talk about Africa!'<sup>579</sup>*

Marcos shared with me images of his work from this period, including a bust of

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<sup>578</sup> Muianga, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>579</sup> Muthewuye, Interview with author, Maputo.



Figure 78 Marcos Muthewuye *Luz Viva (Che Guevara)* 1999, Ceramic



Figure 79 Marcos Muthewuye *Shetani* 1995, Ceramic



Figure 80 Marcos Muthewuye *Mascara* Performance object, 2000. Collection MNA, Maputo



Figure 81 Marcos Muthewuye *Natureza Morta* Performance, Havana. 1998 Image courtesy Marcos Muthewuye

Che Guevara. (Figure 78: 'It was a bust to appreciate him. It was an artistic thing. It wasn't a political thing'.<sup>580</sup>) He explained how he had drawn on both Mozambican and African-Cuban traditions in works such as a 1995 series of ceramics depicting Makonde shetani spirits and Santeria spirit vessels (Figure 79) and a series of performances drawing on Santeria possession rituals. In *Natureza Morta* (Figure 80-81, Still Life 1996-8,) Marcos performed in a Makonde *lipiko* helmet mask made from discarded beer cans, an irreverent constellation of alcohol, local tradition and commodities that would have offered a profound counterpoint to the puritanical universalism of Frelimo's early policies.

Whilst the *bolseiros* were immersed in the aesthetic and social implications of Cuban and late Soviet socialism, political education only formed a minor element of the syllabus in the art schools. Cejuma and his colleagues recalled taking general disciplines including History, Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, further Russian language, but devoting the majority of their time to technical training.

The relative lack of political education in the Soviet programmes can be traced back to the 1960s, when they had come under increasing attack over the ideological emphasis of the teaching for African students. Kenyan student Nicholas Nyangira, who had studied in Baku had complained to *The New York Times* in 1965 that 'we hardly learned any other subject apart from the Russian language and Marxism and Leninism'.<sup>582</sup> He and a group of eighty-four other students, incensed by poor living conditions and this 'Communist indoctrination... and pressure exerted on us to join political movements', had occupied Baku railway station for nine days, demanding to be taken to Moscow to have their case for curriculum change heard. They were eventually herded onto a plane back to Kenya. He later

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<sup>580</sup> Ibid.

<sup>582</sup> Nyangira went on to relate cases of racist harassment experienced by African students in Baku, and recounted that 'if a student disagreed with Comrade Lenin's writings, his teacher tried very hard to trace the student's family background.... We failed to understand why this was necessary', Nicholas Nyangira, "Africans Don't Go to Russia to Be Brainwashed," *The New York Times Magazine* 16, no. 5 (1965): 62.



recalled 'we were uncertain whether we had been chosen to learn or to be trained as Communists'.<sup>583</sup>

Pre-empting such complaints, Khrushchev had addressed the inaugural ceremonies of the Lumumba University on 17 November 1960:

*Of course, we will not force any student to accept our views, our ideology. A philosophy of life is an extremely voluntary matter. If you wish to know my political convictions, I will not hide the fact from you that I am a Communist and am deeply convinced that the most progressive ideology is Marxism-Leninism. If any one of you becomes convinced that you favour this ideology, we will not be offended. However, we will not be grieved if you do not become Communists . . . I repeat that, if anyone of you becomes, so to say, sick with this 'illness' of the times—Communism—I beg you not to blame it on us.*<sup>584</sup>

Following Khrushchev's promises, courses in Marxism-Leninism were officially made optional. Foreign students would spend their first year studying Russian language before continuing to regular courses.<sup>585</sup> While KUTV had aimed to train party cadres in ideological terms, the latter waves of scholarships became more oriented to cementing bilateral relations with strategically important states in the face of US ambitions. Premier Kosygin articulated this sentiment in his address to the first graduating class of the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in 1965, saying: 'We would like the University graduates forever to remain our friends, to become the bearers of an inviolable friendship between their peoples and the peoples of the first country of socialism'.<sup>587</sup>

## Friendship

The anti-racist stance of the Soviet Union was proudly promoted in official discourse and influenced policy such that foreign students at the Universities enjoyed preferential treatment (including superior rooms, private tuition, extra

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<sup>583</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>584</sup> Kanet, Roger E, ed, "African Youth: The Target of Soviet African Policy", *Russian Review* 27, no 2, April 1968, p 169.

<sup>585</sup> From 1960, students at Lumumba University could choose between six fields: Education; Agriculture; Medicine; Physics, Mathematics and Natural Sciences; Economics and Law; and History and Philology.

<sup>587</sup> Barghoorn, "Soviet Cultural Effort", 1969, p 166.

clothing and travel allowances) and any students who expressed racial prejudice faced expulsion from the school and the Party.<sup>588</sup> However, black students often complained that Russians treated them with excessive paternalism, a reception which had already been described by Homer Smith in 1931 as ‘racial inequality in reverse’.<sup>589</sup> Maxim Matusevich attributes this overbearing xenophilia to a combination of enthusiasm for party rhetoric, a lack of knowledge about Africa and a fear of reprisal for racism.<sup>590</sup> Following a number of protests in the 1960s,<sup>591</sup> however, the African students were also accused of subversion, and blamed for an influx of ‘degenerate’ aesthetics including jazz music. Matusevich terms the ambiguous status of African students as both objects of fascination and symbols of dissent against official Soviet culture, the ‘exotic subversive’.<sup>592</sup>

The Mozambican art students described to me many examples of the fascination, friendships, and occasional hostility they encountered during their studies. Raimundo, for example, remembered an encounter during the three-day train journey which took them to Tashkent:

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<sup>588</sup> Dias Machlate remembered how the Stasi were similarly vigilant to such violations in Dresden, “the town of optics”. In one incident, he was sprayed with water from an upstairs window, while shopping for vegetables. “The police came within five minutes and arrested the man... They forced him to come to my house and apologise, and he went one year without a bonus at the company where he worked”. Machlate, Interview with author, Windhoek, Namibia.

<sup>589</sup> Homer Smith 1964 *Black Man in Red Russia: A Memoir of Maxim Matusevich*, “An Exotic Subversive: Africa, Africans and the Soviet Everyday,” *Race & Class* 9, no. 4 (2008): 66.

<sup>590</sup> Matusevich, “An Exotic Subversive: Africa, Africans and the Soviet Everyday”; See also Maxim Matusevich, “Probing the Limits of Internationalism: African Students Confront Soviet Ritual,” *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 27, no. 2 (2009): 19–39 and; Maxim Matusevich, ed., *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: Three Centuries of Encounters* Trenton (NJ): Africa World Press, 2007).

<sup>591</sup> These protests were mostly in response to racially motivated attacks against African students, including the violent death of Ghanaian medical student Edmond Asare-Addao, which in 1963 prompted the largest unofficial protest since 1927, when up to 500 students marched on the Kremlin demanding a bill of rights for African students and holding placards reading “friend today, devil tomorrow” and “Moscow, a second Alabama”. See Allison Blakely, *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought* (Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1986), 135; Abigail Judge Kret, “‘We Unite with Knowledge’: The Peoples’ Friendship University and Soviet Education for the Third World,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 33, no. 2 (2013): 239–56 and; Julie Hessler, “Death of an African Student in Moscow,” *Cahiers du monde russe. Russie - Empire russe - Union soviétique et États indépendants* 47, no. 47/1-2 (June 1, 2006): 33–63.

<sup>592</sup> Matusevich, “An Exotic Subversive: Africa, Africans and the Soviet Everyday,” 69–71. See also Matusevich, Maxim “Testing the Limits of Soviet Internationalism: African Students in the Soviet Union” *Race, Ethnicity and the Cold War* Muehlenbeck, Philip E, ed, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012, pp 145-165.

*I entered the compartment, and in it were some 'nativos', some Asians, who had never seen a black man. So they left! All of them! They'd seen black people in television, from the US or South Africa, but when they saw a living black man they ran away! So I was left in the compartment on my own... during the journey, many of them came to look, to see if I was real! They were curious about many things, like my hair - they asked if I put it in rollers!<sup>593</sup>*

The Tashkent students all described how the Russians' and Uzbeks' curiosity developed into close friendships: 'we got used to their curiosity to have Mozambican friends' said Tisonto, 'they brought us to their houses, and their families welcomed us'.<sup>595</sup> Cejuma remembered:

*they were so curious about Mozambique...they would always ask us about bananas and coconuts!. We were curious about snow... We had a lot of good friends... the Russians became like brothers, although the Uzbek Muslims were a bit more reserved. Our professors were great friends – we went to the ateliers where they worked – we would stay the whole day there, talking, eating, and drinking. People cried when we left. They hadn't believed that one day we would go.<sup>596 598</sup>*

The intensely international character of the bursary programmes opened possibilities for a broad global community. Mekonnen, for example, recalled making friends from Bengal, Nepal, Tibet, Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, and Gemuce remembered Filipino and Latin American friends.<sup>599</sup> The *bolseiros* also developed close relationships with the other African students in Tashkent. Tisonto had

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<sup>593</sup> Macaringue (Raimundo), Professor of Painting and Visual Education, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>595</sup> Duce (Tisonto), Professor of Design and Graphics, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>596</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>598</sup> The later cohort of students recalled a much more hostile reception in the post-perestroika period. Dias noticed a radical change in these attitudes after the fall of the Berlin Wall, remembering cases when "foreigners were thrown out of moving trains". Machlate, Interview with author, Windhoek, Namibia; In Kiev, Gemuce was subject to a violent, racist attack at a railway station. He described a bleak atmosphere: "It was very grey, very cold... I think people were very cold, in the way they spoke to you... You felt as if you were from very far away because they looked at us in a different way. You'd ask for something and they were very polite, they tried to be friendly... But they'd exaggerate the way they were being polite... I had some very good friends, but in general, they were not friendly... Russia was getting into collapse and... foreigners were seen as the community, the people who were stealing jobs, or who had brought a different style of living. They had that ambition to have nice clothes – nice jeans, nice jacket – all these things. They were confronted with all these things and they didn't like it. There was really racism – I felt it in my skin. But also there was a lot of ignorance'. Hilário (Gemuce), Interview with author, Maputo, July 19, 2010.

<sup>599</sup> Hilário (Gemuce), Interview with author, Maputo, July 19, 2010; Mekonnen Director, Addis Ababa School of Fine Arts, Interview with author, Addis Ababa.

friends from Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Algeria, Tunisia, Mali and Nigeria, and described how this community of African students would meet in secret, on arranged dates. As new students arrived from Africa, they would help them settle:

*In each year more arrived, so the old ones received the new ones from our country, Mozambique, and introduced them to the other students, from Algeria, Nigeria, Tunisia. We always had this type of exchange between us. Not just art students - all types of students.<sup>601</sup>*

The strongest bond however, developed between the Mozambican *bolseiros* themselves. 'It wasn't easy, when we were there, out of our own country', remembered Raimundo:

*everyone had left home to come there. There I was 'Mozambican', it was like we all had the same surname... if things weren't easy, if I needed anything, like food or water, they were there... That union of solidarity was a good thing... If you needed some blue paint... they would give it, among Mozambicans. We didn't have the same closeness with other nationalities... it wasn't easy to be different in that society.<sup>602</sup>*

Tisonto remembers 'we were there at the same time, in the same room, we shared the same jokes!'<sup>603</sup> 'Yes, we were like a family, like brothers',<sup>604</sup> recalled Cejuma. Together they would discuss plans for their return to Mozambique. Baiane Langa described to me how *bolseiros* often formed associations:

*... there were extra-curricular meetings... The groups of students from abroad liked to organise, and enjoyed talking about political things... about FRELIMO, about independence, saying 'when we return we need to rebuild our country'. It was an important kind of organisation for those outside the country<sup>605</sup>*

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<sup>601</sup> Duce (Tisonto), Professor of Design and Graphics, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>602</sup> Macaringue (Raimundo), Professor of Painting and Visual Education, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>603</sup> Duce (Tisonto), Professor of Design and Graphics, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>604</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>605</sup> Langa, Técnico, Instituto das Bolsas de Estudo, Ministério da Educação (Institute of Scholarships, Ministry of Education), Interview with author, Maputo.



Figure 82 Celestino Matavele *25 de Junho*, Airbrushed poster. Tashkent State Institute of the Arts Degree Show 1986. Photograph courtesy Celestino Matavele



Figure 83 Celestino Matavele *Partido Frelimo / Frelimo Party*, Airbrushed poster. Tashkent State Institute of the Arts Degree Show 1986. Photograph courtesy Celestino Matavele



Figure 84 Celestino Matavele *A Nova Vida / The New Life* Airbrushed poster. Tashkent State Institute of the Arts Degree Show 1986. Photograph courtesy Celestino Matavele



Figure 85 Celestino Matavele *PAZ* Airbrushed poster. Tashkent State Institute of the Arts Degree Show 1986. Photograph courtesy Celestino Matavele





Figure 86 Celestino Matavele *A Luta Pela Paz* (The Fight for Peace), Airbrushed poster. Tashkent State Institute of the Arts Degree Show 1986. Photograph courtesy Celestino Matavele

## Tashkent 1986

Following the teachers' initial assessment of their work as 'level zero', Cejuma, Tisonto and Raimundo all described the intense labour they undertook to reach the 'Russian' benchmark. That Cejuma's final degree works were awarded the highest mark, 'excellent,' reflects the extent of this labour, and suggests an eventual aesthetic and technical alignment with the values of the institution. In one sense, this pedagogic process can be understood, in Bourdieu and Passeron's terms, as 'symbolic violence', in that it implies the imposition of 'a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power'.<sup>606</sup> This action, they argue, is one of 'imposing and inculcating a legitimate culture';<sup>607</sup> the transmission and reproduction, in other words, of political, ideological and cultural hegemony. On the surface, Cejuma's dissertation work seems to provide a compliant articulation of a rigidly Soviet vision of international friendship and exchange. This transmission took place on a technical level, in that the college's art teachers trained him to use an airbrush (he recalls: 'I'd seen posters in this medium but it was the first time I'd used it. They taught me to maintain the pressure on the gun – it was very difficult to mix the colours'<sup>608</sup>). In the Soviet context, this medium had a resonant history as an instrument of erasure, having been used by censors under Stalin to remove problematic figures from official photos.<sup>609</sup>

Images of Soviet internationalism thread dutifully through the iconography of the posters. The red curtain across '*A Nova Vida*' replicates the Soviet flag (minus hammer and sickle), and the recurrent five-pointed star reproduces the emblem adopted by the Bolsheviks in 1917, each point representing the five continents whose workers would unite under the Comintern. The soaring, global perspective

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<sup>606</sup> Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, 2 edition (London ; Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, Inc., 1990), 5.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid., 108; See also Michael W Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (London; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1979) Schools preserve and distribute legitimate knowledge, in Michael Apple's formulation, conferring cultural legitimacy on the knowledge of specific groups. They do so as a result of their relation to other more powerful institutions.

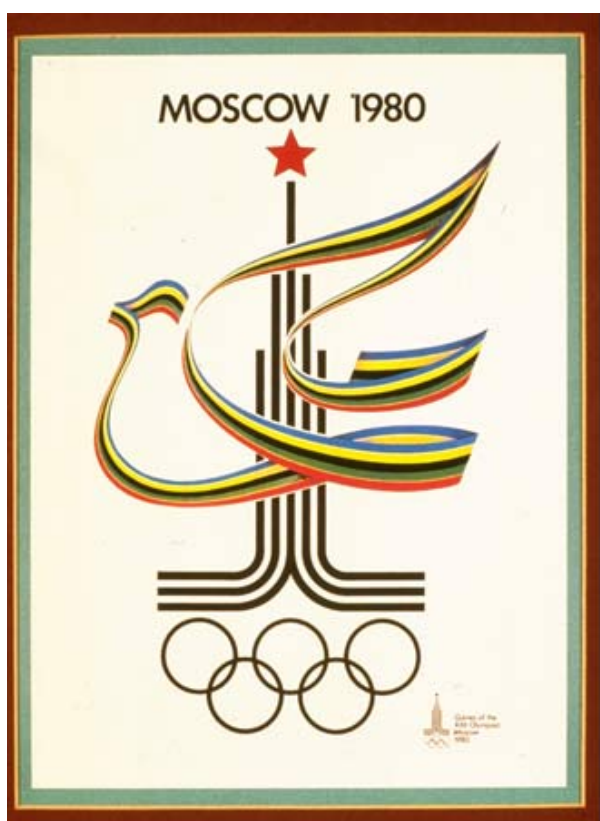
<sup>608</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

<sup>609</sup> See David King, *The Commissar Vanishes: The Falsification of Photographs and Art in Stalin's Russia* (Harry N. Abrams, 2014).

of the first and last posters recollects the central place of space travel in the Soviet



Figure 87 Soviet stamp commemorating 1957 Youth Festival, featuring dove logo. Source: Brumstamp



**Figure 88 Official poster from the 1980 Summer Olympics held in Moscow. Source: britannica.com**

imaginary, particularly since Yuri Gagarin's orbit of the earth in 1961, which Boris Groys has argued became a metaphor for the Soviet project of alternative globalisation.<sup>610</sup> Following the 1957 Youth Festival (Figure 87), the emblem of the dove, and the terms *mir* (Мир, peace) and *druzba* (Дружбу, friendship), had also become central motifs of the new wave of Soviet internationalism and optimism, in place of older Stalinist iconography.<sup>612</sup> Picasso's *Peace Dove* had become associated with the international Communist movement to the degree that in July 1953, UN delegates insisted on the removal of the work from the *Panmunjom* in Korea before they entered to sign the armistice ending the war.<sup>613</sup> The official poster for the 1980 Moscow Olympics (Figure 88) also featured a dove, its curling ribbons and parallel lines prefiguring several devices in Cejuma's design.

However, far from passively reproducing the demands of a pedagogic authority, as Bourdieu and Passeron suggest, Cejuma's posters are emphatically oriented to an alternative political community, anchored by text, calendar and maps to the Party, and the Nation-state. He recalled:

*Each student had to think of a theme for their defence. So I thought 'what was really important to me at that time?' We had just received independence and it seemed to us such a wonderful thing – the new flag we had, the new life we were building, how it was that we arrived at our independence... this was very important. It was a time of transition – it had a big impact. So I thought I'd address this theme... the teachers didn't know the contents of these messages, because they didn't know Mozambique. I had the ideas – and my professors helped me with the techniques.<sup>614</sup>*

While he recalled Russian air-brushed posters as his primary source, Cejuma's design aesthetic also intervened in Frelimo's tradition of political poster production (see Chapter Two). The dove, for example, had featured in Frelimo's

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<sup>610</sup> Boris Groys and Lukasz Ronduda, "Communist Globalization: Boris Groys and Lukasz Ronduda in Conversation," in *Star City: The Future Under Communism*, ed. L Ronduda, A Farquharson, and B Piwowarska (Poland: Nottingham Contemporary and MAMMAL Foundation, 2001), 185.

<sup>612</sup> See Rupprecht, *Soviet Internationalism after Stalin*, 69.

<sup>613</sup> Gertje Utley, *Picasso: The Communist Years* (Yale University Press, 2000), 128.

<sup>614</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

posters from as early as 1974 (Figure 89) and became particularly prominent in poster designs during the early 1980s. Berit Sahlström notes that students at



Figure 89 (L top) Jose Freire *Paz (Peace)* 1974 Offset Lithograph poster. Source: Sahlström p130; Figure 90 (R top) Graphics students' poster exhibition and design class at ENAV, Maputo. Source: ENAV 1983-2005 Brochura, 2005; Figure 91 (L bottom) Anon (possibly Cejuma) *Paz em Africa* 1986 Poster. Source: Sahlström p131; Figure 92 (R bottom) José Freire *Pela Paz (Towards Peace)* 1984 Poster. Source: Sahlström p130

ENAV (Figure 90) produced several posters featuring doves under Polish teacher Lech Rzewuski (1941-2004), and a 1986 example from a *Núcleo* student in the form of the African continent, paralleling Cejuma's design (Figure 91).<sup>615</sup>

Cejuma's nationalism, forged and strengthened within the Soviet Union, can be understood in the context of Prometheism, an ideological commitment to nation in response to the Russian empire, which also had resonance in Uzbekistan.<sup>616</sup> The more critical nuances of this affiliation to a distant homeland are legible, I argue, through the heteroglossia and ambiguity of the imagery. While the posters' elevated, panoramic perspective alludes to the internationalist actions that brought him to Tashkent, for example, it also performs a dislocation, a removal from these territorial geographies. Faced with this transnational vantage point, Cejuma zooms back down, with pinpoint specificity, to Mozambique. The rippling waves of the Indian Ocean locate Cejuma's future imaginary many miles away from doubly-landlocked Uzbekistan. Within the language and media of Soviet apparatus, Cejuma's nationalism articulates a resolute particularism, a quiet negation of Russian universalist paradigms.

In his treatment of the Soviet and Mozambican flags, Cejuma enacts a gesture of disarmament, removing, or reducing to tiny scale, the instruments and weapons of state insignia. While the colours of the flags are transformed into sweeping graphic elements, the hammer and sickle are absent, and the prominent national crest of Mozambique is shrunk to minute detail, the AK47 barely legible. This gesture might be read as a critical desire for a less militant international engagement in Mozambique. While Eastern Bloc support for Mozambique meant education and friendship, it also meant arms, and the obscene violence of proxy Cold War conflicts. In this sense, the Soviet icons of the dove, and the term peace, are exposed as a kind of double-speak, bound up in the oxymoron of 'fighting for

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<sup>615</sup> Sahlström, *Political Posters in Ethiopia and Mozambique: Visual Imagery in a Revolutionary Context*, 130–32.

<sup>616</sup> Prometheism was a political movement developed by Polish leader Józef Klemens Piłsudski in the early twentieth century in Poland. It aimed to support non-Russian nationalist movements within Russian (and Soviet) territories. Thanks to Kodwo Eshun for this insight.

peace'. While the red Soviet (or Chinese?) flag inaugurates a utopian 'new life' in Mozambique, it is also a layer that conceals it, and that must be peeled away before the future can begin. In this post-revolutionary moment of late socialism, a desire for the 'new' can also be seen as a critique of the status quo. Having traced the networks and geographies of Cold War conflict, Cejuma ends his itinerary with a call for pacifism and national sovereignty.

Two years earlier, José Freire had chosen a dove for the poster to publicise the 1984 Nkomati Accord which Machel had signed with the apartheid government in South Africa (Figure 92). The choice of imagery was not without irony: the Accord, an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to end Renamo's brutal campaign of destabilisation, marked in clear terms the beginning of Frelimo's turn away from Marxist-Leninism.

### **Maputo 1986**

Despite close diplomatic relations and extensive aid, the Soviet Union never fully acknowledged Frelimo's status as a vanguard party, and in 1981 had rejected Mozambique's application to join the economic union of Communist countries, COMECON.<sup>617</sup> By 1986, the year the Tashkent cohort returned to Mozambique, Mikhail Gorbachev had outlined the *perestroika* (reconstruction) programme of political and economic reforms and declared that the Soviets no longer had formal interest in southern Africa.<sup>618</sup>

Meanwhile, under the pressures of massive foreign debt, recurrent droughts, and the on-going destabilisation wrought by Renamo, Machel had decided in 1982 to start courting Western aid. In September 1984, Mozambique was accepted as a

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<sup>617</sup> Mozambique's COMECON membership, Patrick Chabal argues, was seen by the Soviets as too much of an economic drain and too politically hostile in the geopolitical climate of the time. Patrick Chabal, *A History of Lusophone Postcolonial Africa* (London: Hurst, 2002), 62; See also Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique From Colonialism to Revolution 1900-1982*, 184.

<sup>618</sup> Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 216; On the eve of the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991 there were over 50,000 African students in the USSR, but funding for the scholarship programmes was soon axed and this number had shrunk to 12,000 by 1992. Charles Quist-Adade, "The African Russians: Children of the Cold War," in *Maxim Matusevich (Ed) Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa: Three Centuries of Encounters Trenton* (NJ: Africa World Press, 2007), 156.

member of the IMF. On 19 October 1986, a plane carrying Samora Machel and 47 officials crashed in northeast South Africa, killing the president. Joaquim Chissano took over as president and a year later, the country embarked on a structural adjustment programme sponsored by the World Bank.<sup>619</sup>

In parallel with these dramatic shifts, Frelimo's discourse began a retraction of the state from artistic production. The party's policy on culture had come under increasing attack in the early 1980s. A 1981 UNESCO report on 'Cultural Policy in Africa' issued a warning about an 'excess of revolutionary nationalism', under which culture is 'reduced to political slogans devoted to the personality cult. In this context', argued Papa Gueye N'Diaye, 'the cultural entity is captured, deviated and annexed by a force that is the antithesis of cultural freedom'.<sup>620</sup> In 1985, visual artists in Mozambique staged a protest demanding remuneration for the state's appropriation of their work, arguing, in Cândido Nomburete words, that 'they had been used to support the ideology of the state, without appropriate compensation and without their rights as authors'.<sup>621</sup>

In 1987, Frelimo released a briefing entitled 'The Weapon of Culture' which outlined a retreat from earlier cultural policy:

*It would be false and facile to say that Mozambique has found an instant formula through which it implements an appropriate cultural policy. On the contrary, the issue has provoked intense feeling and discussion amongst those who work professionally and voluntarily in this field...[this report highlights] the lessons that can be drawn from Mozambique's early experiments and experience...<sup>622</sup>*

The briefing concluded that 'the state must offer effective support without unwittingly stifling initiative... [to avoid] the danger of sterility in official art', and must...

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<sup>619</sup> Judith Marshall, "Structural Adjustment and Social Policy in Mozambique," *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 47 (1990): 28–43.

<sup>620</sup> Papa Gueye N'Diaye, "Cultural Development in Africa: Evolution, Experiences and Prospects," in *Cultural Development Some Regional Experiences* (Delhi: UNESCO, 1981), 13.

<sup>621</sup> Nomburete, Técnico de relações internacionais, Ministério da Cultura (International Relations, Ministry of Culture), Interview with author, Maputo, October 13, 2010.

<sup>622</sup> Frelimo, *Mozambique Briefing No 4: The Weapon of Culture*, 3–12.



*struggle against the simplistic tendency to reject diversity as a way of achieving unity. To do this is to make the error of considering diversity a negative factor in building national unity: to make the mistake of thinking that national unity means uniformity. Led by the Frelimo Party the Mozambican nation is being created with a strong cultural identity enriched and individualized by diversity. We must be aware that national unity is not built by specious identities and artificial similarities.*<sup>624</sup>

As Peter Fry has shown, this retraction from universalism would also lead to a reversal in the official approach to ethnicity, opening the path for renewed relationships with the *régulos* and other local authorities, and a concern to document and preserve local heritage (through projects such as the Ford Foundation and UNESCO-funded ARPAC initiative). This affirmation of cultural diversity, he argues, aligned with the demands of Western aid donors who increasingly sought evidence of local community development and the preservation of tradition.<sup>625</sup>

The returning *bolseiros* were thus confronted by a profound ontological rupture; a sudden reversal of the cultural, aesthetic and discursive order, and a future imagined in radically different terms. Cejuma's 'new life' had shifted frame. On arrival in Maputo in 1986, the Tashkent graduates were allocated teaching posts at ENAV, (roles they still hold today). They all described a profound energy for developing the art school: 'the socialist system had been really good at teaching us how to work', remembered Cejuma. 'This proved to us that we were comfortable as socialists, because our life was consumed by work, without caring about remuneration... that dynamism also helped things a lot. We really made a kind of revolution, in the school'.<sup>626</sup> However Cejuma soon found there was little demand for posters in the new economic order, and has since focused on teaching. When I interviewed him in 2010, he was completing a course in Philosophy and confessed that he rarely painted. More concerned with the collective education than his

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<sup>624</sup> Ibid., 8–9.

<sup>625</sup> Fry, "Cultures of Difference. The Aftermath of Portuguese and British Colonial Policies in Southern Africa," 134–40.

<sup>626</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

individual career, he recalled the egalitarian promises of the socialist moment with a profound nostalgia:

*I liked the political system of communism... it gave more value to life... People would join together to make a social life, separated from consumption. Your salary would cover all your expenses – clothes, food, water, gas to cook anything, a house to live in, electricity, even for those people who lived right out in the remote forests - everybody had those things. It was marvellous... In a capitalist country, they don't want to know. It's a fight of power – win if you can – while I have my big sack of money, that person over there who has nothing to eat can die. It's not just.<sup>629</sup>*

In this sense, the call for pacificism in Cejuma's posters can be understood in terms of a lingering desire for a different form of socialism, a more peaceful, less coercive, expression of solidarity.

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<sup>629</sup> Matavele (Cejuma), Professor of Visual Communication, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo.

## Conclusion

This thesis has documented the participation of three artists in four internationally networked pedagogies, namely colonial education, informal workshops, anti-colonial cultural policy and Soviet education. Each of these pedagogies proposed a radical transformation of the Mozambican subject into new, collective modes of identification, and a radical reassessment of aesthetic value and the social role of the artist. I have explored these pedagogies, and the artists' response to them, through three lines of enquiry and methodology.

I began by asking, firstly, to what extent did these pedagogies reproduce the ideological and aesthetic paradigms of the donor state? The four institutions within which these artists worked were vastly different in scale and ambition, and rhetorically opposed by the bifurcated topography of decolonisation and the Cold War. In rhetorical terms, these pedagogies sought, in turn: art which documented assimilation into a pluri-racial Portuguese empire; art produced through a sublimation into a primitivist collective unconscious; popular art which would facilitate the birth of the Mozambican 'new man'; and socialist realist art to support international class-consciousness. In practice these institutions often ran counter to the rhetorical claims and objectives of the state. Portugal's colonial project espoused racial equality, but art education in Lourenço Marques was deeply segregated. Malangatana's art patrons encouraged apolitical art, but had been appropriated by geopolitical concerns. Whilst Frelimo vigorously advocated nationalism, its cultural policy was fundamentally informed by internationalist networks, and whilst Soviet art education was offered as an expression of internationalist solidarity, in practice it was grounded in a model of Russian supremacy. These models of art education and patronage, in other words, often exposed the disjuncture between state rhetoric and practice, and as such had limited, and even counter-productive effect in reproducing political hegemonies.

Second, through a series of biographical accounts, I asked how artists had engaged with these shifting parameters for art. Their recollections revealed a range of strategies for resisting the dominant political and aesthetic paradigms.

Malangatana's commitment to Frelimo meant taking a political and aesthetic line that ran counter to both his patrons and the colonial regime, articulating nationalist and internationalist solidarity in terms of a specifically local aesthetic. João Craveirinha's concern to locate an individual and African specificity in the lexicon of the liberation script led to deep disillusionment with Frelimo, triggering a conflict which reveals much about the internal struggles and debates within the party at the time. Cejuma's expression of utopian nationalism, forged from a distance, ran counter to both Soviet hegemony and the neoliberal state he would return to. The relationship between artist, patron and teacher was, in each case, deeply, if not explicitly, contested. In short, art institutions rarely complied with the directives of the state, and artists rarely complied with the directives of art institutions. These points of resistance highlight alternative, lived histories of the cultural Cold War and decolonisation in Mozambique.

Finally, through visual analysis I asked to what extent did these artists understand their work as a counter-hegemonic space for alternative expression, a space uncolonised by the prevailing ideology? I have not attempted, through this analysis, to produce a survey of art practice during this period in Mozambique, a project which Alda Costa has ably undertaken.<sup>630</sup> Neither did I seek to trace the aesthetic or ideological 'origins' of these works, because such an enquiry inevitably relies on a reductive taxonomy of culture. Rather, by focusing closely on three specific works, I have sought to highlight the praxis of macro-politics through the micro-histories of these aesthetic fields. Through these micro-histories, I have foregrounded specific instances of the agency with which artists engaged in the geo-political landscape of the time. In each case, I have shown how they strategically occupied and appropriated the media and platforms of power: the racially segregated space of the canvas, the mural as a didactic utterance of the state, the airbrush as an instrument of erasure and control. Through these technologies of power, the artists negotiated a discrete position in relation to both

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<sup>630</sup> Costa, *Arte E Museus Em Moçambique: Entre a Construção Da Nação E O Mundo Sem Fronteiras (1932-2004)*

a transnational collective project, and to Frelimo's, a position conditioned by their relative hopes for, and disappointments in, the revolution.

The post-socialist political era produced radically different contexts for visual arts patronage and education. Among these were the *Ujamaa* workshops, organised within the framework of the Triangle Arts Network by a collective of artists, including Fatima Fernandes, Noel Langa and Victor Sousa. Held in Pemba in 1991, and in Maputo in 1992, the workshops brought together ten Mozambican and ten international artists for a two-week residency, and encouraged a non-didactic environment in which artists could engage in free expression and experimentation. Fernandes recalled to me how this 'movement came very much at the right time and really helped us in finding the things we were looking for'.<sup>631</sup>



**Figure 93 Chair and Bust, Decommissioned AK47 rifles, Fiel dos Santos' studio, Maputo 2010. Author's photo**

Another context of patronage emerged through the increased actions of the church and international NGOs in Mozambique. Launched by Anglican Bishop Dinis

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<sup>631</sup> Fatima Fernandes, interview with author, Johannesburg, 2010. See also Polly Savage, ed., *Making Art in Africa: 1960-2010* (Lund Humphries, 2014).

Sengulane and Christian Aid in 1995, the TAE<sup>632</sup> project offered civilians 'development tools' such as bicycles, hoes, sewing machines and tractors in exchange for salvaged weapons and ammunition.<sup>633</sup> In 1997, TAE began a collaboration with *Núcleo*, giving the decommissioned weapons to artists including Fiel dos Santos, Kester and Gonçalo Mabuna<sup>634</sup> to create sculptures (Figure 93). Since the early 2000s, their works have become the most visible face of Mozambican art on an international stage; featuring prominently in the British Museum's Sainsbury Africa galleries, and most recently, in Okwui Enwezor's 2015 Venice Biennale exhibition, *All The World's Futures*.

Having returned to Maputo from Kiev, Gemuce and Bento Mukeswane went on to form the artists' collective *Arte Feliz* in 1996, with the aim of countering an insistence on nationalism in the visual arts. This was followed in 2002 by contemporary art group MUVART, a collective which included Gemuce, Carmen, Marcos Muthewuye and Jorge Dias. As Vanessa Díaz Riva has argued, these projects have been fundamental to the shaping of new terms for contemporary art in Mozambique.<sup>635</sup> As well as teaching at ISArC (Mozambique's first tertiary level art school which opened in 2009), Gemuce has developed a successful international career, producing installation, performance and painting.

On the surface, these recent projects seem to disavow respectively, the didacticism, militancy and nationalism of the previous era. Political iconography is gone, literally dismantled in the case of the TAE works. Yet in important respects, the legacy of the socialist moment endures.

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<sup>632</sup> Transformação de Armas em Enxadas (Transforming Arms into Ploughshares). See Frank James Tester, "Art and Disarmament: Turning Arms into Ploughshares in Mozambique," *Development in Practice* 16, no. 2 (April 2006): 169–178.

<sup>633</sup> Christian Aid estimated that seven million guns remained in circulation in Mozambique after the 1992 Rome Peace Accord which ended the civil war.

<sup>634</sup> Fiel dos Santos, interview with author, Maputo, 2010; Gonçalo Mabunda, interview with author, 24 July 2010.

<sup>635</sup> Vanessa Díaz Rivas, "Contemporary Art in Mozambique: Reshaping Artistic National Canons," *Critical Interventions* 8, no. 2 (May 4, 2014): 160–75. Rivas, "Contemporary Art in Mozambique."

In a 2006 article, Mary Anne Pitcher has argued that, from the early 1990s, Frelimo and business interests have actively 'erased' the memory of Mozambique's socialist past, in order to build a new national identity of neoliberalism.<sup>636</sup> Forgetting is used in this instance as a strategy to navigate the transition from socialism, to foster international investment, and to restore the legitimacy of the state.

However, while the end of socialism might have allowed more open freedom of expression, it also fostered increased power inequalities. While Frelimo has been actively 'forgetting from above', she proposes that urban workers in Mozambique have retained the memory of promises made during the socialist period, and strikers and unions have been reviving the language of socialism in order to effect critique of the neo-liberal economy and the erosion of their power. Drawing on councils formed during the liberation struggle, workers are denouncing the impact of structural readjustment programmes and the incumbent levels of exploitation as a form of 'recolonisation'.

Pitcher's formulation resonates through the visual arts in subtle ways. Nostalgia for the socialist moment recurred in the accounts of the artists I spoke to in Maputo. Like Cejuma, Raimundo fondly remembered the egalitarian promises of Soviet socialism, and in his 2008-9 series *Kuwoca* (Figures 94-95), addressed the theme of solidarity, his finely worked watercolours depicting intimate moments of community: a woman helping a bereaved friend with her laundry, a group of fisherman carrying a boat. 'I'm talking of socialisation and cooperation' he recalled, 'how neighbours help each other, and look after each other'.<sup>637</sup>

Gemuce recalled an ambiguous relation to socialism on his return from Kiev: 'I went from there with information that socialism is the best system, and we need to fight to construct it, to help make this successful, although it was always present in me, that I need freedom in art'.<sup>638</sup> In immaculate realism, his 2007-8 series of oil

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<sup>636</sup> M. Anne Pitcher, "Forgetting from Above and Memory from Below: Strategies of Legitimation and Struggle in Postsocialist Mozambique," *Africa* 76, no. 1 (2006): 89.

<sup>637</sup> Raimundo Macaringue (Raimundo), Professor of Painting and Visual Education, ENAV, Interview with author, Maputo, November 11, 2010.

<sup>638</sup> Pompílio Hilário (Gemuce), Interview with author, Maputo, October 13, 2010.

paintings (Figures 96 and 97) depict figures including a woman in a *burka*, a policeman and the artist himself, riding a swing against a clear blue sky, a utopian space above the earthly concerns.

In exploring the disjunctures between official histories, lived experience and the visual field, it has become clear that these transnational art pedagogies were not simply an exercise in hegemony, or successive models of cultural imperialism, but also a series of opportunities and technologies on which artists have selectively drawn, and still draw today, in order to critique the present and imagine a better future. Participating in this global circulation of knowledge, ideas and images, they exercise a radical spatial and cultural mobility, like Gemuce's oscillating figures, refusing to be bound to a single ideological pole. Through their work, they have instead imagined new forms of co-existence and solidarity: a revolution not determined by external forces, but the revolution as they want it to be.





**Figure 94 Raimundo *Woman helping her bereaved friend with washing* Watercolour 2009. Courtesy of the artist**



**Figure 95 Raimundo *Kuwoca* Watercolour 2008. Courtesy of the artist**



**Figure 96** Gemuce *Heaven* Oil on Canvas, 2008 Courtesy of the artist



**Figure 97** Gemuce *Authority* Oil on Canvas 2008 Courtesy of the artist

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