

**To Wield Education:
An Analysis of the Liberation Front of Mozambique's
Interpretation of Education (1962-1980's)**

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Abstract

This thesis examines how the Liberation Front of Mozambique (Frelimo), the ruling party of independent Mozambique, perceived education as a political tool used to challenge colonial myths and bolster support for the party. During the Liberation War (1964-1974) Frelimo created educational programs for African youth; these programs were the inspiration for the post-independence educational school system, utilized to promote a shared sense of national identity tied to the party. Frelimo understood education as a tool to promote and police identities, frequently encouraging youth and adults alike to prioritize education within their daily lives. Through a national education system, Frelimo aimed to maintain and strengthen the leadership they achieved upon independence.

Education is often associated with building and supporting national identities; however, historians have often analyzed the political use of education through the examination of educational policies. This thesis offers an alternative lens, focusing on Frelimo's discourse towards education, centering on how Frelimo situated education within their wider political agenda. Simultaneously, addressing how Frelimo intended for people to engage with education to inform their identity and relationship with the state. By taking a political and cultural historical approach, this thesis sets out to identify how Frelimo approached education as a tool to strengthen their political leadership and used exclusionary processes that enforce a singular perspective of citizenship.

Dedication

To my family

Para a minha família

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my family, particularly my parents, for always supporting me. I am who I am because of you. To my family overseas, I miss you dearly. Thank you to my partner, to who I am eternally grateful. Your willingness to move to Ottawa with me and commitment to being a lifelong editor of mine is something I do not take for granted.

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Abbreviations

DEC	Department of Education and Culture
Frelimo	The Liberation Front of Mozambique
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
SDF	German School of Friendship
UN	United Nations

Introduction: Laying down the groundwork

Anti-colonial nationalists in Mozambique formed the Liberation Front of Mozambique (Frelimo) in 1962 to liberate the colony from Portuguese rule. Their guerrilla war contributed to the downfall of Portugal's dictatorship in 1974. Frelimo took power in 1975 and has governed ever since. Frelimo recognized education as a tool of their liberation movement and early leadership, evidenced in a party slogan, "Educate the man to advance the war, create a new society and develop the nation," knowledge was identified as a way to advance their movement.¹

Transparent in their objective to utilize education as a political apparatus, Frelimo centralized education in their plan to gain and maintain power. In the post-independence period, politics in Mozambique were concerned with identity building to promote ideological uniformity under the banner of nationalism. Through a political and cultural historical approach, this thesis analyzes the period between 1962 and the early 1980s, addressing how Frelimo wielded education as an instrument to challenge colonial myths and decrease opposition, while informing conceptualizations of citizenship and the nation tied to the party's moral and ideological standards.

This research has developed from a passion project I began during my Undergraduate studies. After reading the short story, "The Hands of the Blacks," by Mozambican author Luís Bernardo Honwana, I started to question the role of schools in politics. Published in 1969, the story is set in colonial Mozambique, depicting racism within the colonial classroom and the efforts of a young student to challenge colonial myths through discussions with community

¹ Samora Machel, "Educar o Homem Para Vencer A Guerra Criar Uma Sociedade Nova e Desenvolver a Pátria, 1970," *Estudos e Orientações* 2 (1978): 1.

members.² The plot of the story allowed me to grapple with the way education is used to perpetuate hierarchies of race and class. Encouraged to explore more about this topic, I naïvely expected to come across a full-fledged historiography of education in Mozambique. However, I quickly encountered the lack of research on the topic. With a want to better understand how approaches to education are changed and maintained from the colonial to post-independence periods, my interest grew to include the period of transition and early independence in Mozambique. This scope establishes the context in which Frelimo's ideas about education emerged, allowing me to assess how their interpretation of education evolved from the anti-colonial movement to the independence period.

Liberation and social movements often utilize education in their programming to challenge the status quo. In the United States, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), erected the Selma Literacy Project during the Civil Rights Movement with the intent to "...develop literacy and citizenship... [while] cultivating agency by fostering critical self-reflection, engendering confidence, responding to histories of racism, and promoting sustainable modes of learning within the community."³ Communist and anarchists groups in Brazil taught ideological pedagogy to industrial workers in the early 1900s.⁴ In response to the May 1980 Kwangju Massacre in Korea, a group of educators formed the National Teachers Association proposing an educational reform to challenge the states repressive educational system.⁵ During

² Luís Bernard Honwana, "The Hands of the Blacks" in, *We Killed Mangy-Dog & Other Stories: Luis Bernardo Honwana*, trans. Dorothy Guedes (Oxford: Heinemann, 1969), 49-53.

³ Michael Dimmick, "Maria Varela's Flickering Light: Literacy, Filmstrips, and the Work of Adult Literacy Education in the Civil Rights Movement," *Community Literacy Journal* 14, no. 2 (2020): 49, <https://doi.org/10.1353/clj.2020.a772120>.

⁴ Rebecca Tarlau, "Education, Pedagogy, and Social Movements in Latin America," *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Social Movements*, ed. by Federico M. Rossi (Oxford University Press, 2023), 644-45, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190870362.013.34>.

⁵ John P. Synott, *Teacher Unions, Social Movements and the Politics of Education in Asia : South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2018), 13-14, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315185484>.

the Congolese Revolution (1960-1965), the Congolese Student Association used transnational connections by inviting Congolese students educated in France to lecture on Marxism during their time home for the holidays.⁶ The use of education to challenge governing powers is common practice, yet these programs and their impact on societies are often under researched. Understanding how education is situated within social movements allows historians to grapple with the ways education influences politics and vice versa.

Mozambique is underrepresented in discourses of education in African history, yet party leaders like Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel frequently expressed the importance of education to their political goals. Associating education with developing loyalty and securing generational leadership, Frelimo often referred to schools as “bases” for youth to evolve into the ideal citizen. Through an analysis of Frelimo’s discourse regarding education, I argue that Frelimo adopted the educational programming of children and youth as a political tool aimed at instilling particular values and identities associated with the party, their leadership, and their ideology to legitimize, gain, maintain and reinforce political power. Frelimo’s programs promoted exclusionary practices that discouraged alternative forms of identity (ie: regional, ethnic, or linguistic) and encouraged the adoption of a uniformed national identity.

Frelimo provides an important case study of a political group that openly promoted the ties between politics and education, allowing historians to grasp the extent to which governing powers rely on education to reinforce their leadership. The identities Frelimo intended to create within the classroom are a wider reflection of the ways in which the party promoted politicized

⁶ Françoise Blume, “1968-A Post-Colonial Phenomenon” *The Mays of France and Africa*,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties : Between Protest and Nation-Building*, ed by. Jian, Chen, Masha Kirasirova, Martin Klimke, Mary Nolan, Joanna Waley-Cohen, and Marilyn Young (London: Taylor and Francis, 2018), 335, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315150918>.

interpretations of citizenship created to strengthen loyalty between them and the population. This research expands on the existing historiography of political and cultural history in Mozambique by contributing an analysis of how education was understood by Frelimo as a tool of politics.

Historiography:

After achieving national independence in 1975, Frelimo centered education, health care and agriculture as critical sectors of their nation-building program, resulting in education being a frequently approached topic in early articles assessing Frelimo's leadership.⁷ For example, in 1975, journalist Robin B. Wright noted the requirement for Frelimo to promote education to address the high rate of illiteracy in Mozambique.⁸ In 1979, Barbra Barnes addressed the tie between educational policies and political ideology as she nodded to Frelimo's "...planned offensive to promote educational and ideological growth designed to create a new society free of exploitation of one by another."⁹ In the same year, Thomas Henriksen addressed how Frelimo's ethos demonstrated in the Liberation War extends into the post-independence period through a party school in Matola intended to train new cadres and "perpetuate this [Frelimo's] revolutionary ethos and elan."¹⁰ Despite the early attention to education in the process of nation-building, the historiography of education in Mozambique emerges in the 1990s and remains limited to this day.

The history of education in Mozambique develops after the popularization of educational history in Africa at large. The historiography of education in Africa surfaces during the wave of

⁷ See: Judith Marshall "Making Education Revolutionary," in *A Difficult Road, the Transition to Socialism in Mozambique*, ed. Johnathan Saul (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985), 155-210.

⁸ Robin B. Wright, "Mozambique Short Term Problems, Long Term Hope," in *Africa Today* 22, no.3 (1975): 16, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4185518>.

⁹ Barbra Barnes, "Creating a National Culture," *A Journal of Opinion* 8, no.1 (1978): 35, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4185518>.

¹⁰ Thomas H. Henriksen, "Marxism and Mozambique," *African Affairs* 77, no.309 (1978): 445, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/721959>.

decolonization in the 1960's and 70's. Ellen Veä Rosnes, Pierre Guidi, and Jean Luc-Martineau, argue that historians of education were inspired by the wave of decolonization, and began to analyze resistance to colonialism, precolonial histories, and colonial administrators' use of education to enforce Western values.¹¹ While the majority of the African continent achieved independence in the 1960's, Mozambique only achieved independence in 1975, limiting historians' ability to analyze Mozambique through an anti-colonial lens, as the Portuguese restricted research access. With the rise of authoritarian leadership and inaccessibility to archival materials, the historiography of education dips in the 1980's, resurfacing in the 1990's with a focus on education in relation to agency.¹² During the 1990's, education emerges as a historical topic in Mozambique.

Some of the most extensive contributions to education in Mozambique concern colonial and missionary schooling. Antoinette Errante's dissertation explores the colonial to the early independence period, focusing primarily on education under the Portuguese dictatorship.¹³ In 1998, gender historian Kathleen Sheldon published an article on the experiences of girls in missionary education in twentieth century Mozambique.¹⁴ More recently (2022), Miguel Jerónimo Bandeira and José Pedro Monteiro published a transnational perspective on Portuguese colonial education that analyzes how education is utilized by colonial leadership, while

¹¹ Ellen Veä Rosnes, Pierre Guidi, and Jean Luc-Martineau, "Introduction," in *History through Narratives of Education in Africa : Social Histories in Times of Colonization and Post Independence (1920s-1970s)*, ed. Ellen Veä Rosnes, Pierre Guidi, and Jean Luc-Martineau (Leiden ; Brill, 2024), 4, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004690172_002

¹² Veä Rosnes, Guidi, and, Luc-Martineau, "Introduction," 5-6.

¹³ Antoinette Errante, "The School, the Textbook and National Development: Colonial and Post-Revolutionary Primary Schooling in Portugal and Mozambique, 1926-1992," (Volumes I and II), (ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 1994).

¹⁴ Kathleen Sheldon, "'I Studied with the Nuns, Learning to Make Blouses': Gender Ideology and Colonial Education in Mozambique," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 31, no. 3 (1998): 595-625, <https://doi.org/10.2307/221477>.

addressing how nationalist movements called for decolonization by highlighting the inaccessibility of education to African youth.¹⁵

Frelimo's approach to education is similarly analyzed in the 1990's. Academics like Judith Marshall and Anton Johnston independently wrote on the development of Frelimo's adult literacy campaigns.¹⁶ With her 2010 analysis of the German School of Friendship (SDF), Tanja Müller paved the way for scholarship on international socialist education under Frelimo.¹⁷ In 2018, Feliciano Chimbutane contributed an article that explores the connection between language, citizenship and education in post-independence Mozambique.¹⁸ The historiography of education in Mozambique is limited yet growing, with increasingly diverse approaches to understanding how education is situated within Mozambique's national history.

This study particularly draws on three major works on education in Mozambique. The first, Errante's doctoral dissertation, Errante focuses on the history of the textbook and school from 1926-1992. Her analysis of educational policies, curriculum and textbooks assesses how education is utilized in the process of national development in Mozambique.¹⁹ Five years later (1999), historian of education Miguel Buendía Gómez published a similarly extensive history on education in Mozambique in the book, *Mozambican Education, The history of a process: 1962-1984*. Gómez analyzes Frelimo sources to trace the changes and continuities of the educational

¹⁵ Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, and José Pedro Monteiro, "'Colonialism on Trial': International and Transnational Organizations and the 'Global South' Challenges to the Portuguese Empire (1949–1962)," *Humanity (Philadelphia, Pa.)* 13, no. 1 (2022): 104–26. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hum.2022.0006>.

¹⁶ See Judith Marshall, *Literacy, Power, and Democracy in Mozambique*, (London: Routledge: 1993), and Anton Johnston, "Adult Literacy for Development in Mozambique," *African Studies Review* 33, no. 3 (1990): 83–96. <https://doi.org/10.2307/524188>.

¹⁷ Tanja R. Müller, "'Memories of Paradise' – Legacies of Socialist Education in Mozambique," *African Affairs* (London) 109, no. 436 (2010): 451–70, <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adq024>.

¹⁸ Feliciano Chimbutane, "Language and Citizenship Education in Postcolonial Mozambique," *Journal of Social Science Education* 17, no. 4 (2018): 8-25. <https://doi.org/10.4119/UNIBI/jsse-v17-i3-1093>.

¹⁹ Errante, "The School, the Textbook and National Development."

system from the late colonial to early independence period.²⁰ Finally, Michael Cross' book, *An Unfulfilled Promise: Transforming Schools in Mozambique*, has been a guiding source throughout this research. Cross critically assesses the attempt to nationalize and democratize education in Mozambique, arguing that Frelimo's early promise of accessible education for all had gone unfulfilled.²¹ These three resources have aided in the contextualization of Frelimo's educational policies in periods of political transition, making them indispensable to my work.

Building on the scholarship of Errante, Gómez, and Cross, my thesis moves away from an analysis of educational programming and policies, towards an assessment of Frelimo's discourse on education. By contextualizing Frelimo's discourse on education in the context of achieving/maintaining political power, this thesis contributes a lens that analyzes education within the context of informing politics, allowing academics to question the extent to which education was intended to be an instrument of power. As I situate my historical analysis through political and cultural lenses, I converge discourses of education with concepts of nation-building and securing ideological hegemony, making the political historiography of Frelimo equally important to my work.

The historiography of politics in Mozambique is significantly larger than that of education, yet it is critical to approach this historiography with caution. Nationalist influence is evident within the existing discourse of political history in Mozambique.²² Frelimo was not elected to power upon independence, resulting in the need to ensure a positive sense of

²⁰ Miguel Buendía Gómez, *Educação Moçambicana- História de um Processo: 1962-1984* (Maputo: Livraria Universitária Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1999).

²¹ Michael Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise : Transforming Schools in Mozambique* (Addis Adaba, Ethiopia: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2011), 1.

²² See: Allen Isaacman, and Barbra Isaacman, "Creating a New Legal System," *Africa Report* 26, no. 1 (1981): 19–22; and John S. Saul, "Mozambique: Destabilization and Counterrevolutionary Guerrilla Warfare," *Studies in Political Economy*, (1987): 5–40. <https://doiorg.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.1080/19187033.1987.11675564>.

familiarity between the party and the population, and legitimize their leadership to the public.²³

This resulted in the creation of a nationalist history that attributed independence solely to Frelimo's efforts. Frelimo shared this version of history at rallies, via speeches, and through public documentation. As evidenced in Samora Machel's, the first President of Mozambique, independence speech, "The mobilisation of the masses is a right and duty won solely by Frelimo through arduous struggles against colonialism and imperialism."²⁴ Unwilling to accept alternative accounts of the liberation movement, Frelimo cemented this nationalist history in public discourse.

One of the earliest scholars of Frelimo's political history is Allen Isaacman, who is closely associated with Frelimo. As an American scholar, Isaacman's interest in Mozambican history began during the Civil Rights Movement.²⁵ Isaacman recalls gaining interest in Mozambique when recognizing the lack of existing historiography.²⁶ He and his co-author, Barbra Isaacman, secured a visa to study in Mozambique in 1967, where they observed the cruelty of Portuguese colonialism.²⁷ Upon their return to the United States, they joined several groups in support of the anti-colonial movement, including the Committee for a Free Mozambique.²⁸ The Isaacmans often reinforce Frelimo's perspectives, something Allan Isaacman recognizes when discussing his second book, *A Luta Continua: Creating a New Society in Mozambique*, as he states that the book "...emphasized Frelimo's dreams and visions

²³ For more information on this topic see: Colin Darch and David Hedges, "Political Rhetoric in the Transition to Mozambican Independence: Samora Machel in Beira, June 1975," *Kronos (Bellville, South Africa)*, no. 39 (2013): 32–65, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432410>.

²⁴ Samora Machel "The People's Republic of Mozambique: The Struggle Continues," *Review of African Political Economy* (1975): 23, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3997882>.

²⁵ Diogo Ramada Curto, and Nuno Domingos. "On lives, politics and history A conversation with Allen F. Isaacman and Barbara S. Isaacman about activism, Mozambique and other African histories," *Práticas da História*, no. 12 (2021): 219, <https://doi.org/10.48487/pdh.2021.n12.24969>.

²⁶ Ramada, and Domingos. "On lives, politics and history," 219.

²⁷ Ramada, and Domingos. "On lives, politics and history," 219.

²⁸ Ramada, and Domingos. "On lives, politics and history," 219.

of what a new society will look like.”²⁹ Isaacman is a predominant voice within the historiography of Mozambique. His positionality allowed him to interview important members of Frelimo, like Machel, and gain insight into the party inaccessible to many other academics.

Similar to Isaacman, Judith Marshall is also connected to Frelimo. Her work on adult literacy in Mozambique was influenced by her own experience teaching adult literacy courses at a factory called the Matola Industry Company.³⁰ Throughout her book, *Literacy, Power, and Democracy in Mozambique*, she refers to her own personal experiences teaching and aiding in literacy programming for adults.³¹ Both Isaacman and Marshall’s individual experiences and connections within Mozambique shaped their research. While all scholars have biases that shape their approach to research, the way in which these academics’ personal trajectories intersect with Frelimo’s path to dominance affects their accounts. Their connections do not negate the value of their work, but current scholars should consider how their involvement with Frelimo may have affected their understandings of Frelimo’s aims and their analysis of how Frelimo’s education policy was an intrinsic part of their nationalist goals.

In the 1980’s, Aquino de Bragança and Jaques Deplichin called for a cautionary reading of the existing historiography of Mozambique.³² De Bragança had long been involved alongside Frelimo, but he refused a formal role in the movement or its government.³³ Published in English posthumously and co-authored by Depelchin, the 1988 article, “From the Idealization of Frelimo to the Understanding of Mozambique Recent History,” calls for a reconsideration of the popular

²⁹ Ramada, and Domingos, “On lives, politics and history,” 240.

³⁰ Marshall, *Literacy, Power, and Democracy in Mozambique*.

³¹ Marshall, *Literacy, Power, and Democracy in Mozambique*.

³² De Bragança, was on the same plane as Samora Machel and other Frelimo leaders that crashed and resulted in their untimely deaths in 1986.

³³ Colin Darch, “A Man of Anguish: A Tribute to Aquino de Bragança (1924-1986) on the Centennial of his Birth,” *Review of African Political Economy* (website), (April 6, 2024), <https://roape.net/2024/04/06/a-man-of-anguish-a-tribute-to-aquino-de-braganca-1924-1986-on-the-centennial-of-his-birth/>.

story of the “revolutionary process begun by Frelimo” reinforced by journalists and academics such as Joseph Hanlon and John Saul whom they describe as “agree[ing] entirely with the options of Frelimo.”³⁴ Despite their challenge of Frelimo’s popular narrative, nationalism remained prevalent in the history of independence. These paradigms frustrated academics like Cross, who criticized the “discourse of delusion” that he believed is “fueled by more than two decades of uncritical scholarly work emanating from solidarity or engaged scholars...”³⁵ A split between those unwilling to challenge Frelimo’s nationalist lens and those challenging the party’s exclusionary accounts bolstered a historiographical divide that would be further analyzed in the 2010’s.

João Paulo Borges Coelho produced an article in 2013 that defined Frelimo’s historical timeline used to legitimize their leadership as the “liberation script.”³⁶ He describes the script as a “simple linear narrative” that used the “basis of binary oppositions” as an “apparatus” to replace diverse experiences of the past with a singular narrative in support of Frelimo.³⁷ This article disrupted historiographical discourse, furthering the divide noted in the 1980’s. Coelho refers to the state of Mozambican historiography as “questionable” and “scarce,” drawing concerns of unity taking precedence over accuracy when historians adopt the liberation script and considering the impact scholarship has on historical memory.³⁸

Coelho faced backlash from the revisionist and traditional schools of Mozambican historians. The same year the article was published, a workshop was held to debate the arguments of de Bragança, Dechaplin, Coelho, and Yussuf Adam (who similarly criticized the

³⁴ Aquino de Bragança, and Jacques Depelchin, “From the Idealization of Frelimo to the Understanding of Mozambique Recent History,” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 11, no. 1 (1988): 95, 98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40241085>.

³⁵ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 128.

³⁶ João Paulo Borges Coelho, “Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique: A Set of Epistemological Notes,” *Kronos*, no. 39 (2013): 20-21, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432409>.

³⁷ Coelho, “Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique,” 23.

³⁸ Coelho, “Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique,” 20.

role of nationalism in the historiography of Mozambique), resulting in a published volume of articles aimed at challenging these academics perspectives.³⁹ Contributing authors of the volume included academics attending Eduardo Mondlane University, students of revisionist Michael Cahen, Christian Gefferay, and Allen Isaacman, as well as academics who broadly “distanced themselves from nationalist narratives and deterministic epistemologies, especially that of Marxist historiography.”⁴⁰ The divide within the Mozambican historiography has called attention to the ways in which politics and political discourse has shaped political history in Mozambique, requiring those who approach the topic to question who is writing these articles and with what purpose.

This thesis aligns with the understanding that the popular history of Mozambique has been shaped by the “liberation script,” and reinforced in the classroom. Calling attention to Frelimo’s discouragement of diverse identities and memories of the past, my work aligns with scholars such as Benedito Machava, Victor Igreja, Sérgio Chichava, and Eric Allina who challenge the narratives of political unity under Frelimo and highlight the prevalence of violence during their early leadership.⁴¹ Similarly, I adopt language that challenges the unity theory, which suggests that Frelimo encompassed the wants and needs of all Mozambicans.⁴² While I

³⁹ Yussuf Adam, *Trick or Treat: The Relationship Between Destabilisation, Aid, and Government Development in Mozambique 1975-1990* (Roskilde: Roskilde Universitet, 1996).

⁴⁰ Paolo Israel, “A Loosening Grip: The Liberation Script in Mozambican History,” *Kronos*, no. 39 (2013): 11.

⁴¹ For example: 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 (2011): 593–609, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41345715>. See, Victor Igreja, “Politics of Memory, Decentralisation and Recentralisation in Mozambique,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 39, no. 2 (2013): 313–35, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2013.795809>. See, Sérgio Chichava, “They Can Kill Us but We Won’t Go to the Communal Villages!’ Peasants and the Policy of ‘Socialisation of the Countryside’ in Zambezia,” trans. by Benjamin Legg, *Kronos* 39, no.13 (2013) 112-130, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432412>. And, Eric Allina, “Bright lines and fault lines: the politics of refuge in independence-era Mozambique,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 55, no.3 (2021):475-496. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00083968.2020.1869050>.

⁴² As Frelimo’s rule was not liberating for everyone, I have adopted Eric Allina’s term “Frelimo controlled zones” to describe spaces of territory Frelimo controlled during the liberation war. For Allina’s explanation of the term see: Eric Allina, “Bright lines and fault lines,” 478.

predominantly analyze Frelimo sources, I challenge the nationalist approach to Mozambican history by unravelling how discourses regarding education reinforced harmful and exclusionary policies that alienated many Mozambicans perceived as inadequate citizens by Frelimo.

Ultimately, by analyzing how Frelimo's discourse regarding education was used to promote a uniformed identity and secure national unity this research reveals Frelimo's reluctance, and outright refusal, to accept diverse identities perceived as a challenge to their leadership. My work contributes a lens that assesses how Frelimo understood the education of children and youth as a way to instill a shared sense of national identity that would benefit the party. I borrow and expand on the existing historiographies of education and politics in Mozambique to produce a multifaceted approach to contextualizing the role of education in politics. As Mozambican historiography grows, diverse approaches to understanding periods of conflict and change can aid in producing historical narratives that challenge nationalist history.

Approach and methodology:

This research uses a cultural and political historical approach, allowing for a deeper understanding of how education is used to construct identities and connections in relation to the nation and its governing power. I analyze a range of primary sources written by Frelimo members or sharing Frelimo's political perspectives.⁴³ These sources include speeches, interviews, appeals to the United Nations, fundraising pamphlets, party guides (including the popular series *Estudos e Orientações* (Studies and orientations), and magazines *Tempo* (Time) and *Voz da Revolução* (Voice of the Revolution). The selected sources examined throughout this thesis were created to engage the public, whether that be on the international or national domain,

⁴³ Due to the high cost of travel, I unfortunately could not go to physical archives in Mozambique. This resulted in the use of internet archives and databases, as well as being provided access to my supervisor's personal collection of sources.

making them valuable sources to understanding how Frelimo intended for people to perceive itself and education in the contexts of liberation and decolonization. I approached these sources with the intent of discovering how Frelimo approached the public and aimed to convince the population to accept its leadership, ideology, and educational system. Many of these sources, including the magazines and pamphlets, were mass distributed amongst Mozambicans and used as a way for the party to communicate their messaging to the population at large, making them indispensable to my analysis of how Frelimo engaged the population in their liberation and nation-building goals.

A cultural approach to this research is taken to understand how Frelimo intended to build and shape identities through education.⁴⁴ I do not analyze existing regional cultures that predated the formation of Frelimo, rather, I assess how Frelimo intended to create a national culture they could use to justify their leadership and unite the population under their political guidance. Frelimo expected individuals to abandon their pre-existing cultural or regional identities in adoption for its understanding of what it means to be “Mozambican” and used schools as a method to achieve these means.

Additionally, this thesis engages with cultural sources, including magazines and comics, to assess how Frelimo portrayed education to the public. In life, culture and politics co-exist and are often influenced by one another. In 2017, Patrick Chabal argued that political research and histories of Africa should include a cultural approach, suggesting, “...the field of politics itself has to be examined within its appropriate cultural milieu, as it were. Far from being residual category, culture is that which constitutes the coordinates, the mapping, the language, or the very

⁴⁴ For research on the importance of cultural historical approaches see, Sasha Handley, Rohan McWilliam, and Lucy Noakes, *New Directions in Social and Cultural History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2018).

blueprint of politics.”⁴⁵ Chabal is inspired by Clifford Geertz, who perceives culture as “...the structures of meaning through which men give shape to their experience; and politics is not coups and constitutions, but one of the principal arenas in which such structures publicly unfold.”⁴⁶ Therefore, my approach to education as a tool of political power intended to inform a sense of shared national identity and culture, is enriched through both political and cultural lenses, as politics in post-independence Mozambique is inherently concerned with informing a uniform sense of national identity.

Originally, I intended to only research the post-independence period in Mozambique. However, I came to the realization that an analysis of education in the post-independence period requires a discussion of how Portuguese colonial leadership used education to maintain colonial rule. Simultaneously, Frelimo began providing education in the late colonial period to challenge Portuguese leadership, eventually adopting and modifying the colonial educational institution to maintain their own power. A brief analysis of the late-colonial period is required to contextualize Frelimo’s adoption of educational programming as a tool of both resistance and politics. For this reason, my scope begins in 1962, the year Frelimo formed, and ends in the 1980s, as education became less of a focal point to Frelimo as the Civil War intensified.⁴⁷

I developed three questions that guided my research, focused on themes of education and politics, education and nation-building, and education in the process of identity formation. The first question asks: “In what ways did Frelimo value the education of children and youth as a political apparatus, used to challenge colonial myths, and to develop a tie between students, their

⁴⁵ Patrick Chabal, “Culture and the Study of Politics in Postcolonial Africa,” in *State and Culture in Postcolonial Africa*, ed. Tejmola Olaniyan (Indiana University Press, 2017), 28.

⁴⁶ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 312.

⁴⁷ The Mozambican Civil War broke out in 1977, between Frelimo and the oppositional group RENAMO (Mozambican National Resistance) it intensified in the mid-1980s and would come to an end in 1992.

communities, and the party?” I answer this question through an analysis of primary sources written by Frelimo, and party leaders, to understand how they valued educational programming as a means to inform political identities from an early age. This line of questioning has allowed me to engage with conceptions of “ideal” citizenship under Frelimo’s leadership, and how these ideals were weaponized as categories used to exclude particular members of society.

The second question inquires, “How did Frelimo use education as a tool of post-independence nation-building to legitimize their leadership of Mozambique, and to inform a unified sense of Mozambican identity?” This question is used to assess the extent to which Frelimo valued education to legitimize their leadership while delegitimizing past and alternative political groups. Simultaneously, this question addresses the role of education in Frelimo’s plan for post-independence nation-building. To answer this question, I analyze both political and cultural documents created by Frelimo that suggest that education aids in eradicating “old” mentalities while informing new ones aligned with the party. Through this line of questioning, I have argued that education was understood by Frelimo as an instrument of nation-building that could secure their leadership for generations to come.

The final question: “How did Frelimo intend for the nation to perceive education; in what ways did they mobilize families and communities to send their youth to schools and ensure that lessons taught within the classroom impacted communities at large?” This question arose when reading *Tempo* articles on education, as they often emphasized the importance of education for the student, their community and the nation. Frelimo tied education to the process of decolonization and connected individual contributions to the greater good of the nation. By understanding how Frelimo promoted education as a way for individuals to contribute to the

processes of decolonization and nation-building, historians can understand how Frelimo intended to mobilize individuals to part take in educational programming.

Chapter Break Down:

Chapter one provides historical context to the formation of Frelimo, examining how education was used both to legitimize and challenge colonial leadership. This chapter engages with political documents, pamphlets, and speeches to navigate how colonial education excluded African youth in order to promote racial hierarchies that supported colonial leadership. Alternatively, Frelimo challenged colonial authority via educational programming in areas it controlled to deconstruct colonial myths and bolster their liberation movement. This chapter provides critical context to the direction of education in the post-independence period, as Frelimo often perceives the experience of controlled zones during the Liberation War as a “university” that deeply influenced the party.⁴⁸ This perception held by party elites has led historians, such as Margret Hall and Tom Young, to argue that what occurred in Frelimo controlled zones often foreshadowed Frelimo’s early political organization of Mozambique.⁴⁹

Chapter two assesses the achievement of independence and transition of power from 1974-1975. After securing leadership from the colonial government, Frelimo needed to legitimize their authority to the Mozambican population, making education critical to their goals of nation-building. During this time, Frelimo established the importance of education to inform a new and united sense of identity tied to the party. I contextualize Frelimo’s understanding of education within theories of nation-building provided by academics such as Sydney Tarrow, and

⁴⁸ Lorenzo Macagno, “Fragments of a national imagination,” *Revista brasileira de ciências sociais* 24, no. 70 (2009): 19, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-69092009000200002>.

⁴⁹ Margaret Hall, and Tom Young, *Confronting Leviathan: Mozambique since Independence* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997), 93.

Redie Berketab, to grasp why Frelimo made education central to their nation-building plan for independent Mozambique.

Chapter three identifies the challenges of nationally standardizing education in the early independence period (1976-1981), with the intent to create a generation of youth that embody the ideal socialist citizens. This chapter particularly analyzes how Frelimo's programs reinforced exclusionary rhetoric that resulted in the alienation, punishment, and detainment of individuals who did not embody Frelimo's standards for an ideal citizen. Within this context, schools became spaces of surveillance, where morality and actions were correlated with "proper" citizenship and education.

The final chapter expands on these discussions by analyzing a wider network of public education, including the comic series *Xiconhoca*, the use of re-education camps, and the international technical school, the German-Mozambican School of Friendship. Through this chapter, I address how traditional education sits within a nexus of programming aimed at reinforcing Frelimo's leadership and ideology within Mozambique. Frelimo was able to reinforce their messaging and engage a broader audience by adopting multiple forms of education, with the goal of creating an ideal society filled with morally and ideologically superior citizens. Ultimately, these programs were used to secure Frelimo's leadership, as nationalist curriculum taught in schools were reflected throughout Mozambican society in differing ways.

Concluding thoughts:

This research does not intend to evaluate individuals' educational experiences or the effectiveness of using education to inform national unity, but rather the objective is to understand how an anti-colonial movement intended to use education to challenge colonial leadership, and later, reinforce their own leadership. Reflecting on Frelimo's five decades in power, my work

provides insight into how Frelimo valued education to legitimize and strengthen their political authority during their early leadership. While Frelimo's leadership has not gone uncontested, as students and communities alike have challenged Frelimo's governance throughout the party's existence, education was perceived as a way to root out identities and values the party perceived as a challenge and instill values aligned with their socialist outlook. Schools for children and youth played a central role in Frelimo's plan for post-independence nation-building. The education of children and youth was wielded by Frelimo to create a generation of ideal citizens loyal to Frelimo and their ideology.

Chapter One: Education for Oppression and Liberation

In times of conflict, both governing powers and those in opposition may seize upon the education of youth as a tool of struggle. Governing powers use education to legitimize their authority in hopes of subduing opposition and maintaining the status quo. Curricular content, language of instruction and the built environment in which people learn aim to enforce a specific narrative that reinforces or challenges the existing hierarchies and structures. N'dri T. Assié-Lumumba argues that "...formal education controlled by the colonial powers was carefully designed to produce and reproduce colonial subjects devoid of agency..."¹ Through the combination of assimilationist educational policies and educational barriers put in place, the colonial authority intends to strengthen colonial myths and hierarchies to maintain their authority. However, Assié-Lumumba clarifies that restrictive colonial education often elicits unanticipated reactions from those it targets, instead leading them to challenge the colonial state itself.² Through the development of alternative educational programs separate of the state, an action often prohibited, opposition groups challenge and redefine existing narratives and social orders calling on youth and their communities to join in opposition. Contestation for power within educational spaces is commonplace; the ways in which people make claims to knowledge and seek to wield it speaks to the importance of youth and their education within periods of conflict.

This chapter provides a brief analysis of colonial education in Mozambique, the formation of the anti-colonial group Frelimo, and the establishment of Frelimo-operated

¹ N'dri T. Assié-Lumumba, "The Making of Culture and Definition of Cultural Spheres and Boundaries in Post-Colonial Africa: The Role OF Education in Acquiring and Exercising Agency," *Knowledge Cultures* 4, no. 4 (2016): 5, <https://link-gale-com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/apps/doc/A460284900/AONE?u=otta77973&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=17af63d0>.

² Assié-Lumumba, "The Making of Culture," 4-6.

educational institutions. Education became central to Frelimo's anti-colonial movement, intending to unmask colonial myths and to validate themselves and their goals on both the national and international levels. The Portuguese colonial state wanted to control education by limiting the accessibility of primary and secondary schools. The goal of this policy was to reinforce hierarchies and myths that maintained their colonial leadership. Frelimo intended to provide accessible schooling, yet it practiced strict control of its curriculum and held high expectations for students and teachers alike. Both the colonial and anti-colonial school systems aimed to create, maintain, and reproduce specific narratives that would legitimize their respective leaderships.

Through an analysis of sources including the Portuguese Colonial Act, petitions to the United Nations, and Frelimo speeches and pamphlets, this chapter explains how the Portuguese state wielded education as a tool of power, while Frelimo approached education as a tool of liberation. This chapter expands on the existing historiography of education in Mozambique as I examine both colonial and anti-colonial education to assess how these systems align and converge. I argue that colonial education reinforced class and racial hierarchies with the intent to maintain colonial power, in contrast, Frelimo expanded educational access to African youth neglected and exploited by colonialism in order to strengthen its anti-colonial movement. Frelimo's educational programs worked inwardly to create new cadres who, in exchange for education, would be loyal members of the liberation party. Externally, these programs served as a tool to criticize Portuguese colonialism and solidify Frelimo's leadership of the liberation movement.

In late colonial Mozambique, African youth had limited access to formal education, reinforcing racial hierarchies that underwrote colonial power. In response, Frelimo developed

their own educational programs as a part of their anti-colonial offensive. Through these programs, Frelimo could strengthen and grow, recruiting new members and students who would ideally adopt Frelimo's political ideologies. The importance of education to Frelimo is underscored in a 1973 note (written by Frelimo's Department of Information and Propaganda) that states, "Everyone understands the importance of education in the context of our struggle. It is one of the most fundamental activities (with production and combat) which without, our struggle could not advance."³ In colonial states, challenging existing institutions of knowledge and providing alternative educational opportunities are actions that break barriers and deconstruct colonial myths. By creating new avenues of knowledge, Frelimo aimed to fracture the colonial states monopoly on knowledge producing institutions.

A brief summary of early colonial history:

Anchoring along the shores of Southeast Africa in 1482, Vasco da Gamma encountered an established trading community, with numerous ships settled in thriving ports.⁴ His arrival in Southeast Africa was unintentional, originally hoping to navigate his ship towards India, the Spice Trade and the Asian market, da Gamma stumbled upon what Eric Allina describes as "...a global network little known to Europe that linked the East African coast to the Middle East, and, across the Indian Ocean, to South and South East Asia."⁵ Although the Portuguese made several failed attempts at capturing a rumored region of gold mines, Manica, in the 16th century, they

³ Departamento de Informação e Propaganda, "Introdução," *Colecção Estudos e Orientações*, no.2 (1974), 5.

⁴ Joseph Hanlon, *Mozambique the Revolution Under Fire*, ed. 2 (London: Zedd Books, 1990), 15.

⁵ Eric Allina, *Slavery By Any Other Name: African Life Under Company Rule in Colonial Mozambique* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 17.

established several “sleepy backwater settlements.”⁶ Portuguese authority over the area that encompasses Mozambique was minimal, arguably non-existent for the next centuries.⁷

Portugal turned towards a serious consideration of occupying and consolidating their authority in Mozambique during the 19th century. In response to British abolitionist goals in the 1780s, Brazilian and French slavers began relying on the Portuguese slave trade out of Mozambique to fulfill their demands.⁸ According to Joseph Hanlon, by the 1820’s, the mounting pressure on the Portuguese slave trade resulted in an estimate of 30,000 slaves a year being exported to Brazil and Cuba from the Mozambican port of Quelimane.⁹ Despite the formal abolition of the slave trade in Portuguese territories in 1836, systems that abused Africans for free labour continued throughout colonial history.¹⁰ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, European powers engaged in a competition for African territories, ultimately resulting in the Berlin Conference (1884-1885). After the conference, in the eyes of Europe, Portugal gained official authority over Mozambique. However, several factors including national debt, the control of the Mozambican region of Gaza by African leader Gungunhana, and internal disputes over approaching settlements in the colonies, resulted in a disorganized front to Portuguese settlement and an overall lack of authority.¹¹

It is within the context of Portugal’s struggles to consolidate authority in its African and Asian colonies that the nation is perceived as a weak colonial power in comparison to Great Britain and France. Yet, Allina stresses the misconception that occurs when defining the

⁶ Allina, *Slavery By Any Other Name*, 17-18.

⁷ Allina, *Slavery By Any Other Name*, 17-18. See also, Allen Isaacman, *Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution: The Zambesi* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972); M.D.D. Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambesi: Exploration, Land Tenure and Colonial Rule in East Africa*, (Harlow: Longman, 1973).

⁸ For a more detailed history on slavery in Mozambique see Allina, *Slavery By Any Other Name*; Isaacman *Mozambique : The Africanization of a European Institution*; Newitt, *Portuguese Settlement on the Zambesi*.

⁹ Hanlon, *Mozambique the Revolution Under Fire*, 16.

¹⁰ Allina, *Slavery By Any Other Name*, 19.

¹¹ Allina, *Slavery By Any Other Name*, 23-25.

Portuguese empire as “weak” when stating, “Africans who lived under colonial rule, whether in Mozambique, Malawi, or Mali, were unlikely to view the brutality of their colonial masters as an expression of their weakness.”¹² The violence that occurred during the early colonial period and continued under the authoritarian dictatorship of the Estado Novo cannot be considered a measure of “success.” Colonial leaders of Portugal could not shake the feeling of lost glory when Brazil achieved independence in 1822. This concern became an obsession under the Estado Novo resulting in the continuation of violence, neglect and abuse, evident in colonial institutions.

Political turmoil in the metropole:

For Portugal, the first decades of the twentieth century were marked by political turmoil and transition. The overthrow of the Portuguese constitutional monarchy occurred in 1910, as a result of the Republic Revolution of October Fifth. During the First World War (1914-1918), nationalist sentiments rose alongside public division between right wing ideologies and those loyal to the government, resulting in the 1926 military coup and the establishment of a military dictatorship.¹³ The political turmoil paved the way towards the nomination of António de Oliveira Salazar as President of the Council of Ministries in 1933 and the formation of his party, the Estado Novo (New State).¹⁴ Salazar’s leadership desired to eradicate international perceptions of Portugal as a weak imperial leader, as he rebranded the nation to emphasize their Catholic values and the vast size of the empire.

¹² Allina, *Slavery By Any Other Name*, 13.

¹³ For more detailed information on this political transition in Portugal see: António Costa Pinto, “The Portuguese ‘Blue Shirts’ and Salazar’s ‘New State’ in *Reactionary Nationalists, Fascists and Dictatorships in the Twentieth Century Against Democracy*, ed. by Isamel Saz, Julián Sanz, Zira Boc, and Toni Morant (Switzerland: Springer International, 2019), 203-220, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-22411-0_11. And, Riccardo Marchi, *The Portuguese Far Right: Between Late Authoritarianism and Democracy* (Routledge, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315409931>.

¹⁴ Marchi, *The Portuguese Far Right*, 19.

Asserting an image of imperial strength became a defining feature of Salazar's regime. Irene Pimentel expresses that "Salazar considered the Portuguese colonial empire as a single multi-racial nation, spread across the world."¹⁵ Yet, as Pimentel acknowledges, Salazar simultaneously interpreted Portugal as separate from the empire, with the metropole's role being to evangelize, exploit, and subjugate the colonies and their native populations for the benefit of Portugal.¹⁶ In 1934, military officer Henrique Galvão created a map that superimposed the Portuguese colonies over the continent of Europe to depict the "multi-continental" nation, epitomizing Salazar's rebrand of Portugal.¹⁷ Originally presented in 1934 in Porto at the First Colonial Exhibition, the map titled "Portugal is Not a Small Country" was mass distributed as a form of propaganda in a pamphlet titled, "In the Course of Empire."¹⁸ The map's title embodied Salazar's reimagined perception of Portugal, becoming a popular imperial slogan. To enforce this image abroad and warrant the conception of Portugal as a multi-continental state, colonial institutions focused on assimilation to Portuguese culture and language in the colonies.

Colonial education under the Estado Novo reflected the assimilative and exploitative intent of the Portuguese state. Outlined by Article Twenty-Four of the 1933 Colonial Act, missionaries were deemed as "an instrument of civilization and national influence" binding missionaries' role as educators to the goal of nationalization of the colonies.¹⁹ To control education, increasingly restrictive policies were set in place. In fear of contestation, the Estado Novo aimed to minimize missionaries that did not align with the Portuguese state and their

¹⁵ Irene Pimentel, "Women's Organizations and Imperial Ideology under the Estado Novo," *Portuguese Studies* 18 (2002): 126 <https://doi.org/10.1353/port.2002.0014>.

¹⁶ Pimentel, "Women's Organizations and Imperial Ideology," 126.

¹⁷ Heriberto Cairo, "Portugal is Not a Small Country: Maps and Propaganda in the Salazar Regime," *Geopolitics* 11, no.3 (2006): 379, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650040600767867>.

¹⁸ Cairo, "Portugal is Not a Small Country," 379.

¹⁹ Estado Novo, "Article 24," 1933, *Portuguese Colonial Act*, O Portal Da História de Portugal, https://www.arqnet.pt/portal/portugal/documentos/acto_colonial.html

values, resulting in an alliance between the Estado Novo and the Catholic church, and the enforcement of language policies.

Protestant missionaries established schools in Mozambique as early as the late nineteenth century. These missions challenged the monolingual claims of the Portuguese state as they often taught classes in their language, typically English, or local African languages. Diverse educational opportunities represented a threat to the Portuguese state, as the state had little to no control over the curriculum or religion shared within these spaces.²⁰ These concerns resulted in the signing of the Missionary Act of 1941, formally aligning the Vatican and the Portuguese state in the formation of a colonial education system that centered on Catholic values and intended to nationalize and assimilate the colonies. Under the Missionary Act, the Catholic Church gained responsibility for rudimentary education for African children, leaving the state responsible for primary and secondary educational programs that catered to children from assimilated families, mixed-race children and European children. To be considered assimilated, individuals had to prove proficiency in Portuguese and be baptized in the Catholic Church, in return, they would receive assimilated status and, in theory, the full rights of Portuguese citizenship.²¹ As state education was inaccessible to most Africans, the status of assimilated was often unattainable. The dual school system represented Salazar's vision of a shared religious and linguistic identity between the colonies, while simultaneously reflecting the discriminatory and exploitative treatment of racialized individuals.

²⁰ A structure for colonial education was created in 1907, including a teacher examination and the states approval of textbooks. However, these structures were loosely followed, if followed at all. For more information on this earlier system see: Kathleen Sheldon, "'I Studied with the Nuns, Learning to Make Blouses': Gender Ideology and Colonial Education in Mozambique," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 31, no. 3 (1998): 599, <https://doi.org/10.2307/221477>. See also, Éric Morier-Genoud, *Catholicism and the Making of Politics in Central Mozambique, 1940-1986*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2019).

²¹ Bernard Spolsky, "Language Policy in Portuguese Colonies and Successor States," *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19, no. 1 (2018): 79, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2017.1316564>.

The alignment with the Catholic Church resulted in limited educational opportunities for Africans. By 1955, 2,000 of the 2,040 rudimentary schools in Mozambique were under the control of the Catholic Church.²² Schools are not only spaces of knowledge production, they are also places where cultural and religious transmission occur between peers and their superiors. In their analysis of Portuguese colonial education in Cape Verde, Maria da Luz Ramos and Pedro Goulart express that “The domination of European culture and social systems, along with the Catholic religion, were clearly reproduced by students who assimilated the knowledge, way of life, symbols, and beliefs of the coloniser...”²³ The Portuguese colonial state used education as a tool of assimilation with the intent of replacing pre-existing regional and religious identities with Portuguese and Catholic identities.

Education reinforced racial discrimination rooted in Salazar’s conception of colonialism. The Colonial Act of 1930 recognized two racial categories: non-assimilated Africans, or “indígenas,” who were 98% of Mozambique’s population, and “não-indígenas,” who included Africans considered to be assimilated by the state, Europeans and mixed-race peoples.²⁴ Rudimentary education was a three-year program provided by the Catholic Church and intended for African children in the *indígena* category. Allen and Barbra Isaacman argue that rudimentary education “...theoretically introduced African children to Portuguese language and culture in order to bring them to the level of Portuguese children entering primary education.”²⁵ Upon completion of the rudimentary program, pupils who passed an exam could take primary

²² Allen Isaacman, Barbra Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2019), 50.

²³ Maria da Luz Ramos, Pedro Goulart, “We all went to school’: Women’s Narratives of Education in Cape Verde (1930’s-1970’s)”, in *History Through Narratives of Education in Africa*, ed. Ellen Vea Rosnes (Brill, 2024), 317, https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.1163/9789004690172_013.

²⁴ Miguel Buendía Gómez, *Educação Moçambicana- História de um Processo: 1962-1984*, (Maputo: Livraria Universitária Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1999), 50.

²⁵ A. Isaacman, B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution*, 50.

education in state-run schools. However, several barriers – refusal to educate in African languages, the lack of schools, limited capacity, and distance from schools in rural areas– hindered the opportunity for success within rudimentary education.²⁶ These barriers reinforced racial hierarchies and are evidence of how a child's race and class impacted the access and quality of education they received.

State run primary schools provided four years of education and were often located in city centres.²⁷ History courses and daily routines, including class prayers and the singing of the Portuguese anthem, aimed to assimilate students.²⁸ Upon the successful completion of primary education, youth could attend junior high school for two years and then a four-year secondary program.²⁹ However, by 1963, only three secondary schools existed in Mozambique; in the same year only six percent of students attending secondary education self-identified as Black.³⁰ Due to the state's regulation of university education, African students who graduated secondary schools had three options; obtain an international scholarship to attend university abroad or remain in Mozambique and enrol in either a seminary or a nursing program.

Ultimately, colonial education intentionally created barriers for African students with the goal of reinforcing racial hierarchies and myths of national unity that supported Salazar's colonial objectives. These barriers resulted in mass illiteracy and the exploitation of African youth. Race was the defining feature of obtaining social status, as evidenced by the migration of Portuguese peasants, many of whom were illiterate yet had rights and privileges that far

²⁶ A. Isaacman, B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution*, 50.

²⁷ Antoinette Errante, *The School, the Textbook and National Development in Colonial and Post-Revolutionary Primary Schooling in Portugal and Mozambique 1926-1992*, (Proquest Dissertations Publishing, 1994), 354-355.

²⁸ A. Isaacman, B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution*, 52. And, Errante, *The School, the Textbook and National Development*, 371.

²⁹ Errante, *The School, the Textbook and National Development*, 354-355.

³⁰ Gómez, *Educação Moçambicana*, 60.

exceeded those accorded to educated, “assimilated” Africans.³¹ The discriminatory basis of colonial education intended to instill a sense of Portuguese identity and solidify Portugal’s imperial leadership later became a central proponent in the international calls against Portuguese colonial rule in the 1960s and 70s.

Igniting the spark, the formation of Frelimo:

Although the wave of decolonization began in the 1950’s and 60’s, the Estado Novo refused to relinquish its colonies. While resistance to colonial authority was commonplace throughout the colonial period, John A. Marcum points to 1957 and the independence of Ghana for when “The stirrings of contemporary nationalism began to register on Mozambique’s political seismograph.”³² In response to growing nationalist resistance, colonial authorities began arresting individuals perceived as a threat to the empire, leaving nationalists from Lourenço Marques and Beira to flee Mozambique and find refuge in neighbouring African nations.³³ In these spaces of refuge, a transnational nationalist Mozambican movement developed, eventually contributing to the end of the Portuguese dictatorship and empire.

On June sixteenth, 1960, a group of Mozambicans gathered in the city of Mueda to hear the Governor’s response to calls from the Makonde people, who had migrated to Taganyika, for the return and liberation of their native land in Northern Mozambique.³⁴ The governor arrested the two leaders with whom they had met and, as Paolo Israel argues, reminded the crowd of the benefits of Portuguese citizenship, eliciting upheaval within the audience.³⁵ In response, colonial

³¹ Antoinette Errante, “Education and National Personae in Portugal’s Colonial and Post-Colonial Transition,” *Comparative Education Review* vol.42, no.3 (August 1998): 285, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1189162>.

³² John A. Marcum, *Conceiving Mozambique* (Springer International Publishing. 2017), 18, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65987-9>

³³ Marcum, *Conceiving Mozambique*, 19.

³⁴ Paolo Israel, “The Mueda Massacre Retold’ The ‘Matter of return’ in Portuguese Colonial Intelligence,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 45, no.5 (2020): 1010-1011, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2020.1805854>.

³⁵ Israel, “The Mueda Massacre Retold,” 1011.

troops opened fire on the crowd, killing a large number of people.³⁶ The Mueda Massacre is part of a longer history of colonial violence, yet scholars such as Mustfah Dhada argue that it evoked a reaction in which “Many aspiring nationalists felt they had no choice but to resort to armed resistance, since [a] Salazar-led empire would not allow representative governance or pluralism in politics.”³⁷ Following the massacre, three nationalist groups emerged, the Mozambican African Nationalist Union (MANU), the African Union of Independent Mozambique (UNAMI), and the National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO).³⁸ Founded in separate neighbouring African colonies by groups of Mozambican migrants, the three eventually converged in 1962 to form Frelimo.

The popular history of the founding of Frelimo suggests that the three separate nationalist groups converged into one to produce a united front. Éric Morier-Genoud challenges this historical narrative, arguing that pressure from the United States and Tanzania to create a single nationalist front produced the merger and founding of Frelimo, resulting in the notion that creating or continuing any other regional/nationalist group is to betray the “nation.”³⁹ Nevertheless, Frelimo became the sole representative of Mozambican nationalism with the ultimate goal of achieving independence for Mozambique.

Upon its formation, Frelimo published a press release that introduced the movement to the international community. The press release describes the reason for their formation and their

³⁶ The number of people killed at the Mueda Massacre is highly contested. With a lack of formal documentation to provide an accurate toll of the tragedy, the number of deaths has been estimated from small numbers to hundreds of victims. Needless to say, the tragedy was extremely violent and caused mental, emotional, and physical toll on the Mozambican population.

³⁷ Mustfah Dhada, *The Portuguese Massacre of Wiriyamu in Colonial Mozambique 1964-2013* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 42.

³⁸ For a historical background on MANU see: Joel Das Neves Tembe, “Uhuru Na Kazi: Recapturing MANU Nationalism through the Archive,” *Kronos*, no. 39 (2013): 257–79, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432418>. For a history on the merger of the three groups see: Éric Morier-Genoud, *Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 23.

³⁹ Morier-Genoud, *Sure Road?*, 23.

preliminary goals, including: “To provide a medium through which the people of Mozambique can promote their political, economic, educational, culture and social development.”⁴⁰ From the beginning, the party recognized the need to provide services that addressed concerns regarding the lack of accessible health care and education for Africans. Through the development and mobilization of educational and health care services such as schooling, literacy programming, and the establishment of orphanages, the party could critique the lack of services offered to Africans by the colonial government while connecting to Mozambican communities and legitimizing their authority as a nationalist group.

The role of education in Frelimo’s movement was explicitly defined in the party’s 1962 Constitution. The sixteenth amendment recognized the need “To end colonialist and imperialist education and culture... to combat illiteracy” while the seventeenth amendment established the goal “To develop education and culture to serve the liberty of peaceful progress of the Mozambican people.”⁴¹ Providing education was associated with the success of the anti-colonial movement. Literacy was tied to the need to create a future popular democracy that could engage with written documents and be able to challenge internal colonial myths that uphold racist hierarchies and ideologies.⁴² Frelimo’s early documentation portrays providing accessible education as an act of resistance, casting the liberation of knowledge production and literacy as essential to the liberation of the nation and its people.

Several of Frelimo’s leaders were members of a small and fortunate group who studied abroad, including the group’s leader, Eduardo Mondlane. Their understanding of the liberation

⁴⁰ Frelimo, “First Annual Conference Mozambique Liberation Front, 07/06/1962,” *Jstor Primary Sources*, contributed by Eduardo Mondlane, Frelimo, 1, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.pwmoz000001>.

⁴¹ Frelimo, *Mozambique Liberation Front Constitution of 1962*, art. XVI-XVII, *Frelimo Collection*, Jstor, 4, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.chilco046>.

⁴² A. Isaacman, B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution*, 93.

movement is shaped by their foreign education and the transnational connections they made through their education. Transnational connections established between students attending universities abroad resulted in tangible support for the liberation movements in students' respective nations. Through an analysis of post-independence Tunis, Dakar, and Paris, Burleigh Hendrickson examines the political dynamics of universities in relation to African nationalism in the 1960's, arguing that "Universities created opportunities for contact and exchange."⁴³ Although Hendrickson's analysis is focused on African nationalism in the context of decolonization, he highlights how imperial institutions, such as universities, shape the dynamics of activism which is a lens that can be applied to the context of Mozambique.

Frelimo elite valued their educational experiences abroad and intended to send more Mozambican youth to foreign universities. As spaces that inform transnational connections, university students would learn from their classes, but also their peers. Mondlane often boasted about the number of students Frelimo aided in sending to universities abroad. In a 1965 interview with the newspaper *Sunday Nation Nairobi*, Mondlane proudly noted that in the past three years, the party sent more than 100 Mozambicans to study at foreign universities.⁴⁴ In sending select Mozambicans to university, the party aimed to create loyal cadres who, upon their return to Mozambique, would serve Frelimo in the fight for independence. In order to send students to other nations, Frelimo needed to ensure that there was a group of formally educated Mozambicans who would be able to win scholarships to attend international universities, creating an urgent need to develop secondary school programs for youth.

⁴³ Burleigh Hendrickson, *Decolonizing 1968: Transnational Student Activism in Tunis, Paris and Dakar* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022), 9. For information on the Lusophone anti-colonial student movement Casa dos Estudantes do Império (House of the Students of Empire) see: Alexandra Reza, "African Anti-Colonialism and the Ultramarinos of the Casa Dos Estudantes Do Império," *Journal of Lusophone Studies* 1, no. 1 (2016): 37–56. <https://doi.org/10.21471/jls.v1i1.32>.

⁴⁴ Adrian Begg, "Eduardo Mondlane Talking to Adrian Begg," *Sunday Nairobi Report*, (August 1965): 29.

The branch of Frelimo responsible for fulfilling the needs of education was the Department of Education and National Culture (DEC). In a 1971 *Africa Today* article, Michael A. Samuels describes the early goals of the DEC as, “to train cadres and promote general literacy.”⁴⁵ However, the role of the DEC soon expanded to include aiding students in obtaining foreign scholarships, providing primary education in “liberated zones,” training teachers, creating resources, and working with external programs to support education. Ultimately, Frelimo’s educational goals were informed by highly educated individuals who saw hope in education as a tool of resistance and liberation; perhaps most committed to providing educational opportunities for African youth was Mondlane.

Mondlane, establishing a road map to education:

The popular memory of liberation leaders is often rooted in their contribution to the liberation movement, with little attention being paid to the underlying factors that shaped them into the leaders they became. During the long path to achieving a doctorate, Mondlane navigated the barriers of receiving an education in Mozambique. By attending university abroad, Mondlane established international connections that transformed the way he and Frelimo approached and valued education as an anti-colonial tool. Mondlane’s experiences of education became the model plan that Frelimo developed to increase international educational opportunities for Mozambican youth.

From a young age, Mondlane was taught the importance of education and the power of knowledge by his mother, who often shared oral histories of their familial lineage to her son.⁴⁶ Along with being a cultural educator to her child, Mondlane’s mother was also his fiercest

⁴⁵ Michael A. Samuels, “The FRELIMO School System,” *Africa Today* 18, no. 3 (1971): 69.

⁴⁶ Teresa Cruz e Silva, “The Influence of the Swiss Mission on Eduardo Mondlane, (1930-1961),” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no.2 (1998): 188- 189, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1581712>.

advocate for achieving a formal education. Briefly enrolled in a local state school in southern Mozambique, Mondlane and his classmates had been used as labourers for their teacher.⁴⁷ Upon the discovery of this abuse, Mondlane's family pulled him out of the state school and enrolled him in a Swiss mission school, where he successfully completed the rudimentary program in 1936.⁴⁸ To continue pursuing an education, Mondlane moved to Lourenco Marques, where he obtained a primary education at night while working in a mission hospital.⁴⁹ After graduation, he attended secondary education in the Lemana Mission in South Africa.⁵⁰

Mondlane enrolled at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, where he became acquainted with student nationalist movements, including the African National Congress and the Centro Associative dos Negros de Moçambique (CANM). However, Mondlane's university experience was cut short as the apartheid regime refused to renew his visa, forcing him to return home to Mozambique.⁵¹ Mondlane organized a nationalist student group called the Nucleus of African Secondary Students of Mozambique (NESAM), attracting the attention of the Portuguese secret police (PIDE) who arrested and interrogated him, only to later have the colonial authorities offer him an opportunity to study at the University of Lisbon.⁵² In the mid-1950's, the Portuguese government became aware of a small, but growing, group of African intellectuals engaging in nationalist causes. In hopes of persuading these individuals to accept colonial rule, they sent twenty-five students from the African colonies to the University of Lisbon, where they were constantly supervised and harassed by PIDE.⁵³ With the help of the Methodist church,

⁴⁷ Cruz e Silva, *The Influence of the Swiss Mission*, 189.

⁴⁸ Cruz e Silva, *The Influence of the Swiss Mission*, 189.

⁴⁹ Cruz e Silva, *The Influence of the Swiss Mission*, 189.

⁵⁰ Cruz e Silva, *The Influence of the Swiss Mission*, 189.

⁵¹ Livio Sansone, "Eduardo Mondlane and the Social Sciences," *Virtual Brazilian Anthropology*, (2014): 80, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1809-43412013000200003>

⁵² Marcum, *Conceiving Mozambique*, 2, 5-6.

⁵³ Marcum, *Conceiving Mozambique*. 5.

Mondlane applied for, and received, a Phelps Stokes Fund scholarship, allowing him to transfer to Oberlin College, where he would complete his undergraduate in the United States.⁵⁴⁵⁵

Mondlane's educational journey continued at Northwestern University where he achieved a doctorate in sociology. He remained in the United States, working at the United Nations as an investigator (1957-61) and teaching at the University of Syracuse. Along with his successful career, he created an important network of intellectuals and nationalists, comprised of future presidents of independent Angola and Cape Verde. Achieving education was a struggle in the context of colonial Mozambique, yet Mondlane surpassed the barriers put in front of him. Livio Sansone highlights Mondlane's, and other African nationalists experience of post-secondary education, as a time where they built connections that transforming them beyond nationalist leaders and into transnational cosmopolitan liberationists.⁵⁶ The communication skills, networks and connections provided by Mondlane's education and work with the United Nations helped him to mobilize international networks to fight for the liberation of Mozambique.

Education in exile:

In the spirit of international education and aiding in the goal of expanding access to higher education, Frelimo created the Mozambique Institute. The Institute was a secondary school for refugees in Der el Salaam, Tanzania. Under the direction of Janet Mondlane, the school relied on support from international donors and the Tanzanian government. The Institute opened in 1964, with the intent of optimizing student's chances at receiving international scholarships by

⁵⁴Sansone, "Eduardo Mondlane and the Social Sciences," 81.

⁵⁵ It was at Oberlin college that Mondlane met his future wife Janet, she played a central role in the fundraising for and establishment of Frelimo's educational programs, particularly the Mozambique Institute.

⁵⁶Sansone, "Eduardo Mondlane and the Social Sciences," 101.

providing an educational program similar to ones available in English-speaking Africa.⁵⁷ In return for education, Frelimo expected loyalty from the students, who upon their arrival home would contribute to the liberation and development of Mozambique. This approach to educational opportunity reflected the academic journey of Mondlane in addition to several other African nationalists, such as Agostinho Neto (leader of the MPLA and first President of Angola) and Amílcar Lopes Cabral (leader of the Cape Verde and Guinea uprising which led to the nations independence). On paper, the Mozambique Institute represented the essence of Frelimo's plans for creating accessible education, but upon closer inspection, the history of the school shows the complexities of power dynamics between the movement and the students.

With Nyerere as an ally, Der el Salaam extended beyond a place of refuge, becoming a headquarter for Frelimo to develop educational spaces. However, both parties benefited from the alliance, as explained by Joanna Tague:

Frelimo needed a hub from which to operate that was beyond the gaze of the Portuguese state; [Tanzania] by providing that space [shows it's] commitment to Pan-Africanist ideals, such as helping free the continent from European rule.⁵⁸

Through this lens, Tanzania provided a safe space as an act of solidarity, allowing Frelimo to create a proto state in Der el Salaam where they could develop programs and institutions to aid in the development of achieving liberation.⁵⁹ Frelimo had full control over the Institute, deciding who would attend, controlling the selection of teachers, establishing the content and curriculum of the courses, and the development of smaller programs run within the schools' facilities.

⁵⁷ For a detailed analysis on the establishment of the Mozambique Institute see: Joanna Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, education and Rural Development*, (New York: Routledge, 2019).

⁵⁸ Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 5.

⁵⁹ For an analysis of how Frelimo approached their controlled zones in Tanzania as proto-states, see Michael G. Panzer, "A Nation in Name, a 'State' in Exile: The FRELIMO Proto-State, Youth, 'Gender, and the Liberation of Mozambique 1962-1975," Order No. 3591655, (State University of New York at Albany, 2013).

Despite the party's control of the Institute, the establishment and operation of the school relied on funding from international donors. To secure funding, the Mondlanes constructed a progressive image of the institute, expressing their intent to host fifty students, thirty-five boys and fifteen girls.⁶⁰ Panzer suggests that the set number of genders, "...presented Frelimo with the opportunity to promote the egalitarian part of its ideology."⁶¹ The appeal for funding was ultimately successful, with the Ford Foundation giving \$99,700 and the African American Institute contributing \$60,000, allowing the school to open its doors.⁶² After receiving these initial donations, Portugal applied pressure on their North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally, the United States of America, resulting in the American donors pulling their support for the institution.⁶³ However, the Institute continued to receive donations from Scandinavian, Eastern European, and Asian organizations.⁶⁴ Despite the American's withdrawal of support, the Mondlanes' success in securing international donations shows that they were perceived as a legitimate nationalist group with the potential to successfully provide programming to aid in the liberation of Mozambique.

Legally, the Institute was separate from Frelimo, but in reality, the two entities were intertwined.⁶⁵ Regardless of the legal separation, in his writings, Mondlane frequently connected the school back to the goals of Frelimo. In the book *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Mondlane described the Institute as "A first step in our [Frelimo's] educational programme..." as the

⁶⁰ 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 Africa Studies* 35, no.4, (2009): 810, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070903313178>.

⁶¹ Panzer, "The Pedagogy of Revolution: 810.

⁶² Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 82.

⁶³ Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 82.

⁶⁴ Hellen Kitchen, "Conversation with Eduardo Mondlane," *Africa Report* 12, 8 (1967): 50.

⁶⁵ For a detailed description of how Frelimo navigated the legality of school ownership to pursue international donations, see: Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 82.

school challenges colonial myths and trains cadres for the struggle.⁶⁶ The legal separation of the school is evidence of Frelimo's strategic ability: by pitching the school as separate, they abided by the law and worked externally to secure funding while creating an internal programme with the intent to train loyal cadres.

In a 1967 interview with Hellen Kitchen, Mondlane expressed that the school aimed to help refugee students access resources to develop their academic experience abroad.⁶⁷ He described the three main goals of the school: to "fill the gap" of educational opportunities; to provide "equal or close to equal secondary education in order for students to be able to obtain scholarships to study abroad;" and finally, to provide technical training to fulfill the needs of the Frelimo controlled zones.⁶⁸ Mondlane's message was that the Institute met a need created by the lack of educational opportunities provided by the Portuguese state. By showcasing the resources, Frelimo is providing to Mozambicans and contrasting them to the lack of programming provided by the colonial state, Mondlane is re-enforcing its anti-colonial movement and legitimizing the party as the sole representative of the anti-colonial movement on an international level.

Over the years, interest in the Institute grew along with the continuous need for volunteers. As Mondlane explained, "Built to take only 50 students, it had been stretched to accommodate 120 by 1968."⁶⁹ Owing to the limited number of qualified Mozambicans, the school relied on international volunteers to teach students. In 1967, the teaching staff of fifteen teachers included three from the United States, one from Scandinavia, one from Eastern Europe, one from India, three Portuguese settlers, and six Africans.⁷⁰ Support for the school's mission is

⁶⁶ Eduardo Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, (London:Zed Press, 1983), 127.

⁶⁷ Kitchen, "Conversation with Eduardo Mondlane," 50.

⁶⁸ Kitchen, "Conversation with Eduardo Mondlane," 50.

⁶⁹ Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, 128.

⁷⁰ Kitchen, "Conversation with Eduardo Mondlane," 50.

evidenced by the number of refugees interested in attending the program along with the willingness of international volunteers to aid the program.

The school also grew in terms of functionality, developing into an educational headquarters for Frelimo. Programming expanded into the production of textbooks, a teacher's training program for primary education, and the construction of a central building for a network of primary institutions.⁷¹ In *Africa Today*, Michael A. Samuels published a brief observation of the Mozambique Institute and its contribution to the refugee communities in Southern Tanzania, arguing that the students and teachers of the Institute made the area "livable" for primary students who were provided with a basic literacy education.⁷² Samuels' analysis provides insight into Frelimo's expectation of students and staff to work beyond the confines of secondary education, and aid in the development of a larger educational network.

Frelimo presented the Institute as an ideal educational community. In a 1965 pamphlet, the success of the Institute is presented in an image of four male students in a dorm room, accompanied by a subheading expressing the need to convert single beds into double decker beds due to the increased number of students.⁷³ Other images of student life include engagement in extracurricular activities, the performance of chores, students receiving food and health care, and engaging in lessons.⁷⁴ This curated pamphlet provides a positive image of the Institute where students are happy to learn and help maintain the facility, however their lived realities were much more complex. These students were refugees, many of whom fled war zones, separated from their land, families and their friends, forced to learn a foreign language and abide by

⁷¹ Michael A. Samuels, "The Frelimo School System," *Africa Today* vol.18, no.71 (1971): 69-72, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4185177>.

⁷² Samuels, "The Frelimo School System," 71.

⁷³ Mozambique Institute, *Mozambique Institute 1965*, pamphlets, Taganyika Standard Ltd. (1965), 11, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.chilco199>.

⁷⁴ Mozambique Institute, *Mozambique Institute 1965*, 1-11.

Frelimo's rule.⁷⁵ Due to the lack of dormitories, some of these students were isolated from their peers and sent to live in hostels.⁷⁶ Many of these students would not receive international scholarships and instead were forced to stay in Tanzania to serve as nurses and teachers.⁷⁷ The isolation from their friends and family continued, as those who were not selected to attend the Institute were often sent to the front line.⁷⁸ Although these students were provided with an education, it came at a personal cost.

Frelimo's expectation of devoted loyalty from the students undermined their personal autonomy. Although Frelimo was succeeding in sending a number of their graduates abroad, ie. over 100 students were sent to foreign universities in September of 1967, some began to question Frelimo's leadership.⁷⁹ In the later 1960's, tensions regarding loyalty and adherence to socialist ideology escalated within Frelimo, resulting in a tightening of the front through the purging of "questionable" cadres. Students were called to play a larger role in the armed movement, however, many of them refused. Panzer reflects on student refusals as a direct challenge to Frelimo, partially as a result of tensions within the nationalist movement and partially due to differing perceptions amongst youth regarding nationalism.⁸⁰ Ultimately, the party's expectation of students to be unquestionably loyal to the front was met with challenge.

The rising tensions and rifts within Frelimo led Mondlane to write a White Paper in 1967. Directed towards student members studying abroad, the paper states, "...if the fatherland requires, they will always be ready to interrupt or even abandon their studies, [students] are then

⁷⁵ For more information on students struggles within the Mozambique Institute see Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 92-98.

⁷⁶ Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 92.

⁷⁷ Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 92.

⁷⁸ Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 92.

⁷⁹ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), *Mozambique Institute 1967*, pamphlets, 22 <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.pwmoz000011>.

⁸⁰ Panzer, "The Pedagogy of Revolution," 816-817.

disciplined revolutionaries and authentic patriots.”⁸¹ Mondlane suggested that these students “raising obstacles” had developed “egotistical tendencies” after their exposure to the “corrupt and evil influence of imperialism” while abroad.⁸² The White Paper provides an example of Frelimo insisting on loyalty in return for education, a throughline that continued in the late 1960’s and 70’s. Frelimo expected students to put their personal needs second to the needs of the liberation movement. Those who did not were seen as a challenge to the movement.

The American branch of the student group, the National Union of Mozambican Students, mimicked Mondlane in their response to the White Paper. They criticized the hierarchy of Frelimo under the leadership of Mondlane, calling him an “incompetent president” with “childish perceptions.”⁸³ Students noted that while they were not challenging Frelimo as a whole, they questioned Frelimo’s ability to unite the Mozambican people under the leadership of Mondlane.⁸⁴ Rather than conforming to the expectations of the party, students voiced their concern for the struggle, not their individual needs, challenging Mondlane’s perception of them as “egotistical.” Ultimately, students refused to comply with Frelimo’s expectations of unchallenged loyalty.

Student pressure and resistance to Frelimo’s strict rules and policies resulted in the temporary closure of the Institute. As Panzer argues,

Jealousy, along with ethnic regional, and age-related tensions all emerged in the Mozambique Institute secondary school by the late 1960’s, signaling that the school had become a flashpoint for Frelimo’s expanding authoritarianism prior to independence.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Douglas L. Wheeler, “A Document for the History of African Nationalism: A Frelimo “White Paper” by Eduardo Mondlane (1920-1960),” *African Historical Studies* 2, no.2 (1969): 333, <https://doi.org/10.2307/216362>.

⁸² Wheeler, “A Document for the History of African Nationalism: A Frelimo,” 321.

⁸³ Douglas L. Wheeler “A Document for the History of African Nationalism: The Unemo ‘White Paper’ of 1968, a Student Reply to Eduardo Mondlane’s 1967 Paper,” *African Historical Studies* 3, no.1 (1970): 176,179, <https://doi.org/10.2307/216487>.

⁸⁴ Wheeler “A Document for the History of African Nationalism: The Unemo ‘White Paper,’ “ 176, 179.

⁸⁵ Panzer, “A Nation in Name, a ‘State’ in Exile,” xv.

Frelimo had an idealistic perception of secondary education as a tool for liberation. Used for garnering support from foreign allies and legitimizing the party on the international stage, Frelimo's strict policies and expectations of complete loyalty resulted in the downfall of the school. Yet, the Institute reflects Frelimo's value for education as a tool of liberation, as the intent was to make university more accessible to Mozambican students who could create and utilize transnational groups to garner further support for Frelimo's anti-colonial movement.

Filling in the gaps, establishing primary education programs:

Providing primary education allowed Frelimo to increase basic literacy and gain support from Mozambican communities who accessed these programs. Simultaneously, these programs demonstrated to the international community that Frelimo is committed to producing opportunities for youth that the colonial state failed to provide. Primary school programs were offered in refugee communities as well as Frelimo controlled territory within Mozambique. Through the primary educational program, Frelimo intended to provide basic education to youth, who otherwise were unlikely to receive primary education.

Frelimo established primary schools for refugees in Tanzania and Zambia, including the Bagamoyo, Rutumba, and Tunduru regions. In 1967, Janet Mondlane wrote an article for the *American Committee on Africa* detailing Frelimo's educational programs; she highlighted Frelimo's seven-year primary program and plans for a two-year secondary program to develop academic or technical skills.⁸⁶ Janet Mondlane acknowledges the spirit of education within refugee zones, as she stated, "As a result unofficial schools have been springing up within the camp[s], teaching in Portuguese along the lines of the Mozambican system."⁸⁷ She also called

⁸⁶ Janet Mondlane, "The Mozambique Institute," *South African Bulletin* no.9, *The American Committee on Africa*, (1967), 1, <https://projects.kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/210-808-566/acoabulletinno9opt.pdf>.

⁸⁷ J. Mondlane, "The Mozambique Institute," 2.

attention to the party's reliance on donations, "...it will be impossible to maintain even the present rudimentary level at which we give aid unless more help from outside sources is forthcoming."⁸⁸ The pamphlet showcases to an American audience the success of Frelimo's educational programs, encouraging donations to help support the program intended to fill the gaps created by the colonial state.

As noted in the pamphlet, not all children received education in refugee camps. While conducting interviews in Mozambique, Jonna Kato recalls being told that when children would arrive to the refugee camp in Tunduru, they would be examined by Frelimo members, and if the children "could reach their arm over their head to touch their ear with their fingers," they would be sent to train as guerilla soldiers.⁸⁹ Although Frelimo's propaganda centered the party's goal to fulfill the rights of youth to education, it simultaneously sent children to the front line of the liberation war. The lines of youth become blurred within this context; that height was equated to adulthood called into question the party's perception of youth in the context of war. These discrepancies are critical to acknowledge, as not all youth shared the same experience during the liberation war.

Within Frelimo controlled zones inside of Mozambique, educational spaces became known as "bush schools." Taught mostly by soldiers or Mozambicans with a second or third grade education, these schools provided two years of primary education; any students wanting to continue their studies would have to move to Bagamoyo.⁹⁰ With limited access to educational materials, these schools relied on community support for aid, building accommodations, and maintaining secrecy as the schools' locations could not be shared to avoid closure by Portuguese

⁸⁸ J. Mondlane, "The Mozambique Institute," 3.

⁸⁹ Jonna Kato, *Women's Lived Landscapes of War and Liberation in Mozambique: Bodily Memory and the Gendered Aesthetics of Belonging* (London: Routledge, 2020), 138.

⁹⁰ Errante, *The School, the Textbook and National Development* 433-434.

officials.⁹¹ While communities benefited from educational programs that taught basic literacy, they were also critical in maintaining these programs, resulting in these communities forming a relationship and attachment to Frelimo.

Due to limited resources, Frelimo was forced to be creative with bush school programming. When the bush school program first began, Frelimo members used colonial textbooks, cutting out “the most objectionable” sections.⁹² Classes within the program consisted of arithmetic, politics, art, Portuguese, geography, sciences, history, manual work, and physical education.⁹³ Their educational programming challenged and deconstructed colonial myths and identities amongst youth and their families, replacing them with a sense of affinity to the party of Frelimo. At this point, it seems that Frelimo has yet to develop a notion of what it means to be Mozambican, instead, focusing on the importance of Frelimo to the liberation of Mozambique and the eradication of colonial myths. By offering educational programs, Frelimo is able to center their perceptions of liberation and ideology amongst Mozambican communities.

As the liberation war continued and Frelimo gained control of more territory, the network of bush schools expanded. By the end of 1967, roughly 10,000 children were enrolled in Frelimo schools across their controlled territories in Mozambique.⁹⁴ For Frelimo, the success of these schools was two-fold: Mozambican communities recognized the benefit of education, sending their children to these schools, and in return, support for Frelimo grew. Through the creation of a primary educational network, Frelimo was able to draw support and produce more cadres in line

⁹¹ Errante, *The School, the Textbook and National Development*, 434-435.

⁹² Errante, *The School, the Textbook and National Development*, 436.

⁹³ Michael Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise: Transforming Schools in Mozambique* (Addis Ababa: Organisation for Social Science research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2011), 52.

⁹⁴ Judith Marshall, *Literacy, Power, and Democracy in Mozambique* (London: Routledge:1993), 109.

with their political thought. In other words, Frelimo provided education and demanded unwavering loyalty in return.

Bush schools were supplemented with other Frelimo-led community programs that aimed to bolster internal support for Frelimo. Judith Marshall argues that Frelimo held community meetings as a form of popular education that worked alongside traditional forms of education, allowing individuals to speak about their colonial experiences and participate in the reimagining of an independent Mozambique.⁹⁵ Marshall goes on to suggest that these programs increased support for the movement in the Frelimo controlled zones (including Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Tete).⁹⁶ Through educational programming, Frelimo increased their presence within local and refugee communities while providing them with a service; by doing so, they increased their internal reach and support amongst these communities.

Externally, Frelimo challenged colonial rule and advocated for decolonization on the basis of United Nations declarations, arguing that the colonial education provided by the state did not reach the expectations as outlined by Article 26 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.⁹⁷ In a 1969 petition to the United Nations Fourth Committee, Frelimo highlighted their efforts to provide accessible education:

We envisage at this stage a primary education of all the people in liberated areas of Mozambique as a crucial task to be accomplished not just by the department of education alone, but also in cooperation with the other departments, and with the help of student cadres of all levels.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Marshall, *Literacy, Power, and Democracy in Mozambique*, 111-112.

⁹⁶ Marshall, *Literacy, Power, and Democracy in Mozambique*, 112.

⁹⁷ United Nations, "Article 26," *The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights*, 1948, UN.org, accessed May 2024, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>.

⁹⁸ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), *Petition: Submitted to the United Nations Fourth Committee by the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO)*, Letters (Correspondence), (1969), 24, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.chilco139.24>.

Frelimo also called attention to the existing educational programs, including secondary education, technical education and adult education, to curate an image of Frelimo fulfilling colonial educational gaps that produced an estimated to be 95-98% illiteracy rate among the African population.⁹⁹ Through the petition, Frelimo highlighted their commitment to education, contrasting themselves to the colonial regime and legitimizing their efforts to the UN and the international community writ large. Through petitions, pamphlets and articles aimed at international audiences, Frelimo engaged in a type of advocacy that George Houser and Herbert Shore explain as breaking the myth of unity amongst the Lusophone world that Portuguese propaganda aimed to promote.¹⁰⁰

The development of educational programming is a point of pride in Frelimo's telling of the Liberation War. In *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Mondlane proudly explains how there were 100 schools in Cabo Delgado by 1966, and by 1967, 2000 children were receiving an education in Niassa.¹⁰¹ This is particularly important as Cabo Delgado and Niassa are northern provinces, that had been particularly neglected by the Portuguese, as they focused their efforts on the more southern regions of Mozambique. However, Samuels' report on education in Mozambique calls into question Frelimo's statistics on education, stating:

The statistics used by Frelimo and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of traveling either to liberated areas, or into any part of Southern Tanzania, to see the schools in operation induce some skepticism about the extent of Frelimo's educational activities.¹⁰²

Although Samuels rightfully questions statistics offered by Frelimo during the liberation war, it is evident that the expansion of educational programs meant a great deal to Frelimo as they centred their educational pursuits in the formation of their national and international image.

⁹⁹ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), *Petition: Submitted to the United Nations Fourth Committee*, 24.

¹⁰⁰ George Houser, Herbert Shore, *Mozambique: A Dream the Size of Freedom* (New York: Africa Fund, 1975), 33.

¹⁰¹ Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, 178.

¹⁰² Samuels, "The FRELIMO School System," 72.

Through this lens, Frelimo advertised themselves as liberators of knowledge and educational barriers that excluded Mozambicans in the formal production of knowledge during the colonial period.

Spaces of primary education became a place of experimentation, community, and a space to gain loyalty. These programs allowed Frelimo to curate curriculum that broke down colonial myths and depicted Frelimo as liberators allied with “the people.” Schools became places of internal exchange, where Frelimo members offered education in return for loyalty. Externally, primary education was promoted as a gap filling tool that provided literacy while fulfilling the rights of youth. Ultimately, Frelimo used education to create a literate population tied to the party while legitimizing themselves as the sole representatives of Mozambican liberation efforts, in both the national and international contexts.

Conclusion:

In the context of colonial Mozambique, the governing authorities used education to maintain colonial power, while the liberation movement curated their own educational programs to challenge colonial rule. Frelimo deployed education as a tool to challenge the status quo, dismantle colonial racial barriers, and help imagine new realities. Mondlane perceived education as an “essential” aspect of the struggle; without education he feared that “the state of ignorance in which almost the whole population had been kept hindered the development of a political consciousness and would clearly hinder yet further the development of our country after independence.”¹⁰³

Frelimo curated educational programs that filled the gaps created by racist colonial hierarchies that intentionally limited African access to education. Through these programs,

¹⁰³ Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, 127.

Frelimo engaged in a form of exchange, internally aiming to educate more Mozambicans while garnering support and loyalty from students, their families and their communities in return. Externally, Frelimo advertised these programs to a North American and international audience, creating English publications and submitting petitions to the UN regarding education, legitimizing themselves as a liberation group while gaining international support for their anti-colonial movement.

The duality of education as a tool of domination and liberation highlights the importance of knowledge in producing, reproducing, and transforming power. When education is restricted and the governing power neglects to recognize the autonomy of the student, education intended to subdue can produce hostility towards the producers of knowledge. As expressed by Assié-Lumumba:

...one of the most powerful modern illustrations of the side of the same education system is the production, by which colonial education systems, of adamant and feverent defenders of the idea of freedom that nourished independence movements.¹⁰⁴

The importance of recognizing autonomy is amplified by the irony of producing education to subdue authority. Liberation leaders like Mondlane, who realized their educational goals despite the barriers put in their way, interpreted knowledge as a mechanism of liberation. In the struggle for liberation, providing alternative educational programs to those neglected by the colonial state added to Frelimo's national and international legitimacy and increased existing tensions against the Portuguese colonial state. However, Frelimo's lack of recognition for student autonomy was the basis of rifts within the Mozambican institute, showing how their education was not perceived as "liberating" by all.

¹⁰⁴ Assié-Lumumba, "The Making of Culture and Definition of Cultural," 5.

After the death of Eduardo Mondlane in 1969, his successor, Samora Machel, continued to center education as a tool of liberation and obtaining loyalty.¹⁰⁵ The party tied education to the development of the liberation struggle, recognizing it as critical to creating a literate population with the ability to fulfill the needs of an independent Mozambique. Spearheaded by the Mondlane's and the DEC, Frelimo's early educational programming became a guiding light for the parties later approach to education.

¹⁰⁵ Machel never pursued formal education outside of Mozambique. Having been trained as a nurse, he obtained the most advanced qualification available to Africans within the colony.

Chapter Two: Establishing National Identity through Education

The days leading up to June twenty-fifth, 1975, were filled with celebrations marking the impending end to colonial rule and independence for Mozambique. Journalist Gail Gerhart attended the flag raising ceremony on the eve of independence; in her report for *Africa Today* she estimated a crowd of 50,000 attendees and commented, “Wild cheering greeted the raising of the New Mozambican Flag; there was a 21-gun salute, and soldiers fired tracer bullets into the sky.”¹ During the ceremony, Samora Machel gave a speech that celebrated the victory of the Mozambican people and Frelimo, while underscoring a salient call, “The struggle continues.”² Despite the achievement of independence, Frelimo contextualized the upcoming challenges of post-independence nation-building as a continued “struggle,” aiming to engage the nation in a societal transformation that includes processes of national deconstruction, reconstruction, and the adoption of a homogenous national identity.

During the years 1974 and 1975, Frelimo tied education to the success of decolonization. Their rhetoric emphasized the importance of education to uniting Mozambican people and informing a sense of national identity tied to Frelimo’s values and vision for an independent nation. This chapter analyzes speeches, political pamphlets, and magazine articles from 1974 and 1975 to gain an understanding of how Frelimo presented the role of education within the periods of political transition and independence. Drawing on ideas from scholars Sydney Tarrow and Reddie Berketab, whose respective works analyze nation-building, this chapter argues that education played a central role in Frelimo’s early nation-building projects, as the party perceived

¹ Gail Gerhart, “Independence comes to Mozambique,” *Africa Today* 22, no.3 (1975): 13, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4185514>.

² Samora Machel, “Message of Proclamation of Independence for Mozambique,” *Africa Today* 22, no.3 (1975): 9, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4185514>.

education as a tool to secure their leadership while creating and instilling a sense of national identity and unity amongst the population.

Frelimo utilized speeches and published pamphlets to extend their reach to a national audience and encourage support for the party. Throughout the liberation war, Frelimo produced several documents including the series *Estudos e Orientações* (Studies and Orientations). First published in 1971, the series made Frelimo speeches accessible to individuals who did not attend the rally or meeting.³ As argued by Euclides Goncalves, the importance of the series escalated after the achievement of independence:

Together with directives and resolutions emanating from party congress, they [the publications *Boletim de Célula* and *Estudos e Orientações*] became the main documents of reference for party cadres who also worked as state bureaucrats.⁴

Public speeches and their distribution in print played a pivotal role in introducing Mozambicans to Frelimo's political line. As David Hedges and Colin Darch argue, "...Frelimo leadership systematically used speech making as a means of furthering its agenda and establishing forms of political mobilisation in the transition to one-party independence in 1975."⁵ The rhetoric Frelimo utilized in these speeches reflects how the party intended to mold the polity's perceptions of decolonization, nation-building, and the role of education within these processes. By assessing these documents, I provide an analysis of how Frelimo intended for individuals to engage with education in the context of national decolonization.

In independent Mozambique, processes of forming national identity, nation building, and decolonization are woven together. Frelimo framed education as a responsibility of all citizens,

³ Euclides Goncalves, "'Orientações Superiores': Time and Bureaucratic Authority in Mozambique," *African Affairs* (London), vol. 112, no. 449 (2013): 609, <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adt045>.

⁴ Goncalves, "'Orientações Superiores'", 609.

⁵ Colin Darch, and David Hedges, "Political Rhetoric in the Transition to Mozambican Independence Samora Machel in Beira, June 1975," *Kronos (Bellville, South Africa)*, no.39 (2013): 33, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432410>.

making individuals liable for the success of national decolonization. Educational programs were promoted as a way in which people could engage with and aid in the transformation of Mozambique, reflecting Frelimo's understanding of education as a vehicle for change. Through this lens, Frelimo identified Mozambican identity not by race or class, as was the case in the colonial context, but by participation in the decolonization and transformation of Mozambique. Frelimo utilized education to inform a new sense of national identity within the independent state, while mobilizing individuals to part take in their programming to adopt this identity.

Nation-building and education:

Nation-building is a universal process not limited to post-independent nations, like Mozambique. Benedict Anderson describes the nation as “an imagined political community-and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”⁶ Anderson further suggests that members of a nation will never meet or know of all other members of set nation, “yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”⁷ If a nation is an imagined community, as suggested by Anderson, then informing a shared sense of “national identity” is a critical aspect of nation-building. Political scientist Sidney Tarrow argues that “all processes of nation-building-and the construction of political systems in general” aim to absorb existing “fluid and complex identities” and inform a “hard category” to externally separate the “nation” and “others” and internally “mobilize” the population within the boundaries of the nation.⁸ Their concepts of identity formation and maintenance of a nation is critical to understanding how Frelimo adopted education as a tool to

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised edition (London: Verso, 2006), 5-6.

⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

⁸ Sidney G. Tarrow, *The Language of Contention: Revolutions in Words, 1688—2012* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 143.

inform a national-identity and mobilize the Mozambican population to conform to their perception of an independent state.

Redie Bereketab and David Woolman focus on nation building and education in post-independence Africa. Bereketab perceives nation-building as both deconstructive and reconstructive, expressing that deconstruction occurs in the dismantling of power-hierarchies, institutions and colonial structures, and reconstruction in the replacement of these structures and relationships.⁹ Placing education in the process of nation-building, Bereketab argues that on the “...national level, the instrumentality of education is also clearly seen in its utilization and maximalization as means of fostering national benefits and interests.”¹⁰ Bereketab’s research expands on Woolman’s, who also perceives nation building as a process of both reform and reconstruction, as he suggests that “Education should function as an agency of cultural transmission as well as change; it should also reflect the dynamic process of nation-building that is continually being modified by new conditions.”¹¹ Through the lenses of Bereketab and Woolman, education reflects the governing party’s ideal society and its ideal inhabitants. In the run up to independence, education becomes a tool to present a particular image of the nation, while simultaneously deconstructing identities, hierarchies and myths fostered in the colonial period.

In the context of nation-building, education serves to inform and instill new national identities within the polity. When Frelimo gained transnational leadership of Mozambique in 1974, their rhetoric regarding education shifts towards creating a national persona and

⁹ Redie Bereketab, “Education as an Instrument of Nation-Building in Postcolonial Africa,” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 20, no.1 (2020): 71, <https://doi.org/10.1111/sena.12317>.

¹⁰ Bereketab, “Education as an Instrument of Nation-Building,” 74.

¹¹ David C. Woolman, “Education Reconstruction and Post-Colonial Curriculum Development: A Comparative Study of Four African Countries,” *International Education Journal*, 2, no.5 (2021): 27.

deconstructing colonial institutions and society. Frelimo centered youth and their education as revolutionary powers, who would transform Mozambique over their lifetime. Education provides a guiding line intended to mold individuals to reflect the wants and needs of Frelimo, to produce a generation of youth who would continue their revolutionary goals (*continuadores*). Schools alone do not transform a nation; in this context pupils and curriculum possess a revolutionary power that Frelimo inspired to organize and unite.

Independence

On April twenty-fifth, 1974, mounting pressures over the liberation wars, workers' rights, censorship, and declining support for the authoritarian regime, erupted as the Carnation Revolution unfolded in Portugal.¹² Led by military officers, many of whom served in the colonial wars, the military coup successfully toppled the dictatorship, demonstrating a lack of trust between the Estado Novo and its military. The fall of the dictatorship signaled an opportunity for the liberation of the colonies. The African liberation movements were major catalysts of the Carnation Revolution.

From 1964 onward, Portugal was engaged in a three front colonial war; by the 1970's, citizens of Portugal had become increasingly frustrated with the number of men sent to the colonies and the lack of success in the war. Led by African liberationists and revolutionaries, the international community began pressuring Portugal to decolonize, exacerbating tensions. The connections between the anti-colonial movement and the military coup begs the question: did the Carnation Revolution lead to the liberation of lusophone Africa or did the nationalist guerilla fighters in Africa aid in liberating Portugal? Although it is a complicated question, deserving of

¹² For more information on the Carnation Revolution see: Alex Fernandes, *The Carnation Revolution : The Day Portugal's Dictatorship Fell*, (London: Oneworld, 2024). And, Ricardo Norhnona, "A Real State of Exception: Class Composition and Social Conflict during Portugal's Carnation Revolution, 1974–1975," *Critical Historical Studies* 6, no. 1 (2019): 93–123. <https://doi.org/10.1086/702548>.

its own analysis, the connection between movements is undeniable. As expressed by Christoph Kalter, the revolution is a “product of Portugal’s colonial wars.”¹³ Likewise, Ricardo Noronha recognizes the fundamental role of the African liberationists when stating:

Political radicalization was further reinforced by the wars in Africa, with the military draft mobilizing thousands of young men to defend the colonial system, familiarizing them both with the trauma of armed violence and the Marxist propaganda of the guerilla movements they fought against.¹⁴

The transnational connections established through military combat, migration and higher education created fertile ground for the revolution, leading to the downfall of the Estado Novo.

Frelimo responded quickly to the news of the Carnation Revolution, publishing a response during the summer of 1974 in *A Journal of Opinions*. They called for the end of colonialism, arguing that “It is up to the Portuguese government to learn from past experiences and understand that only through recognition of the right to independence of the Mozambican people, led by Frelimo, their authentic and legitimate representative, will the war end.”¹⁵ Frelimo presented itself as a single body representative of Mozambique and “rightful leaders” of Mozambique.¹⁶ Frelimo applied pressure to a new and weak Portuguese government by establishing the end of the Liberation War on the condition that it was granted leadership of Mozambique.

The question of Mozambican independence was settled on September seventh, 1974, with the signing of the Lusaka Accord in Lusaka, Zambia. Although some Portuguese politicians and leaders of the revolution were initially reluctant, Norrie MacQueen argues that domestic,

¹³ Christoph Kalter, *Postcolonial People : The Return from Africa and the Remaking of Portugal*, (Cambridge University Press, 2022), Xi.

¹⁴ Noronha, “A Real State of Exception,” 102-103.

¹⁵ Executive Committee of Frelimo, “Statement by the Frelimo Executive Committee on the Events in Portugal,” *A Journal of Opinion* 4, no.2 (1974): 59, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1166273>.

¹⁶ Executive Committee of Frelimo, “Statement by the Frelimo Executive Committee,” 59.

diplomatic, military and political issues were some of the factors leading to the recognition of independence and the transferring of power to Frelimo.¹⁷ The Lusaka Accord recognized Frelimo as leader of the nation during the periods of transition and early independence.

While the party gained international recognition as the leaders of Mozambique, it needed to foster internal support for its leadership. A month prior to independence, Machel and Frelimo travelled across Mozambique, speaking to crowds of people, some of whom were acquainted with Frelimo during the Liberation War, while others had no connection to the party at all.¹⁸ These speeches introduced Frelimo and its goals to the polity, with the goal of mobilizing individuals to accept, celebrate, and part-take in Frelimo's plans for nation-building.¹⁹ Simultaneously, these speeches worked to create a sense of unity in an ethnically and racially diverse nation. For example, in 1974, Beira was a city home to many Asian and Portuguese migrants, and during the Liberation War, the city was a centre for anti-Frelimo sentiments.²⁰ During his tour, Machel gave a speech in Beira, with particular emphasis on the importance of unity. Machel denounced racism, addressed the audience as "comrades," and called on the people to mobilize: "It was Frelimo that guided you all...Frelimo that defined for you who the enemy was. Because of this, in national reconstruction we need the support of all people."²¹ By painting itself as the liberators of Mozambique, Frelimo aimed to create unity on the basis of shared experience, while establishing a dichotomy between the "enemies" (the colonial state) and the liberators (Frelimo).

¹⁷ Norrie Macqueen, *The Decolonization of Portuguese Africa : Metropolitan Revolution and the Dissolution of Empire* (London ; Longman, 1997), 127.

¹⁸ Colin Darch and David Hedges, "Political Rhetoric in the Transition to Mozambican Independence: Samora Machel in Beira, June 1975," *Kronos* 39 (2013): 32-33, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432410>.

¹⁹ Darch, and Hedges, "Political Rhetoric in the Transition to Mozambican Independence," 33.

²⁰ David Hedges, and Colin Darch, "Samora Machel : The Beira Speech," *African Yearbook of Rhetoric* 2, no. 3 (2011): 67.; See also, Darch, and Hedges, "Political Rhetoric in the Transition to Mozambican Independence," 43.

²¹ Samora Machel, "The Beira Speech," Trans. by Colin Darch, and David Hedges, *African Yearbook of Rhetoric* 2, no.3 (2011): 77.

The above quotation simultaneously addresses the need to mobilize the population for national transformation. By calling on the recent history of colonialism and the liberation war, Frelimo aimed to create an identity based on shared experiences. Joint experiences that foster identity can be used to cultivate a sense of unity and encourage mobilization, as Tarrow expresses, the formation of a national identity is often used to mobilize people within the boundary of set nation.²² With an attempt to evoke a sense of patriotic duty to the nation, Machel also placed the responsibility of national transformation on the population, as he called for the “support of all people.”²³ Like many of Frelimo’s speeches written in the lead up to independence, this shows that Frelimo associated citizenship with individual contributions to nation-building, while those who did not contribute were seen as “others” and labeled as “enemies” of the nation.

Unity is a central topic in Frelimo’s early discourse. In a document marking the investiture of Frelimo as the transitional government, Machel stated:

There are no minorities, there are no special rights or duties for any sector of the Mozambican people: we are all Mozambicans with the rights that work gives us, and with the identical duty of building a united, prosperous, just, harmonious, peaceful and democratic nation.²⁴

By redefining citizenship to align with personal contributions to the state, rather than race or class, Frelimo was challenging and deconstructing racial hierarchies established during the colonial period. While also attempting to foster a sense of citizenship tied to their political plans for nation-building by encouraging people to engage with their party and the reimagining of

²² Tarrow, *The Language of Contention*, 143.

²³ Hedges, and Darch, “Samora Machel : The Beira Speech,” 77.

²⁴ Samora Machel, “Mozambique: A Victory for the People,” *The Black Scholar* 6, no.2 (1974): 39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00064246.1974.11431462>.

Mozambique in a post-independence context. Frelimo associated being Mozambican with the appetite of and engagement with the.

In 1974, Frelimo's rhetoric emphasized the importance of uniting and working together to transform Mozambique. They defined their leadership as a key aspect to the achievement of liberation, and the success of decolonization. These themes were also explored in education, as Frelimo became increasingly more concerned with enforcing a sense of national identity tied to the party and subduing any contestation to their leadership. As Anne Pitcher reflects: "Extensive state intervention became a corner stone of Frelimo's ideology and central to its policy approach."²⁵ These interventionist policies were evident in education, as Frelimo dissolved private education and enforced state schooling to ensure a uniform curriculum to promote a homogenous educational experience.

Deconstructing the colonial mindset

Frelimo emphasized the need to deconstruct colonial and regional identities, values and hierarchies. They often suggested that national transformation relied on individual transformation, making education a valuable tool of post-independence nation-building. Frelimo identified schools as "bases" where pupils would deconstruct their prior knowledge and adopt Frelimo's political identity. This perception was confirmed by Machel in a June 1975 interview with the journal *Africa*, "...it is necessary that there should be a policy in the schools, in the health service, in the university, in the factories in the rural areas, because the cadres will come from all those places. Those are the cadres formed by the struggle."²⁶ Education was understood

²⁵ Anne Pitcher, *Transforming Mozambique: The Politics of Privatization, 1975-2000* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 27.

²⁶ "Interview: Samora Moises Machel, President of Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) speaks to Africa," *Africa* 46 (June, 1975): 79, https://www.mozambiquehistory.net/people/samora_speeches/1975/19750600_smm_interview_africa_magazine.pdf

as a tool to secure leadership, as state institutions were interpreted as spaces that can deconstruct old identities and inform new ones.

Frelimo was unwilling to accept alternative identities, labeling individuals unaligned with the party as “enemies” and “traitors.” Prior to the achievement of independence Frelimo was concerned with opposition to their leadership, as Sayaka Funada-Classen explains, “[Frelimo] believed that anybody who stood in the way of their liberation struggle, even an African, was their enemy.”²⁷ Their refusal to accept criticism or challenge extended into the early independence period, revealing itself in Frelimo’s rhetoric of deconstruction and reconstruction. As noted by Esther Miedema, Frelimo centered the “deconstruction of the old man” in the eradication of colonial remnants.²⁸ Frelimo suggested that national deconstruction and transformation relies on individual deconstruction and transformation.

To understand Frelimo’s plans to deconstruct and transform the nation, it is critical to assess the way Frelimo interpreted decolonization. In 1974, Machel described decolonization not as the “geographical transfer of the decision-making centres from Lisbon to Lourenço Marques,” but a dismantling of “the political administrative, cultural, financial, educational, judicial and other systems, as an integral part of the colonial state, [that] were solely designed to impose foreign domination and the will of the exploiters on the masses.”²⁹ Frelimo perceived decolonization as a long-term process of deconstruction and reconstruction, colonial institutions needed to transform to better reflect the post-independence leadership. Despite Frelimo’s

²⁷ Sayaka Funada-Classen, *The Origins of War in Mozambique: A History of Unity and Division*, trans. by Masako Osada, (Maryland: Project Muse, 2013), 376-377.

²⁸ Esther Miedema, ‘Let’s Move, Let’s Not Remain Stagnant’: Nationalism, Masculinism, and School-Based Education in Mozambique,” in *Childhood and Nation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 193.

²⁹ Samora Machel, FRELIMO’s Tasks in the Struggles Ahead, 1974” in *Mozambique Revolution or Reaction: Two Speeches by Samora Machel*,” 3rd ed. (LSM information centre: Richmond, Canada 1976), 12.

understanding of decolonization as a long-term process, transformation was perceived as needing to be both immediate and developed over time.

In 1974 and 1975, Frelimo's rhetoric regarding education informed a sense of urgency to dismantle colonial, Western, and alternative knowledges, replacing them with socialist ideology. In Machel's independence speech, he justifies the Party's early focus on creating a party school when stating:

It is primarily a matter of carrying out an ideological offensive to wipe out the colonial and capitalist mentality which is deeply rooted in the urban areas, as well as the feudal and traditional mentality which is predominant in the rural areas.³⁰

If, as Berketaab and Woolman respectively suggest, education changes to reflect the ways the nation is changing, education in the early independence period mirrors Frelimo's intent to instill a singular national identity tied to the party.³¹ Schools presented the opportunity for Frelimo to make effective change through knowledge production.

Frelimo frequently compared its leadership to colonial leadership, juxtaposing education under the colonial regime to their plans for state education. In his independence speech, Machel declared, "It is the duty of the state to guarantee freedom of conscience for its citizens which implies, especially the protection of children against indoctrination within state institutions..."³² Machel separated the state's perception of education from the reality of colonial education, which enforced Catholicism within their educational programming. Machel further referenced this when he stated: "...[as indoctrination] happened in the colonial schools which subjected children of differing religious origins to the evangelising of the Catholic church."³³ By

³⁰ Samora Machel, "The People's Republic of Mozambique: The Struggle Continues." *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 4 (1975): 20, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3997882>.

³¹ See Berketaab, "Education as an Instrument of Nation-Building," 74. And, Woolman, "Education Reconstruction and Post-Colonial Curriculum," 27.

³² Machel, "The People's Republic of Mozambique: The Struggle Continues," 23.

³³ Machel, "The People's Republic of Mozambique: The Struggle Continues," 23.

juxtaposing their goals for education with the education provided by the colonial state, Frelimo argued that the exclusionary educational policies practiced within the colonial system would not be replicated during independence.

In reality, Frelimo replaced religious indoctrination with ideological indoctrination. In a Western context, early conceptions of the term indoctrination are associated with catholic education. However, as Richard Gatchel notes in his analysis of the progression of the term indoctrination in the United States, that after the Second World War the term indoctrination becomes associated with education that aims to instill “socio-political control.”³⁴ Frelimo seems to have adopted the religious connotation of the term indoctrination. However, the latter definition can be applied to Frelimo’s use of education as an “ideological offensive” that aims to create a homogenous ideology amongst the population.³⁵ Frelimo’s ideological discourse justified exclusionary practices, as the rhetoric regarding education focused on ideal morals and citizenship, a cornerstone of the party’s leadership. As expressed by Benedito Machava, “Suspicion and intimidation of enemies/traitors, as well as an emphasis on ideology, morality, violence and punishment, constituted core ingredients of state-building in Mozambique under a ‘revolutionary liberation front.’”³⁶ Therefore, the elimination of indoctrination maybe true in terms of dismantling religious education, however, political and ideological indoctrination is at the core of Frelimo’s definition of education as an “ideological offensive.”

³⁴ Richard H. Gatchel, “The evolution of the concept,” in *Concepts of Indoctrination : Philosophical Essays*, ed. by Ivan Snook (London: Routledge, 2010): 7-9.

³⁵ Although Gatchel provides a Western context for the terminology of indoctrination, his analysis is relevant to understanding how the cultural meaning of indoctrination has changed over time. For Gatchel’s full analysis see: Gatchel, “The evolution of the concept,” 7-13.

³⁶ 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 (2011): 594
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41345715>.

Frelimo also acknowledged that education was a tool of “development,” used to increase social and economic progress.³⁷ With over a ninety percent illiteracy rate upon independence, the colonial educational structure inherited from the Portuguese had been insufficient to meet the needs of the Mozambican people.³⁸ Woolman notes that ruling parties “modify” and “expand” inherited colonial educational systems to fit economic and social needs.³⁹ In his research, Woolman uses Mozambique as a case study, identifying Frelimo’s early educational goals as: building solidarity, the removal of discrimination, the emancipation of women, and the “cultivation of respect for science, service, and work.”⁴⁰ These goals are transformative as they seek to address how Frelimo intended to deconstruct the pre-existing colonial society.

Frelimo framed the development of new curriculum and educational materials as a way to challenge remnants of colonialism. In a radio broadcast celebrating the eleventh anniversary of the beginning of the Liberation War Machel argues that the state education and their present development of new structures, method, and syllabuses, ensures “The formation of new generations, cannot be left in the hands of the same persons who were the vehicles for the destruction of our personality and the assimilation of foreign concepts in our minds.”⁴¹

³⁷ Alexandra Piepiorka, “Exploring ‘Socialist Solidarity’ in Higher Education: East German Advisors in Post-Independence Mozambique (1975–1992),” in *Education and Development in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG, 2020), 290, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-27801-4_11.

³⁸ Due to the lack of documentation, there is uncertainty regarding the exact percentage of illiteracy rates in Mozambique upon independence. However, many academics have estimated illiteracy rates at over ninety percent, see for example : Benedito Machava, “Reeducation Camps, Austerity, and The Carceral Regime in Socialist Mozambique (1974–79),” *Journal of African History* 60, no. 3 (2019): 441, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853719001014>, and, Allen Isaacman, and Barbra Isaacman. *From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982*, (Taylor and Francis, an imprint of Routledge, 2019), 3.

³⁹ Woolman, “Education Reconstruction and Post-Colonial Curriculum,” 28.

⁴⁰ Woolman, “Education Reconstruction and Post-Colonial Curriculum,” 28.

⁴¹ Samora Machel, “The Discourse of Samora Machel, Extracts from Samora Machel’s Frelimo Anniversary Address,” *Mozambique History Net Archive*, 2, https://www.mozambiquehistory.net/people/samora_speeches/1975/19750925_smm_swb_extract.pdf

The focus on ridding colonial remnants emphasizes the centrality of education to ensure that Frelimo secures their leadership throughout generations, as Machel is referencing the need to ensure that youth are not exposed to Western knowledge. The establishment of a national school system aimed to secure a uniformed educational experience aligned with the needs of the party.

State education was also intended to create accessible schooling to address the needs of a newly independent nation.⁴² In an interview with *Africa Today* Machel defined the party's three main priorities: tackling illiteracy, eliminating hunger and creating better health services.⁴³ Literacy campaigns and educational programming aimed to expand opportunities at the individual level, which would in turn provide the state with a literate population and work force. By dismantling the colonial education system, Frelimo could make a positive impact in individuals lived through increasing access to education while using curriculum to bolster their own leadership.

Despite Frelimo's rhetoric distinguishing their educational goals from the colonial legacy, some colonial practices were retained. Notwithstanding its anti-colonial rhetoric, Frelimo chose to retain a central aspect of the colonial legacy: the use of Portuguese as the language of instruction. Feliciano Chimbutane argues that this decision was made to foster unity in a nation with multiple ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities.⁴⁴ Likewise, Andrew Simpson argues that a state's choice to choose a single language can promote a sense of solidarity,

...and is sometimes deliberately manipulated to create feelings of belonging to populations larger than the local or the regional, and the significant establishment of fully extensive national identities in independent state.⁴⁵

⁴² Jose de Sousa Miguel Lopes, "Poder Político e Educação em Moçambique: Entre a Tradição e a Modernidade," *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos* 84 (1997): 211.

⁴³ "Interview: Samora Moises Machel," 78-80.

⁴⁴ Feliciano Chimbutane, "Language and Citizenship Education in Postcolonial Mozambique," *Journal of Social Science Education*, vol. 17, no. 4 (2019): 13, <https://doi.org/10.4119/UNIBI/jsse-v17-i3-1093>.

⁴⁵ Andrew Simpson, "Introduction," in *Language and National Identity in Africa*, edited by Andrew Simpson (Oxford University Press, 2008), 1 <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ottawa/detail.action?docID=415477>.

Mozambique is a linguistically diverse nation, with over twenty Bantu languages spoken among the population; Frelimo justified the use of the Portuguese language as a unifying mission, showing that its decisions about what educational policies must change, and which can remain are carefully constructed to promote a sense of shared identity between the population and Frelimo.⁴⁶

By comparing their educational plans with the colonial education system, Frelimo encouraged engagement with education to achieve new opportunities for the individual that would simultaneously benefit the state. However, Frelimo's educational policies were exclusionary as they planned a homogenous educational experience that delegitimized plural or alternative forms of education, while continuing to practice restrictive language policies to prioritize the creation of a shared sense of identity over the celebration of the multi-lingual and cultural reality of Mozambique.

The unity imperative:

As spaces of knowledge production and reproduction, educational institutions can serve as tools to create a sense of cohesion beyond the local and regional levels. Bereketab argues that on a national level “the instrumentality of education” is beneficial in several ways such as, “building the nation and national identity” and “creating social cohesion and unity.”⁴⁷ Similarly, Alberto Alesina, Paola Giuliano and Bryony Reich, express that “Mass primary education is a central policy instrument used to ‘homogenise populations,’” in hopes to reduce political threats and ensure continued leadership within democracies.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Armindo Ngunga, “Literacy Campaigns in Mozambique: Why Did They Fail?,” *Language Matters*, (Pretoria, South Africa) 30, no. 1 (1999): 149, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10228199908566150>. See also, Chimbutane, “Language and Citizenship Education in Postcolonial Mozambique,” 13.

⁴⁷ Bereketab, “Education as an Instrument of Nation-Building”, 74.

⁴⁸ Alberto Alesina, Paola Giuliano, and Bryony Reich. “Nation-Building and Education,” *The Economic Journal* (London) 131, no. 638 (2021): 2275, 2300, [ASC1] <https://doi.org/10.1093/ej/ueab001>

In a 1974 speech, Samora Machel discussed education in the context of nation-building. Machel stated, “Education must give us a Mozambican personality;” while, in this instance, he does not define “Mozambican personality” he reflects on the school as a space reserved for developing scientific and political knowledge while encouraging engagement with production.⁴⁹ Through its educational curriculum, Frelimo aimed to instill particular traits within students who would share a similar sense of national identity and citizenship. The educational values described by Frelimo would be tied to ideas of morality and defined under the label of the “new man.”

The new man is representative of the ideal Mozambican citizen. Machava describes the new man as “politically conscious and collectively industrious citizens” and “virtuous in his behaviour, in his mentality and physical outlook.”⁵⁰ The new man should be anti-capitalist, a believer of science, in support of the emancipation of woman and dedicated to bettering themselves for the benefit of society.⁵¹ Educational institutions are the bases that create the new man, as Machel expresses in 1974 “We are engaged in a revolution whose advance depends on the creation of a new man, with a new mentality...at [the] school level we must be able to introduce collective work and create an open climate of criticism and self-criticism.”⁵² Within the context of establishing a homogeneous national identity, curriculum reflected the characteristics idealized by Frelimo and curated to maintain Frelimo leadership and ideology.

Youth are perceived as having a particularly important role in the extension of Frelimo leadership. Often referred to as “continuadores,” (roughly translated to the continuers, or those who will continue), Eric Allina argues that Frelimo perceived youth as both the future and a

⁴⁹ Samora Machel, “The People’s Democratic Revolutionary Process in Mozambique” in an *African Revolutionary* ed by. Barry Munslow (London: Zed, 1985), 60-61.

⁵⁰ Benedito Luís Machava, “The Morality of Revolution: Urban Cleanup Campaigns, Reeducation Camps, and Citizenship in Socialist Mozambique (1974-1988),” ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, (2018), 38.

⁵¹ Machava, “The Morality of Revolution,” 38.

⁵² Machel, “FRELIMO’s Tasks in the Struggles Ahead,” 14.

reflection of their own “youthful energy.”⁵³ In the eyes of Frelimo, the education of youth was critical to not only uniting students with a shared sense of “nation” but also securing the longevity of their leadership. For this reason, Machel celebrated the youth who were coming into independence, “For the first time in our history, there are children, young people who are growing up away from colonialism, away from static and dogmatic traditions.”⁵⁴ Machel recognized the unique position of youth as blank slates, who did not need to be mentally decolonized and could, in theory, easily adopt the image of the new man.

The intent to foster national unity is also reflected in Frelimo’s early construction of state educational programming. Michael Cross argues that Frelimo turned towards education as a tool of “national unification” meaning that the school would adopt and address national concerns before regional or local needs.⁵⁵ By prioritizing the nation, the party reinforced a narrative that the nation was above all else. Frelimo’s educational policies mirrored their fear of contestation, as they centered the nation above smaller communities. As explained by Anton Johnston, “The education industry moved to regulate control and unify the school system.”⁵⁶ Therefore, Frelimo developed educational programming for adult and youth alike, these programs focused on political education that reinforced their leadership.⁵⁷ The expansion of educational institutions

⁵³ Eric Allina, “Bright Lines and Fault Lines: The Politics of Refuge in Independence-Era Mozambique,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 55, no. 3 (2021): 486.

⁵⁴ Samora Machel, “The People’s Democratic Revolutionary Process in Mozambique” in *Samora Machel : An African Revolutionary : Selected Speeches and Writings*, ed. Barry Munslow (London: Zed, 1985), 60.

⁵⁵ Michael Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise : Transforming Schools in Mozambique* (Addis Adaba, Ethiopia: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2011), 79.

⁵⁶ Anton Johnston, “Adult Literacy for Development in Mozambique,” *African Studies Review* 33, no. 3 (1990): 88, <https://doi.org/10.2307/524188>.

⁵⁷ Educational programming for adults included literacy campaigns, these were taught by volunteers apart of Frelimo’s Global Dynamizing committee. For scholarship on literacy campaigns see: Anton Johnston, “Adult Literacy for Development in Mozambique,”; and Judith Marshall, *Literacy, Power, and Democracy in Mozambique*, (London: Routledge: 1993).

increased educational opportunities; the rigid centralization ensured that the content would reflect Frelimo's goals and aims.

The establishment of a national education system allowed the party to establish authority over education and create a state curriculum aimed at producing a shared educational experience. Frelimo often reflected on state education as a way to increase the accessibility of school and to produce a generation of the "new man," but it also, in theory, gave Frelimo control over what youth were learning in school. As expressed by Gómez,, "The nationalization of the sector [of education] allowed for a single system of education, a centralized direction in the state of Frelimo education, and the continued combat of elitist method of bourgeoisie education."⁵⁸ Along with a national school system, Frelimo produced teacher training programs and educational materials that adhered to their political line, allowing them control of the historical and political narratives shared in educational spaces.

Frelimo documents describe schools as reflecting an ideal future. In a 1974 edition of *Mozambique Revolution*, Frelimo shared their perception of the school as a "harmonious" space where teachers and students learn from one another to establish trust and use their talents to aid in "the great task of national reconstruction."⁵⁹ Frelimo made it clear that the reconstruction of the nation was an individual task as much as a state task. While Frelimo omitted particular guidelines or policies for schools that would aid in the construction of these ideals, the article provides insight into Frelimo's perception of educational spaces as contained utopias that have the ability to shape society. Rooted in Frelimo's rhetoric regarding education was the

⁵⁸ Miguel Buendía Gómez, *Educação Moçambicana, Historia de um Processo: 1962-1984*, (Livraria Universitária, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo, 1999), 235.

⁵⁹ Machel, "Frelimo's Tasks in the Struggle Ahead," 20.

requirement of putting individual needs behind the need of the nation, and the importance of working as an individual to contribute to the nation-building project.

Beyond the context of the classroom, unity is a theme frequently addressed by Frelimo in the period of independence. In the Beira speech, Machel recognizes the history of opposition to Frelimo stating “Since Childhood, we have known Beira, the satellite of apartheid, the satellite of South Africa of the racism of Rhodesia and South Africa.”⁶⁰ Machel goes on to firmly state that there is no place for racism in Mozambique, drawing on the shared colonial experience as a form to unite people.⁶¹ While this speech does not focus on education, it underpins Frelimo’s objectives to maintain their leadership and their increasing concern over political contestation. As Darch and Hedges explain, “The urgent need to build functional national unity is a theme that runs like a thread through Frelimo’s history...”⁶² Frelimo’s focus on instilling a sense of national unity emerges in the way they perceived education as a tool of nation building. Schools were intended to be spaces where pupils would gain a sense of identity related to Frelimo leadership and the nation.

Along with the words “work” and “vigilance,” unity became a watchword for Frelimo, defining its approach to early nation-building.⁶³ Education was understood by Frelimo as a tool of unity, where knowledge is exchanged, and identities are informed. As bases to instill the “Mozambican personality” amongst youth, Frelimo controlled curriculum, teacher training, and the publication of educational materials, ensuring that their political ideology was supported and strengthened within schools. As youth presented a unique positionality within the population, their education was valued as a way to maintain Frelimo’s leadership for generations to come.

⁶⁰ Machel, “The Beira Speech,” 69.

⁶¹ Samora Machel, “The Beira Speech,” 74.

⁶² Darch, and Hedges, “Political Rhetoric in the Transition to Mozambican Independence,” 38.

⁶³ Machel, “The People’s Republic of Mozambique: The Struggle Continues,” 14-25.

Education- apart of the Mozambican identity:

Informing a sense of shared identity is a critical aspect of post-independence nation-building. National documents like emblems, flags, and constitutions, combined with institutional efforts to reinforce nationalism, aid in establishing national identities amongst the polity. In the context of independent Mozambique, education was not only a tool to foster national identity, it became a symbol of the nation. Represented in the Mozambican constitution, flag and emblem, Frelimo associated a dedication to education with what it meant to be Mozambican. As suggested by Tarrow, nation-building is a process concerned with consolidating “fluid and complex identities” to mobilize the nation towards the efforts of the governing party.⁶⁴ Through this lens, education was both a tool to promote national unity and a part of Mozambican identity.

Upon independence, the party expected individuals to engage with educational programming. Article 31 of the 1975 Constitution of Mozambique outlines education as a duty, stating:

In the People’s Republic of Mozambique work and education are the right and duty of every citizen. Combating the situation of backwardness created by colonialism, the State promotes the necessary conditions for extending enjoyment of these rights to all citizens.⁶⁵

The constitution emphasized that education was a duty that all citizens have the responsibility to take part in. For adults, education could be done through literacy courses, participation in the Dynamizing Groups, or classes offered in the workplace: for youth it was a requirement to attend school.⁶⁶ Made up of volunteers, Dynamizing Groups (GD) were established during the liberation war, members of this group acted as liaisons between Frelimo and communities,

⁶⁴ Tarrow, *The Language of Contention*,” 143.

⁶⁵ Frelimo, “Article 31, Section 2,” *The Constitution of the People’s Republic of Mozambique, 1975*, 18, https://www.mozambiquehistory.net/justice/constitution/19800000_english_constitution.pdf.

⁶⁶ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 67-71.

particularly in regard to aiding people understand Frelimo's ideologies.⁶⁷ As Frelimo had control of the educational system, the requirement to attend school guaranteed that youth were engaging with Frelimo's political education. Ultimately, Frelimo intended to mobilize people towards achieving an education under their guidance, with the objective of strengthening their leadership.

The main symbols of Mozambique, "study, work, and struggle" are outlined in the Constitution and appear on the Mozambican flag and emblem. On the flag, study is represented by a book, work by a hoe, and struggle by a gun. Similarly, the country's emblem is explained as having "it's central features a book, a gun and a hoe over a map of Mozambique and representing respectively: education, defence, and vigilance, and the peasantry and agricultural production."⁶⁸ Frelimo expected people to engage in the transformation of the nation, and reflected this expectation in national symbols, documents, speeches, and interviews. Ultimately, education, work and struggle, became signifiers of what it meant to be "Mozambican" in an independent, revolutionary Mozambique.

The Constitution worked to legitimize Frelimo's leadership of Mozambique. Throughout the preamble of the 1975 Constitution, Frelimo continuously insinuated that liberation relied on the existence of Frelimo. As they argued: "The creation of Frelimo...made possible the Mozambican people's organised and united struggle."⁶⁹ While Frelimo was a united front in the sense that the group was born out of the consolidation of three previous liberation groups, these original groups are not mentioned in any part of the constitution, and neither is the fact that there was resistance to leadership within the party. The erasure of these histories brings to light how

⁶⁷ Allen Isaacman, and Barbara Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982* (Taylor and Francis, an imprint of Routledge, 2019), 107, <https://doi-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/10.4324/9780429048593>

⁶⁸ Frelimo, "Part IV," *The Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique*, 1975, 33-34.

⁶⁹ Frelimo "Preamble," *The Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique*, 1975, 6.

language and storytelling was often manipulated by Frelimo with the intent of painting their leadership as unifying, imminent, and necessary.⁷⁰

Frelimo used the constitution to draw connections between their leadership and the Mozambican people. For example, Frelimo argues that its formation was “rooting itself in the purest tradition of working masses, assuming the true interests of the broad exploited, oppressed and humiliated strata...”⁷¹ The use of inclusive language such as “our” when referencing the state aimed to create a sense of unity through language. Frelimo identifies their “roots” in the tradition of the working class, yet many of their leading members possessed formal education from Western institutions and the party adopted socialism, a Western ideology, as their guiding line. Frelimo neglects to recognize that their lens of liberation and nation-building is founded in Western ideology, creates a tension between the reality of Frelimo’s formation and the narrative they produce in the constitution and reinforce through education. Frelimo prioritized establishing a relationship between the party and the polity and reimagine history to inform this connection.

Through national documents such as the Constitution, the flag and the emblem, education was a key component in Frelimo’s understanding of the Mozambican persona. By recognizing education as a national symbol, Frelimo aimed to mobilize individuals to engage with Frelimo’s school system which was curated to secure leadership and inform conceptions of national identity and unity tied to the governing party. The rhetoric identified within these documents is continuous with the rhetoric evidenced in magazine publications and speeches, that all aim to justify Frelimo’s leadership to the population. Frelimo needed to rationalize their position of

⁷⁰ For more information on how the national history of Mozambique has been shaped by Frelimo’s early politics see: João Paulo Borges Coelho, “Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique: A Set of Epistemological Notes,” *Kronos* 39, no. 1 (2013): 10–19. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432409>.

⁷¹ Frelimo, “Preamble,” 6.

power to decrease contestation to their rule, particularly since they were not voted in by the people. To secure their leadership and transform Mozambique in the way they see fit, Frelimo relied on drawing from a shared colonial past, identifying the differences between them and the colonial state, and promoting engagement with nation-building tools like education.

The inspiration for early education:

Frelimo based the early development of state schools on the education system created in Frelimo controlled zones during the Liberation War. Cross argues that the “liberated zones” were a “laboratory of Frelimo’s educational policies.”⁷² In the early years of independence Frelimo created an image of these zones as an idealistic space in which the party had total control. In a 1975 edition of *Tempo*, these zones are portrayed as spaces where Frelimo successfully liquidated racism and provided educational and health care services they argued that people who lived in these zones led a “rich experience in the battle against [Portuguese] explorers.”⁷³ This idealistic lens shaped Frelimo’s approach to education in the post-independence period.

Despite Frelimo’s positive public memory of education in the “liberated zones” examples of student defiance and opposition to the party exist. For example, in a widely circulated speech given in July of 1974 Machel highlighted the importance of maintaining a united front towards education in response to an unclear educational crisis that occurred in a school in Bagamoyo, Tanzania.⁷⁴ Machel pointed towards the direction of the conflict when stating “The existence of contradictions is a natural phenomenon that is inevitable for progress.”⁷⁵ However, Machel went on to argue that “revolutionary vigilance” is found only within the “correct line” and when there

⁷² Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 67, 68-69.

⁷³ “República Popular de Moçambique: a 1.ª Ofensiva,” *Tempográfica*, 252 (August, 1975): 6, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.ahmtem19750803>.

⁷⁴ Samora Machel, “Fazer da escola uma base para o povo tomar o poder, 1974,” *Estudos e Orientações* 6, (1979), 7.

⁷⁵ Machel, “Fazer da escola uma base,” 7.

is complete trust between militants who are fighting all for the exact same cause.⁷⁶ This account challenges the romantic image of education in Frelimo controlled zones that the party conveyed. The tension between reality and Frelimo's selective narrative emerges once again, as their histories are used to produce a particular image of the party contextualized in the achievement of independence.

Educational guidelines for independent Mozambique were laid out in January of 1975 at the "Beira Seminar." The ten-day seminar brought teachers together from the primary to university level to establish regulations for education.⁷⁷ As in the liberated zones, there was to be an emphasis on the relationship between production and study, and colonial curriculum and textbooks would be replaced with those produced by Frelimo.⁷⁸ Michael Cross expresses that expectations for education were guided by "the revolutionary needs of Frelimo," who needed to instill a sense of Mozambican culture to inspire patriotism through schools, to the extent that teachers were to be re-trained by Frelimo.⁷⁹ Frelimo was concerned with creating a uniformed educational experience that promoted their understanding of Mozambican citizenship and reinforced a national history that supported their leadership.

Frelimo's experience with establishing schools in Tanzania and controlled territories of Mozambique gave them confidence to establish state education upon independence. However, as the next chapter explores, the reality of establishing schools in an independent nation was significantly complicated and came with a unique set of challenges. Frelimo's rhetoric in 1974 and 1975 idealizes education as a tool to secure leadership and unity within a fragile political context, where the governing party was not elected but selected.

⁷⁶ Machel, "Fazer da escola uma base," 11.

⁷⁷ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 69.

⁷⁸ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 69.

⁷⁹ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 69.

Conclusion:

In the transition to independence, education became tied to conceptions of deconstruction, transformation and unity. Education was perceived as a tool that could secure Frelimo's leadership, therefore, the party's rhetoric towards education centered notions of decolonization and unity. Through the development of a national education system, Frelimo aimed to curate a homogenous educational program that would exclude external forms of education, such as regional or ethnic knowledge in fear of political contestation. By applying theoretical lenses to education regarding education and nation-building to an analysis of Frelimo's publications and documents from 1974 and 1975, this chapter has argued that Frelimo interpreted education as a tool to secure their leadership and instill a sense of national identity and unity amongst the population.

Frelimo's high regard of education made them increasingly concerned about alternative forms of education, resulting in their exclusionary approach to formal knowledge. Anne Pitcher describes the party as being "interventionist" and reactionary, a notion that can be extended towards education.⁸⁰ The use of mobilizing rhetoric that painted the school as a "front" in the continued struggle of national transformation left no room for contestation, as Frelimo argued

The schools must be fronts in our vigorous and conscious battle against illiteracy, ignorance, and obscurantism. They must be centres for wiping out the colonial-capitalist mentality and the negative aspects of the traditional mentality: superstition individualism, selfishness, elitism, and ambition must be fought in them.⁸¹

Education was a central feature of Frelimo's early nation-building process, used to challenge colonial remnants and instill a shared national identity. However, as explained in the subsequent chapter, establishing a national educational system would prove to be challenging, in response

⁸⁰ Anne Pitcher, *Transforming Mozambique*, 37-44.

⁸¹ Samora Machel, "Frelimo's tasks in the struggle ahead," *Mozambique Revolution*, no.60, (1974), 20.

Frelimo became increasingly exclusionary and hostile towards behaviours and individuals who did not align with the “new man.”

Chapter Three: Education as a Defining Line

With Frelimo at the helm of state education, the party intended for schools to be bases of socialist education. Through political education and the surveillance of student and teacher behaviors, the party aimed to implement a particular understanding of socialist citizenship amongst youth, whom they perceived as the future of Frelimo's revolution. The road to providing a national education system was taxing, as Frelimo experienced significant inherited challenges and material shortages. Yet their rhetoric towards education, aimed to mobilize individuals to understanding schools as a place of community with transformative powers. However, not all ideas and people were welcomed within Frelimo's conception of Mozambican society. Internal anxiety regarding dissidents and anti-Frelimo sentiments arose as the civil war broke out in 1977, resulting in increased use of dichotomies between good and bad citizenship, and the purging of "unwanted" individuals.¹ Frelimo promoted schools as centres for youth to develop "correct" moralities and adopt socialist ideology to secure the generational transformation of Mozambique.

This chapter does not assess the effectiveness of Frelimo's national education program, rather it analyzes how Frelimo foregrounded ideology in discussions around schooling and the party's approach to education to inform citizenship.² The chapter begins with an analysis of the challenges Frelimo faced in the early years of establishing a national education system, and the way they publicly addressed these challenges. Following is a discussion of Frelimo's ideological

¹ Benedito Machava, "Reeducation Camps, Austerity, and the Carceral Regime in Socialist Mozambique," *Journal of African History* 60, no. 3 (2019): 429, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853719001014>. See also: João Paulo Borges Coelho, "Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique: A Set of Epistemological Notes," *Kronos* 39, no. 1 (2013): 23, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432409>.

² For information on educational data and statistics post-1975 see: Octavio Jose Zimbico, "The Construction of Mozambican Colonial and Postcolonial Identity through Schooling Projects: From 1930 to 1990," *Pro-Posições* 34 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1590/1980-6248-2021-0087en>.

consolidation, and its impact on education. I round out this discussion by pointing to the use of education to instill a particular type of citizenship within youth, a concern that only escalated once the civil war began. By examining Frelimo's rhetoric towards education and ideology from 1976 to the early 1980s, I argue that the party emphasized the importance of political and ideological education, while excluding diverse identities and individuals perceived to be "immoral" in an attempt to enforce a homogeneous understanding of Mozambican citizenship.

Frelimo often discussed education through public platforms including speeches, pamphlets, interviews, and newspaper articles. Articles were frequently published in the popular Mozambican magazine *Tempo* describing both the success and challenges of creating educational spaces. Octavio José Zimbico describes the importance of *Tempo* for the history of education in Mozambique, as he refers to the magazine as "a principal space of debate about the direction of education" in the post-independence period.³ These articles frequently adopted Frelimo's vision, often trying to deflect blame from Frelimo and towards the inheritances of the colonial past and the lack of community mobilization.⁴ Simultaneously, these debates usually endeavoured to inspire responsibility and engagement towards education among local communities. This chapter utilizes and analyzes these primary sources as a lens to understand how Frelimo perceived the way education should be, which does not necessarily reflect the realities of the school system. It is important to recognize how the party conceptualized education as a reflection of society as a whole, making education a tool to mobilize youth and their communities to part take in Frelimo's political goals.

³ Octavio José Zimbico, "História, política e Educação: o novo modelo de escolarização primária em Moçambique," *Revista Educação*, 42, no.1 (2019): 70.

⁴ See, for example: "Ir á escola: Uma Conquista da Revolução," *Tempográfica* no.289 (April 1976): 29, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.ahmtem19760418>.

Through the development of a national education system and the production of educational materials, Frelimo aimed to create a particular type of school experience. With full control over curriculum, the state produced and reproduced narratives that centred Frelimo's leadership as critical to the process of national transformation and decolonization. From 1976 onward, Frelimo created educational materials, teacher training programs and curriculum rooted in socialist ideology in hopes of creating a homogenous educational experience that would produce a generation of youth who embodied their perception of the ideal socialist citizen. The party often referenced the image of the "New Man" as the ideal citizen. In the context of Mozambique, the New Man puts the needs of the nation before their own, they abide by Frelimo's socialist ideologies and the values associated with their political belief, they abandon any pre-existing or conflicting identities that challenges the leadership of Frelimo, and they are engaged in the process of national transformation. Frelimo expected and demanded that Mozambican citizens embody the persona of the New Man and intended to use schools to transform youth into the ideal socialist citizen.

In several ways, the use of dichotomies and enforcement of identities within the classroom mirrored the colonial states approach to education, as both leaderships used education to reinforce narratives that maintained their governance and, while doing so, practiced exclusionary approaches to education to reduce the likelihood of political contestation. By providing state education, Frelimo intended to instill their ideological beliefs amongst youth and reinforce the legitimacy of their leadership, in hopes of perpetuating a cycle of continued leadership

Early challenges:

Frelimo's project to provide a national education system was challenged by material, social and ideological conditions. Due to the sudden achievement of independence through revolution, Frelimo lacked time to prepare for the expansion of the educational program. Upon independence, high rates of illiteracy coupled with the inaccessibility of formal education for Mozambicans, resulted in what John H. Mittleman describes as a "gap" of "middle cadres," with "...too few qualified lieutenants to link between the bottom and the top."⁵ Despite the educational programming offered in Frelimo controlled zones, Mittleman argues that on the eve of independence there was a lack of urgency to create a class of middle cadres, as Frelimo believed that the Liberation War would last for several more years.⁶ The need to address illiteracy and to produce more cadres became a prevalent theme with respect to education, not only to aid in the transformation and "development" of the nation but to expand educational programming across Mozambique.

Literacy is often tied to perceptions of economic development, national transformation, and an increased standard of living. In his analysis of adult literacy in Mozambique, Anton Johnson notes that mass-illiteracy is perceived as being connected to negative economic, social, power, and hierarchical implications for the nation, suggesting that "...authorities in power promote literacy in circumstances where they want to promote change in society..."⁷ This understanding is reflected in a 1976 note from Frelimo's Education and Culture Ministry published in *Tempo*, that states "...the battle against illiteracy includes the combat against

⁵ James Mittleman, *Underdevelopment and the Transition to Socialism in Mozambique and Tanzania* (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 113.

⁶ Mittleman, *Underdevelopment and the Transition to Socialism*, 114.

⁷ Anton Johnston, "Adult Literacy for Development in Mozambique," *African Studies Review* 33, no. 3 (1990): 83.

misery, hunger, illness, obscurantism, ignorance, and illiteracy itself.”⁸ The promotion of adult literacy programs run by Dynamizing Groups echoed this message as the party aimed to not only provide literacy to youth but to Mozambican communities at large. This resulted in, as Ngunga argues, “special attention” being paid to education and literacy programs at both the local and national levels.⁹

Literacy campaigns for adults were established in 1975 and ran until 1982, the program ended as a result of adult education programs being incorporated into general education planning in 1983.¹⁰ Originally run at the local level (1975-1978) then on a national scale (1978-1992) these campaigns were compulsory, incorporating what Ngunga describes as a “rigid school calendar” including examinations.¹¹ The expectation and responsibility placed on adults to attend and succeed in literacy education indicates the severity of needing a group of “middle cadres” that could fulfill roles within the state that required literacy.

The urgency to fulfill bureaucratic positions emphasized the importance of mass literacy education. Once Frelimo achieved power, Portuguese settlers became concerned regarding the way Frelimo might treat settlers, resulting in 250,000 Portuguese settlers emigrating from Mozambique.¹² This emigration created a significant barrier towards Frelimo’s plans for transformation, as the party had inherited a nation where settlers occupied the majority of bureaucratic roles due to the racist colonial policies.¹³ This resulted in an immediate need to

⁸ “Aldeias Comunaís: A Nova Sociedade,” *Tempográfica* no. 278 (February 1976): 25, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.ahmtem19760201>.

⁹ Armindo Ngunga, “Literacy campaigns in Mozambique: Why did they fail?,” *Language Matters* 30, no.1 (1999): 147-8.

¹⁰ Ngunga, “Literacy campaigns in Mozambique,” 148.

¹¹ Ngunga, “Literacy campaigns in Mozambique,” 148, 152-3.

¹² Anne Pitcher, *Transforming Mozambique the Politics of Privatization, 1975-2000* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 38.

¹³ Pitcher, *Transforming Mozambique the Politics of Privatization*, 38-39.

fulfill roles in industries such as, banking, transportation, and education.¹⁴ Although Frelimo aimed to transform the nation by, as they argued, breaking down the racist colonial structures, they were also met with a sudden challenge in the face of mass settler emigration, the need to fulfill bureaucratic roles in a nation that was struggling with mass-illiteracy.

Consequently, mass-emigration greatly impacted education in Mozambique. Under the colonial system the majority of teachers were Portuguese, many of whom left upon independence, creating a significant gap in the student to teacher ratio. In 1975, approximately one teacher was assigned to sixty-seven students, increasing in 1976 to a teacher per eighty-five students.¹⁵ These ratios reflect the deeply rooted material challenges that occurred when establishing an educational program during the transition from a colonial to an independent state. This exemplifies that, during a period of precariousness, internal factors, like mass emigration can create and reinforce barriers to sectors that impact the processes of state and nation-building.

Due to the emigration and lack of trained Mozambican educators, Frelimo relied on cooperants to fill the gaps in education.¹⁶ Cooperants were workers, usually from socialist nations, who migrated to Mozambique to aid in the development of their programs.¹⁷ Their arrival did not solve all of Frelimo's problems, but in fact it created new ones. Cooperants received higher wages than Mozambican educators, resulting in a number of teachers renouncing their citizenship and applying for Portuguese citizenship to be paid higher wages as cooperants.¹⁸ This resulted in Frelimo applying the twenty-four, twenty rule to teachers, a previously established order that required individuals to leave the country in twenty-four hours with twenty

¹⁴ Pitcher, *Transforming Mozambique the Politics of Privatization*, 38-39.

¹⁵ Michael Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise : Transforming Schools in Mozambique* (Addis Adaba, Ethiopia: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2011), 68.

¹⁶ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 74.

¹⁷ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 74.

¹⁸ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 74-75.

kilos of their belongings.¹⁹ Originally recruited to support Frelimo's educational programs, the arrival of cooperants did not succeed in establishing a united front to education instead it resulted in animosity between Mozambican teachers and Frelimo.²⁰ Despite the need for teachers, Frelimo's unwillingness to accept dissidents resulted in the exile of Mozambican teachers who questioned their policies.

In 1976, a group of teachers and community members congregated to discuss their concerns regarding Frelimo's educational programming with members of Frelimo's sector of culture and education. The meeting was documented in a 1976 *Tempo* article titled "Go to school an achievement of the revolution," that focused on the arguments of the education minister Graça Simbana Machel.²¹ In this article, Graça Machel expressed the need for Frelimo to grow from the challenges of nationalizing education in 1974 and '75, as she reimagined the obstacles they faced as "tests" from which the party must learn.²²

Simultaneously, she aimed to inform a narrative that separates the "fake problems" from the "real problems" underscoring the need to address ideological and political education to fix both the "real" and "fake" issues.²³ The publication and distribution of this article allowed the party to show that they were addressing the concerns of community members and educators while reinforcing their argument that the ideological and political education of youth is central to the development and transformation of the nation.

In the same article, Frelimo skillfully blamed insufficient community mobilization for the lack of material goods and inaccessibility to educational spaces. One of the predominant

¹⁹ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 74-75.

²⁰ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 74-75.

²¹ Graça Simbana Machel was married to Samora Machel in 1975. She played a significant role in Frelimo politics and is remembered as a Mozambican politician in her own right.

²² "Ir á escola: Uma Conquista da Revolução," *Tempográfica* no.289 (April 1976): 29, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.ahmtem19760418>.

²³ "Ir á escola: Uma Conquista da Revolução," 29-30.

concerns for teachers was the inaccessibility of schools to children living in rural areas, as schools were often located in city centres.²⁴ Although Graça Machel recognized the “kilometers and kilometers” that many children walked to school, she claimed that transportation is a “false issue” as she stated, “We do not have a sufficient amount of schools, and we are not sufficiently mobilized to construct schools, there is a lack of political work in our midst, to mobilize the populations and construct [schools].”²⁵ This quote is an example of how the party blamed an educational issue on the lack of community mobilization, by doing this the party can avoid responsibility while encouraging the population to mobilize under Frelimo to expand opportunities for the youth within their communities and regions.

The article turns the focus away from material issues and towards the need to create a united political education guided by Frelimo. As Graça Machel put it, “Our preoccupations should be turned to the essentials: the political problems that are necessary to resolve, not superficial problems like our feelings being placed here [in reference to transportation].”²⁶ The article alludes to the requirement of loyalty and unity to the party as factors that will contribute to the success of education. A sentiment further reflected in the following quote:

We spent 500 years waiting and for that reason the situation never changed, because we were waiting. From this moment on we stay here, we say no. No that’s enough, we are men of our own destiny, we are going to unite, we are going to fight. We fought and it only took ten years, did you see. Ten in relation to 500 years of the colonial period, for us we created independence, and we are seeing the proportion now.²⁷

The above quote emphasized unity and encouraged immediate action, as it suggested that education is a communal commitment. Frelimo pushed for ideological unity to produce a transformative process through education and instill the change they wanted to create. At the

²⁴ “Ir á escola: Uma Conquista da Revolução,” 29-30.

²⁵ “Ir á escola: Uma Conquista da Revolução,” 29-30.

²⁶ “Ir á escola: Uma Conquista da Revolução,” 29-30.

²⁷ “Ir á escola: Uma Conquista da Revolução,” 36.

same time, Frelimo intended to foster a sense of personal responsibility for education within the general population, as they argued that the success of education was reliant on mass efforts in supporting Frelimo's school system.

Despite Frelimo largely deflecting blame for the inaccessibility of education in rural areas, party leaders addressed some of the teachers' immediate concerns. This included providing a set fifty-week schedule intended to make sure the school felt like a community, Frelimo interpreted this policy as a step towards making school feel like "a base where the people can take what they can."²⁸ Further instilling their political beliefs with respect to education, Frelimo promised a nutritional program that intended to teach students the importance of production through horticultural lessons that would produce food for the students.²⁹ Frelimo connected their decisions on educational policy back to the need to create a united ideological front within the classroom, emphasizing that education would only succeed with political unity and the successful mobilization of the population.

The challenges Frelimo faced were complex and multi-faceted. The inherited colonial legacies of illiteracy and the mass emigration of Portuguese bureaucrats and teachers created gaps that needed to be fulfilled within society. The party portrayed education as a communal responsibility, with the goal of mobilizing individuals to aid in the expansion and maintenance of the school system. In this light, Frelimo deflected blame for the early challenges they encountered when creating a national education system, reinforcing the message that their leadership, along with the mobilization of the people, would secure accessible education for Mozambican youth.

²⁸ "Ir á escola: Uma Conquista da Revolução," 29-30, 31.

²⁹ "Ir á escola: Uma Conquista da Revolução," 30.

1976- A year of reform

In hopes to transform and better the existing educational structures, Frelimo implemented significant change to education in the year 1976. At the core of these changes was the ability for Frelimo to establish control in the classroom.³⁰ The party consolidated the publication of educational materials, and teacher training to ensure a unified approach to education that consistently tied Mozambican nationality to Frelimo.³¹ Through the development of educational training centres for teachers, the creation of school materials, and the centering of socialist ideology within the curriculum, Frelimo sought out to produce a generation of youth who would support their leadership and continue their plan for national transformation. Frelimo aimed to ensure that youth perceived themselves as part of the Mozambican society and control the way in which they understand the duties they have to their communities and the state at large. These educational reforms intended for children and youth to share a homogenous political education that would encourage them to think politically and perceive themselves as having the ability to make a positive impact within their societies; as long as they followed Frelimo's teachings.

Frelimo created ten provincial training and retraining centres for Mozambican teachers in 1976.³² The enrollment to completion phase of the program lasted six months in total, reflecting the goal of rapidly increasing the number of Frelimo trained teachers.³³ Candidates for the primary program required a fourth-grade level and a sixth-grade level was required to teach the intermediate program.³⁴ Due to the lack of formally educated Mozambicans, Frelimo "hand-

³⁰ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 76.

³¹ For information on teacher training programs see: Octávio José Zimbico, José de Inocência Narciso Cossa, "O Projeto do Ensino Primário para Todos em Moçambique: 1975 a 1990," *Revista Eletrônica do Educação* 12, no.3 (2018): 912-928, DOI:[10.14244/198271992083](https://doi.org/10.14244/198271992083). See also, Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 75-76.

³² Zimbico, and Cossa, "O Projeto do Ensino," 916.

³³ Zimbico, and Cossa, "O Projeto do Ensino," 916.

³⁴ Zimbico, and Cossa, "O Projeto do Ensino," 916.

picked” groups of Mozambicans who had no choice but to attend the training program.³⁵

Established teachers were also required to be re-trained through these programs, ensuring that all teachers were sufficiently trained in Frelimo’s political ideology. With the creation of these short-term programs, Frelimo was trying to address the immediate need for teachers while establishing a consistent political education within classrooms across Mozambique.

In addition to creating new training programs, the party dedicated a significant amount of its budget to education. In a 1978 article on the internal politics of Frelimo, Tomas H. Henriksen notes that from 1976-77 education had the second highest budget, after military funding, totaling seventeen percent of the national budget.³⁶ The majority of this funding was dedicated to the teacher training programs and the establishment of secondary schools.³⁷ The financial contribution to education shows that Frelimo believed in the ability of education to transform the nation and secure their leadership.

A *Tempo* article published in early 1977 highlighted the successes of educational reform in 1976, particularly the re-organization of the Department of Education and Culture, the creation of training centres for teachers, and the production of party textbooks.³⁸ The article aimed to celebrate the successes of 1976, proving that they had learned their lessons from the challenges they had faced in the early expansion of national education. The party noted the creation and distribution of party textbooks, addressing previous concerns over the lack of educational materials for students.³⁹ As noted by W.D. Bokhorst-Hang:

³⁵ Lilly Havstad, “‘To Live a Better Life’: The Making of a Mozambican Middle Class,” (ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 2019), 223.

³⁶ Thomas H. Henriksen, “Marxism and Mozambique,” *African Affairs* 77, no. 309 (1978): 451.

³⁷ Henriksen, “Marxism and Mozambique,” 451.

³⁸ “Educação e saúde: um percurso de 365 dias,” *Tempográfica*, no. 326 (January 2, 1977): 8, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.ahmtem19770102>.

³⁹ “Educação e saúde: um percurso de 365 dias,” 8-10.

“Textbooks are important medium through which nation States and political collectives articulate their imagining of the nation, the national identity that they wish their current and future polity to know, believe, and subscribe to.”⁴⁰

In this context, the creation and publication of Frelimo textbooks ensured that all students would engage the same national vision provided by Frelimo, with the goal of ensuring a shared sense of national identity, responsibility to the state, and overall knowledge. Frelimo prided itself on creating textbooks that reflected its ideological beliefs and historical narratives.

The article also provides images of the Mozambican classroom. The most striking is the opening photo, of a young girl standing in front of her teacher and fellow students, pointing to the chalkboard in front of her she reads the essay prompt for the day:

Essay:

Choose one of the following themes to do your writing:

1. Work to reconstruct the nation, it's a job for all of us. In short sentences describe how you would complete or accomplish those tasks at your school, studying producing and visualizing.
2. Almost all 'cotinuadores' like domestic animals. In a brief essay, outline which of these you are familiar with, which are at school, who takes care of them, and what is their use.⁴¹

The photo depicts how youth were being taught that they were the “continuers of the revolution” and were being asked to reflect on ways to engage with Frelimo’s goals.⁴² The writing prompt encouraged students to situate themselves within the nation, to understand how their actions could impact their community and the state. By doing so, the lesson represented in the photo allowed youth to identify themselves as contributors to the state and to develop an understanding between their current and future roles and duties as citizens of Mozambique. The photo provided

⁴⁰ W.D. Bokhorst-Heng, “Introduction,” in *(Re)constructing Memory: Textbooks, Identity, Nation and State*, ed. James H. Williams and W.D. Bokhorst-Heng (Sense Publishers, 2016), 18, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6300-509-8>,

⁴¹ “Educação e saude: um percurso de 365 dias,” 8.

⁴² “Educação e saude: um percurso de 365 dias,” 8.

an example of Frelimo's ideal classroom, where youth were encouraged to think about how they might contribute to nation-building under Frelimo's ideological guidance.

The educational reforms evidenced in 1976 reflect Frelimo's concerns with establishing unity under their leadership, the production of a homogenous educational experience, and promoting a sense of identity amongst youth tied to Frelimo. The *Tempo* article argues that student enrollment increased from 22,000 in 1975 to 42,600 in 1976; this article shows that Frelimo took pride in the steps forward they took in consolidating national education.⁴³ Frelimo intended for schools to be spaces where connections are established between students, the teachers and the party. The need to inform national identity and unity through ideology only increased in schools after 1977, when Frelimo defined its ideological line.

Development of Frelimo's ideology, the significance of 1977

Throughout the liberation movement and the early period of independence, Frelimo defined itself as a "peoples party," framing its movement through socialist rhetoric. However, Frelimo did not explicitly state its ideological leanings until 1977. Morten Neilsen argues that the first two years of independence were used by Frelimo to create an "ideological skeleton," resulting in Frelimo's re-definition of itself as a Marxist-Leninist Vanguard party at the Third Congress of Frelimo in 1977.⁴⁴ The adoption of this image is unsurprising as the party had used socialist rhetoric as early as 1968 and aligned itself with socialist allies including China, the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Eastern Germany.⁴⁵ Yet, Jason Sumich argues that Frelimo's interpretation of socialism was deeply influenced by the colonial past, the party's international relationships, and the ability to

⁴³ "Educação e saúde: um percurso de 365 dias," 8-9.

⁴⁴ Morton Neilsen, "Ideological twinning: socialist aesthetics and political meetings in Maputo Mozambique," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 23 (2017):141, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.12599>.

⁴⁵ Michael Cahen, "Check on Socialism in Mozambique -What Check? What Socialism?," *Review of African Political Economy*, 57 (1993): 50, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4006088>.

see the failures and success of other socialist African nations, culminating in an understanding of socialism that emphasized morality rather than production.⁴⁶ Frelimo's interpretation and application of socialism utilized exclusionary language and practices that permeated educational spaces, as it intended to create a population of the "new man."

It is critical to contextualize the shift to Marxism through the lens of instilling unity and maintaining control, two of the most evident themes of Frelimo's early leadership. Michael Cahen argues that Stalinist Marxism was an effective tool adopted by Frelimo to inform nationalism, "Unable to imagine the possibility of constructing a state without a nation, the elite sought to impose, through a uniformizing oppression, national characteristic on a country without a nation."⁴⁷ Cahen identifies Marxist ideology as a form of cohesion in a multi-ethnic and cultural space, as ideology provides a guiding line separate from pre-existing identities that all people can, and should (according to Frelimo), define themselves by.⁴⁸ Unlike Cahen's more critical approach to Frelimo's adoption of socialism, Sumich perceives the socialist period,

...as an ambitious attempt to escape the politics of pretense, a utopian effort to give birth to a society where unjust power could and should be confronted and overthrown, where a regime of truth-based ambiguity, complicity and dissimulation would be destroyed through the construction of the new collective.⁴⁹

Sumich grounds his understanding of the political transition through the prism of new versus old, a concept steeped within Frelimo's adoption of Marxism and deserving of recognition, as Frelimo aimed to unite people through the use of dichotomies. Despite Cahen and Sumich's differing perceptions, both call attention to the use of socialism as a means to unite a formerly colonial society.

⁴⁶ Jason Sumich, "Just Another African Country': Socialism, Capitalism and Temporality in Mozambique," *Third World Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (2020): 588, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1788933>.

⁴⁷ Cahen, "Check on Socialism in Mozambique," 50.

⁴⁸ Cahen, "Check on Socialism in Mozambique," 50.

⁴⁹ Sumich, "Just Another African Country," 584.

Ideology was not only used in an effort to consolidate national identity; it was also used as a way to consolidate power. Anna Maria Gentili interprets that Frelimo's official adoption of Marxism-Leninism was a means to increase control through a military model of governing justified "in the name of national security."⁵⁰ Likewise, Gómez argues that Frelimo's political transformation was a new way in which the party could "maintain discipline."⁵¹ By explicitly defining their ideological approach, Frelimo justified the use of strict policies that discouraged political diversity and identities as a way to conform to their ideological practices. The transition to Marxism-Leninism coincides with Nuvunga's analysis of Frelimo's use of "somewhat aggressive policies" that "rejected communities at odds with their core values."⁵² Adopting a singular ideology allowed Frelimo to provide a clear definition of the nation and ideal citizenship while redefining exclusionary policies as ideologically guided decisions.

Ideological education often works to delegitimize alternative forms of knowledge and knowledge production. By no means is Frelimo the first political group to use education as a way to instill control and exclude alternative beliefs, as noted by Ali A. Abdi "...uni-centric philosophies and philosophies of education were undertaken on colonial epistemic projects that were formalized and institutionalized through colonial education."⁵³ Simultaneously, as Gerardo Serra and Frank Gerits allude to in their analysis of socialist education in Ghana at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, spaces of national education are often representative of the

⁵⁰ Anna Maria Gentili, "'Queremos Ser Cidadãos': Citizenship in Mozambique from Frelimo to Frelimo," *Citizenship Studies* 21, no. 2 (2017): 186, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2017.1279793>.

⁵¹ Miguel Buendía Gómez, *Educação Moçambicana: História de um Processo* (Maputo: Livraria Universitária Eduardo Mondlane, 1999), 272.

⁵² Adriano Nuvunga, "From Former Liberation Movement to Four Decades in Government: The Maintenance of the Frelimo State," in *National Liberation Movements as Government in Africa*, 1st ed (Routledge, 2018), 60, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315101361-5>.

⁵³ Ali B. Abdi, "African Philosophies of Education: Colonialist deconstruction and Critical Anticolonial Reconstruction Possibilities," in *The Palgrave Handbook on Critical Theories of Education*, edited by Ali A. Abdi, and Greg William Misiaszek, (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing AG, 2022), 64 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-86343-2_4.

politics of knowledge production and mirror the governing party's particular ideological beliefs.⁵⁴ In the same breath, they argue that socialist education in Africa should not be analyzed through an approach that aims to assess whether education follows the "correct" socialist or Marxist line, as political education evidenced in post-independence nations are deeply influenced by the nation's past and the experiences of individual leaders of set nation.⁵⁵ This notion suggests the need for caution when approaching the history of philosophical education in Africa, and the post-independence world at large, as rigid understandings of socialist belief often rooted in European conceptions of philosophy cannot, and should not, be used to assess the diverse interpretations of socialism and Marxism within Africa. With this understanding, the socialist morals and values attributed to the "new man" and evidenced within educational curriculum represents Frelimo's understanding of socialism. Furthermore, their want to consolidate and control philosophical education shows their unwillingness to accept alternative ideological beliefs or values within the nation.

Following the conclusion of the Third Congress, Frelimo published a summary report that included a section on education. In this section, the party celebrated the successes of education, arguing that children in the "hundreds-of thousands" were obtaining an education under Frelimo, while underscoring the importance of ideological education in the classroom.⁵⁶ They stated: "To educate the masses ideologically is to develop their revolutionary consciousness, their determination to struggle, their love of work, their patriotism and their internationalist spirit, strengthening their confidence in the party and its ideals of socialism."⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Gerardo Serra, and Frank Gerits, "The Politics of Socialist Education in Ghana: the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, 1961–6," *Journal of African History* 60, no. 3 (11, 2019): 409, doi:<https://doi.org/10.1017/S002185371900032X>.

⁵⁵ Gerardo Serra, and Frank Gerits, "The Politics of Socialist Education," 410.

⁵⁶ Frelimo, *Central Committee Report*, (February 1977) *Mozambique History Net Archives*, 33, https://www.mozambiquehistory.net/people/samora_speeches/1977/19770203_iii_congress_cc_report_en.pdf

⁵⁷ Frelimo, *Central Committee Report*, 33.

This quote is profound as it tied ideological education to nationalism and gaining “confidence” in Frelimo’s leadership, showing that ideology within education was used to instill a sense of unity, nation hood, and relationship with the party. In this context, education was seen as a tool of transmission that could inform knowledge and identities within a space of knowledge production. The relationship between the school, the curriculum, the teacher and the student became critical to creating support for Frelimo’s leadership and vision for the future.

In his analysis of education in independent Mozambique, Gómez argues that two phases progressed after the Third Congress, the first was the establishment of a “dedicated effort” to the organization and institutionalization of education in response to the growing student population, and the second being to “...plan and exercise a majority control of schools as a state apparatus central to education.”⁵⁸ The focus on consolidating authority within educational spaces reflected the pre-existing, yet increasing, concern to ensure a homogenous educational experience that informs socialist ideology amongst youth who would contribute to the transformation of society and maintain Frelimo’s leadership.

Learning aids such as textbooks prioritized political and ideological education. In her analysis of the textbook series *Vamos Aprender*, (Going to Learn), Antoinette Errante notes that the density of the ideology presented within the series resulted in many teachers abandoning the use of the textbook in their classrooms, some even opting to use colonial textbooks.⁵⁹ The publication and distribution of party textbooks made these aids physically accessible, however they were increasingly inaccessible to youth and their teachers, as ideological uniformity was prioritized over meeting academic achievements associated with the students grades.

⁵⁸ Gómez, *Educação Moçambicana*, 305.

⁵⁹ Antoinette Errante, “The School, the Textbook and National Development: Colonial and Post-Revolutionary Primary Schooling in Portugal and Mozambique, 1926-1992. (Volumes I and II),” (ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 1994), 524.

After the third congress, schools were under constant surveillance to assure that classrooms adhered to ideological education. Dynamizing Groups played a central role in the surveillance and enforcement of ideology in schools, as Cross notes that the Dynamizing groups failed "...to grapple with the complex pedagogical challenges posed by the Beira Seminar, turned into policing units in schools, harassing both students and teachers perceived as anti-revolutionary."⁶⁰ Cross further suggests that the surveillance caused "dissatisfaction and "demotivation" from teachers, many of whom, he argues, were unequipped with educational materials and unable to test new pedagogical approaches which resulted in students playing a "passive" role in the classroom.⁶¹ The emphasis on policing ideology in the classroom resulted in educational shortcomings as, students and teachers were under constant surveillance while pedagogy was set aside for the need to create a united ideological front.

While socialism was implemented in Frelimo's rhetoric regarding education prior to 1977, the embrace of Marxism-Leninism and formal declaration as a Vanguard Party resulted in a tightening of the ideological discourse, and its influence within education. Informing a united ideology amongst students and teachers was prioritized over the application of pedagogy to ensure active student engagement with the material. As Patrick Harries suggests in his analysis of literacy education in Mozambique, post-1977, "... the modernizing practices advocated by Frelimo served merely to legitimize the new forms of control exercised by the invasive party state."⁶² In this way, education reflected the ideological stand point of Frelimo and mirrored the socialist transformation they intended to create, resulting in education perpetuating the dualities

⁶⁰ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 75.

⁶¹ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 75.

⁶² Patrick Harries, "Missionaries, Marxists and Magic: Power and the Politics of Literacy in South-East Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, no. 3 (2001): 426, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13632430120074518>.

of good and bad, and new versus old, asserted through Frelimo's moralistic interpretation of socialism.

A principal theme in Frelimo's adoption of Marxism was the use of dichotomies. As expressed by Lily Havstad, Frelimo engaged in a rhetoric of "rupture" that separates Frelimo from the colonial past, while also dividing concepts of the "new" and the "old."⁶³ João Paulo Borges Coelho, expresses that Frelimo developed a singular narrative of the colonial past, one that negated the diverse experiences of colonialism, aiming to replace the individual narrative with a state narrative.⁶⁴ He also notes Frelimo's discussion of rupture, as they applied negative connotations to the past and associated positive language to describe the nation's future under Frelimo, Coelho suggests that this practice was done to inform a cohesive collective memory amongst the polity.⁶⁵ Through language, Frelimo established dichotomies used to juxtapose its leadership to the colonial leadership and create a uniform understanding of the colonial past and a unified approach to the nation's future under Frelimo's guidance.

Frelimo used dichotomies to identify a break between the colonial past and the nation's future, aiming to mobilize individuals to adopt their understanding of the nation and embody Frelimo's values. As noted by Natálie Bueno,

... transformation into a full Mozambican required the abandonment of his/her old self—which beyond his/her ethnic origins also included any colonialist, bourgeoisie, and individualist values, among others- as well as the adoption of the nationalist and polar values proposed by Frelimo.⁶⁶

⁶³ Havstad, "'To Live a Better Life,'" 206.

⁶⁴ João Paulo Borges Coelho, "Abrir a fábula: Questões da política do passado em Moçambique," *Revista crítica de ciencias sociais* 106 (2015):158, <https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.5926>.

⁶⁵ Coelho, "Abrir a fábula," 160.

⁶⁶ Natálie Bueno, "Transitional justice mechanisms and memory: A look into Mozambique's liberation war narrative," in *The Portuguese Colonial War and African Liberation* ed. by Miguel Cardina (London: Routledge, 2023), 150.

Frelimo's use of dichotomies engaged in a process of othering: if one did not purge old identities and values to adopt to Frelimo's understanding of the ideal citizen, they were perceived and labeled as an "enemy" who challenged the will of the state.

The states definitions of good" and "bad" or "new" and "old" are bound up in Frelimo's moralistic approach to socialism. Frelimo associated positive words such as "new" or "good" with the values it idealized, including production and education, while associating negative words such as "old," bad" and "enemy" with colonial values and "vices" including prostitution, capitalism, and drug use.⁶⁷ There was no middle ground in these dichotomies, as Machava explains, "Any internal resistance to party orientations or any other means of social deviation from the principles of socialism and of the 'new man' were labeled as acts of subversion and manifestations of the enemy directed from abroad."⁶⁸ Similarly, Sumich notes that Frelimo created an environment of surveillance and suspicion, where "Inability or unwillingness to adapt to the new society and join the collective was seen as a failure of individual will."⁶⁹ Machava and Sumich underscore that Frelimo adopted an understanding that if an individual did not align with the party, they were against the party.

The language of dichotomies became a central feature in discussions around education. In a pamphlet titled "In education, we only invest in fertile soil," Machel noted that schools should be "combat centres" against vices, ignorance, obscurantism, defects, and foreign mentalities, while simultaneously being a hub that produces the mentality of the new man amongst

⁶⁷ Benedito Luís Machava, "The Morality of Revolution: Urban Cleanup Campaigns, Reeducation Camps, and Citizenship in Socialist Mozambique (1974-1988)," (ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 2018), 96.

⁶⁸ 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 (2011): 600.

⁶⁹ Jason Sumich, "Tenuous Belonging: Citizenship and Democracy in Mozambique," *Social Analysis* 57, no. 2 (2013): 107.

students.⁷⁰ Ideological education was of the utmost importance to Frelimo, as it aimed to promote ideals and dichotomies that would support their leadership. They refused to accept or acknowledge diverse identities or knowledge, and labeled those who did not adopt their views as “enemies.” Frelimo’s policies were exclusionary, aiming to stomp out opposition through the enforcement of a singular image of citizenship tied to socialist morality, contributing to escalating anti-Frelimo sentiments.

The myth of unity, the beginning of the civil war

As the civil war broke out in May of 1977, it became clear that the consolidation of Frelimo’s ideological front did not guarantee national unity. An analysis of the civil war requires deeper attention than the space provided here, yet it is critical to note, as Frelimo’s concerns regarding homogeneity and the strengthening of their political line grew within the context of the civil war.⁷¹ David Robinson argues that the catalyst of the civil war was Mozambique’s support of the United Nations decision to sanction Rhodesia in 1976.⁷² In response, the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) formed; the group was composed of Africans who opposed Frelimo and who were supported by the white-supremacist Rhodesian state. RENAMO created anti-Frelimo propaganda and began attacking Western Mozambique. The civil war broke the illusion of national unity, challenging Frelimo’s argument for producing a homogeneous perception of citizenship and nation alike.

The binaries evidence in Frelimo’s rhetoric failed to recognize pre-existing identities, as the party attempted to replace the diverse reflections of what it meant to be “Mozambican” with

⁷⁰ Samora Machel, “Na Educação só Investiremos em Terreno Fértil,” *Palavras de Ordem* 20 (1981), 9.

⁷¹ For scholarship on the civil war see: Stephen A. Emerson, *The Battle for Mozambique : The Frelimo-Renamo Struggle, 1977-1992* (Solihull, West Midlands: Helion & Company Limited, 2014); João M. Cabrita, *Mozambique : The Tortuous Road to Democracy* (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

⁷² David Robinson, “Socialism in Mozambique? The ‘Mozambican Revolution’ in Critical Perspective,” *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies* 9 (2003): 144-145.

a formulaic definition of the new man. Simultaneously, the party promoted a singular story of the colonial past, that attributed liberation solely to Frelimo.⁷³ Victor Igreja notes that the political shift in 1977 created a process of “double alienation,” as Frelimo only accepted, distributed, and reinforced memories of the past held by party elites.⁷⁴ In her analysis of political memory in Mozambique, Bueno notes that, Frelimo approached the rhetoric around the Civil War with a singular narrative that suggests “...the armed conflict is as an extension of the war of external aggression, and as such, a war of destabilisation” while RENAMO argued that the war was for “democracy” in the light of “repressive policies undertaken by Frelimo.”⁷⁵

Not only did the party engage in policies that diminished diversity, but it simultaneously instilled programs that benefitted the party elite, which extended to education. Michael Cross argues that Frelimo aimed to reproduce their elite class with the creation of Special Party Schools at the primary and secondary levels.⁷⁶ Cross highlights the establishment of a primary school in Maputo and a secondary school in the Northern town of Ribaué created for the children of the Frelimo elite, with the goal of instilling “Frelimo’s ethos” among these youth.⁷⁷ The existence of these schools calls into question Frelimo’s rhetoric of creating a Marxist society where hierarchies of power are eradicated and everyone has equal access to opportunity, as these schools were created with the intent to reproduce Frelimo’s elite by passing down exclusive opportunities for the children of prominent party members.

⁷³ João Paulo Borges Coelho “Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique: A Set of Epistemological Notes,” *Kronos* 39, no. 1 (2013): 22-23, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432409>.

⁷⁴ Victor Igreja, “Politics of Memory, Decentralisation and Recentralisation in Mozambique,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 39, no. 2 (2013): 318, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2013.795809>.

⁷⁵ Bueno, “Mozambique, transitional justice,” 150.

⁷⁶ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 78.

⁷⁷ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 78.

Exclusionary policies failed to recognize diversity while reproducing hierarchies that benefited the party elite; this resulted in tensions rather than the national unity that Frelimo's rhetoric idealized. The ideal values Frelimo prescribed to their Marxist revolutionary society largely had been based off the party's elite individual experiences, their relationship to Marxist nations like Cuba and China, and intellectual thought, did not reflect the majority of Mozambicans lived experiences. However, Frelimo persisted in its goal of eradicating difference and establishing a homogenous identity, which was reflected in their approach to education.⁷⁸

Creating the next generation of the new man

As youth were perceived as the continuers of Frelimo's revolution, the party made it a point to instill values of the ideal citizen through education. The new man embodied the image of ideal citizen. The term "new man" is present in several socialist revolutions, where concepts of citizenship and belonging were reimagined through an ideological lens.⁷⁹ In the context of Mozambique, the new man embodied Frelimo's moralistic ideals, with emphasis on loyalty to Frelimo, and placing the needs of the nation before individual needs. Frelimo's understanding of the new man was shaped by thinkers such as Frantz Fanon, that resonated with the ideologically and academically elite making this image inaccessible to the majority of Mozambicans who had not receive a formal education.⁸⁰ In the classroom, teachers were expected to represent the new

⁷⁸ Sumich, "Just Another African Country," 558. See also, Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 65.

⁷⁹ For international examples of the "new man" in socialist struggles see, Yinghong Cheng, *Creating the "New Man": From Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008). And, Didier 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*, eds. Jadwiga E. P. Mooney and Fabio Lanza (London: Routledge, 2013), 197–206. Also, Michael Mahoney, "*Estado Novo, Homem Novo* (New State, New Man): Colonial and anti-colonial development ideologies in Mozambique, 1930-1977," in *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development and the Global Cold War*, eds. David C. Engerman, Nils Gilman, Mark H. Haefele, and Michael E. Latham, (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 165–96.

⁸⁰ Sumich, "Just Another African Country," 587.

man and youth were taught the values and morals associated with Frelimo's understanding of citizenship. In this context, education became a tool to instill in youth the identity of the new man; while regulating students' morality and actions to ensure they adopted this national image, and the values attributed with it.

Frelimo was concerned with mobilizing individuals to transform into the new man. The party recognized that individual engagement was a powerful tool, as noted by high-ranking Frelimo member, Sergio Vieira, at the Second Congress of Culture and Education (1977):

On one side, we should see the man as an object determined by society, he is what society determines, although not in a way that he is absolutely determined. But on the other side, we should see man as an agent of transformation of society, an agent who destroys the old society and constructs the New Society.⁸¹

Vieira's quote is an example of how Frelimo recognized individual mobilization as critical to the transformation of Mozambique. Applying this lens to the writing prompt evidenced in *Tempo*, that asked students how they could contribute to society, it is apparent that Frelimo intended to instill in students a sense of duty for their nation. This is particularly important with respect to the education of children and youth as their generations were understood as having the power to secure Frelimo's leadership over generations. Therefore, education was a critical tool to Frelimo, used to encourage mobilization amongst youth through the image of the new man, while discouraging "immoral" or "dissatisfactory" acts as assets of the "internal enemy."

The internal enemy was the opposite of the new man, represented as being in opposition to the nation, its citizens and the party. The internal enemy was often depicted as possessing a colonial mentality; he may also be engaging in values or habits perceived to be immoral, such as drinking alcohol, but most importantly his individual choices were often perceived as being

⁸¹Sergio Vieira, "O homem novo é um processo," *Tempográfica*, No. 398, (May 1978): 28
<https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.ahmtem19780521>.

hurtful to the nation as a whole.⁸² The contrasting images of the internal enemy and the new man are examples of the dichotomies Frelimo established. They are also examples of how ideas of citizenship are curated by the state and presented by the party. Ultimately these conceptions of morality and citizenship bleed into education and play a predominant role in the political education of youth.

Within the context of informing ideal socialist citizenship, educational spaces became a nursery to produce a generation of “new men” and “new women” who would adopt Frelimo’s ideological stance and revolutionary goals. Through this lens, significant pressure was put on teachers to embody the image of the new man. In Vieira’s Second Congress of Education and Culture speech, he argued that “Education needs to stay in the vanguard of combat to transform society. The educator who does not do, cannot form the new man.”⁸³ Schools were understood as bases of transmission, where students would learn to adopt the image, morals and ideals associated with the new man. Teachers were not only expected to teach their students but be role models of the ideal citizen.

Frelimo was greatly concerned with the actions, identities and behaviours of teachers. As Vieira expressed in 1977, “We still have some difficulties because we still have some educators who are very attached (connected) to institutions that repel the new man, institutions that spread idealist, obscurantism of superstition. So, they [these values] are still in our schools.”⁸⁴ Teachers were expected to be representatives of Frelimo, and to abandon previous identities or ties that contradicted Frelimo leadership. Themes of surveillance and purging enemies become entangled

⁸² For additional information on the concept of the “internal enemy” in Mozambique see: Maria Paula Meneses, “Xiconhoca, the enemy: narratives of violence about the construction of the nation in Mozambique,” *Revista crítica de ciencias sociais* 106 (2015): 9–52. <https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.5869>.

⁸³ Vieira, “The New Man is a process,” 3.

⁸⁴ Vieira, “The New Man is a process,” 37.

in education, as Frelimo stoked the narrative of teachers needing to be virtuous representatives of the party who have completely broken with their past.

In order to ensure that educators maintained the party line, Frelimo continued to hold meetings with school staff. In 1978, Graça Machel held a meeting for political educators at Josiana Machel school, the meeting details were covered by *Tempo*, and shared Frelimo's message to educators.⁸⁵ In this meeting, Graça highlighted the importance of making school feel like a community through collaboration between the GD's, schools and parents.⁸⁶ Graça also reflected on the importance of scientific education to allow youth to "analyze the world in a correct manner."⁸⁷ She emphasized the need to have students recognize themselves as "agents of development" calling attention to the party's intent to have youth perceive themselves as political actors responsible for defending the nation and the revolution.⁸⁸ The meetings between elite Frelimo members and teachers allowed the party to set standards regarding how youth should engage with their education, and with politics at large.

Frelimo perceived schools as bases to nurture the new man, but these spaces were unsafe for those accused of engaging in "enemy" behaviours. Teachers and students perceived as being immoral were often at risk of being expelled and or detained for their actions. Albert Farré argues that male and female students who engaged in pre-marital intercourse and produced a child were expelled from schools.⁸⁹ While Ben Machava's work on re-education camps in Mozambique suggests that "sacked civil servants," including teachers, were part of the thousands

⁸⁵ "Análise do trabalho político nas escolas" in *Tempográfica* no. 398 (1978): 8-9.

<https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.ahmtem19780521>

⁸⁶ "Análise do trabalho político nas escolas," 38-39.

⁸⁷ "Análise do trabalho político nas escolas," 38-39.

⁸⁸ "Análise do trabalho político nas escolas," 38-39.

⁸⁹ Albert Farré, "Assimilados, Régulos, Homens Novos, Moçambicanos Genuínos," *Anuário Antropológico* 40, no. 2 (2015): 215.

of prisoners detained within Frelimo's detention centres.⁹⁰ Frelimo was so concerned with instilling ideal morals and values within youth that those who did not uphold, or were accused of not following, Frelimo's values were perceived as negative influences and exiled as "enemies" of the state.

Not only were teachers expected to carry out ideal morals, but so were students. In 1981, Machel defined the behavior of a "bad student": "The bad student is that who imitates what the children of colonialists did: use drugs, dirties the walls, practices vagrancy, filth, escapes his studies, is lazy, and undisciplined."⁹¹ The characteristics of the bad student mimic the internal enemy. Machel goes on to state that "The bad student gets expelled. It's not marginal people that construct the strong nation that we want. It is not with bums that we construct socialism."⁹² This quote highlights the harsh rhetoric towards students who did not identify with Frelimo's goals, they were verbally discarded by the party, as they were perceived as "unwanted" in the transformation to socialism. While schools encouraged students to adopt the image of the New Man, they simultaneously excluded and expelled students who refused to adopt Frelimo's strict image of citizenship.

As centres of surveillance that reproduced the image of the new man, schools excluded people who did not share the same perspectives/morals of Frelimo to assure ideological hegemony within educational spaces. The enforcement of the image of the new man shared similarities with the exclusionary colonial practice of *assimilado* policies, as Peter Fry argues: "Unlike the colonialists, however, who believed that assimilation should precede equality before the law, the Frelimo intellectuals believed that the new man would be born less from individual

⁹⁰Machava, "The Morality of Revolution," 218-219.

⁹¹Machel, "Na Educação só Investiremos em Terreno Fértil," 16.

⁹²Machel, "Na Educação só Investiremos em Terreno Fértil," 16.

conversion than from changes in what was termed ‘objective reality’.”⁹³ Frelimo recreated exclusionary practices, although race was not the determining factor within these hierarchies of ideology, morality and the adoption of socialist ideology defined ones place within society.

Frelimo’s interpretation of the new man provided a restrictive guideline, prescribing strict behaviours that one should adopt to transform themselves into the ideal citizen. Freedom of expression was not tolerated under Frelimo, those who did not align with the party’s ideals risked facing punishment. The dichotomy of the new man and the internal enemy was rooted within schools, where both students and teachers had to adopt Frelimo’s perception of citizenship or risk being perceived as an “enemy” and the consequences that came with that label.

Conclusion:

Frelimo understood schools as spaces to create a generation of youth who would reflect their party ideals. Through the creation of a national education program, the development of teacher training programs, and the instillation of GDs within schools, the party tried to control the educational environment. Frelimo wanted to create a homogenous educational experience that would reinforce their leadership. The party also aimed to mobilize youth and recognize themselves as individuals with the power to make change, instilling a sense of responsibility for their communities and the transformation of the nation at a young age. While political education had long been important to Frelimo, the centering of ideology in the classroom became increasingly important after the civil war began, resulting in the surveillance and expulsion of students and teachers who failed to meet the ideals of the state.

Classrooms were intended to be spaces that reflect the ideals of Mozambican citizenship and national transformation. This resulted in the use of dichotomies such as “good” and “bad” or

⁹³ Peter Fry, “Cultures of Difference: The Aftermath of Portuguese and British Colonial Policies in Southern Africa,” *Social Anthropology* 8, no. 2 (2000): 129. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8676.2000.tb00125.x>.

“new” and “old” to inform a sense of collective memory and identity. A notion reflected best by Machel in a 1976 speech, when stating:

It is education that gives us personality. A People’s personality lies in education. The training of a new man lies in education. The Training of a new mentality lies in education. The formation of a new society lies in education.⁹⁴

The development of a national education system was understood as an important part in the process of creating national unity and gaining the full support of the polity. Yet, Frelimo’s understanding of the new man was exclusionary as, it’s refusal to accept diverse identities resulted in escalating tensions and anti-Frelimo sentiment.

The development of educational programming that centred socialist ideology aimed to fill the gap of middle cadres described by Mittelman, while increasing literacy amongst the population.⁹⁵ Investing in the education of youth was an investment into the nation’s future, as youth were seen as the future citizens leaders of the state. Frelimo tried to control every aspect of education, to ensure that students would be connected to the party and secure their leadership for the generations to come. Through this lens, youth are critical members of Mozambican society, who the party aimed to engage through education.

⁹⁴ Samora Machel, “Defining Woman’s Enemy, 1976,” in *Samora Machel an African Revolutionary: Selected Speeches and Writings*, ed. Barry Munslow, trans. Micahel Wolfers (Avon: Zed Books, 1985), 177.

⁹⁵ Mittelman, *Underdevelopment and the Transition to Socialism*, 113.

Chapter Four: Framing Education in a Nexus

In post-independence Mozambique, primary and secondary schools were part of a network of programs and institutions used to inform identities and reinforce Frelimo's leadership. In the classroom, students were taught literacy, math, and science, while engaging in daily routines intended to foster national identity. In other words, students were politically socialized, a process that occurred in classrooms as students performed assigned rituals (like singing the anthem, or reciting party motos) with the purpose of creating a sense of patriotism.¹ The socialization that occurred in schools was often supported by other forms of media and programming with the purpose of reinforcing Frelimo's rhetoric and political curriculum outside of the classroom. In Mozambique, the socialist education of youth aimed to create a generation of ideal socialist citizens, who would help transform their communities and the nation into a socialist revolutionary state. As such, schools sat within a nexus supported by propaganda, carceral institutions, and international educational programs working concurrently to create and uphold a socialist society directed by Frelimo.

Throughout this thesis I have analyzed several publications *including Estudos e Orientações (Studies and Orientations), Tempo (Time), Voz da Revolução (Voice of the Revolution)*, and political speeches, to assess Frelimo's rhetoric regarding the role of education within Mozambique. This chapter builds upon this research, as I show how Frelimo pursued similar aims outside the conventional school system. Three components of Mozambican society will be analyzed in this chapter. The first is *Xiconhoca*, a popular propaganda series that manifested the dichotomy between the new man and the internal enemy into media. To assess the

¹Brent. T. White, "Ritual, Emotion, and Political Belief: The Search for the Constitutional Limit to Patriotic Education in Public Schools," *Georgia Law Review* 43, no. 2 (2009): 282-283.

extent to which the campaign served as a form of supplementary education, I will analyze the *Xiconhoca* comic series printed in magazines such as *Voz da Revolução*, and *Tempo*. The second section focuses on the penal system of re-education camps, these camps produced a surveillance culture that detained social outcasts who did not fit the role of the new man. The final section addresses international technical education provided by the School of Friendship in the German Democratic Republic; I will analyze a series of articles from the school's newsletter *Amizade* [Friendship] to reflect how youth who attended the school interpreted their experience as part of Frelimo's larger goals of socialist transformation.

By situating education within a societal nexus, this chapter demonstrates how education is a tool of power that is often supported through additional programming or institutions that aid in externally reinforcing the desired identities, values and morals instilled within the classroom.² Through my analysis of *Xiconhoca*, re-education camps, and the GDR School of Friendship, I argue that primary and secondary schooling was part of a larger network of campaigns and structures intended to create a socialist nation and maintain Frelimo's leadership. By analyzing how discourses around primary and secondary education are mobilized and applied to other programs and institutions to encourage the masses to adopt the political education taught in classrooms, allows for a deeper understanding of the role education plays within early post-independence Mozambique.

Controlling the moral and ideological leanings of the polity greatly concerned Frelimo. As Machel argued, "Every society has its foundations in moral values, in ideological principles

² For international context on the use of alternative or additional educational programming to support formal schooling see: Sarah Mills, and Peter Kraftl, "Introduction: Geographies, Histories, and Practices of Informal Education," in, *Informal Education, Childhood and Youth: Geographies, Histories, Practices*, ed. Sarah Mills, and Peter Kraftl (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1-15. Also, Lydia E. Carol-Ann Burke, "Informal Science Educators and Children in a Low-Income Community Describe How Children Relate to out-of-School Science Education," *International Journal of Science Education* 42, no.10 (2020): 1673–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500693.2020.1774936>.

that form the groundwork of its power.”³ Creating, maintaining and reenforcing a moral code guided by Frelimo’s ideological leanings became a defining feature of programs and institutions developed under its leadership. As expressed by Eric Allina, “...Frelimo assembled its politics of governance to establish bright lines defining what kinds of thoughts and action might be acceptable in an independent Mozambique.”⁴ Frelimo defined and enforced these “bright lines” in a plethora of ways, creating a system of othering based on morality. If an individual refused to abide by Frelimo’s ideals they were perceived by the party as a cultural other and labelled an internal enemy, Frelimo considered their existence and behaviour as a threat to the nation. Within Frelimo’s rhetoric, notions of nation-building were intertwined with morality, national development, and maintaining a socialist front, with the ultimate goal of creating a revolutionary society by mobilizing the polity to transform into the new men and women of Mozambique.⁵

Each of the programs and institutions analyzed in this chapter reflects Frelimo’s desire to develop morally and ideologically superior citizens. Xiconhoca defines good versus bad citizenship, re-education camps imprison those who are perceived as “internal enemies”, and international educational programs trained students to be leaders in their select technical fields. Through each of these programs Frelimo reinforced educational material taught within traditional schools to bolster its leadership. The existence of these programs represented the party’s need to control notions of acceptable and unacceptable citizenship, highlighting its unwillingness to accept difference.

³ Samora Machel, “Organizar a Sociedade para Vencer o Subdesenvolvimento,” *Estudos e Orientações*, 14 (1982): 40.

⁴ Eric Allina, “Bright Lines and Fault Lines: The Politics of Refuge in Independence-Era Mozambique,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 55, no. 3 (2021): 481.

⁵ See: Luís de Brito, *A Frelimo, O Marxismo, e a Construção do Estado Nacional, 1962-1983* (Maputo: IESE, 2019).

Xiconhoca: the bogey man

Frelimo's perception of ideal and not-ideal citizenship is best conceptualized by the propaganda campaign of *Xiconhoca*. Created in 1976 by Frelimo's Department of Propaganda and Information, the character *Xiconhoca* represented the "internal enemy" whose lack of socialist morals and self-indulgent attitude were characterized as a threat to the unity of the nation and the well-being of its citizens.⁶ The multi-media campaign included radio broadcastings and prints of *Xiconhoca*, that depict the character as trying to trick his fellow citizens for personal gain, being unwilling to contribute to society, and promoting a capitalist lens.⁷ As Lars Burr notes, "[Xiconhoca] came to stand for a host of negative figures undermining the new state and nation through ideological moral decay, 'types' that the new nation state needed to contain, transform and if necessary purge..."⁸ The name *Xiconhoca* embodies negativity, "Xico" is taken from the term "Xico-Feio" (ugly Xico), a label for "collaborators of the colonial Portuguese regime," while "nhoca" means cobra.⁹ Carefully constructed to signify a villainous character, or cultural boogey man, *Xiconhoca* helps people identify types of "unwanted" citizenship.

Comics are an accessible form of propaganda as they utilize cultural signifiers to allow audiences to interpret the intended message, with or without the provided dialogue, making them a particularly useful form of propaganda in a nation with high illiteracy rates. *Xiconhoca* comics were printed in established magazines such as *Tempo* and *Voz da Revolução*, making them available to the general public. The gist of *Xiconhoca* comics was intentionally blunt as they represented the dichotomy between the "new man" and the "internal enemy" allowing people to

⁶ Lars Burr, "Xiconhoca" Mozambique's Ubiquitous Post-Independence Traitor," in *Traitors*, ed. Sharika Thiranagama, and Tobias Kelly (Pensylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 31.

⁷ Burr, "Xiconhoca" Mozambique's Ubiquitous Post-Independence Traitor," 26.

⁸ Burr, "Xiconhoca" Mozambique's Ubiquitous Post-Independence Traitor," 26.

⁹ Drew Thomson, "Nao há nada: Absent Headshots and Identity Documents in Independence Mozambique," *Technology and Culture* 61, no. 2 (2020): 13.

easily identify the attributes the party is portraying as “villainous.” Frelimo’s Department of Work and Ideology, described the comics intent when stating:

The figure of Xiconhoca symbolizes the internal enemy, those Mozambicans who by their ideas, their behaviour, their performance, serve the objective and in the interest of the imperialist enemy threatening the length of the revolutionary process in our country.¹⁰

Through Xiconhoca, Frelimo provided a carefully curated visualization of the internal enemy represented through familiar lived experiences and circumstances, allowing individuals to identify themselves and their community within the context of the comic.

The commissioning of comics by state authorities has been a common practice since the twentieth century. In apartheid South Africa, the National Party created a comic series titled *Mighty Mouse* that targeted Black youth with the intent, as argued by Daniel Hammett, to “...promote and inculcate the legitimacy of apartheid amongst the Black population.”¹¹ Paul Hirsch explores the United States government commissioned comic series *All-Star*, arguing that in 1943 the comic turned towards “...shape[ing] popular perceptions of race and ethnicity, as well as, build[ing] support for the American War effort.”¹² Comics are a form of alternative political education as they combine short texts with visual signs to engage their audience in a particular narrative. As Hammett suggests, comics combine visual and textual signals that in a political context convey ideas of citizenship and inform national identities.¹³ Similarly, Hirsch recognizes the ability of the comic to explain complex theories through combined use of text and visuals.¹⁴ Approaching state commissioned comics as alternative educational materials allows

¹⁰ Frelimo, “Xiconhoca o inimigo,” *Voz Da Revoulcao*, 65 (1979): 33, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.nuvr197902>.

¹¹ Daniel Hammett, “Governmentality and Comic Propaganda: Might Man, the Black Superhero of Apartheid,” *Political Geography* 99 (2022): 1-2, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2022.102742>.

¹² Paul Hirsch, “This is Our Enemy: The Writers’ War Board and Representations of Race in Comic Books, 1942-1945,” *Pacific Historical Review* 83, no.3 (2014): 449, <https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2014.83.3.448>.

¹³ Hammett, “Governmentality and Comic Propaganda,” 3.

¹⁴ Hirsch, “This is Our Enemy,” 454.

academics to acknowledge them as a mechanism used to inform identities and conceptions of societies.

Through the use of dichotomies, Xiconhoca is an example of a comic that aspired to inculcate its audience of Mozambican youth and adults towards particular notions of citizenship. The character Xiconhoca represents the unfavourable citizen, he is a visually fixed character whose face and body remains the same to be easily recognizable as the villain standing in the way of national transformation.¹⁵ To reinforce Xiconhoca's position as a villain, the comic titles often refer to him as Xiconhoca "the corrupt," "the internal enemy," or the "bourgeoise." Interestingly, there is no fixed character representative of the "new man" or good citizen. Instead, there are multiple unidentified figures representative of the character, each are drawn with their own facial characteristics, but they are all drawn with a similar attire consisting of modest work wear. Men are drawn wearing long pants and collared shirts, while women are pictured wearing similar styled shirts and long skirts, some are drawn holding their children. Notably, both genders are often carrying farming tools and are depicted as being on their way to contribute to society. Not having a fixed character representative of the new man allows audiences to identify themselves, their families, and communities with the image of the new man, making the comic relatable to their audiences' everyday lives and surroundings.

Since Xiconhoca embodies the enemy, the new man is the hero of the story; the role model citizen that youth and adults should aspire to reflect. There are several examples of the comic highlighting the collective character of the new man standing up to Xiconhoca. In a 1978 comic, a group of workers are headed to collect rice to help shorten food lines and feed the population, one of the members of the group looks to Xiconhoca, who is walking in the opposite

¹⁵Maria Paula Meneses, "Xiconhoca, the Enemy: Narratives of Violence about the Construction of the Nation in Mozambique," *Revista crítica de ciencias sociais*, no. 106 (2015): 31-32, <https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.5869>.

direction, and asks: “Look here! Are you not coming?” Xiconhoca responds, “Me!!!? Work for free, for others. This is conversation for morons and illiterate people.”¹⁶ In response to Xiconhoca’s refusal to work, another one of the workers states “The lines will never end if everyone of us does not contribute to the development of the country. Let’s go harvest rice!”¹⁷ This comic highlights the importance of contributing to society through work, it celebrates the contribution of the workers who represent the new man while villainizing Xiconhoca’s selfish perspective. In this comic, bad citizenship is portrayed through individualism and the unwillingness to aid society, in contrast, good citizenship is depicted as working for the collective.

More explicit examples of Xiconhoca’s schemes against Mozambican society are represented in other editions of the comic. In 1978, a comic illustrated Xiconhoca and an accomplice’s plot against the public transportation system, their decision to crash into a bus filled with individuals representing the new man backfired as they were captured by three individuals who insisted on taking him to the tribunal, to face consequences for his actions.¹⁸ As others on the bus yell to Xiconhoca, “Stop with these games” and “This was not an accident! It was provoked.”¹⁹ A similar example is produced in a 1979 edition of the comic; this comic is attached to an article titled “The victories are ours: and we must defend them” in which Xiconhoca is apprehended and put under a sort of citizens arrest after being caught with a case of explosives.²⁰ One of the New Men apart of the group states “It is him, Xiconhoca the assassin!

¹⁶Frelimo, “Xiconhoca o Inimigo: Vigilância contra o Xiconhoca,” *Voz da Revolução*, 59 (1978): 22, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.nuvr197807>.

¹⁷Frelimo, “Xiconhoca o Inimigo: Vigilância contra o Xiconhoca,” 22.

¹⁸Frelimo, “Xiconhoca o Inimigo,” *Voz da Revolução*, 62 (1978): 12, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.nuvr197810>.

¹⁹Frelimo, “Xiconhoca o Inimigo,” *Voz da Revolução*, 62, (1978): 12.

²⁰Frelimo, “As vitórias são nossas: é nosso dever defendê-las - Xiconhoca o Inimigo,” *Voz Da Revolução*, (1979): 30, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.nuvr197906>.

Who destroys our victories! Let's take him to the Revolutionary Military Tribunal so he can be judged like the others."²¹ In both these examples, the new man detains and scolds Xiconhoca for his immoral and unjust behaviour, making the new man the hero of the story.

The above examples of Xiconhoca comics juxtapose "bad citizenship" with "good citizenship." Xiconhoca's selfish and destructive behaviour is challenged by the mobilization of collective work and stepping into question or stop Xiconhoca's misbehaviour. The concepts displayed in these comics are also evidenced by their rhetoric regarding national education. For example, a 1981 pamphlet on the investment of education emphasized that schools were supposed to direct students in the "right direction" arguing that, primary schools are where "...the good seeds are launched to grow [the children} into strong men, to grow into the man of tomorrow, the socialist man and the communist man."²² Concerns over morality and the development of children into the New Man were predominant themes in Frelimo's rhetoric. Through media and propaganda Frelimo reinforced lessons on ideal citizenship taught within the classroom. The use of comics as educational propaganda was intended for students and their communities to be exposed to media that reinforced the idealistic goals of Frelimo, outside of educational spaces.

Xiconhoca became a term synonymous for an unwillingness to work, selfishness, and "bad" citizenship. In a 1979 interview with Allen Isaacman, Machel refers to a style of shoe he calls "Xiconhoca's" describing them as:

...those high heel shoes that don't allow you to do any work; those shoes that don't allow you to move easily. What was the need for those high heel shoes? To get up from one desk to another, there was always the danger of slipping and falling on the group. They were not designed for the ordinary people.²³

²¹ Frelimo, "As vitórias são nossas," 30.

²² Samora Machel, "Na Educação só investiremos em terreno fértil," *Palavras de Ordem* 20 (1981): 13.

²³ Allen Isaacman, (Interviewer), Christie, Iain (Interviewer), Machel, Samora (Interviewee),

While it is unclear if Machel's reference of the shoe was in relation to the character of Xiconhoca (who is often drawn wearing platform heels) the term captures the unwillingness to work that Machel was referencing. Notably, Machel made the distinction between people who wear "Xiconhoca" shoes and ordinary people, reinforcing a form of othering that is represented in the dichotomy established in the comic. To Frelimo, there was no "okay" citizen just good or bad. Those who did not fit Frelimo's image of an ideal citizen were then characterized as "other" and associated with Xiconhoca. Through both education and comics, people were discouraged to engage in immoral behaviour and encouraged to identify as, and adopt, the characteristics of the "new man."

Xiconhoca represented the enemy of Mozambican transformation, and a threat to the nation and its population. The creation of Xiconhoca intended to inform a specific concept of citizenship, making the comic a form of political education, which aimed to teach individuals how to identify immoral and moral behaviours/actions. Simultaneously, Xiconhoca creates a sense of fear mongering, as Burr notes, the figure "encapsulated everyday immorality" stoking a sense that the enemy was everywhere, and that it was the duty of the new man to challenge, and report these individuals who posed a threat.²⁴ Ultimately, Xiconhoca was woven into the cultural understanding of good vs bad, proving to be supplementary material to other forms of socialist education and indoctrination encouraged to promote socialist citizenship and unity under Frelimo's banner.

Filipe, El, usio dos P.V. (Translator), and Samora Machel, *Interview with Samora Machel*, interviews, (1979): 8, <https://jstor.org/stable/al.sff.document.isaacman0001>.

²⁴ Burr, "Xiconhoca" Mozambique's Ubiquitous Post-Independence Traitor," 40.

Reeducation camps

The Mozambican penal institution of re-education camps existed to purge communities of the internal enemies, or “Xiconhocas,” of society to “re-educate” and transform them into the new man. Targeting individuals belonging to stigmatized groups, who were determined as misaligned with the party’s tightly defined moral code, detention was characterized as a purging and cleansing campaign.²⁵ The rhetoric around re-education camps called for the transformation of society through the eradication of capitalist and Western ideals, as well as “old” practices such as polygamy.²⁶ Re-education camps are a critical, yet understudied, component of the institutions created to support Frelimo’s leadership as spaces of holding for those perceived as a threat to Mozambican society. They also were a looming threat to individuals outside of the camps: those who did not behave like the new man may be sent to re-education camps, situated in rural areas and isolated from detainees’ friends, family and communities.²⁷ Conforming to Frelimo’s will was not optional; it was obligatory and if one did not learn to assimilate to the ideals of the new man through schools, or other educational programming, they risked being sent to re-education camps.

Established in 1974, re-education camps were presented as a detention centres for prostitutes.²⁸ Frelimo characterized immoral individuals that engage in “vices” a part of “the systemic and deliberate cultural obscurantism” of colonialism.²⁹ In search of prostitutes, Frelimo began raiding cinemas, bars, restaurants, brothels and dance halls, detaining individuals who

²⁵ Benedito Luís Machava, “The Morality of Revolution: Urban Cleanup Campaigns, Reeducation Camps, and Citizenship in Socialist Mozambique (1974-1988),” (ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 2018), 27.

²⁶ Machava, “The Morality of Revolution,” 27. See also, Jason Sumich, “Modernisation Redirected: Socialism, Liberalism and the National Elite in Mozambique,” *Cambridge Anthropology* 28, no. 2 (2008): 9.

²⁷ Machava, “The Morality of Revolution,” 6.

²⁸ Ben Machava, “Re-education Camps and the Messianic Ethos of Mozambique’s Socialism,” in *Collectif: Socialismes en Afrique*, 22.

²⁹ Samora Machel, Message of Proclamation of Independence for Mozambique,” *Africa Today* 22, no. 3 (1975): 5, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4185514>.

indulged in alcohol and drugs as well.³⁰ In theory, the detention of citizens defined by Frelimo as immoral worked to rid their influence on society, reinforcing socialist ideals through violent raids and mass detainment. As expressed by Machava:

Established in remote rural sites to mentally decolonize wayward members of urban society and putative enemies of the socialist revolution, the camps became a dumping ground for unwanted citizens accused of all kinds of wrongdoing.³¹

The victims of re-education camps quickly grew in population as detainable offences escalated from prostitution to any form of perceived dissent.

Similar to state commissioned comics, re-education camps are a political tool utilized globally to maintain governing powers and assimilate individuals perceived as misaligned with the state's goals/perceptions of citizenship or challenge individuals existing knowledge. The British established colonial re-education camps in Malaya and Kenya; Susan Carruthers expresses that while the terms "rehabilitation" and "re-education" portray positive connotations in the English language, the brutality, violence, and forced labour that occurred in these camps challenges the positive connotations associated with "re-education."³² Established in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party used re-education camps to "reform" members of society, including beggars and prostitutes.³³ Re-education relative to the Chinese Communist Party centred patriotism to bolster support for China's involvement in the Korean War and to stoke anti-American sentiments.³⁴ Frelimo was not the first governing power to use re-education camps, rather they are an existing tool that often uses isolation, detainment, political education, and

³⁰ Machava, "Re-education Camps and the Messianic Ethos," 22.

³¹ Benedito Machava, Reeducation camps, Austerity, and the Carceral Regime in Socialist Mozambique (1974-1979)," *The Journal of African History* 60, no. 3 (2019): 429.

³² Susan L. Carruthers, "'Re-Education': The Imperial Pre-History and Afterlives of a Pedagogical Conceit," *International History Review*, (2024): 8-13, doi:10.1080/07075332.2023.2298429.

³³ Aminda Smith, "Thought Reform and the Unreformable: Reeducation centres and the Rhetoric of Opposition in the Early People's Republic of China," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 72 no.4, (2013): 943-44, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911813001654>.

³⁴ Smith, "Thought Reform and the Unreformable," 943-44.

forced labour to engage individuals/citizens into adopting knowledge or identities that supports the states responsible for these camps.

A name that is often better suited than “re-education” is “ideological indoctrination,” as the term is often associated with negative connotations of being forced to learn and change, a process that often occurs in the confines of re-education camps. In Mozambique, Frelimo expected detainees to purge their “immoral” vices that they believed were tied to colonialism and embrace Frelimo’s socialist values. In 1979, Machel expressed that re-education “centres” intended to detain prostitutes, drug addicts and “petty thieves,” once detained they would be provided with “new professions” and learn “working habits” with the intent of integrating detainees back into society.³⁵ Machel’s rhetoric regarding the “centres” portrays the camps as a positive space, where individuals could learn skills that would help them to become contributing citizens to Mozambique. By connecting the purging of personal vices to the betterment of the nation, Machel was implying that these camps were necessary to create the idealistic socialist nation that Frelimo envisioned. In reality, detainees were separated from their communities and sent to rural areas where they were expected to conform to Frelimo’s values and beliefs.

The camps were the main form of penal institution in Mozambique; over twenty re-education camps were built from their inception in 1974 to the closing of the camps in 1992.³⁶ Machava argues that Frelimo interpreted its leadership as similar to those of Soviet and Chinese leaders, regarding themselves as morally superior, noting that Machel interpreted re-education “as an act of benevolence, and proof of the party’s ‘genuine concern for the wickedness.’”³⁷ The messaging around the camp centred the use of political education to transform individuals. In

³⁵ Isaacman, (Interviewer), Christie, (Interviewer), Machel (Interviewee), Filipe, El,usio dos P.V. (Translator), *Interview with Samora Machel*, 24.

³⁶ Machava, “Re-education Camps and the Messanaic,” 2.

³⁷ Machava, “Re-education Camps and the Messanaic,” 27.

1976 Frelimo decided to include two hours of mandatory political education, the first hour being a lecture and the second being reserved for reading the news, asking questions and engaging in debates.³⁸ Frelimo's intended goals for re-education did not align with the reality of the camps.

Lacking in materials needed to properly support re-education or political education, education often was not present in the camps at all. Many of the guards lacked educational training, several camps had no classrooms, schools took priority over receiving educational materials over camps, resulting in the use of magazines and printed speeches as the principal form of educational material.³⁹ With little to no access to teachers or educational materials, formal education existed only in the name of the institution, resulting in Machava describing education as a "façade."⁴⁰

Camps not only lacked guards trained in education, there was a general absence of guards. This was evidenced in the M'sawize camp where seventeen guards were responsible for over five hundred detainees.⁴¹ Despite the lack of security, prisoners often remained within the boundaries of the camp. Given the rural location, escaping the camp often resulted in death by starvation or wildlife, as suggested by the nickname given to detainees "food for crocodiles."⁴² In this context, re-education camps were a holding space that did not align with the proposed plans for re-education, as education was inaccessible and the lack of security poses an issue to the surveillance and enforcement of particular values idealized by Frelimo.

After completing a tour of several education camps in 1981, Machel recognized the shortcomings of the camps in a speech, noting that the lack of hygiene, and the failure of labour

³⁸ Ben Machava, "Re-education Camps, Austerity," 450-451.

³⁹ Ben Machava, "Re-education Camps, Austerity," 450.

⁴⁰ Ben Machava, "Re-education Camps, Austerity," 449

⁴¹ Benedito Machava "Reeducation Camps, Austerity" 442-6.

⁴² Sumich, "Modernisation Redirected," 9.

programs in the Ruarua camp, calling it “a centre to produce idlers.”⁴³ The underlining concern regarding programming in the camps was extended to education, as Machel argued that many of the guards’ “did not know what re-education was or its objectives.”⁴⁴ Suggesting that the party cared for programs aimed at transforming individuals perceived as, Borges Coelho describes, “scum” into the new man publicly reaffirmed Frelimo’s dedication to political and moral education.⁴⁵ However, the material and educational struggles noted by Machel, are a greater reflection of how educational materials, teachers, and the ideologically “elite” were stretched thinly across the several educational programs created by Frelimo (schools, adult literacy programs, re-education camps, and the creation of textbooks), resulting in several of their transformative institutions falling short of the party’s idealistic aspirations.

Although educational programs were largely non-existent in the camps, detainees were required to engage in labour, as labour was tied to Frelimo’s interpretation of socialism. Contributing to society through labour was a popular theme of Frelimo’s leadership, represented in Xiconhoca, and taught within classrooms, labor was seen as a way the individual could aid in the development of society. Jobs for detainees in the prison camp included cooking, and maintenance, as prisoners were responsible for the upkeep of the camps.^{46,47} Frelimo regarded forced labour within the camps as a way for prisoners to learn transferable skills that would eventually allow for their reintegration into society. While conventional education was often lacking within camps, labour was a pillar in their day-to-day operation.

⁴³ Samora Machel, “Machel’s speech on Unjust Detentions in Re-education Camps,” *Summary of World Broadcasts, MozambiqueHistoryNet* (October 6, 1981), 2, https://www.mozambiquehistory.net/justice/reeducation/19811001_unjust_detentions_in_centres.pdf.

⁴⁴ Samora Machel, “Machel’s speech on Unjust Detentions,” 2.

⁴⁵ João Paulo Borges Coelho, “Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique: A Set of Epistemological Notes,” *Kronos* 39, no. 1 (2013): 24, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432409>.

⁴⁶ Machava, “Re-education Camps and the Messianic,” 36.

⁴⁷ Machava, “Re-education Camps Austerity,” 444-448.

In city centres, the existence of the re-education camp created a surveillance culture where individuals would report to Frelimo the presence of “internal enemies” found in their communities. Frelimo’s compulsion with transforming internal enemies resulted in the abuse of the reporting system; many innocent people, or people whose moral “crimes” were insignificant were detained and left to serve ambiguously long sentences in the camp. Many people used the reporting system to their advantage, as Machava references:

Angry fathers and unruly husbands had their unruly daughters and unfaithful wives sent for re-education. Unhappy wives rid themselves of their husbands by denouncing them as alcoholics or polygamists.⁴⁸

Reporting family members, neighbours, or personal enemies became common practice, resulting in people being detained within camps for a plethora of reasons.⁴⁹ In other words, no one was totally safe from being sent to re-education camps. The existence of these camps created a security state in which individuals became informers whose words would often go unchallenged, and due to the lack of a fully formed legal system many people were falsely accused and detained without a proper trial.

The severity of crimes that individuals were detained for ranged from small mistakes to first degree murder. In a 1980 *Washington Post* article, journalist Jay Ross notes the array of reasons why individuals maybe detained in these camps, pointing first to prisoner Naftal Muthemba who had, at the time of the report, been detained for two years at the Chicano camp for making a workplace error.⁵⁰ He contrasts Methemba with the case of Uria Simango, a prisoner accused of participating in the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, to highlight the

⁴⁸ Machava, “Re-education Camps and the Messianic,” 36.

⁴⁹ Machava, “Re-education Camps and the Messianic,” 36.

⁵⁰ Jay Ross, “Mozambican Reeducation camps Raise Rights Questions,” *Washington Post*, May 6th, 1980. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1980/05/07/mozambican-reeducation-camps-raise-rights-questions/47283dab-18a2-44f3-bac1-0ca0064102ea/>.

polarity behind prisoners' arrests.⁵¹ The *Washington Post* article reflects the concern regarding mass detainment and the lack of an organized sentencing system, where anyone could be accused and serve time in re-education camps.

The abuse of the legal system, or lack thereof, was a concern that was also shared by Machel. He noted in a 1981 speech on re-education camps that, "Just because someone was six hours late for work he was sent to the re-education camp, because he was absent for four days, or for a small fault, he was sent for re-education alongside the traitors, criminals, corrupt elements and scoundrels."⁵² In response to the abuse of the reporting system, Machel began travelling to camps to release prisoners who were wrongfully detained, with the expectation that they would put the skills that the party expected that they learned during their detainment to good use in their communities.⁵³ Several of the camps had been shut down by 1981, however in 1983 the camps were revitalized as part of "operation production" that, as Machava explains, aimed to cleanse immoralities while addressing shortages of goods, rural to urban migration, and a "collapse of urban services."⁵⁴

Despite thousands being detained in re-education camps, and a number of them being re-introduced into society, the camps largely failed in "creating the new man." The lack of security allowed for drugs and alcohol to make their way into the camps, so the vices the camps aimed to curb were ever present.⁵⁵ The shortage of resources, guards, and programming resulted in a lack of transformation of detainees as a whole.

⁵¹ Ross, "Mozambican Reeducation camps Raise Rights Questions."

⁵² Machel, "Machel's speech on unjust detentions," 2.

⁵³ Machel, "Machel's speech on unjust detentions, 1-4. See also, Machava, "Re-education Camps and the Messianic," 36.

⁵⁴ Machava, "Re-education Camps and the Messianic," 41. For more information on Operation Production see: Carlos Quembo, "Revolutionary Discourse and Policy Process : The Complexities of Operation Production in Mozambique, 1962-1992," (ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 2021).

⁵⁵ Machava, "Re-education Camps, Austerity," 449.

While camps were unsuccessful at instilling a successful re-education program, their existence reinforced socialism under Frelimo's leadership as they acted as warnings for people to follow Frelimo's guidelines. Conceptually the camps detained the internal enemies that propaganda campaigns like Xiconhoca warned of and worked to transform detainees through education and labour programs. This mirrored the expectation that schools would create a generation of ideal citizens, as the rhetoric regarding re-education camps suggested that detainees would purge their immoral behaviours and adopt the values of the new man. Even though the camps often failed to transform individuals into ideal socialist citizens, they allowed people outside of the camps to engage with a system of reporting that reinforced Frelimo's socialist ideals through individuals' engagement with the policing of socialist attitudes and values that Frelimo valued. Re-education camps were part of the nexus of institutions and programs created to maintain Frelimo's power and enforce socialist ideology through fear of detainment, and societal enforcement of socialist values. Conceptualizations of "good" and "bad" citizenship were upheld by Frelimo through the detainment of "internal enemies." By purging communities of "negative influences" Frelimo could reduce their influence within their communities. Therefore, re-education camps reinforced the themes ideal citizenship shared in the classroom by posing a threat of detainment and decreasing these individual's influence.

The School of Friendship

With the aid of socialist nations abroad, Frelimo developed external programs used to reinforce its leadership and image of citizenship. Frelimo created international educational institutions with allied nations, Cuba, the Soviet Union, and the German Democratic Republic.⁵⁶ These

⁵⁶ For research on international socialist education for African students see: Sara Pugach, *African Students in East Germany, 1949-1975* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.12077279>. Constantin Katsakioris, "Return from the USSR: Soviet-Educated Africans, Politics and Work, 1960s-

programs were intended to bolster Mozambique's economy, as students were often taught a particular skill while in these schools, strengthening students' ideological leanings. On a global scale, these schools worked to expand socialism across the globe.⁵⁷ Children and young adults who attended this programming had been hand selected, promoted as top students and the future leaders and nation-builders of Mozambique. Simultaneously, students who attended these programs experienced a significant burden, as they were forced to leave their homes, families, and communities, to become skilled academics or labourers, pressured under the task of modernizing the nation.

Such transnational educational exchanges had an established history. For example, the Soviet Union accepted African students to their universities, established the Patrice Lumumba University in 1960, and sent teachers from the Soviet Union to African nations, as a part of what Constantin Karsakioris describes as "Leninist principles of solidarity with the 'oppressed countries.'"⁵⁸ Transnational educational programming benefits the host nation and the group or nation sending students to the programs, the host nation gains the ability to shape the ideology of these students and the politics of the group who sent the students.⁵⁹ The nation who sends the student to international programs, expects that students will return home with a newfound set of skills and applies their knowledge to the growth of their nation.⁶⁰

2000s," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 55, no. 2 (2021): 267–86.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/00083968.2020.1841012>.

⁵⁷ Jason Verber, "True to the Politics of Frelimo?: Teaching Socialism at the Schule der Freundschaft, 1981-1990," in *Comrades of Color: East Germany in the Cold War World*, ed. Quinn Slobodian (United States: Berghahn Books, 2015), 190.

⁵⁸ Constantin Katsakioris, "Creating a Socialist Intelligentsia: Soviet Educational Aid and Its Impact on Africa (1960-1991)," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 57, no. 226 (2) (2017) : 260, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26613028>.

⁵⁹ Verber, "True to the Politics of Frelimo?," 196.

⁶⁰ Tanja R. Müller, "'Samora's Children' - the Celebration of (Post-) Socialist Citizenship in Mozambique," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 55, no. 2 (2021): 290.

Frelimo continued the practice of encouraging university students to attend programs in the Soviet Union. A handful of Mozambicans attended university in the Soviet Union from 1960-1975, with enrolment fluctuating from zero to eighteen within the fifteen-year time span.⁶¹ During the first two years of independence enrollment to Soviet Universities remained low, with a total of six students sent, increasing in 1977 to ninety-five students.⁶² Enrollment steadily grew, reaching a peak in 1987-88 with 694 students.⁶³ Allowing students to participate in Soviet education reinforced the ties between the nations while also ensuring that Mozambicans students still received a socialist education.

Frelimo not only utilized pre-existing international programs, but it also forged its own with the help of allies who worked alongside the party to create, run and maintain these programs. By 1981, over 4,000 Mozambican youth moved to Cuba to achieve secondary education.⁶⁴ In 1982, Frelimo and the German Democratic Republic opened the School of Friendship in Stassfurt. In the same year, 899 Mozambican youth from the ages of twelve to fourteen, accompanied by several Mozambican teachers, attended the educational program.⁶⁵ This program provided secondary education and an intense vocational program, that assigned youth to technical jobs seen as necessary to developing the Mozambican state. As Tanja R. Müller explains:

“The SDF was based... [on] namely the quest to educate a professional socialist elite from a cohort of young Mozambicans who would embody Machel’s vision of a socializing citizen in the spirit of *produzir e aprender* (produce and learn).”⁶⁶

⁶¹ Katsakioris, “Creating a Socialist Intelligentsia,” 281.

⁶² Katsakioris, “Creating a Socialist Intelligentsia,” 281.

⁶³ Katsakioris, “Creating a Socialist Intelligentsia,” 281.

⁶⁴ Verber, “True to the Politics of Frelimo?,” 194.

⁶⁵ Tanja R Müller, “‘Memories of Paradise’ – Legacies of Socialist Education in Mozambique,” *African Affairs (London)* 109, no. 436 (2010): 455, <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adq024>.

⁶⁶ Müller, “Samora’s Children,” 290.

Youth selected to attend the program were expected to internalize the values taught in the school to transform into the ideal citizen, and then use the skills they learned at the school to aid the nation with its economic goals. Through socialist and vocational education, the SDF reinforced Frelimo's leadership by educating a class of highly trained youth who would, in theory, embody the ideal citizen.

The GDR benefited from the establishment of the SDF as it bolstered its international image amongst socialist nations, while aiding its own economy.⁶⁷ Jason Verber argues that the establishment of the SDF, acted as a “tangible expression” of the GDR's solidarity towards anti-imperialism, their “support of the class struggle” and a “pragmatic effort to win friends and allies.”⁶⁸ While Müller recognizes the international benefit of the school to the GDR she also notes that the creation of the SDF was one of several development policies created by the GDR “of securing economic state survival.”⁶⁹ Through the vocational program, hundreds of students would aid GDR sectors through their co-operative education, acting as a form of free labour. Students acquired knowledge through labour, simultaneously benefiting the GDR's image and their industrial and economic sectors.

While the GDR provided the housing for SDF students, both countries jointly designed the curriculum and shared responsibility in teaching. In an agreement with the GDR, Mozambique maintained instruction in Portuguese for geography, history and political education.⁷⁰ Notably these topics aligned with the socialization of youth and the creation of a national and political identity. While German teachers were responsible for all other subjects,

⁶⁷For scholarship on migration and labour patterns between Mozambique and Eastern Germany see: Marcia C. Schenck, *Remembering African Labor Migration to the Second World : Socialist Mobilities between Angola, Mozambique, and East Germany*. 1st ed.(Cham: Springer Nature, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-06776-1>.

⁶⁸ Verber, “True to the politics of Frelimo?,” 188.

⁶⁹ Müller, “Memories of paradise,” 454.

⁷⁰ Verber, “True to the politics of Frelimo?,” 197.

including the sciences.⁷¹ Frelimo's concern with ideological education, history, and politics mirrors the concerns they had within Mozambique. Their request to control political education aligned with the want to instill the "right" notions of socialism and citizenship within students. This reflects how, once again, education to Frelimo is inherently political, an apparatus they can utilize to secure leadership for future generations.

Mirroring the experiences of youth who attended the Mozambican Institute during the Liberation War, students who attended the SDF were separated from their families and lived in an area carefully created and controlled by Frelimo. Students attending the SDF also faced their own set of challenges, having to move across the globe, learn a new language, and adapt to a new culture. In the summers of 1984 and 1985 Frelimo only granted fifty students tickets to come home to Mozambique to spend time with their family over the break; only students with a good academic average had the opportunity to go home.⁷² Tanja R. Muller argues that the trip had been "...a reward for exemplary grades and discipline."⁷³ By implementing a reward system for those who best exemplified the new man, theoretically, students would be more encouraged to mimic those students to be rewarded themselves. Isolation from family members combined with the rewarding of trips home reinforced the notion that it is important to dedicate oneself to embody the image of the new man, every day.

On an international level the SDF embodied the connection between education and production and the correlation between education and national development. In a 1982 speech that kicked off the school year in Maputo, Machel notes that "Poverty and underdevelopment reflect man's ignorance in using existing resources and man's passive acceptance of his situation

⁷¹ Verber, "True to the politics of Frelimo?," 197.

⁷² Müller, "Memories of Paradise," 457.

⁷³ Müller, "Memories of Paradise," 457.

of wretchedness.”⁷⁴ If ignorance is the cause of underdevelopment, then education is a tool of development that eradicates ignorance amongst youth who will grow up to aid in the development of the nation. In the SDF, knowledge production and material production worked hand in hand, as youth learned socialist values in the classroom, during their technical training, and in their vocational experience, which included zoology, mechanics, and tool and die maker. Instilled in the training of these programs was the notion that the individual contribution of these students would positively aid in the “development” of Mozambique, which is also evidenced in student reflections of their experience at the SDF.

The SDF produced a multilingual journal called *Amizade*, dedicated to covering a variety of topics including, culture, news, agriculture, and the happenings within the school. Articles are written in German or Portuguese, with some games and comics being in English, reflecting the linguistic diversity of the school. Given that the school produced the journal, the perspectives on Frelimo and socialism are heavily biased, nevertheless these sources provide critical insight into the values and expectations of these students, their experiences within the school, and the way they interpreted their education. A recurring segment in *Amizade* is the series “In my Point of View” where students briefly reflected on their time in the program. By analyzing these segments historians can grapple with the way youth perceive their education in the context of national transformation. Through the perspective of the youth enrolled in these programs, it becomes evident that their experience at these schools re-enforced the rhetoric within Mozambican politics, ultimately supporting Frelimo’s conceptions of socialism, leadership, and national development.

⁷⁴ Samora Machel, “Organizing Society to Conquer Underdevelopment,” in *Samora Machel an African Revolutionary, Selected Speeches and writings*” ed. Barry Munslow, trans. Michael Wolfers, (London: Zeb Books, 1985), 130.

“In My Point of View” provided a formulaic approach to sharing students’ perspectives. The pattern often began with students sharing their first thoughts when being assigned their co-op, followed by the challenges and benefits that they have faced, and finally a reflection on how their co-op will contribute to Mozambique. While many of the youth express different challenges, goals and expectations, almost all of them reflect a similar sentiment sharing their excitement to help transform Mozambique. In this way, the articles connect the individual and their schooling to national-building projects, reinforcing Frelimo’s argument that everyone must participate towards national development. These students’ reflections prioritize the needs of the nation over their individual desires.

The majority of the students interviewed were in some form of mechanical or engineering training, some of these students were immediately satisfied with their assigned co-op positions while others experienced an initial hurdle. For example, Alide Nihalane, expresses that he always dreamed of being a mechanic, so when he received the news that he was assigned into a mechanic co-op, he described his reaction as “very satisfied.”⁷⁵ Similarly, servicing mechanic co-op student Carlos Ferreira reflected that, “When I was informed that I would be in a mechanics course I was very satisfied.”⁷⁶ Another student, Marcos J. Uaia, expressed how he always dreamed of having a job, exclaiming that when the opportunity for the program arose “it didn’t take much time to decide.”⁷⁷ Excitement for training assignments was not a mutual feeling amongst some of the SDF students. For example, Tomás Majembe was assigned in tool and die, in his interview he remarked that “It wasn’t my desire to follow this profession, because I did not know what it [the program and profession] entailed.”⁷⁸ João Mateus Foquisso, had a similar

⁷⁵ “O meu ponto de vista, Alide Nihalane,” *Amizade* 5, no.9, (1987): 2, Bundesarchiv, DR2/50408, Teil 2 von 3.

⁷⁶ “O meu ponto de vista, Carlos Ferreira,” *Amizade* 5, no.12 (1987): 2, Bundesarchiv, DR2/50408, Teil 3 von 3.

⁷⁷ “O meu ponto de vista, Marcos J. Uaia,” *Amizade* 6, no.2 (1988): 2, Bundesarchiv, DR2/50408, Teil 3 von 3.

⁷⁸ “O meu ponto de vista, Tomás Majembe,” *Amizade* 5, no.10 (1987): 2, Bundesarchiv, DR2/50408, Teil 3 von 3.

response to his assignment to the same role, “I didn’t have the slightest clue of what [tool and dye] was.”⁷⁹ Both Majembe and Fouquisso noted later on that once they understood their assignment they recognized its importance for the development of Mozambique. Some students received their dream placements while others received placements that they did not desire but nonetheless maintained a positive attitude as they wanted to help their nation.

Students who recalled being uncertain about their assignments often recognized their needs or wants as second to the needs of the nation. The notion of putting oneself after the greater good of the group had been indoctrinated into these students through the educational programs at the SDF, as Müller notes:

In these programmes [Cuban and GDR secondary schools] educating socialist citizens with a propensity to forgo personal advancement in order to advance the development of the nation was deemed as or more important than the teaching of academic or professional skills.⁸⁰

The responses of Majembe and Mateus, aligns with Frelimo’s teachings of prioritizing the needs of the nation. This shows that students were engaging with the political education they received and adopting Freilmo’s perspective to their reflections in *Amizade*.

Many of the students reported overcoming struggles in their programs. For example, Basilo Mumale recalled the “many difficulties” he faced in his theoretical and practical courses, having to frequently call on his mentor for help.⁸¹ He said “It was a tough and difficult period, but memorable. Now when I sleep I dream of machines...”⁸² Nihalanane stated that he knew from the beginning that the mechanics program was “demanding,” saying he relied on his peers

⁷⁹ “O meu ponto de vista, João Mateus Fouquisso,” *Amizade* 6, no.5 (1988): 2, Bundesarchiv, DR2/50408, Teil 3 von 3.

⁸⁰ Müller, “Samora’s Children,” 289.

⁸¹ “O meu ponto de vista, Basilo Mumale,” *Amizade* 6, no.6 (1988): 2, Bundesarchiv, DR2/50408, Teil 3 von 3.

⁸² “O meu ponto de vista, Basilo Mumale,” 2.

and mentors for help, in return he was happy to help his colleagues as well.⁸³ The difficulties of their technical training was a notable memory for many of these youth, as they each faced internal struggles both with the adjustment to their programs and the separation from their families.

Students also expressed excitement, particularly for the future. The excitement these students shared was often a reflection of their pride in supporting their nation. For example, Majembe noted that he knows the work he is doing in the SDF will contribute to the economic development of Mozambique.⁸⁴ João Mateus Fouquisso recognized the importance of his role as a tool maker arguing it is a role of “great significance,” that would allow for Mozambique to gain self-sufficiency, and not be so reliant on imported goods, particularly from apartheid South Africa.⁸⁵ The students echoed the language of the party, picturing themselves within the greater notion of nation building in a socialist framework. While the SDF was an international institution, many of these students seemed to be concerned with how they could contribute back home through the lens that Frelimo had provided for them, showing that these schools were a part of the nexus of institutions and program used to reinforce Frelimo’s leadership.

The SDF is representative of how Frelimo sought to invest in youth for both national and international purposes. The migration of youth to the GDR for an educational and vocational program made them apart of a larger network of exchange between socialist nations and Mozambique. During Mozambique’s socialist period 1200 GDR specialists (education, nursing, agriculture) traveled to Mozambique to aid in Mozambican development, while an estimated

⁸³ “O meu ponto de vista, Alide Nihalanane,” 2.

⁸⁴ “O meu ponto de vista, Tomás Majembe,” 2.

⁸⁵ “O meu ponto de vista, João Mateus Fouquisso,” *Amizade* 6, no.5 (1988): 2, Bundesarchiv, DR2/50408, Teil 3 von 3.

20,000 Mozambican worker-trainees joined training specialization programmes in the GDR.⁸⁶

There is no doubt that the technical education of these students intended to respond to the lack of skilled labourers and the need to invest in technical education for the transformation of the nation, but it also aimed to reinforce the socialist leadership of Frelimo through the education and training of youth and young adults in socialist nations, who valued the same ideology. Although the nations' interpretations of socialism did not always align, sending students to socialist nations allowed Frelimo to theoretically ensure that students were not being introduced to other forms of governance with the expectation that socialist attitudes would be reenforced in both classrooms and workplaces.

Marcia Schenck argues that “What drew many of the children was a thirst for adventure and a desire to further pursue their education. Most went into the unknown...”⁸⁷ The school had strict ideological rules and a tight schedule.⁸⁸ Yet, youth are individual actors with the ability to make their own decisions that challenged the school system. For example, Schenck notes there were a number of revolts amongst youth in response to the strictness of the SDF.⁸⁹ Students also engaged in behaviours deemed by Frelimo as “immoral,” such as pre-marital sex, resulting in at least six pregnancies in the first two school years.⁹⁰ The experiences of youth within the school cannot be melted down into one uniform narrative, as 899 students attended the school and had their own experiences and interpretations of the education system. Despite each of these students having their own individual agency, identities, experiences, and ore-existing knowledge, Frelimo

⁸⁶ Schenck, *Remembering African Labor Migration*, 750.

⁸⁷ Marcia C. Schenck, “Small Strangers at the School of Friendship: Memories of Mozambican School Students of the German Democratic Republic,” in, *Histories of Migrant Knowledge: Transatlantic and Global Perspectives*, ed. Andrea Westermann, and Onur Erdur (Washington: German Historical Instiute, 2020), 45.

⁸⁸ Schenck, “Small Strangers,” 52.

⁸⁹ Schenck, “Small Strangers,” 52.

⁹⁰ Verber, “True to the politics of Frelimo?,” 198.

expected each of them to assimilate to the singular identity of the new man, using programs like the SDF to instill these identities.

By the time the students graduated from the program and returned home in the later 1980s the socialist project in Mozambique was unraveling. The toll of the civil war and the sudden death of Samora Machel in 1986 resulted in a rapid decline of the socialist project.⁹¹ Impacting the students, as Schneck suggests “The young adults had been groomed as a revolutionary vanguard workforce for a socialist world that no longer existed upon their return.”⁹² While these students had newfound skills that they hoped to apply towards economic development, they instead were enlisted in the army to fight in the civil war, a path unimagined in the *Amizade* articles. The reality of their return deviated from these students’ expectations, what they learned was still important, yet they were not immediately recognized for the skills they achieved.

The SDF is an important part of the nexus of programs and institutions that had been created to support Frelimo’s socialist goal of transforming society. Frelimo leveraged their alliances to establish socialist education programming intended for youth to learn skills that would aid in growing Mozambique’s economic and industrial sectors, while reinforcing socialist ideology amongst youth. The GDR and Frelimo maintained a tight ideological grip in the hopes of shielding the children from vices and instilling in them the morals and education required to make these children into the new man. Ideally, these students would be the leaders of their fields and be pristine representatives of citizenship. While the comic series *Xiconhoca* defined the differences between the new man and the internal enemy, and the re-education camps acted as

⁹¹ For a history on the decline of socialism in Mozambique see: Margaret Hall, and Tom Young, *Confronting Leviathan : Mozambique since Independence* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997), 189-216.

⁹² Schneck, “Small Strangers at the School of Friendship,” 41.

places of purgatory for the “internal enemies,” the SDF trained youth to become the definition of the new man with the intent to create a generation of leaders at the forefront of national transformation.

Conclusion:

Moral and ideological education is not limited to the confines of a traditional classroom. External programming worked alongside educational institutions to indoctrinate socialist ideas with the intent of maintaining Frelimo leadership. *Xiconhoca*, re-education camps, and the SDF all worked in their own ways to reinforce the curriculum taught within classrooms, as a part of Frelimo’s greater goal of maintaining leadership and transforming Mozambique into a socialist state. *Xiconhoca* worked to aid people in identifying the internal enemy. By establishing “unwanted” behaviours and attitudes through art and juxtaposing them with images of the new man, the comic reinforced Frelimo’s understanding of citizenship while othering those who did not fit within the image as an internal enemy. Re-education camps confined people who were identified as “internal enemies,” and created an external system of reporting that allowed individuals to engage with Frelimo through the act of reporting. Finally, the SDF existed to create an elite groups of students with technical training and a strong sense of ideology, to ensure that there would be a future generation of Frelimo leaders. By filling society with images and institutions that see the achievement of the new man as the moral pinnacle, and the internal enemy as the decline of morality, citizens are left to make up their own mind as to what they choose to identify as with the understanding that there are consequences, such as re-education camps, if one behaved or was accused of behaving immorally. The nexus of programs established to define morality and citizenship, intended to maintain Frelimo’s leadership.

By fostering particular experiences in specific institutions, Frelimo aimed to socialize citizens and signify their leadership as necessary to achieve development. Cross argues that there are four underlying themes of Frelimo's educational goals, the first is, to eradicate colonial and "traditional" systems the second, aligning curriculum and orientations to Frelimo; affirming Frelimo's leadership, and finally the development of the nation, all of which are reflected in the campaigns, instructions and programmes discussed in this chapter.⁹³ State educational programs, curriculums, and institutions act as a mirror to the way in which the ruling party aims to mold society, however if educational scholars and historians only look to educational policy and curriculum as a socializing factor they neglect to recognize the extracurricular programs and material that reinforces what is taught within schools.

Through an analysis of Xiconhoca, reduction camps and the SDF, this chapter pinpointed the importance of recognizing that educational institutions are a part of a nexus. If education is to be successful the theories and concepts need to be supported by external factors such as families and communities. Therefore, propaganda, penal institutions, and international boarding schools helped to create an understanding of the importance of national unity and identifying with the national leadership, not only for oneself, so that they are not excluded or interpreted as the internal enemy, but for the growth of Mozambique. Frelimo enforced a sense of responsibility to protect the nation from "internal enemies" while highlighting a sense of urgency to adopt the nationalist identity of the new man.

⁹³ Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*, 113-114.

Concluding Thoughts:

Frelimo's rhetoric regarding education reveals its centrality to developing a connection between the party and Mozambican people. Understood as a tool of power, Frelimo mobilized education both in the liberation movement and the nation-building project to reinforce socialist ideology, party values, and an understanding of history that bolstered Frelimo's position within society. Classrooms represented spaces to mold children into the ideal citizen, through political education and curriculum Frelimo intended to form a connection between youth and the party. Additionally, by including symbols of education in the nation's emblem and flag, and frequently referencing schooling in speeches and media, Frelimo contextualized education as a part of the Mozambican identity. Analyzing the rhetoric around education allows academics to grapple with the ways education is understood within particular political circumstances, and how governing parties or social movements wield education to challenge, produce or maintain power.

This thesis has highlighted how Frelimo valued education as a tool to develop a sense of nationalism, setting rigid binaries of "good" vs "bad" and "old vs "new" to develop a nationalistic lens that upheld Frelimo, and their upper cadres, as an elite group of leaders. Education is often utilized to implement nationalism, as suggested by Daniel Trölher, "Today's dominant theories of nationalism refer repeatedly to the importance of education in the perpetuation of nationality, but they do so in a generic way."¹ My work seeks to address this issue, using this particular case study I have shown the worth of education to Frelimo as they challenged colonial power and justified their leadership of an independent state that they were not elected to lead. Simultaneously, schools were utilized to perpetuate homogenous identities

¹ Daneil Trölher, "Magical Enchantments and nations silencing," In *World Yearbook of Education 2022 : Education, Schooling and the Global Universalization of Nationalism*, eds. Daniel Trölher, Nelli Piattoeva, and William F. Pinar (Abingdon, OXon ; Routledge, 2021), 15, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003137801>.

intended to eradicate colonial and Western values, in the pursuit of replacing existing regional identities for a socialist inspired identity curated by Frelimo. This sentiment is particularly evident in the post-independence period, when Frelimo needed to instill a sense of shared identity amongst Mozambicans.

Frelimo understood education as a way to secure their leadership. As Michael Cross argues, “For a state established with the primary goal of securing the hegemony for the ruling party, education and schools in particular represented a privileged site to meet such a challenge.”² Through education, Frelimo reinforced their ideologies and values while excluding and punishing those who did not align with the party. With the goal of achieving homogeneity, Frelimo developed a national school program, created educational materials, and established teacher training programs.

The state’s investment in education was an investment in youth, the future citizens and leaders of the state. Understood as the continuers of their revolution, youth held an important role within Frelimo’s vision for a socialist nation.³ Through primary and secondary schools, Frelimo intended to instill a sense of individual responsibility for the nation within students and suggested that Frelimo’s leadership was pivotal to the nation’s success. Youth are often overlooked as historical actors, especially in political histories, however, Frelimo recognized their role as active members in Mozambican society and used education to inform their identities.

The history of education in Mozambique provides a distinctive case study, as Frelimo outwardly expressed their intent for schools to foster a specific understanding of nation and to

² Micahel Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise : Transforming Schools in Mozambique*, (Addis Adaba, Ethiopia: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2011), 65.

³ Eric Allina, “Bright lines and fault lines: the politics of refuge in independence-era Mozambique,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 55, no.3 (2021): 486, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00083968.2020.1869050>.

ideologically indoctrinate students. As noted by Benedito Machava, and Euclides Gonçalves, “Whether in announcing policies or in punishing deviants, the socialist state was generally transparent.”⁴ As evidenced throughout this thesis, Frelimo promoted education as a way to foster unity and nurture socialist ideals. The transparency Frelimo exhibits in their rhetoric allows for a rich analysis of how institutions are perceived as instruments of power, the way governing powers mobilize individuals to engage with these institutions, and the use of media and alternative programs to reinforce the knowledge produced within educational settings.

This project expands on the under-researched, yet critical, historiography of education in Mozambique. By analyzing education through political rhetoric, my work situates education within the contexts of the liberation movement, decolonization, and nation-building, to express how education is valued by Frelimo as a mechanism of power wielded to gain, justify, and maintain their leadership. Although several arguments are made throughout this thesis, I have identified three major points within this work. First is that Frelimo understood education as a tool of power that could inform students sense of identity and nationalism. Second is the use of education to encourage a specific type of citizenship, through the classroom Frelimo aimed to mobilize youth towards adopting the image of the new man. Third is that education promoted exclusionary practices reinforced within schools, othering those who did not align with the image of the new man, Frelimo intended for schools to be spaces where students’ actions and behaviours were regulated to reflect the values of the “ideal citizen.” Ultimately, schools represented an exemplary environment where Frelimo could mold students into adopting their vision for Mozambique.

⁴ Benedito Machava, and Euclides Gonçalves, “The Dead Archive: Governance and Institutional Memory in Independent Mozambique,” *Africa (London. 1928)* 91, no. 4 (2021): 560, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972021000425>.

The challenges of this research

There were several barriers to this research that changed the trajectory of the project, the most prevalent amongst them being the lack of accessible primary sources and the existing historiography. When I began the research, I wanted to better understand educational experiences in relation to the development of political ideology, requiring access to Frelimo textbooks and teaching materials to gauge the extent to which socialist ideology was centred in the classroom. After reaching out to a scholar who has read some of these materials, I realized that it is unlikely that Frelimo's educational sources have survived within the archives. Instead, I relied on digitized materials accessible through *Jstor*, and *Mozambique History Net*.⁵ I am also thankful to my supervisor who has shared his collection of primary sources that he has accumulated over the years. Knowing that I would have to change the direction of my work, I changed my research questions to focus on Frelimo's rhetoric towards education, as speeches, party pamphlets, magazines, and interviews with party elite are more accessible sources.

I began reading the magazine *Tempo* and Samora Machel's speeches, and quickly recognized that education was often featured within the writings of or about Frelimo. The party often connected education back to the process of achieving independence, and the decolonization and transformation of both the individual and nation, sparking increasing questions regarding how education is an instrument of power. While these sources helped me formulate strong research questions I frequently pushed back on them, knowing that they almost exclusively shared the points of political leaders who did not represent the majority of Mozambicans. Through the application of a cultural and political historical approach, I identified that Frelimo's educational programs were inherently political and was used primally to formulate an identity

⁵ "Struggle for Southern Africa," *Jstor Primary Sources*, <https://www.jstor.org/site/struggles-for-freedom/southern-africa>; Colin Darch, *Mozambique History Net*, (2011), <https://www.mozambiquehistory.net>.

inspired by party elite and enforce it on people who are, in many ways, removed from these leaders.

Another challenging aspect to this research is the existing political history of Frelimo, and the lack of historiography of education in Mozambique. In my preliminary research on this topic, I often vented to my supervisors and mentors that I felt as if an individual has read one book about Frelimo, they have read them all. Now I recognize that the reason I initially felt this way is because of the influence of nationalism within Mozambican historiography, a trend noted by scholars such as, João Paulo Borges Coelho, Michael Cross, Benedito Machava, and Eric Allina.⁶ Their work has inspired me to be more critical and push against the nationalist historiography, and instead, recognize the diversity of experiences under Frelimo's leadership. I hope that the historiography continues to develop, and that more work can be dedicated towards diversifying the narratives of the independence movement and the early leadership of Frelimo, to gain a more accurate representation of Mozambican history within these periods.

The handful of academics who research education in Mozambique is small compared to those who study education in other African nations such as, South Africa, Tanzania, and Ghana. Education is a central part of individuals' lived experiences and the way that they see the world, making it a popular research topic, yet Mozambique and many of the other Portuguese speaking African nations have been left out of this conversation. I believe this is due to the fact that these nations did not win independence until after the wave of liberation in the 1960's, making it complicated to place how these nations histories are contextualized within the greater history of

⁶ See: Allina, "Bright lines and fault lines."; Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*.; Benedito Luís Machava, "The Morality of Revolution: Urban Cleanup Campaigns, Reeducation Camps, and Citizenship in Socialist Mozambique (1974-1988)," (ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 2018).; João Paulo Borges Coelho, "Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique: A Set of Epistemological Notes," *Kronos* 39, no. 1 (2013): 20–31.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/26432409>

education in Africa. If more scholars approach a transnational lens that incorporates Lusophone African nation in the history of education, and decolonization, it becomes evident that these nations were greatly influenced by the states who received independence before them, allowing them to approach education with an understanding of the successes and failures other independent nations underwent. While my thesis does not take a continental or transnational approach, it is something I am interested in doing in the future because these connections are critical to understanding the diverse ways education is interpreted within continental and global contexts.

As the field of Mozambican history expands, I hope that scholars continue to push beyond, or look differently, at the histories of the independence movement and the civil war. These two topics are arguably the most popular within recent scholarship of Mozambique, and the majority of work tends to focus on Frelimo. As scholars continue to pursue different avenues of research, I hope that more social and cultural histories regarding topics such as, sports, education, medicine, and the arts within Mozambique are written.⁷ Ultimately, the more topics covered within Mozambican history, the richer historians understanding of lived experience in Mozambique becomes.

Room to grow

There is room for the research presented in this thesis to grow. As this contribution focuses on Frelimo's perception of education, I would like to see this research develop by taking a social historical approach. Through conducting oral histories and accessing school records, academics

⁷ For examples of Mozambican history that approach these social historical topics see: Nuno Domingos, *Football and Colonialism : Body and Popular Culture in Urban Mozambique* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2017). Also, Marco Roque Freitas, and João Soeiro Carvalho, "Performing a Culture, Staging the Revolution: Choral Singing and Traditional Music as Nation-building Tropes in Post-colonial Mozambique," *Nations and Nationalism* 28, no. 1 (2022): 211–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12807>.

can better understand the way Frelimo's educational policies impacted the students who received this education. Allowing room for debate between the expectations regarding the educational experience versus the reality of what was taught within schools. Some academics, like Antoinette Errante, and Cross have had these debates within their work, but to my knowledge there is not an extensive contribution that focuses on student experiences within the classroom.⁸ This would also allow for the recognition of student agency while highlighting the diversity of educational experiences, calling attention to the multiple factors within education required to provide children and youth with a rewarding educational experience.

A social historical approach would also allow for historians to grapple with the extent to which ideology was implemented within education. A significant amount of the rhetoric dedicated to education emphasized the importance of political and ideological education, however, throughout my research I questioned the extent to which teachers facilitated discussions of ideology in comparison to that of literacy, math, or science. Luckily, as 1975 was not that long ago, there are people alive today who attended school during my period of research, if they are willing to share their experiences and someone is willing to approach that research in an ethical manner, I believe that their oral histories can provide a significant contribution to the understanding of how educational institutions functioned in comparison to how Frelimo intended them to function.

In the same breath, it would be interesting to see how a similar project to this one could be done on the way Frelimo discussed other major sectors within society, like health care or agriculture. Analyzing history through political dialogue allows for a deep dive into the way

⁸ See: Antoinette Errante, "The School, the Textbook and National Development: Colonial and Post-Revolutionary Primary Schooling in Portugal and Mozambique, 1926-1992." (Volumes I and II)," ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, (1994).; and, Cross, *An Unfulfilled Promise*.

governing bodies perceive the role of institutions within the context of a particular period. Even more important is understanding how perceptions of intuitions and their role within society change throughout times of political conflict or uncertainty, something I have done by setting my scope from the late colonial period to the early independence period.

Final words

Frelimo's rhetoric regarding education promoted schools as ideal spaces to create the "new man" and the "new nation," where colonial and regional values were purged and replaced with socialist values and mentalities. Youth were understood as the "sap of the nation" who would not only continue Frelimo's transformation but secure their leadership, resulting in schools being perceived as bases where youth would be trained through education.⁹ Frelimo talked profoundly and consistently about education within their public discourse, centering schools as a key proponent to their work both as a liberation movement and as a governing party. By analyzing the discourse regarding the education of children and youth, it is apparent that Frelimo interpreted education as a political instrument, that could mold youth into ideal citizens through knowledge production. In order to do this successfully, the party reinforced a nationalist history and conceptions of the internal enemy that discouraged diverse perceptions of the past and alienated individuals who did not align with the image of the new man. What began as a tool of liberation during the colonial period was adapted to reinforce exclusionary conceptions of citizenship and nation after independence. Education was wielded as a tool to achieve, maintain, and reinforce the political leadership of Frelimo.

⁹ Samora Machel, "Message of Proclamation of Independence for Mozambique," *Africa Today* 22, no. 3 (1975): 8, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4185514>.

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