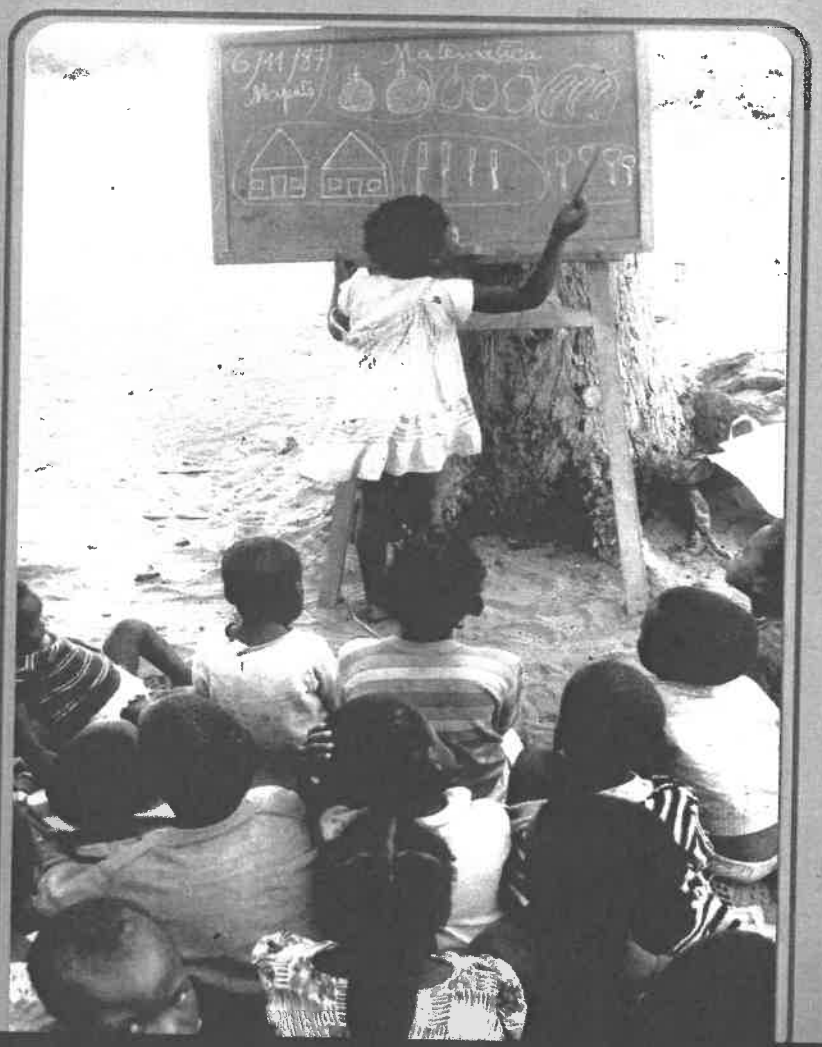
An Unfulfilled Promise

Transforming Schools in Mozambique

Michael Cross



Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA)

Dedication

This book is dedicated to my late mother and father. Deprived of the benefits of education they legitimately deserved, they never ceased to appreciate its value. They tried by all means and against all odds to make sure that their children had good education. This book is largely a product of their sacrifices.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACACIA	Communities and the Information Society in Africa
ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
AIM	*Agência de Informação de Moçambique*
AISI	African Information Society Initiative
CEA	*Centro de Estudos Africanos* (African Studies Centre)
FRELIMO	*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Mozambique Liberation Front)
FUNDEC	*Fundo para o Desenvolvimento de Competências Profissionais*
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDRC	International Development Research Centre (Canada)
IFEP	International Foundation for Education with Production
IIEP	Institute of International Education Planning
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDE	Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação (National Institute for Education Development)
INEFP	Institute of Employment and Training
INLD	*Instituto Nacional do Livro e do Disco* (National Institute for the Book and Disc - Music)
MEC	*Ministério da Educação e Cultura*
MINED	*Ministério da Educação* (MINED)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PIREP	*Programa Integrado da Reforma da Educação Profissional* (Integrated Professional Reform Programme)
PPI	*Plano Prospectivo Indivcativo* (Indicative Prospective Plan)
PRE	*Programa de Reabilitação Económica* (Programme of Economic Rehabilitation)
RENAMO	*Resistência Nacional de Moçambique* (Mozambique National Resistance)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SWAPs	Sector Wide Approaches
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Chapter One
INTRODUCTION

Current intellectual context - internationally and locally - urges for a more critical approach to earlier experiments of social transformation in developing countries without damaging their integrity. There is a need to learn from mistakes and to reclaim examples of good practice. This is what this book is attempting to do. This is particularly important to all African countries if we do not want to repeat the same mistakes or re-invent the wheel where it is already available. This book is not concerned with measuring success or failure. It delineates the main features of the process of national reconstruction with reference to the changes brought about in schools, so as to highlight the tensions and contradictions inherent to the process and how these have been conceptualised and addressed. In this perspective, it examines the experience of Mozambique in the development of and implementation of alternative education policies after independence. It brings to light the complexities and intricacies of transforming[1] schools in the context of two conflicting and contradictory processes of transition: (i) the transition from the worst and most archaic form of authoritarian colonial system of government to a totalitarian and centralised system rooted in a Socialist discourse; and (ii) the departure from a failed Socialist project *en route* to an unknown future dictated by a neo-liberal discourse, liberal democracy and free-market economy.

The promise made to the Mozambican people by the new education concepts pursued by the ruling party has been met with incredible enthusiasm, dedication and effort by the masses as well as the middle class and education officials in both transitions – from the colonial legacy to the Socialist dream and from this to the neo-liberal social and economic project. The process has been a difficult one, as described by the critics and analysts as: 'a difficult road'; 'revolution under Fire'; 'from symbolic Socialism to symbolic reform', and so forth.[2] More than in the years gone by, the challenges have now become overwhelming and the expectations extremely high, while both government officials and the people at large have begun to display signs of political fatigue, well expressed in the widely-known expression of '*deixa andar*' (*laissez passer*) that President Armando Guebuza's government has tried to minimise. The title '*Unfulfilled Promise*' brings to the fore another dimension of the complexity of the Mozambican process, namely that the dream that Mozambique has set around the educational project has not yet come true and remains a major challenge.

Three important historical periods can be distinguished in this process. The first period, which covers the time from independence to 1983, which I refer to as *FRELIMO's positioning*, reflected its concerns with the transformation of the colonial legacy in education, the entrenchment of its

structures and affirmation of its political and ideological orientation in school practice. The second period, from 1983 to the 1990s, which I call *FRELIMO's policy enforcement,* is characterised by the attempts to lay the education foundations for FRELIMO's Socialist project through a much more explicit and systematic education policy strategy based on the principles of Marxism and Leninism. The third period, from 1990s to the present, *policy revisiting*, reflects FRELIMO's shift from Socialist policies towards the espousal of neo-liberal and free-market policies. Within this general framework, this book explores the following main themes:

(i) the colonial legacy;

(ii) the attempts made in the course of the struggle for national liberation to build an alternative education system; (iii) the design and implementation of an education system for transition to Socialism; and

(iii) the process of adjustment and liberalisation of the education system. It also looks at the implications of the recent political changes, which culminated in the rejection of Marxism-Leninism, peace settlement with RENAMO (Mozambican National Resistance), and future prospects in Mozambican education.

The book rests on several epistemological and theoretical foundations. Firstly, it takes history as its point of departure with regard to the problem of educational transformation. Particularly in the African context 'practice without a historically-informed theoretical basis runs the risk of merely perpetuating the existing oppressive social order' inherited from colonialism. Current racist and xenophobic incidents in South Africa bear testimony to this claim. Great political projects have failed because they did not take into account the realism informed by an intellectual command of the particular historical and contemporary circumstances. Whatever reality society has is an historical reality; the future is embedded in the present as the present bears imprints of the past:

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by them, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the minds of the living.[3]

Secondly, the book emphasises a concept of totality as the territory of dialectical thinking, more specifically the conception of social phenomena in their entirety and interrelatedness and not as conglomerates of fragmented and isolated parts. In this regard, the book adopts an interdisciplinary approach bringing together different analytical perspectives to map out what could be more adequately described as the political economy of school reform in Mozambique. Thirdly, this book is an expression of concern with an unresolved paradigmatic battle in educational studies between two traditions: (i) one that views cultural and

educational processes as passive movements determined by the changes in social and economic structures with no space for active social intervention by individuals; and (ii) the other which, with delightful simplicity, asserts that people have heads and brains and can hence act as they choose. Of course it is the real human being, the thinking, willing and acting person, with feelings, needs and interests, who constitutes the precondition for social change. However, people's actions are as much their creation as they are a product of past human experience. Analytically, the book scrutinises changes in the wider economic, social and political context without neglecting the importance of the cultural aspects.

Methodologically the book draws on several research strategies: (i) an extensive review of literature on education reform in Mozambique; (ii) a detailed examination of primary and relevant secondary sources; (iii) interviews with a selected number of people; and (iv) direct observation of major education initiatives on the ground, particularly in schools. The literature review included a general scrutiny of Mozambican educational writings to highlight debates and approaches to educational policy and its impact on schooling as well as state, policy and transition debates. The main bulk of written empirical data was obtained from national and international task teams on education in Mozambique, reports of evidence, reports of national and provincial education departments and authorities, school magazines, newspapers and periodicals, school curricula and correspondence, civic association records, and teacher and student organisation records. Most of these records are located in the following archives: Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education, Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação (INDE), Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, University Eduardo Mondlane including the Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA), and Universidade Pedagógica (UP).

The interviews were held on several occasions with key persons in the Ministry of Education, District and Provincial Departments, and selected primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, including private institutions. My participation as a member of the Task Team that reviewed Finnish aid to the education sector in Mozambique placed me in a privileged position in terms of access to key stakeholders and practitioners in the education sector. These included senior government officials and policy makers, institutional managers, representatives of donor agencies, teachers, academics and researchers. Of importance were also site visits undertaken to provincial departments and selected educational institutions. Unfortunately due to transport constraints my recent site visits were limited to the Southern Mozambique, namely the provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane. Previous visits had been made to the provinces of Sofala, Quelimane, Niassa and Cabo Delgado in Central and Northern Mozambique.

The book poses a challenge to all those concerned with the question of education reform in developing countries, particularly students, teachers

and researchers. Its emphasis on policy formulation and policy implementation issues represents a major source of inspiration to policy makers and politicians. The study covers an important gap in Southern African studies: the question of school reform under conditions of conflict and emergency. Besides this introductory chapter, the book comprises seven main chapters.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter Two – *Legacies of scholarship: conversations on reconstruction and educational reform in Mozambique* - provides an analysis of the epistemological and theoretical perspectives of academic scholarship in the context of the restructuring and transformations underway in Mozambique, particularly Mozambican education. It is a foray into key historical moments in the Mozambican literature on the question of social change and school reform. The purpose is to backtrack these particular moments and review key perspectives that dominated the debates as well as the underlying assumptions and discourses, in order to re-conceptualise intelligently our current theoretical and methodological approaches. As such, the chapter goes beyond the particular theoretical lenses adopted within the narrow boundaries of the debates in the education field to examine wider trends in academic and non-academic scholarship and how these are directly or indirectly reflected in the analyses of school change.

The chapter begins with a short periodisation of the general literature on national reconstruction in Mozambique to contextualise the general conceptual direction and the theoretical issues explored in the rest of the chapter. It then follows with an examination of the ways in which educational analysts have appropriated and utilised the assumptions and concepts emerging from these debates. The chapter shows how earlier accounts and perspectives strictly bound up with concerns for solidarity and support to FRELIMO gave a narrow and ideologically biased accounts of the Mozambican process, a shortcoming that came to be recognised by the scholars involved after the demise of the Mozambican revolution.

Chapter Three – *Promise and deception of colonial education, 1930-1975/6* - examines the education under colonialism, the colonial legacy and the challenges it posed to national reconstruction. The outcome of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique was a legacy of economic and social underdevelopment, with characteristics of a distorted economy: (i) limited capital investment confined to plantations, farming pockets and the main urban areas, and a commercial infrastructure designed to stimulate peasant cash crop production (railways, roads, and stores); (ii) unequal development between rural and urban areas; and (iii) a railway network - where the most significant portion of capital was invested - determined by and subordinated to the interests of the neighbouring countries. The Mozambican society also displayed a typical colonial social structure, which included a colonial bureaucracy, a small class of Portuguese farmers, and a number of Portuguese traders scattered around the country, who

competed with relatively strong pockets of Indian merchants. Among Africans, a few elite of mission-educated Africans, *mulatos* and *assimilados*[4] occupied lower positions in the colonial economy as clerks, interpreters, mission schoolteachers and labour *capatazes* (overseers). In general, all the skilled and semi-skilled positions in the economy, political and social institutions, were reserved for Portuguese settlers most of whom left the country soon after independence.[5] Africans, including *assimilados* and *mulatos* had no access to positions of economic and political leadership. *Mulatos* were urbanised and better educated than the *assimilados*, though their status did not in practice involve much racial equality with white settlers. The education system inherited by FRELIMO reflected this social and economic pattern of development.[6]

Chapter Four – *Preparing to govern: Laying the foundations for a new education system and pedagogy, 1962-1974* - deals with the educational experiments made by FRELIMO in the so-called 'liberated zones', i.e. areas under control of FRELIMO during the war of national liberation. These came to symbolise the creative nature and uniqueness of FRELIMO as a revolutionary liberation movement. Under the banner 'educate man to win the war, create a new society, and develop our country', FRELIMO's secondary school in Dar-es-Salaam and schools in the liberated zones emerged as the laboratory of FRELIMO's educational policies and alternative educational concepts. The argument that the chapter makes posits three interrelated claims. First, emanating from the educational experience of the 'liberated zones', there were new concepts and principles, which formed a basis of an alternative curriculum and a new pedagogy with a revolutionary orientation. These values and principles came to be seen as a solid foundation that would inform the construction of strategies and the educational practice in the building of a Socialist society in Mozambique. Second, this rich experience soon lost its momentum after independence as a result of inadequate conceptualisation and application to the post independence realities and more importantly as a reflection of the increasing spirit of victory or triumphalism, the decline of criticism and self-criticism and consequent lack of problematisation of political practice as made up of setbacks and contradictions within FRELIMO ranks. The consequence was an overestimation of FRELIMO's own capacity to engage successfully in a social engineering project of such magnitude, which had disastrous consequences.

Chapter Five – *Changing schools in Mozambique: national and institutional policy pathways, 1975-1990* – looks at schooling change as a strategy for building a Socialist society in Mozambique. FRELIMO's strategy was to extend the experience of the 'liberated zones' to the rest of the country, which proved to be a daunting task for the newly appointed government. The chapter reviews the main steps introduced after independence to align education with FRELIMO's Socialist project. The first is the Beira conference, which reviewed the colonial education system and explored strategies on how the experience of the 'liberated zones'

could be applied to the rest of the country. The second is the national literacy campaign, perhaps the most successful national education project in the post-independence period. The third concerns the nationalisation of educational institutions and its implications.

On the positive side, significant changes had been made in the economic, social and political life of Mozambicans as well as in education. By the late 1970s, Mozambique displayed a mixture of both Socialist command economy with a considerable state and co-operative sector and features of a colonial-capitalist legacy.[7] The production process in many sectors had assumed collective forms through co-operatives and communal villages. On the downside, the shifts towards socialism were not, however, without considerable costs and struggles. In fact, as discussed in the following chapter, the symptoms of a major national crisis by far outweighed the achievements. In this regard, the chapter sets the scene for the following chapter by looking at the effects of the changes introduced by government in the context of the conditions leading to the crisis of the Socialist project and the departure to a neo-liberal macro-economic development strategy.

Chapter Six – *Crisis, adjustment and liberalisation in Mozambican education* – examines the transition to a new education system driven by global pressures and rooted in a neo-liberal ideology. Education in any society represents an important ideological apparatus with a crucial role in both the reproduction and transformation of dominant ideas in society. Very soon, the Mozambican revolution found itself under attack from different fronts:

1) direct military aggression from the minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa;
2) increasing internal opposition spearheaded by RENAMO; and
3) undeclared economic sanctions against Mozambican Government because of its Socialist orientation. These factors led the economy and social services to an almost total collapse, with serious implications for the education system: general degradation of the schooling system, deterioration of teachers' working conditions and substantial exodus of teachers from the teaching profession into more profitable jobs in business and the informal sector.[8]

The Fifth Congress of FRELIMO in 1989 acknowledged the increasing crisis facing Mozambican education, particularly the lack of financial resources and the consequent difficulties in moving towards universal basic education. In response to a wider crisis of its political and economic system, FRELIMO announced a shift from Marxist-Leninism to a free market economy. It is in this context that structural adjustment policies, previously seen as a recipe for neo-colonialism and dependence, were aggressively endorsed by FRELIMO and regarded as a way for rejuvenating modernisation and revitalising the severely crippled Mozambican economy and education system. This opened room for a re-

conceptualisation of the goals of the education system in Mozambique. It was in this context that the ideal of national reconciliation came to be regarded as an important educational goal in Mozambique.

Chapter Seven – *Curriculum policies and processes: the colonial legacy and the challenge of national reconstruction* - explores the curriculum process after independence in Mozambique. When curriculum review began, concerned educationists at INDE were tentatively talking about the need for a curriculum for national reconciliation or national unity for building a Mozambican nation as opposed to a curriculum for Socialist transformation. This, they argued, privileged only one sector of the nation, namely the working class and FRELIMO's leadership. According to this view, social, cultural, economic, ethnic and linguistic diversity should be embodied in the national curriculum.[9] Along these lines there was an attempt to reformulate the concept of 'New Man', which gave rise to the concept of 'Mozambican Man'. This implies that to achieve national objectives, the interests of other forces should be accommodated, and there should be an attempt to value cultural diversity.[10]

The concept of 'Mozambican Man' would only materialise through 'national reconciliation', which is seen as a primary goal that the education curriculum should address. The *National Education Policy and Strategies for Implementation* introduced in 1995 recognises that national unity is 'an essential premise in the democratic society that we are building and should be based on respect for diversity of ideas, cultural traditions, religious convictions, ethnic origins and gender'.[11] This is advocated as a reaction to education in the 'liberated zones' and under the First Republic,[12] which, it is argued, stressed national unity rooted in a peasant-worker alliance as advocated by the Third Congress of FRELIMO in 1977.

In practice, attempts at re-formulating Mozambican educational goals have been translated into systematic efforts towards introducing a bilingual approach to literacy programmes and adult education, research into indigenous languages, and search for alternative curriculum development models, particularly the pursuit of the notion of *local curriculum*. The introduction of a new constitution, which has dissociated public institutions, including those concerned with education, from party politics, has rendered important sections of the core curriculum and school syllabus out of date, which were still structured around the idea of the 'New Man'. The process raised a great need for conceptual, theoretical and methodological re-formulations of schooling in the light of the changing geo-political environment in Mozambique.

Chapter Eight – *Conclusion*: concentrates on the main theoretical insights emerging from the study.

Chapter Two

LEGACIES OF SCHOLARSHIP: CONVERSATIONS, RECONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION REFORM IN MOZAMBIQUE

Effectively challenging colonial and postcolonial narratives that flatten the multidimensional experiences of disadvantaged peoples (Cooper 1994) is a formidable intellectual task. It requires a commitment to critical and creative inquiry, and the exploration of new methodologies. It entails listening carefully to those whose voices the privileged and powerful strove to silence. It necessitates the discovery of buried or little-used sources. And it demands a critical reading of texts and an appreciation of the politics of memory. In short, it entails a type of 'relentless erudition' (Said 1994, xviii).

Introduction

This chapter takes up a common thread in this book by drawing attention to the need for theoretical criticism in studies of education in Mozambique. It is a foray into selected available literature to show that it is not only possible, but also necessary to step back, backtrack, review and re-conceptualise the existing accounts of the Mozambican experience in education reform. The aim is to come to grips with my own analytical tools for a set of phenomena that have become distant from my everyday experience and to encourage the tradition of examining our experiences in the African continent not as unchangeable texts but as complex, contradictory and uneven processes. It is a response to an appeal already made by De Bragança[13] and Depelchin in their inspiring master piece *From the Idealisation of FRELIMO to the Understanding of the Recent History of Mozambique* published in 1986 by the Centre of African Studies in Maputo.[14]

The chapter argues that the dominance of ideology either out of compassion and solidarity or out of passionate opposition with regard to the Mozambique strategic choices has been a major limitation in many analyses of the Mozambican experience. The experience of Mozambique is either misrepresented or filled with the distortions of the past to serve or justify the present. This is not a claim for political innocence or ideological non-engagement/neutrality in scholarly work. I proceed in this chapter from the view that all knowledge is positioned; it is impossible to conduct value-neutral research. However, as Penvenne has suggested, 'There are times when no matter how much you want something to be good, it just isn't'.[15]

Given the scarcity of educational literature, particularly in the early periods after independence, the chapter draws on wider debates about Mozambique, and makes the connections to or explores the implications for education.

Epistemological and Methodological Foundations of Mozambican Scholarship in Education: A Conceptual Framework

In so far as post-colonial educational scholarship is concerned, there have been different 'intellectual formations' and consequently different intellectual and academic identities. Muller uses the concept of 'intellectual formation' to refer to a group of persons who share certain epistemic, political and pragmatic interests and who, because of this commonality, exhibit a common consciousness.[16] For him, intellectual formations conventionally share an ideology (a set of beliefs about the social order, in this case, connected to the role of social theory in systemic, institutional or social change) and a social-epistemology (a certain conception of knowledge and its relation to society). Related to this is also the fact that academic scholarship is not only a question of construction of knowledge but also of selection (of events, names and meanings) and of silences within the education analytical domain.[17] These constitutive conditions of intellectual formations change as social conditions change. They are behind the rise and fall of intellectual movements, paradigms and theories. I use this aspect as my lens to highlight the distinctiveness of key moments in Mozambican post-independence scholarship and to delimit competing clusters of thought in each moment.

Muller also uses the notions of *knowledge for* and *knowledge of* to distinguish how intellectuals/academics place and position themselves in the relationship of theory vis-à-vis practice, knowledge production vis-à-vis knowledge utilisation or policy development vis-à-vis policy implementation.[18] Accordingly, there are those who feel constrained to deploy a positive or instrumentalist notion of knowledge (*knowledge for*) – reconstructors - and those who lean to the classic view of intellectual work that should only and always be *knowledge of* – critics. This is a very important distinction for understanding how analysts position themselves with respect to knowledge in the context of the Socialist transformation. It allows us to conceptualise and locate existing practices within academia across a continuum, 'from a pole of pure intellectualism (knowledge for knowledge's sake, the disengaged intellectual) through to a pole of pure activism (knowledge for power, so to speak), with nuances between weak interventionism and strong interventionism'.[19] This chapter holds that what we see in Mozambican scholarship is a gradual shift from the pure and disinterested intellectualism (theory without politics) permitted by colonial authorities to the almost pure intellectual activism that dominated solidarity or engaged scholarship in the 1970s and 1980s.[20]

The notions of *knowledge for* and *knowledge of*, while useful in emphasising applicability and the link between theory and practice, fall short of explaining what framed research choices and shaped research practice in the context of Socialist transition in Mozambique. This is because they are confined to intellectuals within the academy, though their work is critical to political practice. In Gramsci's terms only 'organic intellectuals' were allowed to flourish under FRELIMO's Socialist regime, i.e. those who grow 'organically' with the dominant social group, the ruling class, and represent the thinking and organising element through which the ruling class maintains its hegemony over the rest of society. 'Traditional intellectuals' or those who regarded themselves as autonomous and independent of the ruling class had no space in the context of the Mozambican revolution. For this reason, the chapter has also resorted to Isaacman's notion of *engaged scholarship* or *activist scholarship*.[21] The search for more balanced academic practice and critical scholarship began only from the late 1980s into the 1990s.

Isaacman suggests that engaged or activist scholars: (i) 'combine advocacy and scholarship', particularly oppositional scholarship; (ii) 'challenge existing social hierarchies and oppressive institutions as well as the truth regimes and structures of power that produced and supported them'; (iii) show commitment to changing the status quo (do not just critique it); (iv) are uniquely positioned to confront dogmas and inherited orthodoxies in the academic and the wider world; and (v) have the voices and the concerns of the poor, powerless, disadvantaged or underrepresented and the oppressed at heart.[22] Engaged scholarship can assume different forms, 'including promoting human rights, global justice and peace, involvement in anti-colonial and anti-imperialist campaigns, grassroots organising, working in transnational NGOs, or speaking out as public intellectuals'.[23] In line with Gramsci, for them: 'the mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence … but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organiser, "permanent persuader" and not just a simple orator….'[24]

Overall Scenario

Published literature and scholarly studies on education in Mozambique are scarce.[25] There are several reasons for this. First, Portuguese colonialism had suppressed all forms of research and academic expression, including the development of any significant educated elite. Second, debates within Portuguese scholarship remained silent on colonialism and postcolonialism. Third, the limited research conducted after independence was product of a generation of scholars who were to a large extent themselves engaged with the colonial regime. Under such circumstances, Mozambique could not replicate and sustain the legacies of scholarship and levels of engagement with colonial forms of knowledge pioneered by authors as Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi and Amílcar Cabral. This is exacerbated by the fact that, generally, education has not constituted a relevant issue in Mozambican

The impact of the Africanist scholarship was felt in different ways. Africanist scholars played a critical role in mapping out the legacies of pre-colonial Mozambique. They added to the contestation of the colonial power and its legacies by exposing the imperialist agenda of the Portuguese 'civilising mission' and the myth of 'lusotropicalism' used to justify Portuguese colonial hegemony. They were instrumental in subverting the dominant Eurocentric narrative of Mozambican process. Overall they exposed the young generation of Mozambican scholars to the wider debates on critical issues affecting the continent and nurtured and initiated them into new domains of scholarship.

In the same context, a new generation of Mozambican scholars, attempting to break away from the colonial historiographical and analytical legacy and problematise it, stepped in, encouraged by the newly-appointed rector of the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane and historian of FRELIMO, Fernando Ganhão. This initial pool included, for example, Teresa Cruz e Silva, Carlos Serra, Luis de Brito, Nogueira da Costa, Moreira da Costa, Isabel Casimiro and Yussuf Adam. New layers of historians and sociologists were to join later. With exception of Ganhão, they were all new graduates with Bachelors Degrees from the University of Lourenço Marques. Scholars such as Aquino de Bragança, Jacques Depelchin and David Hedges mentored them. Unfortunately this rejuvenating movement never paid attention to educational issues. Their privileged themes included: (i) the Gaza Kingdom and heroics of Gungunhana;[38] (ii) trade and the impact of merchant capital in the early days of colonial penetration in Mozambique;[39] (iii) analyses of the national and democratic revolution of FRELIMO and of the experiences of the liberated zones.[40] The latter involved the only educational analyses of significance. Only Mazula showed interest in traditional forms of education in these early days.

Knowledge for Socialist Transformation: The Search for an Emancipatory Epistemology

The independence of Mozambique also gave rise to a scholarship of engagement both internationally and nationally focussed on FRELIMO's Socialist project. According to Serra, one major question received attention from this scholarship: *How to change the country into a Socialist country?*[41] The Centro de Estudos Africanos or CEA (Centre for African Studies) was purposively established in collaboration with Universidade Eduardo Mondlane to provide intellectual support to the revolution in Mozambique. International scholars directly or indirectly linked to the Centro de Estudos Africanos dominated the debates during these years, fascinated by FRELIMO's audacity or saddened by the sacrifices endured by the Mozambican people throughout the revolutionary process. Attached to or associated to CEA were scholars such as Ruth First (Director of CEA), Alpheus Manghezi, Marc Wuyts, Bertil Egero, Bridget O'Laughlin, Robert Davies, Sipho Dlamini, Colin Darch, Barry Munslow, Jacques

Depelchin, all based or linked to Centro de Estudos Africanos, and others such as John Saul, Joseph Hanlon and Judith Marshall.[42]

Plate 1. Ruth First - Director of the Centro de Estudos Moçambicanos

Those based in the Centre were assembled on the basis of their analytical unity as Marxists capable of making their work relevant to the process of Socialist transformation and of applying a scientific materialist analysis to the problems of Socialist revolution, and like their students, they shared this common position with FRELIMO.[43] Their biographies shared some common features:

- some history of political activism;
- first-hand experience in Mozambique that enhanced their scholarship;
- written for an audience beyond the narrow boundaries of the academy;
- helping to transform the terms of scholarship and intellectual debates in Mozambique; and
- challenging the dogmatic euphoria and the orthodoxies.[44]

Their writings focused on themes such as: colonial economy and patterns of colonial exploitation and transformation of the systems of production

inherited from the colonial economy. These included a variety of sub-themes such as the class structure in Mozambique, dependent economy inherited from colonialism, the plantation economy, peasant cash crop economy, migrant labour economic integration in Southern Africa; relations between state and workers. These themes provided a basis for addressing issues like problems in the socialisation of the countryside, development of state farms, collectivisation and cooperativisation of family agriculture, communal villages, and labour migration. The principles underpinning its research agenda were outlined in a paper published by the Centre in 1986:

> In Mozambique ... it is not possible to comprehend the present situation without understanding the history of FRELIMO, which began as a national liberation movement, and through a series of struggles conducted during the liberation war, and afterwards and continuously during the independence period, rejected nationalism to emerge with a class line. FRELIMO's capacity not only to develop a class line, but to apply it organisationally to winning concrete struggles allowed it to take power, and to define a strategy of Socialist development. It is this political unity, which defines the areas of action for social research in Mozambique today. The strategy of Socialist transition, based on a class-alliance between peasants and workers, defined by FRELIMO, has affected the research of the Centre of African Studies in three principal ways: first, in the choice of research problem; secondly in the unity of research with teaching and the application of research; and thirdly, by setting the analytical unity within which the research is conceived and executed, and within which the Centre operates as a whole.[45]

The Centre of African Studies brought in what could be labelled '*an activist conception of research*',[46] which Isaacman refers to as *engaged scholarship*. There are several defining dimensions to such a conception in the context of the CEA. First, it is research that is not aimed to produce 'definitive research studies but rather to make social research an acceptable step in the formulation and implementation of policy'.[47] Second, it is research that is conducted from the perspective of social transformation and has to confront the actual problems of that transformation, or more specifically, research that is 'a tool of the Mozambican revolution'. Third, it placed emphasis on the link between theory and practice, particularly in the application of Marxist theory and method. In Muller's perspective, this is close to pure intellectual activism.[48] The Centre provides the following picture about its development research-training course:

> Over time a curriculum has been devised which has four principal aspects to reflect the elements considered central in the training of social researchers in Mozambique. In the first place the course aims to give a solid introduction to Mozambican political economy: the colonial economy, the development of FRELIMO, the present strategy of development and practical problems of implementation. Here the Centre relies to a great extent on work already done by the Centre in previous courses; through its investigations the course manufactured texts which can be used both by the Centre and by other educational programmes. Secondly, the course locates the experience of Mozambique within its regional context; it concentrates particularly on the principal contradictions within South Africa itself and how these weigh in regional development. Thirdly the course has to be oriented by a particular research project, linked with a specific problem in Mozambique's strategy of Socialist development. In the first half of the course there is work done on research design - the definition of the questions, formulation of hypotheses and discussion of methods. The research projects chosen involve fieldwork so that students can experience themselves how data is collected and organised and analysed. In part the fieldwork is of course also intended to put students and staff directly in touch with problems of transition at the base level. In the second half of the course the material is analysed and written up, locating this research in more general problems of Socialist transformation in Mozambique.[49]

The *Estudos Moçambicanos*, the journal of the Centro de Estudos Africanos, became the principal vehicle for dissemination of this scholarship. Its first issue was published in 1980. Ironically, education never constituted a matter of interest in the Centre's research programme, in spite of the emphasis FRELIMO gave to education in economic development.

Very little contribution came from Mozambican scholars. Generally these limited voices also operated within the dominant discourse of Marxism-Leninism using the philosophical perspective of dialectical materialism and the analytical tools of historical materialism. They gave themselves three main tasks: (i) to re-write the history of Mozambique drawing on the increasingly popular Marxist political economy; (ii) uncover the experiences of the national liberation struggle and the liberated zones; and (iii) highlight emerging revolutionary experiences in different *spheres of social life under FRELIMO*.[50] For Serra, the challenge entailed many things:

> It entailed the knowledge of the Mozambican reality; what the colonial legacy represented and the knowledge of African history. We had in the Department of History the whole field of African history, which did not exist before ...together with the history of Mozambique which also was ignored those days. In the colonial time, Mozambique was made up of tribes, customs and things reported in the ethnographies of Rita Ferreira, the work on Portuguese presence in Mozambique by Alexandre Lobato, and things like these. A new approach to Mozambican history began with Nogueira da Costa, who studied how capital operated under colonialism. This constituted the main question. It is the question about how capital operates that was appropriated by the Centro de Estudos Africanos.[51]

It was in this context and more specifically in the 1976-77 years that the first volumes of the texts of Mozambican history were produced to replace colonial textbooks. *The Cadernos de História* and the three volumes of the

História de Moçambique were generated in this context. For Clarence-Smith, the three volumes reflected a great deal of the exciting new research that the young team of historians in post-independence Mozambique had been able to undertake; they were textbooks aimed at secondary school and university students rather than 'works of scholarship'.[52] Epistemologically and theoretically, they can be located at the interface of the dominant Africanist and the bourgeoning Marxist discourses where the rediscovery of the past takes place through the lenses of class analysis very often applied in a mechanistic manner: traditional chiefs as 'an oppressive and usurping class in the service of Portuguese colonialism'; 'Portugal as mere intermediary for the "real" imperialist powers'; 'notions of "unequal exchange" and of trade with Europe not stimulating production', and so forth.[53] The political epistemology guiding their approach is implicit in what could be labelled as their introductory manifesto:

> We want that 'this' writing, that 'this' history, that 'this' way of writing history to be a form of struggle. We want it to be our gift, a Socialist gift in action, a gift of the struggle against the exploitation of man by man....[54]

However, beyond the limited efforts along these three trends in the 1970s and 1980s, it is not an overstatement to say that for the Mozambican young scholars, as in the colonial period, academic scholarship remained under siege. Penvenne points out correctly that among 'many things that did not figure as part of Mozambique's colonial heritage was a vigorous tradition of historical scholarship.'[55] Unfortunately, the new Socialist regime provided little space for scholarly research, and all research for development took place within FRELIMO's party circles. Beyond this, FRELIMO expected all social research to support the ideals of Socialist transformation. The little scholarly research there took place under the auspices of the Centro de Estudos Africanos, the re-energised Department of History or the rejuvenated Instituto de Investigação Científica that hosted CEA. Overall, education analyses remained absent or very thin. No significant research took place in the newly established Faculty of Educational Sciences at the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane.

Celebrating the Mozambican Revolution, 1977-1990: 'We overestimated the scope of FRELIMO's achievement and underestimated the seriousness of the weaknesses attendant upon its efforts.'[56]

The general feature of this particular period is the absence of national and international texts that critically and objectively scrutinise the forms, content, limitations and contradictions of the Mozambican revolution without falling into a reductionism of some kind – factual or ideological or of emphasis[57] – which distort what had emerged as a very complex process. This is true for all analysts operating from either radical or conservative discourses. Two contradictory trends emerged during this period in the studies of the Mozambican revolution: (i) those who set themselves the task of providing an ideological justification of the Mozambican process;[58] and (ii) those who radically opposed or were very critical of this process.[59]

Out of sympathy or solidarity, the first group of analysts never succeeded in reconciling an objective and constructive critique 'without falling into academic paternalism or blind triumphalism', producing consequently propaganda accounts 'whose usefulness would be limited to functional counter-ideology'.[60] This can be illustrated by several publications; some of them dealing with the education reform, which appeared in this period, driven by several reasons but particularly out of commitment to 'internationalism'[61] or support to the Mozambican progress. This is the case for example of the books by Barry Munslow, Allen and Barbara Isaacman, Joseph Hanlon and John Saul and Anton Johnston,[62] which had considerable influence on Mozambican scholarship, as reflected in current analyses by Mozambicans.[63] All their works have much to be commended and draw on first-hand experience.

The ideological premises of these texts are made explicit in the tone of the titles, subtitles and key nomenclature: 'Revolution under Fire', 'A Difficult Road', 'Transition to Socialism', 'Education for Socialism', 'Preparing the Transition to Socialism', 'Making Education Revolutionary', 'A longa marcha duma 'educação para todos' em Moçambique' (Long march to education for all in Mozambique), or as Bragança and Depelchin put it, an attempt to contrast the 1975 victorious FRELIMO and the 1985 FRELIMO displaying signs of fatigue, despair and defeat. Their primary and sometimes secondary purpose is 'the glorification of FRELIMO, its rules, policies, and leadership',[64] perceived as expression of commitment to *engaged scholarship*. Grundry highlights the fact that Saul ends his book with the famous catchphrase 'the struggle continues' and with an honest personal note about his engagement in FRELIMO's struggle.[65] A contributor to Sauls' collection and former *cooperante* in Mozambique, Marshall also ends with a similar note: 'I no longer have the comfortable option, as I did in Canada, of dissociating myself from the system at will'.[66] Like many other writings at the time, theirs could be seen as analyses from the perspective of support of the political discourse of FRELIMO without confronting the complex reality of the Mozambican process. These texts failed to come to grips with the contradictions that had led to the increasing crisis of Socialist transformation.[67]

Munslow's *Revolution and its Origins*, which concentrates on the pre-1975 period, is peppered with the official ideological pronouncements to highlight the shaping of FRELIMO's 'correct ideological line', which underpins the successes and victories of the liberation struggle. Isaacmans' *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution* starts with a glance at the years 1500 to 1962 and then concentrates on FRELIMO's armed struggle and Mozambique after independence. Johnston gives a sophisticated account of the Mozambican revolution based on the orthodoxy of historical and dialectical materialism. Saul's collection includes one of the first systematic reflections of the early stages of educational reform in Mozambique. Its general account stands out as relatively more open and critical; it is very close to the best of Marxist scholarship ever written on

Mozambique. Overall, in all their accounts we are left with a somewhat predictable, romantic and mystical explanation of the Mozambican process, 'a difficult road' where the unfolding of events is tied up to a particular logic, 'where there are stumbles, they are attributed to human error, class backsliding, sabotage, external interventions, and faulty application of the orthodoxy'.[68]

Perhaps the most obvious slippage in engaged scholarship (more visible in the Isaacmans and Munslow) was the blind acceptance of the ruling party's claim that it represented the people of Mozambique in its entirety and the dismissal of all other political organisations as a manifestation of opportunism. While FRELIMO's position could certainly be interpreted as an expression of its political pragmatism, analytically and in the context of scholarly work it is difficult to comprehend the endorsement of such a claim against the powerful voice of empirical evidence pointing to the contrary: earlier schisms that that led to the 1968 crisis, the proliferation of political parties after the 1974 Accord. As will be shown the following chapters, in education, for example, signs of opposition were visible at the workshops, seminars and other gatherings. There was passive resistance in schools and so forth, though no room existed for an outright opposition. It soon became clear that opposition would not 'disappear with a tagging'.[69] Historically no radical change has taken place in world history without a degree of opposition, passive or active. As in many other historical instances (e.g. South Africa under apartheid), the use of ideologically-loaded categories such as 'terrorists', 'communists', 'bandits' (*bandidos armados*), '*xiconhonhas*' etc., depending on which side of the divide one positions oneself to deal with opposition and resistance, has certainly constrained scholarly work.

The failure of engaged scholarship has been located at different levels of social analysis:

> ... Many have simply accepted the founding myths of the People's Republic of Mozambique (PRM): the Marxist-Leninist credentials of the party, the Socialist character of the social transformation, the popular character of power, the worker-peasant class nature of the state, and so on - all of which raise some problems regarding the basic concepts with which we should work. Given this basic framework, it was only possible to discuss 'the errors' of the party and not its basic orientation, 'the inability of the state to follow the correct party line' and not the basic principle of the single party (poder popular), the inadequate support given to the communal villages and not the decision to create them. It was impossible to debate the existence or non-existence of a nation, a literacy programme that was only in Portuguese (and not in African languages), or oppressive anti-tribalism. And of course, the war that began to tear the country apart from 1977 onwards had to be seen as exclusively external - a war of aggression, and not a civil war. More generally, there was an overestimation of the significance of political discourse in the characterisation of the state - 'the party in power is Marxist, therefore the state is worker-peasant or Socialist'.... What is surprising is that so many Western and Marxist sympathisers have abandoned their ABC of Marxist state analysis in order to be able to say that Mozambique was Socialist - until very recently. Previously it was said that the state was Socialist, had a 'worker-peasant' class character.[70]

Engaged Scholarship Revisited: The Search for Critical Scholarship

Bragança and Depelchin's view, which I share in this book, emphasises the imperative *to deepen criticism* in order to strengthen the ranks of those who struggled for Socialist transformation in Mozambique. An important epistemological and theoretical insight from Bragança and Depelchin lies in their suggestion that the foundations of a suitable methodology for assessing the role of FRELIMO in the post-colonial period and the nature of the Mozambican revolution lies in FRELIMO's earlier political discourse:

> What was attempted here was to show that it is possible to produce a problematised history of FRELIMO, from within that very history. And this history can help to reflect and study the current phase. The texts of FRELIMO can provide a guideline for constructing a mobilizing history, but the texts do not contain this history. In order to produce a mobilizing history, it is necessary, as President Samora has pointed out to abandon the spirit of victory.[71]

For them the points of departure for, such as methodology, include:

(i) 'The spirit of victory is a manifestation of left opportunism' as well as right opportunism;

(ii) the need to emphasise an overall view of things and to propose solutions without ignoring mistakes;

(iii) criticism and self-criticism instead of backbiting, open discussion in lieu of intrigue; and

(iv) the need for problematisation of the sources. From such a framework, a number of theoretical insights concerning the experience of FRELIMO become more visible. First, contrary to the picture articulated in triumphalist accounts, the experience of FRELIMO and the Mozambican revolution was not just an experience of victories, but also an experience that entailed major setbacks and contradictions. Second, the complexities and contradictions of the Mozambican society cannot not be understood or explained within the narrow framework of FRELIMO's experience in the liberated zones. Third, the fact that FRELIMO waged a systematic war against the forces opposing its revolutionary ideals in the liberated zones does not mean that these have been eliminated. Fourth, the problems faced by FRELIMO did not only come from outside; some were the result of internal errors.[72]

In addition, Bragança and Depelchin challenged all forms of essentialism attached to the idea of Socialist transformation – a distinctive feature of the approach adopted by the Centre of African Studies and its associates. Contrary to Eastern European influences that portrayed Marxism as a blueprint for all socialism aspiring countries, they pushed for a non-dogmatic approach to Marxism. Bragança and Depelchin insisted on making Marxist theory serve the peculiar historical circumstances of Mozambique informed by the discussion and debate based on the knowledge of its concrete conditions, which challenges prescribed wisdoms and common dogmas about Socialist transformation in Mozambique. In other words, 'if a Marxist history was going to be written it had to be built from the ground where that history actually took place and not from some abstract theories'. Most importantly, they warned against the totalising and homogenising posture that began to dominate FRELIMO circles, an expression of the failure to account for cultural, linguistic and ideological differences that divided Mozambican society. Analytically this was expressed through conceptual polarisations and dichotomies (e.g. Marxists/Socialists vis-à-vis *pequena burguesia*; FRELIMO vis-à-vis the enemy/*xiconhoca*), the tendency to essentialise periods, concepts and terminology (capital vis-à-vis labour; revolutionaries vis-à-vis reactionaries) and factual reductionism ('It was not a small group which waged people's war in Mozambique. It was the entire people').

Shaping a Critical Intellectual Space

The idea of reclaiming an intellectual space is implicit in the collection *Moçambique – 16 anos de historiografia: focos, problemas, metodologias, desafios para a década de 90* published in 1991.[73] 'I have to write something' (Tenho mesmo que escrever qualquer coisa), are words used by Jacinto Veloso, a former minister and senior FRELIMO member, in the introduction to his book *Memórias em Voo Rasante*.[74] It shows one of the key drivers in Mozambican intellectual renaissance: so much has happened and so little has been said. It appears that the logic of the free-market ideology, the logic of multi-party elections, internal and external pressures for freedom of expression, liberated Mozambicans, including FRELIMO senior officials themselves, to express themselves in and outside political parties, civic societies or NGOs, and most importantly within academia.[75]

Two defining features can be found in this revitalisation of scholarship. First, Mozambique has seen a sudden and massive proliferation of studies by Mozambican scholars on economic, political and social aspects of Mozambican society. I was surprised in this visit (compared to my previous visits) to see in the bookstores numerous publications by Mozambicans, including academics, politicians[76] and ordinary people in various domains of academic and social life, which suggested the advent of a rejuvenating academic renaissance in Mozambican scholarship. I am still grappling with the epistemological discourses underpinning this wave of publications. The chapter can only offer basic working hypotheses.[77]

Second, while some of these publications still suffered from the traditional romanticisation of FRELIMO's achievements,[78] most of them adopted approaches rooted in neo-liberal discourses and globalisation perspectives, a sort of *revisionism* rooted in *neo-liberal* discourses. Serra puts it with a great deal of humour: 'Basically what happened is that we re-entered the market economy and obviously reflections within social sciences changed in line to the new paradigm of life: '*The question is no longer about explaining how capital functions and how to avoid that it functions that way but about how to make capital function*'.[79] Third, the irony of this revisionism when applied to FRELIMO's legacy is the attempt to tell the untold revolutionary theory of Eduardo Mondlane, which has been neglected for many years under the dominance of Machelism.[80] This effort is present for example in Veloso and Magode, where Mondlane's vision of nation building is highlighted.[81] The collection *Democracia e Desenvolvimento*, published by Associação Joaquim Chissano, stands up as almost a manifesto of this new perspective.[82] A new trend in it is the increasing concern with the building of democracy, the peace process, human rights and gender issues, which to some extent reflects regional and global trends. Tackling issues ranging from citizenship and participation in policy life, business in the context of globalisation, culture, human rights and democracy, it sets out to promote debate about development, educational and democratisation processes where the individual occupies centre stage.

Critical scholarship is also linked to the emerging critique through varied means – literature, music or artwork - from people of varied social backgrounds, including the academy and wider social movements, driven by the increasing social crisis in the country:

> Firstly, there is a series of critical studies, not only at the level of social sciences but also critical reflexions that take place through blogs. Note that blog – an area that has not been studied - has today become an epicentre of critique for sociologists and economists. It has expanded considerably. The people who make use of the so-called information and communication technologies to create social spaces and even coalitions of social critique, questioning and raising problems.... We have a nucleus of social scientists in various areas which wages a critique of the model of development of the country.... Secondly, an activity, which though new, has developed considerably during the last three years the blog *esfera*; the Mozambican blog *esfera* has grown. It involves lawyers, economists and sociologists. Thirdly, we have a phenomenon that has taken a hard and vindictive expression within Mozambican music. It is a movement that started with the late Jeremias Nguenha, who criticised fiercely those who get rich at the expense of those who always remain poor: the famous song 'La famba bicha'. Nguenha passed away and his successors have emerged with new musical styles. You have the Gebrotal with the famous Gebrotane band that produced the song,'O Pais da Marrabenta', a strong critique, and recently, the distinguished Azagaia (Edson da Luz)[83] with the song 'Marcha e as

> mentiras'.... It is a movement through music of social intervention with declared political manifestos....[84]

Cruz e Silva, for example, gave a similar account:

> You begin to see writers and musicians who analyse the current situation in the country and many young people who are extremely critical; thus you begin to have music of contestation from young generation, which I believe one has to analyse to understand what is going on in the country. And you begin to find good national writers; Joao Paulo is an exceptional example, who uses fiction and novels to portray the reality of the country ... and the book of Paulina Chiziane which discusses 'traditional' issues – other kind of education.[85]

There are, however, important manifestations of continuity or influences from the most recent policy and intellectual legacies worth mentioning.[86] First, within the officialdom there is the prevalence of the discourse of heroism, national appeal and solidarity or what Serra refers to as a millenarianist vision. He explains it as the re-Samorisation of life in a neo-liberal capitalist context, as expressed in the discourse of combat against absolute poverty and HIV/AIDS, where the enemy is no longer particular social classes but wider entities such as absolute poverty. If the emphasis before was on 'defeating underdevelopment in 10 years'; now the focus is on eliminating absolute poverty.[87] In his view, this has serious implications for current scholarship. Scholars are invited to resurrect engaged scholarship, where 'they are required to think less and act more ... a sort of fire fighters in social sciences'.[88] The literature produced within this intellectual tradition cannot be separated from the increasing inconsistencies that characterised the political environment of this period.[89] In addition, as in the past, the space for dialogue between scholars and politicians virtually does not exist:

> [It] is an old story, very old, which has always been contested by academics.... I think we are still reproducing that situation that existed since independence. The politicians are afraid of the academics. Without sitting with them at the table and discussing, we will never advance.... On the other hand, what matters is that the scientist has an obligation of responding to the problems that society faces. If you respond to these and then your work is kept in the drawer because there is no dialogue, what social role is left with the scientist?[90]

Cruz e Silva agreed with me concerning my claim that scholars are maybe also to blame for letting the little critical space they have reclaimed since 1990 slip away. She linked this claim to the fact that most of her colleagues in the university have walked away to other economic sectors or consultancy: 'Absolutely! [...] People have left ..., and they say that there is no space but they themselves closed the space'.[91] She ended with a very important detail: 'They [the politicians] do not interfere with academic life; it is an advantage that we have'.[92] To be more specific:

> Now as always in this country the advantage we have is that 'in the land of the blind he who can see is a king'. The academy almost does not exist in this country. As a result, academics have total freedom in their work. I think this is to our benefit. We have freedom. Nobody controls'[93]

In her view this claim must be qualified. For her, the new generation of academics approaches the matter with a degree of opportunism as they do not want to compromise their ambitions (e.g. one day becoming a minister) and tend to be too uncritical or subservient in their scholarship.

In my view, a number of important considerations can be made about the emerging scholarship in Mozambique. First, the transition to neo-liberalism has created a fertile space for critical academic scholarship and popular critical discourses in the various domains of expression. However, these spaces are under threat for three main reasons:

1. the flight of scholars from the academy to other domains of social life;
2. the fact no conditions have been created to guarantee the social reproduction of this critical mass of scholars; and
3. perceptions of the continuity of the anti-intellectual environment of the past. Scholars still hold the constructs rooted in their experiences in the past where censorship and very often severe punishment represented the price for critical academic scholarship. Some officials also still suffer from the burden of the past.

Second, there is the increasing dominance of techniques in scholarly work. Again, this is well captured by Serra who refers to it as 'the tendency to offload politics from social analysis' or in other words the commitment to *theory without politics*:

> Epistemologically, the tendency is to isolate critique from its political component. The political component entails showing how society functions in terms of power and how social relations are constructed. This is the problem. If we look at what is being published in Mozambique today in the domain of social sciences we hardly find studies that highlight how power relations are constructed and reproduced.[94]

Third, while this scholarly rejuvenation must be warmly applauded, cognisance should be taken concerning its incipient nature and narrow approach to scholarly work. Armando Jorge, former Academic Director of the University Eduardo Mondlane, blames the current state of academic scholarship to what he refers to as *protagonismo*, a difficult concept to translate which points to self-aggrandisement concerns and knowledge advocacy as taking primacy over serious and rigorous scholarly work. He suggest as a solution:

> Look! I advocate something disliked by many people, that is all publications produced in Mozambique should be subject to peer review. When I say this

> I run … the risk of being devoured alive…. It is because these people are used to having anything published….[95]

There is certainly resistance to any attempt to review standards in scholarly work. Cruz e Silva mentioned another incident where efforts in this direction were immediately shattered:

> We had several discussions throughout years. I remember that in one instance everybody got furious with a Committee with the task of developing a framework that required standards as anywhere in the world. It meant that if you aspired to become a full professor… if you wanted to be an associate professor, you had to publish. You would need to have a number of things that would confer you credibility anywhere in the world. The new *regulamento da carreira docente* was approved this year. I have not read it well, but from skimming through it, I think it is joke. Because you have published two or three articles you are promoted to the next position.[96]

Fourth, funding for scholarly research is constraining, particularly in the area of social sciences.[97] There is also a lack of local scholarly journals. The only periodicals available, *Arquivos* and *Escudos Moçambicanos*, have been practically dead since 2003, for financial reasons. The Centro de Escudos Africanos and the Departamento de História had set the agenda and had driven local academic scholarship in the domain of social sciences for several years. With decline of these units, a huge gap has been left. In the wider context, another problem has been the flight of scholars to consultancy or commissioned work, particularly from 1985 in response to the increasing political liberalisation and individuation of academic work: 'The people have moved away from the academic space and the debate is taking place at different levels'.[98] Although conditions exist for critical space, a generational gap due to the limited production of scholars in the past constraints the debate. As a result the spread of research output remains extremely low and uneven. Cruz e Silva points to the fact that today the number of private universities supersedes the number of public ones. However no research whatsoever is conducted in private institutions:

> I remember that someone mentioned… in a meeting that we have two types of universities (an approach advocated by some people): research universities and teaching universities. There are no teaching universities that are not research universities. This is a problem we face in our country. This is the problem with private universities in our country. They do not do research. They only teach, i.e. they reproduce what others produce… there is no research [there].[99]

The fifth is the paucity of studies on the education sector, which remains a general pattern in Mozambican scholarship. With focus on policy issues, a systematic review of studies on the Mozambican education sector, produced between 1990 and 1998, was undertaken in Mozambique in 2000.[100] The review covered 40 general studies and 12 case studies,

including reports of commissioned research, evaluation studies and publications. The review concluded that education sector studies on Mozambique not only are generally donor-driven and lack an 'African perspective', but they are confined to evaluation purposes within a narrow 'balance-sheet' perspective as a measure of accountability for justifying aid interventions in education. It reiterates the argument made by Samoff in 1990 that critical evaluations should serve not just donor interests but also the interests of society in general and particularly of those who are target of the education programmes under review.[101] Worth mentioning are also recent studies on donor coordination or harmonisation in Mozambique by donor agencies following the advent of sector-wide approaches in education (SWAPs).[102]

Martins (1997) highlights the fact that the development of educational research in Mozambique represents a recent phenomenon and the use of its results in decision making is an even more recent practice.[103] A synthesis piece by Marshall that deals with education is entitled 'Making Educational Revolutionary'. In her more recent work on literacy, power and democracy in Mozambique, a shift has taken place. Written with the authority of first-hand experience, Marshall challenges one of the most widely held assumptions that literacy leads to enlightenment and economic development (See Chapter Four for details). Azevedo wisely summarises Marshall's revisited thesis:

> Beginning in 1977, in the aftermath of FRELIMO's Third Congress which transformed the front into a vanguard party, the new literacy campaign began to falter, and that, by 1985, it had indeed collapsed. Centralisation, formalisation and bureaucratisation fostered by statism reflected in the Ministry of Education's attempt to impose its will at all cost, eventually stifled popular initiative throughout the country, resurrecting the deficient patterns inherent in colonial education: vertical structures imposed on otherwise resourceful teachers, emphasis on the Portuguese language to the neglect of the African languages, the use of only official textbooks, absence of creative writing and free discussion in the classroom, emphasis on paper qualifications over experience and mastery of skills, unequal relationships between teacher and pupil in the classroom setting, punishment and threats to low performing adult students, particularly women, the attempt to model adult literary settings to formal schools and the inexorable shift to 'literacy for development' during the 1980s from the earlier emphasis on 'literacy for popular empowerment' and democracy.[104]

In Azevedo's words, 'the euphoria of independence and socialism anchored the literacy campaign on sandy foundations'.[105] This was explained by Marshall with reference to the following factors: the centralisation process that began in 1977, the destabilising impact made by South Africa and the Mozambique National resistance Movement (RENAMO), the deteriorating economic conditions of the country caused by the structural adjustment programme of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank,

lack of adequately trained personnel, inexperience among guerrillas-turned-statesmen overnight and the persistence of old colonial structures.[106] For her, Henricksen typifies the group of literature that regarded FRELIMO as a military organisation, *ipso facto* an essentially repressive organisation, and therefore automatically incapable of developing a democratic society. Similar interpretations characterised Mozambique with reference to Moscow's efforts to engineer or bolster pro-Soviet regimes and as such a part of the rise of rogue states in Africa between 1974 and 1979.[107]

Conclusion

This chapter drew attention to the dangers of uncritical engaged scholarship. Activist, solidarity or engaged scholars only saw what they could not see before when there was no remedy to the problems. Proneness to absolutes, emphasis on solidarity and apologetics at the expense of necessary critique, errors of fact and interpretation, use of shaky sources without the necessary methodological precautions (official policy statements, speeches, interviews with government officials), too much generosity in their interpretation of mistakes, patronising accounts of the process, tendency to overstate achievements and silence on failures, dismissal of opposition as opportunism, and so forth - the Basket keeps on growing. These are some of the accusations waged by the critics of engaged scholarship, which engaged scholars came to acknowledge in their own revisionist accounts. They did not ask the awkward questions and confront the tensions and contradictions typical of any social process, although as scholars they should have done so even as an act of solidarity or support. Instead, they already had the answers or justifications when the challenges defeated their reasoning. It was only after self-reflection inspired by the crisis of the Socialist transformation and FRELIMO's statement of departure from the Socialist project in the late 1980s that engaged scholars came to realise how problematic, messy and even contradictory their scholarship had been. This particular shift received authoritative attention from Isaacman in one of the most exciting pieces ever written on 'engaged scholarship':

> I know from personal experience that it is not easy to keep a critical distance from causes that one supports. For a number of years, I was closely connected with the Mozambican Liberation Movement (FRELIMO). Scholars who supported the liberation movement depicted accurately the broad outlines of the armed struggle and analyzed FRELIMO's commitments to health reform, expanded educational opportunities, better housing, and the improvement of women's lives (Alpers 1979; Egero 1987; First 1971; Hanlon 1984; Isaacman and Isaacman 1983; Marshall 1993; Munslow 1983; Saul 1979, 1985). We were also correct about the South African imperative to destroy FRELIMO's nonracial Socialist project as well as the destabilizing role RENAMO played as an apartheid surrogate, at least in the first instance (Hanlon 1984; Isaacman 1991; Minter 1994; see also Finnegan 1992; Vines 1991). *But on reflection, it is clear that many of us were caught up initially in the euphoria of the day. As*

> *a result we often failed to problematize and to critique FRELIMO's long-term agenda and short-term practices.* I did not ask sufficiently critical questions about FRELIMO's capacity to implement a planned economy and whether there was sufficient space for effective democratic practices within a vanguard party. The introduction of communal villages was far more complex, varied, and controversial than I had initially believed. FRELIMO's modernizing bias, which defined many local institutions and practices as 'obscurantist,' should also have come under much greater scrutiny. I concur with John Saul, the most astute activist scholar of that era, who says: '*we overestimated the scope of FRELIMO's achievement and underestimated the seriousness of the weaknesses attendant upon its efforts*' (1993, 58). This self-critical reflection illuminates the challenge of engaged scholarship. It does not invalidate the central propositions of my paper, one of which is that ultimately it is impossible to conduct value-neutral research [My emphasis].[108]

Unfortunately, what we have seen is the dominance of a particular kind of scholarship that did justice neither to government efforts towards building a Socialist society in Mozambique nor to the people of Mozambique, which dedicated its efforts and energy to this end. Critical scholarship arrived too late, only after the introduction of economic liberalism from 1985 onwards.

Chpter Three

PROMISE AND DECEPTION OF COLONIAL EDUCATION, 1930-1975/6

Introduction

Analysis of education in colonial societies has in recent years generally been conducted with the aid of two basic theoretical models: the 'reproduction model' and the 'balance-sheet model.' Assuming that, in a capitalist society, education becomes an agency of social control or a mechanism of reproduction of labour, reproduction theorists have frequently tended to reduce colonial education, including missionary education, into little more than a mere appendix of state apparatuses and schools into simple instruments of colonialism.[109] The application of this theory in a general way, without reference to specific colonial policies, social context and practices, has led to an oversimplification of the role played by colonial education in different and particular situations, and the legacies inherited by post-colonial governments. For example, while African education in Mozambique, as in many other colonies, was left in the hands of missionaries, the historical role of the missionaries was not exactly the same as in other colonial societies. Catholic missionaries in Mozambique were almost totally 'domesticated' and controlled by the colonial state.[110] The Catholic Church remained almost a government agency for many years and an important transmitter of colonial ideology. A few Catholic missionaries rejected this situation, but only when the breakdown of Portuguese colonialism was imminent. By contrast, in South Africa, Catholic missionaries often played a significant role in opposing the inferior education for black people imposed by the government, particularly the system of Bantu Education.[111] Thus, an understanding of at least some of the current problems of transition in Mozambican education requires an examination of the specific, concrete context and historical development of the Mozambican political economy.

The use of the reproduction model in an overly simplified way to explain the function of education in colonial processes raises a further question. The work of Althusser and that of Bowles and Gintis, which set up the foundations of reproduction theories, was concerned with particular contexts in which universal education has been achieved, and schooling clearly plays the role of selecting and channelling the labour force into different occupations; schooling thus has a profound effect on the process of social reproduction.[112] In colonial contexts, where the reproduction of labour was undertaken mostly through other forces, such as state

compulsion, the role of schooling has to be reconceptualised and the reproduction models reassessed in the light of the particular processes that took place there.

Independent of, or overlapping with the reproduction model, another crucial feature in studies of colonial education, particularly missionary education, is the trend of approaching the role played by the missionaries in education in terms of a 'balance sheet' of their activities, that is, surveying their 'good' and 'bad' activities.[113] This model is probably designed to justify the arguments against or in support of the missionary presence in Africa. The task of a social scientist, or policy analyst, is reduced to a simple selection of facts to show how good or bad the effect of missionary education was. This approach is still another form of oversimplification of the problem, for the aim of a historical study is not a trial of the subjects or objects of a determined historical process but the re-construction of such a process as part of our present and future history. The most important factor is not what the missionaries have done (well) or what they have not done but rather the pattern of development they have produced or contributed to producing, which at independence formed an important element of the legacy. This chapter is an attempt to reconstruct this particular pattern of development in the history of colonial education in Mozambique.

The above points are used as conceptual lens for explaining Mozambique's experience during Portuguese colonialism with focus on the education sector. To provide a better understanding of their implications for the post independence development, the main stages of the educational process and related economic and social changes are reconstituted as much as possible in order to illustrate the main contradictions inherited by the ruling party, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), or the Mozambique Liberation Front. This, however, is not an easy task. Mozambican education prior to independence is under-researched. Most of the literature on education in Mozambique either concentrates on the post independence period (for obvious reasons) or, when dealing with colonial education, does not adequately place educational developments within the broader context of the colonial social and economic processes.[114] For example, in his chapter 'Education and Submission,' Mondlane provides a brief summary of the conceptions and some developments of colonial education, but remains for the most part at the surface level.[115] A similar account, but one with minimal value, is Lisboa's 'Education in Angola and Mozambique.[116] It is also important to note that education as such has not constituted a relevant issue in postcolonial historiography. This is supported by recent reviews of literature on Mozambique written by Bender and Isaacman, Penvenne, and White and the conference on Mozambican historiography held at the University Eduardo Mondlane in 1991.[117]

Three main periods can be distinguished in the history of colonial education in Mozambique:

(i) the pre-Salazar period, 1895-1945;

(ii) the period of colonial fascism, 1945-60; and

(iii) the period of the crisis of colonial fascism, 1960-75.[118]

The first period included the phase of European and Asiatic mercantile expansion along the East African coast and the process of establishment of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique. The second period was characterised by the penetration and consolidation of colonial fascism after the emergence of the national fascist dictatorship in Portugal in 1930. Its effects lasted from 1945 onward. The last was the period of the crisis of colonial fascism and the restructuring of the colonial economy under the pressure of anti-colonial forces.

In this chapter, I shall deal mainly with the last two periods. Two reasons have inspired my choice. First, Portuguese colonial policy was for the first time clearly and systematically shaped by Salazar's regime in 1930. The basic pattern of educational development was established under colonial fascism. The reformist policy adopted later in the 1960s made no essential change in the basic structures and the function of the colonial educational system. Second, state interventionism in education began only with Salazar's colonial policy. Thereafter, the colonial state assumed the responsibility for education of Europeans, Asiatics, and other mixed groups including the *assimilados* (i.e., Africans considered to have divested themselves of all tribal customs and to have assimilated Portuguese values and culture). Education of *indígenas* (unassimilated Africans) was left in the hands of the Catholic missionaries, but the missionaries were under direct control of the colonial state. In general, the basic pattern of development inherited by the new authorities in Mozambique was produced during the last two periods.

Pre-Salazar Period, 1895-1945

The first efforts toward the establishment of colonial capitalism in Mozambique can be attributed to the role played by Mozambique's chartered companies (1892-1945; see fig. 1). This process was preceded by centuries of mercantile pillage under the domination of Western and Asiatic mercantile capitalism. The contacts of the local African communities with the outside world basically involved trade in gold, ivory, shells, and slaves. An alliance between foreign merchants and African elites, based on mutual interests and benefits, allowed merchant capital to control the circulation of the main commodities available in the market, but without having any direct control over the sources and the process of production itself. The process of production (organisation and control) was left in the hands of the local ruling classes, who assumed the role of mobilising the necessary labour power for the production of goods required by merchant capital. Through this trade, the African ruling classes had access to the market of luxury goods.[119]

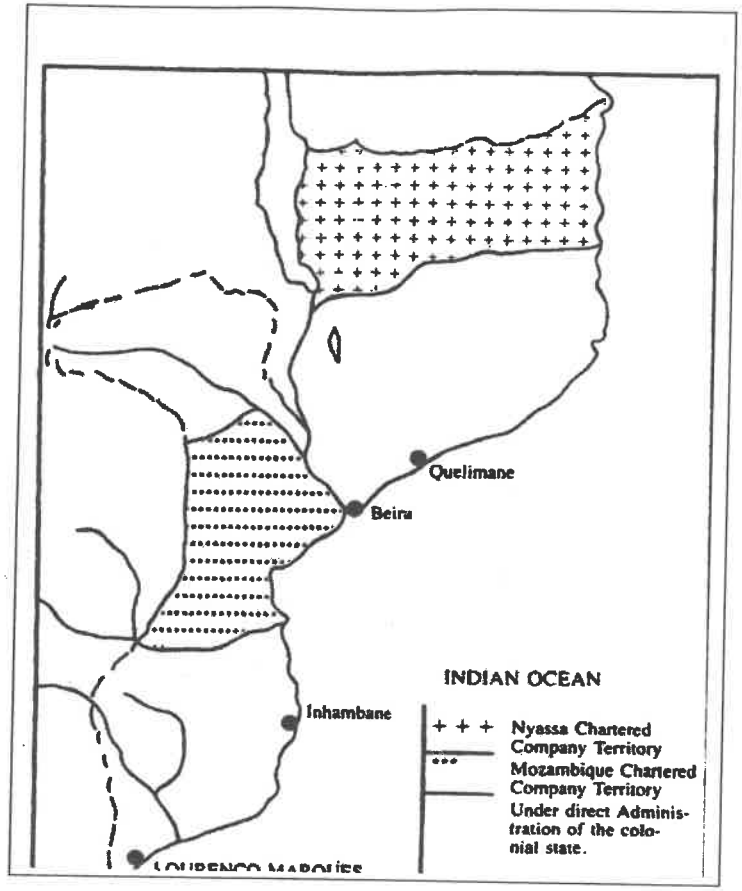

Figure 1. Colonial occupation of Mozambique, 1891-1945

When mercantile capital fell under the control of an emergent industrial capitalism, new forms of capital accumulation were introduced in the peripheral sphere of the world economic system. Colonial wars for military conquest and political control broke out. Consequently, direct control of the sources of production of colonial goods (labour and process of production) was established, accompanied by a relatively high influx of productive

capital into the colonial arena. Thereafter, capital controlled not only the sphere of circulation but also the production of colonial commodities (the world market).

The determinants of this qualitative change can be briefly summarised as:

1) the need for new and more profitable markets for European manufactured commodities and capital;
2) the need for cheaper labour to reduce the costs of production of the raw materials required by European industries;
3) the need for a safe labour market for the labour surplus produced by European capitalist development; and
4) the need for an escape hatch for some social problems concomitant with the process of industrialisation.

Portugal, an underdeveloped country that at this stage had not succeeded in its efforts to bring about an industrial revolution, experienced these pressures in a different way from the most industrialised European countries.[120] Lacking the required financial resources, Portugal responded to these pressures by renting Mozambican territories to a number of chartered companies and several agricultural firms that introduced new forms of production; namely, plantations (coconut, sugar, rubber, etc.) and small-scale farms (maize and other crops). As a result, many peasants were partially expropriated and drawn into the migrant and seasonal labour circuit. Migrant labour developed considerably under the impact of the plantation system and the mining industry in Rhodesia and South Africa.[121]

Simultaneously, a repressive apparatus, comprising traditional chiefs, colonial police, administrators, and governors, was established in both the territories under the administration of the chartered companies and the territories under direct control of the Portuguese colonial state. Its major role involved the reorganisation of the economy according to the general needs of Portugal and the coordination of colonial activities, such as the recruitment and supply of cheap labour for the whole colonial enterprise and the exploitation of African peasants.

In the field of formal education, the most characteristic feature of the pre-Salazar period was the establishment of the foundations for the dominance of the Roman Catholic missionaries in Mozambique. From the beginning, the Portuguese Catholic church missionaries had to contest the strong Islamic influence that had existed for a long time throughout the Northern coast of Mozambique. Some local elite, mainly Swahili speaking, lived in the cities administered by Arabs who passed on their culture, language, and religion. In Zambézia, an area along the Zambezi Valley that remained outside the direct influence of Islam, the Karanga people of Muenemutapa had also resisted and hindered Portuguese missionary penetration. In 1651, for example, the Jesuit D. Gonçalo da Silveira tried to convert the king Muenemutapa but was identified as a spy and therefore executed. It is not

surprising that this happened at the time when the Portuguese were planning an invasion against the Muenemutapa kingdom in order to control the sources of production of gold. Nevertheless, the influence of the Portuguese missionaries gradually increased. Accounts show that some chiefs were persuaded to send their children to be educated at schools in Portugal.[122] Christianity finally took root in Zambézia with the conversion of the ruling Muenemutapa 70 years later in 1929.

The Jesuits established their base on the island of Mozambique, founding an institution that, from 1610 to 1760, provided both a seminary and a hospital.[123] They expanded their missionary work throughout Laubo, Tete, Sena, Quelimane, and the Chire River, reaching the shores of Lake Nyassa. Jesuit influence declined from the beginning of the eighteenth century after Marques de Pombal ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits and the abolition of all religious orders. The Dominicans established their headquarters in Vila de Sena, a commercial centre of the Zambezi area, influencing a region in which Jesuits had failed.[124] In central and southern Mozambique, the Portuguese Catholic missionaries competed with Protestant missionaries, who spread their influence from the Transvaal and Rhodesia mainly from the late nineteenth century onward.

The involvement of Protestant missionaries created fear and resentment among the Portuguese authorities and Catholic missionaries. As early as 1867, the Portuguese were sensitive to the possible political implications of non-Portuguese missionary influence in their colonies. Protestant missionaries as well as foreign (non-Portuguese) Catholic missionaries were suspected of 'denationalizing the natives' and of acting as agents of foreign governments.[125] During the same year, a regulation was passed permitting only Portuguese missionaries to operate; it could not be enforced because there was an insufficient number of Portuguese priests available for service in Mozambique. In 1921, the state recognised the Catholic Church as the sole authority over missionary education. Many other privileges for the Portuguese Catholic missionaries were guaranteed later. Nevertheless, many Protestant missionary societies had been directly or indirectly operating in Mozambique during this period.[126] Muslims also operated their own schools in predominantly Muslim areas, though the Portuguese regarded the influence of Islam as a barrier to the assimilation of Africans into the Portuguese culture and nation.

The Christian ideal prescribed in the Gospel was gradually absorbed by the general ideal of the 'civilising mission' claimed by Portuguese colonists. It became clear that the role of the missionaries was not merely to provide spiritual service to Portuguese traders and white settlers but in addition to bring about cultural and educational change in African society, conducting Africans from 'savagery' into 'civilisation.' While their declared intention was 'the need to evangelise and civilise' Africans, the Portuguese missionaries failed to resist earthly pressures. Duffy describes the Dominican friars established at Sena as follows:

> The priests broke their vow of poverty and ended up owning large tracts of land which they administered like a *prazero*. They collected taxes and traded in slaves. Not only that, some Dominican priests took their civil administration of the area to the detriment of their one-time evangelical zeal; some Jesuits also participated in agricultural and mining ventures along the river. Missionaries from other Orders, and secular priests, also acted in the spirit of the times.[127]

No amount of education survived to give legitimacy to the claims of metropolitan Portugal that it had a 'civilising mission' in Africa. Catholicism, the state religion of Portugal, was seen as part of the Portuguese colonial enterprise. Limited school facilities that were based on the assumption that the African should 'become literate enough to be able to read the scriptures, either in his own language or in the language of the missionary,' as Blakemore and Cooksey have pointed out, were provided in the main commercial and administrative stations.[128] Permanent government or missionary schools were almost nonexistent. In what schooling there was, African children were essentially taught to repeat catechism and certain prayers and to learn the principles of Christianity as well as to read and write and to conduct themselves respectfully toward their superiors.

Major educational changes with state involvement were introduced only in 1845, under the liberal government that came into power in 1834. A decree determined the establishment of public schools in the 'Overseas Provinces.' Education was divided into the so-called *elementary schools* and *main schools*. The programme for the elementary schools included reading, writing, and arithmetic, besides Christian doctrine and the history of Portugal. In the main schools, children were taught Portuguese grammar, drawing, geometry, bookkeeping, economy of the provinces, and applied physics for industry and commerce.[129] The decree of 1921 banned the use of African languages in schools, a rule that remained a permanent characteristic of colonial education in Mozambique. The results were, however, very slow and almost ineffective, particularly with regard to the education of Africans. Missionary activity in formal education remained very limited, and the state was concerned only with the education of the white settlers. Ferreira has shown that in 1909, almost half a century later, Mozambique had only 48 primary schools for boys, eight for girls, and some commercial and agricultural schools.[130] The work of the Protestant missionaries was also insignificant because of government restrictions.

Salazar's Colonial Fascism and African Education, 1945-1960

All these trends were consolidated by Salazar's colonial policy after the establishment of the Portuguese fascist dictatorship in 1930. Colonial policy was revised and substantiated in a famous document published as the Colonial Act of 1930. The new colonial policy was essentially intended to meet the needs of the economic development of Portuguese industry, which had not succeeded in its efforts for a genuine industrial revolution, although it benefited by a privileged position in colonial markets. According to

Salazar's strategy defined in the Colonial Act of 1930, colonial territories were required:

- to produce raw materials (cotton) for Portuguese industry with low production and purchasing costs;
- to contribute to the equilibrium of the Portuguese balance of payments;
- to be financially self-sufficient; and
- to be politically and administratively centralised under the metropolitan government.[131]

These principles were translated at the political and economic level into various forms of local policy, involving mainly:

a. the introduction of enforced cash crop production (cotton and rice);
b. legalisation and strict control of migrant labour serving neighbouring countries;
c. rationalisation and institutionalisation of the forced labour regime introduced by the chartered companies
d. state promotion of Portuguese immigration to Mozambique; and
e. abolition of the administrative and political rights conceded to the chartered companies (their economic rights, however, were preserved). According to the centralisation policy, the constitutional status of Mozambique formally changed from that of a 'colony' to that of a 'province' of Portugal under the control of a general governor.[132]

At the social level, centralisation was to be guaranteed by the implementation of an assimilation policy. Theoretically, the assimilation policy would lead to the 'Portuguesation' of a large number of Africans, assimilating them into the Portuguese nation and culture through education, miscegenation, and the deculturation/acculturation process. It was based on the Native Assistance Code of 1921, which defined the civilised African as one who could speak Portuguese, had divested himself/herself of all tribal customs, and had gained the means to earning his/her living. On this basis, the 'New State' of Salazar decided to set up a *regime do indigenato* (native regime), according to which the African population was divided into two categories: the *indígenas* (unassimilated natives) and *não-indígenas* (anyone enjoying full Portuguese citizenship, including assimilated Africans, though in practice they remained a third category). The *indígenas* (natives) represented the majority of the African population. They had no citizenship and had to carry and produce on demand an identity card or *caderneta indígena* (native card/pass). They were subject to all regulations of the *regime do indigenato,* such as forced labour, influx control, control of movement, and restrictions on the use of social amenities. In theory, an

assimilado as *não-indígena* (non-native) was to be regarded as a full Portuguese citizen. He or she enjoyed all the privileges that went with Portuguese citizenship.[133] A set of social and economic benefits was granted to those who succeeded in the transition to the status of *assimilado,* such as exemption from certain taxes and the right to purchase land, other property, and labour facilities. As Mawema has correctly indicated, the assimilation policy 'presupposed that all Portuguese were civilised and all non-Portuguese uncivilised and that, by acquiring education, technology and religion, the uncivilised would then be assimilated into the Portuguese culture and nation,' or, in other words, into 'civilisation.'[134]

Along with the assimilation policy went the policy of miscegenation, which was viewed as constituting a profitable and appropriate instrument for the spread of Portuguese ethnic characteristics in African society. As a result of this policy, *mulatos* (people of mixed race) were supposed to play an important role in the colonial superstructure. They were thus provided with better material and educational privileges than the *assimilados.* Miscegenation here is meant as sexual intercourse between a Portuguese male and an African or non-white female, not necessarily intermarriage. Sexual relations between a Portuguese woman and an African male were not viewed with such tolerance. Thus, within the colonial society, the *mulato* became a bridging subcategory, a generation having predominantly a Portuguese *incógnito* (unknown or illegitimate) father and an African mother.[135]

At the educational level, two categories of school system were institutionalised in Mozambique: (i) the Roman Catholic mission schools for African children; and (ii) the more sophisticated government schools for whites, Asians, *mulatos,* and *assimilados.* Isaacman and Isaacman indicated that the first piece of educational legislation promulgated in Mozambique in 1930 anticipated that 'indigenous instruction would gradually lead the African from a savage to a civilised life, making him more valuable to society and to himself.'[136] This was only a subtle simplification of the aims stated by Mouzinho de Albuquerque, one of the architects of Portuguese colonial policy of the late nineteenth century, who said that 'what we have to do in order to educate and civilise the *indígena* is to develop in a practical way his aptitude for manual labour and take advantage of him for the exploitation of the province.'[137] The implication was that education had to take into account the disparity in civilisation between Europeans and Africans: 'It is not the colour, or race separation; it is the different degrees of civilisation, which the instruction, to be effective, has to take into account.'[138]

On these grounds, a different schooling system for African children was introduced in 1930, known as rudimentary instruction or instruction of adaptation. Accordingly, African children had to receive training in arithmetic, the sciences, design, manual work, religion, and physical and musical education. Girls had to receive 'female education,' which

instructed them in sewing, embroidery, and cookery. After three years of 'adaptive instruction,' African children were given an examination in order to pass to grade three of the primary school if they were under the age of 13. The age restriction aside, it was not easy for African children to transfer from instruction of adaptation to primary school. Harries indicates, for example, that, in 1954, just 3,000 out of 180,000 adaptation school pupils wrote the transferral examination and only 2,500 passed.[139]

Under the terms of the Colonial Act of 1930, Catholic missions were accorded a privileged position among religious groups on the grounds that Catholicism represented the national faith of Portugal and was thus the instrument of 'civilisation' and Portuguese influence. Article 40 of the Constitution of 1933 stated, 'The Portuguese Catholic Missions Overseas and the establishment for training personnel and their services . . . shall be protected and assisted by the State, as being institutions of education and assistance and instruments of civilisation.'[140] The Missionary Agreement of 1940 and the Missionary Statute of 1941 guaranteed a hegemonic and almost monopolistic position to the Catholic missionaries in matters concerning African education.

The Portuguese government committed itself to subsidising church missionary programmes, restricting the activities of non-Catholic missionaries, and discouraging the influx of non-Portuguese Catholic missionaries. By these agreements, adaptation schools fell under the responsibility of the Roman Catholic missionaries. For this reason, the great mass of Africans depended on the missionaries, and mainly Catholic missionaries, for their education. Thus, state involvement in adaptation schools, which had shown a considerable increase from 1930 onward, began to decline, while the number of schools and children attending mission schools increased significantly. In 1933, there were 129 government schools and 122 mission schools in Mozambique. In 1951, 10 years after the publication of the Missionary Statute of 1941, the number of government schools decreased to 36, while the number of Catholic mission schools reached a total of 930.[141] In 1955, 2,000 of the 2,040 'rudimentary schools' operated under the direct auspices of Catholic missionaries, who received substantial benefits from the colonial state, including exemption on all property taxes and pensions for senior officials.[142]

What this meant in actual practice was that, at the primary school level, there were two types of schools - those for Europeans, Indians, *mulatos,* and assimilated Africans and those for the 'uncivilised' Africans or *indígenas.* The Portuguese Catholic missionaries or, where this was not possible, Protestant missions and government, ran the African primary schools, situated predominantly in rural areas. They were known as rudimentary schools. At the same primary school level, the government and the Catholic missions established a lower level of education in arts and crafts for Africans. The state retained the responsibility of establishing programmes and curricula and awarding examination certificates.[143]

Secondary education was generally offered by few *liceus* (grammar schools) in urban areas and was open on the basis of state examinations to African pupils. An African graduate from the rudimentary primary school would qualify to enter the *liceus* only by completing additional instruction in the primary-elementary school and then passing the entrance examination. This bureaucratic process was heightened by other obstacles, such as the difficulty of mastering a foreign language, restrictive regulations, age limitations, and a lack of space in the rural elementary school.[144]

Primary education for Europeans and *assimilados* was compulsory from age seven to age eleven. The curriculum and textbooks were the same as those used in Portugal, with a few modifications to meet local requirements. Students received secondary education in *liceus* or entered commercial and industrial schools for technical and professional education. The education provided by these schools consisted of a preparatory two-year cycle common to all pupils, followed by vocational training over three years with separate courses in skills such as commerce, woodwork, and mechanics. There were also agricultural schools that trained farmers through practical courses lasting three or four years.[145]

Most of the teachers in government schools were trained in Portugal. However, a *magistério primário* (teachers college programme) was established under which assistant primary teachers were prepared for local certification. Catholic missions also ran classes to train teachers exclusively for African rudimentary and primary schools. Protestant missions were not allowed to operate teacher-training institutions.[146]

The overall outcome of this strategy would be the fulfilment of the policy of 'Portuguesation' of Africans so that they could accept Portuguese rule with little resistance. For this purpose, the Missionary Statute stipulated that all bishops, apostolic vicars, and prefects to whom Catholic missionaries were subject had to be of Portuguese nationality and that all missionary staff employed in training teachers had to be Portuguese. The use of the Portuguese language as both the official and the instructional language became compulsory in all educational matters except the teaching of religion.[147] At the same time, this educational policy was expected to produce a lower class of technical and agricultural workers and craftsmen who could easily be manipulated by the colonial economy. Similarly, Mondlane argues that the colonial education thus conceived was designed 'to form an element of the population which would act as an intermediary between the colonial state and the masses; and to inculcate an attitude of servility in the educated African.'[148] The cardinal patriarch of Lisbon in his pastoral letter of 1960 expressed the aims of colonial education in a straightforward way:

> We try to reach the native population both in breadth and depth, to [teach them] reading, writing and arithmetic, not to make 'doctors' of them. . . . To educate and instruct them so as to make them prisoners of

> the soil and to protect them from the lure of the towns, the path which with devotion and courage the Catholic missionaries chose, the path of good sense and of political and social security for the province . . . schools are necessary, yes, but schools where we teach the native the path of human dignity and the grandeur of the nation which protects him.[149]

The colonial strategy of Salazar resulted in the reinforcement of the structures of underdevelopment introduced by the chartered companies. The general feature of the colonial economy was the lack of investment of capital and the consequent low level of development of infrastructure with a slight exception in the plantations, farm pockets, and main urban areas. In the rural areas, investment of capital was aimed at creating a commercial infrastructure to stimulate peasant cash crop production (railways, roads, and stores). This pattern of development accentuated unequal development between rural and urban areas. The railway network, where the most significant portion of capital was invested, was determined by and subordinated to the interests of neighbouring countries, a characteristic expressed by its physical distribution (see Fig. 2). It had the function of transporting goods and labour to and from neighbouring countries.

Underdevelopment was reflected in an unequal distribution of the structure of production. The north specialised in peasant cash crop production with a small-scale investment of commercial capital in cotton mills, where the peasants had to sell their goods at a fixed price. Monocrop production of cotton predominated in this region. A particular process of social stratification characterised by a trend toward the development of rich and poor peasants took place. The centre of the country was reserved for a plantation economy, involving tea, sugar, and coconut plantations that depended on forced labour. Social differentiation led to a predominance of seasonal workers relatively dependent on domestic production and wages for their social reproduction. The south remained a reserve of labour for South African mining capital and a privileged area of Portuguese settlement, particularly in Lourenço Marques (Maputo) and the Colonato do Limpopo. Portuguese farmers who settled along the Limpopo River produced food crops to supply the town of Lourenço Marques. As a whole, the south was the area where a high degree of social differentiation took place. Migrant workers (peasant workers) dominated by South African mining capital coexisted with relatively stabilised workers produced by the emerging manufacturing industry around Lourenço Marques.

The underdevelopment of the economy produced a typical social structure. Within the white colonial community, a powerful bureaucratic bourgeoisie, whose role was to protect Portuguese interests in the colony and safeguard loyalty to the metropolis, conflicted with a small class of Portuguese farmers. A number of Portuguese traders scattered around the country competed with relatively strong pockets of Indian merchants. The most successful traders associated themselves with foreign capital and were able

to control small industries in some urban areas. The conflict between Portuguese farmers, traders, and industrialists on the one hand and the Portuguese bureaucracy on the other was caused by the fact that the central government in Portugal was never interested in promoting a powerful colonial middle class like that of Rhodesia or certain other colonies. Among Africans, very few and weak elite of mission-educated Africans, *mulatos* and *assimilados* occupied lower positions in the colonial economy as clerks, interpreters, mission school teachers, and labour *capatazes* (overseers). In general, all the skilled and semiskilled positions in the colonial economy were to meet the pressures of unemployment in Portugal and were to be filled by Europeans. This picture reveals the weakness and the lack of African participation in the political and economic system of the country. The report of the director of the Labour Institute, Afonso Mendes, was unequivocally clear on this point:

> Almost all the wealth, all the positions of leadership, all the agricultural, livestock, industrial and commercial enterprises, and the real decision-making power will remain in the hands of the European segment of the population, which in 1970 will continue to form merely a small minority as has always been the case. The positions of leadership in the public administration in Angola (and Mozambique) are filled by this segment of the population.[150]

The almost absolute lack of African participation in positions of economic and political leadership is also an expression of the weakness of the African elite, and, to a certain extent, it reveals the failure of the Portuguese policies of assimilation and miscegenation. Those who were incorporated into these apparatuses were allowed to take over only those positions that did not require a high degree of education, such as *régulos* (native chiefs), *capatazes* (overseers), interpreters, nursing assistants, and teachers in adaptation schools. The assimilation policy that aimed at producing a reasonable number of 'honorary whites' or 'black-skinned Portuguese' proved to be unsuccessful; the system could touch only a minute minority who played an irrelevant role in colonial society. For example, in 1950, out of a population of over six million, there were no more than 4,555 *assimilados,* and only a few of their children attended secondary school.[151] Despite all the promises made by colonial authorities, the barriers imposed by the schooling system remained insurmountable obstacles to an effective expansion of the number and influence of this section of the population.

The same is true of the miscegenation policy, in which Portuguese ideologists deposited their hope for an effective colonisation:

> Miscegenation is the most powerful force of colonial nationalism. Given equality to the European under the law and admitted to administrative, religious, political and military positions, the *mulato* comes to adopt exclusively the customs and languages of the conquering nation, and they constitute the most profitable and appropriate instrument for the spread of those ethnic characteristics in the native society.[152]

The optimism expressed here by Vaz de Sampaio e Melo in 1910 remained a simple ideal, and no significant practical results were produced. By 1960, *mulatos* constituted only about five per cent of the population. Their importance was qualitative rather than quantitative.[153] However, this section of the population was urbanised and better educated than the *assimilados,* though its status did not in practice involve much racial equality. The present-day FRELIMO's leadership reflects this colonial distortion.

In summary, without assuming a narrow functionalist view of the role of schooling, I would argue that, in Mozambique, the underdevelopment and the distortions of the economy and social structure are reflected in the particular way education was shaped and has been operating. In 1959, Mondlane noted, there were '392,796 children in adaptation schools, but of these only 6,928 managed to start primary schools.'[154] At the same time, more than 98 per cent of the African population was illiterate. Because the Africans were not in general allowed to occupy skilled positions in the social division of labour, and because their economic role did not require any significant degree of education, there was no direct link between African education and the economy. The African schooling system was differentiated and shaped to reinforce the relations of colonial domination and subordination. Through the diffusion of Luso-tropical ideology and assimilation policy, African education was more a mechanism of social control than a mechanism of occupational distribution of labour or of production and reproduction of labour power, as claimed by reproduction theorists. Within the particular context of Mozambique, the reproduction of labour was undertaken through the mechanism of repressive state apparatuses and institutions like *shibalo* (forced labour). Thus, there was no need to produce 'doctors' but only a need to promote certain attitudes, habits, and basic skills that would make people loyal to Portuguese authority and more productive.[155]

The Crisis of Colonial Fascism, 1960-1975

The late 1950s and the 1960s were characterised by the adoption of a more flexible policy by the colonial state regarding the external and internal pressures. This policy involved:

a) the restructuring of the colonial economy, opening the doors to and establishing a firm alliance with foreign capital;

b) reinforcement of economic integration into the southern African economic subsystem;

c) formal abolition of the regime of forced labour and compulsory cash crop production;

d) recognition of full citizenship and franchise for all;

e) the foundation of the Estudos Gerais Universitários de Mozambique and the expansion of secondary and tertiary education;[156] and

f) promotion of more social and economic opportunities for Africans, a policy determined by the need and promotion of a subservient or co-opted African elite.

The new colonial strategy seems to have been determined by two main factors. First, the increase of the anti-colonial movement in the world at large and the development of liberation struggles in Africa, as well as the consequent emergence of some independent African countries, evoked among the moderate Portuguese leadership the possibility of safeguarding Portuguese colonial interests through a 'responsible' policy of decolonisation. The notion of education for leadership designed to build up a conformist middle class might have appeared more acceptable among politicians sharing this view. For this group, which always constituted a small and weak minority among Salazar/Caetano's ranks, hastening the promotion of the African middle class appeared to be the safest way of averting a revolutionary change that had already been threatening the Portuguese colonial empire. Second, the increase of protest and the armed struggle proclaimed by FRELIMO in 1964 suggested the need for a re-adjustment of the colonial strategy.

In response to this strategy, Mozambique once again received a new formal status, changing from a 'province' to a 'state' in the 1971 constitutional reform. A rapid influx of foreign capital created a temporary boom in the industrial sector. The most significant feature of the increase in investment of foreign capital was the building of the Cahora Bassa Dam. Africans and *assimilados* were drawn into semiskilled positions, changing the nature of the social division of labour. The right to own land and other forms of property was granted to these small elite. A local *conselho legislativo* (legislative assembly) with consultative functions was set up to provide an impression of political participation of the African elite in political decisions. More educational opportunities were opened to them, particularly after the abolition of the Native Statute and the recognition of full citizenship. The distinction between the so-called assimilated and non-assimilated Africans ceased. The division between the system of adaptation and the normal primary school education was removed through the September 1964 Educational Reform Decree. Theoretically, primary education became compulsory and available to all children between 6 and 12 years of age, irrespective of race or degree of 'civilisation.' With these reforms, education for Africans no longer had to depend on missionary activity alone.

In order to minimise the shortage of secondary school teachers, the decree (no. 44530) of August 1963 established a university programme to be offered by the Estudos Gerais Universitários de Moçambique. Only the general part of the university-level studies (undergraduate studies) could be

taken in Mozambique; the final course was to be taken in Portugal to promote total socialisation of the local elite into Portuguese culture.[157]

However, these reforms did not resolve the intrinsic contradictions created during almost 500 years of foreign domination in Mozambique. As Mawema has pointed out, elitism was by race and education. Only five per cent of the African majority were literate so this did not alter the existing dominant position of the white settlers.[158] The removal of 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' status was accompanied not by a democratisation of education but by a more restrictive and difficult qualifying examination system. Free and compulsory education could be put into practice only where there were adequate schools, transportation, and suitable social conditions. Areas without these conditions were excluded by the decree that introduced compulsory education, much to the detriment of the majority of African children who lived far out in rural areas.

Most of the educational reforms of the 1960s were concentrated on the primary educational level and on the political platform, and much less was done in secondary and higher education. In post primary education, priority was given mainly to technical and occupational skills aimed at producing many lower-skilled Africans who were not a threat to the political and economic position of the local white elite. Figures from the years 1966-67 show that about 70 per cent of Africans at the secondary level attended technical or occupational schools and only about 2.8 per cent attended academic schools, whereas most Europeans attended academic schools. Of the 444,983 students being educated in Mozambique, 439,974 were at primary level, and only 5,000 were in secondary school.[159] By 1964, there were only 6 *liceus* in Mozambique that provided a more solid academic education, out of only 39 secondary schools. The majority of these secondary schools were concentrated in the districts of Lourenço Marques, Manica, Sofala, Zambézia, and Moçambique. In the Niassa district, which had a population of 319,000, there was no secondary school. At higher levels of education, of the 625 students at the university in 1967-68, only eight were Africans.[160] For these students, the possibility of completing their postgraduate studies (in Portugal) was almost non-existent-for financial reasons and because of a racially selective policy followed by the Portuguese authorities.

In summary, the reformist strategy adopted by Portugal in the 1960s had failed. It was 'too little too late" to produce the significant and effective social change required for the neo-colonial interests of Portugal. The relations of dependence and the integration of Mozambique into the economic subsystem of Southern Africa were strengthened, but, as the main colonial power, Portugal remained unable to achieve her neo-colonial aspirations in Mozambique. It was probably the recognition of this weakness that determined the hard-line policy pursued by Caetano, Salazar's successor, regarding the possibility of decolonisation. However, as FRELIMO leaders have many times pointed out, Caetano's intransigence

in refusing a negotiable solution for a peaceful transition to independence and the inability of his regime to produce a powerful and conservative middle class unwittingly contributed to the objective conditions that led to revolutionary change in Mozambique.

Conclusion

While the absence of a strong elite facilitated FRELIMO's revolutionary commitments, it also created almost insurmountable obstacles to economic development in Mozambique. Frente de Libertação de Moçambique inherited a distorted and extremely underdeveloped social and economic structure. As already pointed out, Portugal as a colonial power did not have the capital to promote the economic development of her colonies. As a consequence, economic development was based on the export of migrant labour from the south; the plantation economy depended on seasonal labour in the centre and peasant cash crop production in the north of the country. Outside the urban areas, industrial activities were limited to the minimum of necessary satellite industries to provide the primary processing of raw materials for export. In the urban areas, industrial development was also minimal and limited to the consumer needs of the white colonial community. All the skilled and semiskilled positions in economic, political, and social institutions remained in general in the hands of European settlers, most of whom left the country soon after independence.

The educational infrastructure was also too weak to meet the educational needs of post independence developments. The accumulation of economic resources was at all levels based on highly exploitative social relations. Caetano's reformist policy during the 1960s did not change this pattern of development, which was inherited by FRELIMO. It is important to note that, because the economy was based on highly exploitative systems of social relations, when the colonial state broke down, almost all the main economic sectors of significance collapsed (the farms, the plantations, the commercial network, etc.). Thus, FRELIMO found itself in the situation of choosing whether to reproduce, at least for a while, the inherited exploitative system of economic development while creating conditions and resources for deeper social change or, for the sake of political freedom and legitimacy, to undermine and immediately dismantle the inherited system and build a new social, economic, and political order. The latter option seems to have been the one chosen. Consequently, FRELIMO had to expand the educational infra-structure, train and educate a new leadership, prepare the working class for the control of the economy, and so forth without an adequate social base and without material and financial resources.

To sum up, under Portuguese colonialism,[161] Mozambique was a case in which the underdevelopment and the distortions of the economy and social structure were reflected in the particular way African schooling was shaped and had been operating. No direct link can be established between the schooling system for Africans and the economy. The economic and social

role played by Africans in the social division of labour did not require any significant improvement in schooling or training. Generally, the economy depended on unskilled (seasonal and migrant) labour. African semi-skilled labour was restricted to a few industries in the urban areas and to positions in the colonial bureaucracy such as teachers, interpreters, police, and overseers. As already pointed out, African schooling was differentiated and shaped to reinforce the relations of colonial domination and subordination. It was more of a mechanism of social control than a mechanism of occupational distribution of labour, as claimed by reproduction theorists. The reproduction of labour was undertaken essentially through the pressure of repressive state apparatuses and institutions like *shibalo* (forced labour). Thus, this chapter has shown how both theoretical models of analysis in education and problems of transition in an independent African country cannot be understood without reference to the specific and concrete historical context and legacy.

Chapter Four

PREPARING TO GOVERN, 1962-1974: THE MAKING OF A NEW EDUCATIONAL DISCUOURSE

Introduction

As the struggle for national liberation led by FRELIMO proceeded, the colonial administration lost control over considerable areas in the northern provinces of Mozambique. These areas, which fell under the control of FRELIMO and where the population in the territory immediately affected by war sought refuge, came to be known as 'liberated zones'. They spread through the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete and around a million Mozambicans lived in them. For many observers the 'liberated zones' came to symbolise the creative nature and uniqueness of FRELIMO as a revolutionary liberation movement. They came to be seen as an expression of the transformation of the socio-economic relations in the zones that FRELIMO had under its effective control, laying the ground for revolutionary and Socialist practices in all domains of social life through an ongoing process of contestation of the colonial and traditional legacies. This chapter deals with the educational experiments made by FRELIMO in these areas.

Considerable literature has already been produced about the 'liberated zones', considered a fundamental feature of the reconstitution of FRELIMO as a revolutionary liberation movement.[162] Unfortunately most of the accounts presented in this literature tend to portray the 'liberated zones' almost exclusively from the perspective of FRELIMO's official political discourse, which according to some sources linked to FRELIMO, has led to distortions of the original meanings attached to these zones.[163] I do not aim to re-write this history in this chapter, but to highlight and contextualise some of the key features of FRELIMO's educational discourse in view to understanding its significance in the post-independence educational transformation.

'Liberated Zones': Concept, Content and Context

Four important aspects have been linked to the conceptualisation of the 'liberated zones' central to the argument pursued in this chapter. First, the 'liberated zones' set the example about what the *destruction of the Portuguese colonial administration* meant and the challenges entailed in laying the foundations of an embryonic revolutionary state. Second, the 'liberated zones' represented the place, the social space and historical moment for the experimentation of a peculiar project of social change, which culminated in the adoption of socialism as the national framework for the future of Mozambique. Third, related to this aspect, was the forging of a framework of values and principles for the struggle that were to guide such as process. Finally, central to the theme running through this book is

the emergence of a new educational discourse geared at providing the ideological and scientific basis for Socialist transformation in the country. I will look at these aspects in more detail in the following sections.

The Destruction of Portuguese Colonial Administration

'Liberated zones' emerged as zones liberated from the physical presence of Portuguese administration. The few symbols and resources of the colonial administration and the infrastructure that existed had been virtually destroyed by the war. For De Bragança and Depelchin, the physical liberation constitutes only one partial aspect of the concept of liberated zones.[164] As the liberation struggle progressed, FRELIMO inherited a legacy of a highly distorted and distressed economic and social underdevelopment. As such, 'liberated zones' were social spaces in the midst of heavy forest where the population could hide and escape the destructive effects of the war. No infrastructure survived the effects of the war except for some improvisations in the form of schools, health clinics and shelters.

Most of the areas still remained war zones in the sense that they represented what FRELIMO coined the *retaguarda* of the war or areas that where the guerrillas soldiers could resort to for refreshments and supply of weapons and ammunition. Very often they were object of intense bombardments by the colonial army, particularly as manifestations of desperate efforts from the colonial authorities towards the end of the war. Some were relatively safe and provided space for significant social, economic and educational activities. The social, economic and political significance of the 'liberated zones' cannot be separated from the context of the armed struggle. All social, economic, educational and cultural activities were ultimately driven by the demands of the liberation war.

The society in the 'liberated zones' also displayed a typical colonial social structure, which reflected the neglect of the countryside and rural development by Portuguese colonialism. Peasants scattered in small residential units separated by long distances constituted larger units that maintained their loyalties to local chiefs. In fact the use of cooperatives and collectivisation strategies and the constitution of the population into larger communal villages responded to the constraints posed by this distorted colonial legacy in the face of the pressures posed by the struggle. They appeared in the eyes of FRELIMO leaders and the population as inevitable choices in the context of the war, a perception that would change considerably or encounter serious obstacles in the rest of the country in the post-1975 period. FRELIMO's success in establishing 'liberated zones' where Portuguese influence had been virtually eliminated gave room for addressing hard questions about the ultimate objectives of the struggle and intensified contestation over how these counter-spaces were to be organised (e.g. how production should be organised; the idea of 'people's power' as expressed in the democratically elected village committees in the liberated zones).[165]

Building a New Society

The second aspect of liberated zones is as an expression of the construction of FRELIMO's revolutionary and Socialist project. The picture of the liberated zones is widely shared in the literature. Henriksen gives the following account:

> Among all the wartime experiences, it is the liberated zones, or base areas, which appear to the Mozambican revolutionaries as the most relevant for building a Socialist-type society. Guerrilla-dominated regions in the remote sections of Tete, Niassa and Cabo Delgado districts initially opened the way for the establishment of *an embryo independent state*, with village political committees, judicial structures; crop growing schemes, People's Shops, rudimentary education programmes and health services. Across the border in Tanzania, the FRELIMO sanctuary camps operated even more elaborate cooperative systems, furnishing models of collectivized life.... Established in the countryside away from settler domination, the remoteness of the liberated zones permitted FRELIMO cadres to introduce cooperative agriculture without the necessity of the intermediate step of redistributing land from a landlord class to a peasantry. Within the Mozambican zones freed from Portuguese administration the revolutionaries laid the foundations for a brave new society: the movement's pervasiveness in polities and life, egalitarianism, women's liberation, and cooperative cultivation and workplaces [My emphasis].[166]

In this regard, reasoning along the lines of FRELIMO's official political discourse, Mazula draws on the notions of 'place', 'moment' and 'space' to map out their significance as part of the process of construction of a project of social change, i.e. the building of a new society free from all forms of exploitation. Accordingly, 'liberated zones' constituted 'a place, moment and space for the design of a project of a new society and exercise of power, which, in turn, required the change of mentalities and life, the learning of new values for the construction of a society free from racism, tribalism, regionalism and other type of negative prejudices... but, above all, a space for the building of national unit... through new type of labour social relations.'[167] He distinguishes four important dimensions attached to this project: (i) the transformation of socio-economic relations; (ii) from a cultural point of view, the change in colonial modes of life, traditional mentality entrenched in ethnic and regional affinities; and (iii) the building of a new society with a new mentality; and (iv) new power relations and forms of power geared at serving the masses. In such a perspective, 'liberated zones' had also *a fundamental cultural* dimension, as spaces where a particular concept of Mozambicaness and national identity were promoted.

The four aspects are in line with FRELIMO's official discourse.[168] Even some hard-line critics of FRELIMO have conceded on the achievements of the liberated zones. In this sense, the advance of the liberation struggle cannot be restricted to a military achievement; it was fundamentally about

the establishment and consolidation of the 'liberated zones' as spaces of negotiation of a future social order. Machel was categorical in this regard: 'The establishment of liberated zones creates the material basis for the transformation of the anti-colonial liberation struggle into a revolutionary struggle, a struggle for the establishment of new political, economic, social and cultural structures which give expression to the complete power of the masses over society in its totality.'[169]

The Forging of a New Educational Discourse

Mondlane points out that against the harsh reality left by the colonial legacy, which left no qualified people in any field of social and economic development, a military programme and an educational programme were important constitutive parts of the struggle for national liberation.[170] This particular perspective embraced new content with the political and ideological changes undergone by FRELIMO after the 1968 crisis, which made revolutionary and Socialist concerns part of FRELIMO's liberation struggle programme. Education was to change both traditional and colonial values. Traditional modes of education stifled initiative and perpetuated passive subservience, superstitious beliefs, tribalism, feudal mentality and oppression of women. Colonialism promoted values such as individualism, elitism, ambition, racism, and contempt for all things African.[171]

For FRELIMO educators, 'liberated zones' offered a unique opportunity for forging and promoting new educational principles and values. Under the banner 'educate man to win the war, create a new society, and develop our country', FRELIMO's secondary school in Dar-es-Salaam and schools in the liberated zones emerged as the laboratory of FRELIMO's educational policies and alternative educational concepts. The emerging educational system in the 'liberated zones' comprised three main domains, namely schooling, literacy, adult education and teacher education. Schooling for children and adults comprised two levels:

a) pre-primary education provided in Childhood Centres;

b) primary schooling offered in Tanzania and in several schools in the 'liberated zones'; and

c) secondary schooling offered in the only Secondary School of Bagamóyo in Tanzania. For tertiary education, students were sent overseas or elsewhere in the continent to pursue their studies. There is evidence that between 20, 000 and 30, 000 children attended schools in the 'liberated zones' until September 1970.[172]

Subjects for primary schooling included Portuguese, Arithmetic, Geography, Sciences, History, Manual Work (*trabalhos práticos*), Politics, Art and Physical Education. For secondary schooling the subjects comprised Portuguese, English, Politics, History, geography, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Manual Work, Drawing, and Physical Education. There were also additional courses such as Primary

School Teacher Education, Publicity, Cooperatives, and Administration. Targeted at the guerrilla fighters were literacy programmes and these in turn trained the population in the 'liberated zones' in schools, military training centres, healthcare centres and schools. The emphasis on and centrality of political education constituted a general feature running through these subjects. Politics always came first over technicist practices.

New concepts and principles which formed a basis of an alternative curriculum of Socialist orientation and a new pedagogy emanated from the educational experience of 'liberated zones'. These included the following:

- the idea of education as a primary tool for serving the people and the liberation struggle (such that the contents and methods were to be linked to and informed by the circumstances and realities of the liberation struggle);
- the conception of schools as democratic centres where colonial distinctions between mental and manual work, theory and practice, and the barriers between teacher and pupils, the intellectual and the illiterate, were to be eliminated;
- the development of a spirit of self-reliance through integration of production activities into schools, which meant that schools had to count on their own resources;
- the fostering of a sense of Mozambican national identity within the framework of the 'New Man' (for this purpose Portuguese was adopted as the only official language, the medium of instruction and a basis for promotion of national unity);
- the value of criticism and self-criticism in recognising and correcting mistakes;
- the principle that to forge the 'New Man', traditional values regarded as old and negative such as the oppression of women by men, tribalism, superstition, and all those cultural practices that in the light of FRELIMO's revolutionary ideals came to be seen as 'culturally unacceptable', had to be eliminated; and
- the principle of 'each one teach one', i.e. anyone who had knowledge should communicate it and put it at the service of the masses. As Machel, former Mozambican President, put it, 'if the seed is locked in the drawer we can never harvest the fruit'.[173] Or,

> How can the people improve their production methods, how can they know what is wrong and what is right, unless they produce? We are in the habit of saying that it is in the war that we learn war, which means, in fact, that it is by carrying out a revolution that one learns how to carry out a revolution better, that it is by fighting that we learn to fight better and that it is by producing that we learn to produce better. We can study a lot, but what use is tons of knowledge if it is not taken to the masses, if we do not

> produce? If someone keeps maize seeds in a drawer, will he harvest ears of maize?[174]

The recognition of the symbiotic relationship between study and physical work, theory and practice, translated by the slogan 'Study, Produce and Fight', provided a basis for the struggle against intellectual elitism. Machel elaborated on this strategy in his speech at the 2nd Conference of FRELIMO's Department of Education and Culture held in September 1970:

> Learning should be considered as an activity strictly linked to production and armed struggle. The main task of education, schooling, school materials and lesson planning is to provide each one with an advanced, objective and collective scientific ideology that enables revolutionary progress.[175]

The methods and programmes were geared at replacing a colonial-capitalist, individualist and competitive mentality with a revolutionary mentality based on the practice of collective work and study, democratic participation, and the working out of new kinds of social relations between people. Although the schools within the liberated zones suffered materially from all the illnesses of a war situation and an extremely poor social environment - lack of buildings, shortage of textbooks, unqualified teachers - they were seen as centres for experimentation of new educational policies with far-reaching implications for post-colonial development. Ribeiro presents an interesting account of the main pedagogical features of the experience in the liberated zones as follows:

> The first element was *pragmatism*. The definition of educational objectives was pragmatic in that they were not pre-defined but determined with reference to the revolutionary transformations of the war. The second element was utilitarianism. This *utilitarianism* was developed according to the need for mobilising people for the war, the need to have people with some knowledge to operate complex war equipment and the need to produce food to feed the soldiers. This required a linkage of study, combat and production. Other element of the emerging pedagogy was its *'non reductionist' character*. In fact, when the educational process started in the liberated zones, there were no books, no programmes and books. Materials from the colonial system were used with some adaptations. This meant that some colonial materials were accepted as useful. Unfortunately this spirit was lost with the '*escangalhamento do Aparelho do Estado*' [dismantling of the colonial state apparatus], including education. An important element on the implementation was *negotiation*. In fact, educational programmes before being implemented were negotiated.... People were explained that education would serve them immediately by improving their performance on the war and on the other hand after independence by occupying public offices from colonists. In sum, education was a task that concerned all people and everybody was involved. So it is possible to talk about the emergence of liberated zones pedagogy....[176]

'Liberated Zones' and the Post-independence Socialist Project: Points of Contention

While analysts tend to agree with FRELIMO leaders about the rich experience and the lessons accumulated throughout the armed struggle of national liberation in the 'liberated zones', they remain divided about their significance to the Socialist project after independence. They remain divided with respect to three main aspects:

1) the approach to the experience of the 'liberated zones';
2) the nature of the revolutionary theory emanating from the 'liberated zones'; and
3) the transfer of this theory to the post-independence Socialist project.

'Liberated Zones': *Fait Accompli* or Site of Struggles?

Contestation in this regard springs from the fact that the concept of 'liberated zones' has been 'so many times vulgarised or idealized that, to many, it has lost whatever specific meaning it had.'[177] While solidarity literature from engaged scholars failed through the tendency to idealise the experience of the liberated zones, FRELIMO's official accounts also faulted by the tendency to concentrate on the positive elements while overlooking the downside of the experience, a problem that Machel warned his followers about on several occasions. In one instance, directing his concern to the veterans Machel made the following comment:

> We wonder why it is that veterans, who are responsible for the struggle and who have made us what we are through their many sacrifices, should allow themselves to be overtaken by events, so to speak. The prime cause of this situation is the spirit of victory, of overconfidence. The great victories we have won, not only on the battlefield but also in wiping out reactionary forces and eliminating enemy infiltration in our midst, and also in national reconstruction, have led certain comrades to see only continuous victories, to underestimate the enemy tactically and to regard every situation as 'normal' and 'fine', never learning from setbacks or studying how to overcome our limitations. These comrades therefore stop studying our line, believing that they already know it well enough, as the victories prove. As a result political analysis is abandoned, we become less perceptive to deviations, contraventions of the line and are thus unable to detect and nip in the bud the enemy's ideological, moral and physical infiltration.[178]

From a scholarly point of view, De Bragança and Depelchin also warned about the tendency to romanticise the transformations in the 'liberated zones', which have diluted their dialectical nature as sites of contestation:

> Unfortunately, the writings of FRELIMO itself sometimes fell into the tendency to generalise by starting from the most radical and exceptional transformations, thereby promoting a distorted idea of the process. Thus, the fact that in the liberated zones there was a systematic effort to struggle

> against the practices of the enemy should by no means mean that these practices had completely disappeared. For example, one could find almost side by side examples of exemplary women/men relationships illustrating the transformations brought about by FRELIMO and examples of women being abused as objects of pleasure by men.[179]

This meant that this process of transformation was the result of struggles whose ultimate outcome or success could not by any means be considered as automatically achieved or completed. This also meant that these transformations did not reach the same level in all the various fronts of the struggle.

The Nature of the Revolutionary Theory of FRELIMO

When FRELIMO declared itself a Marxist-Leninist Vanguard party at its 5th Congress in 1977, Samora Machel was categorical in placing the logic of Marxism-Leninism within the logic of political transformation in the course of the armed liberation struggle:

> Ideas come from practice. When we set out, all those years ago, we wanted to liberate our people; and we found that people have to liberate themselves if the thing is to be real. We found that people could not liberate themselves unless they were active participants in the process of liberation....During our struggle for independence we acquired a lot of experience.... We made mistakes and saw how to correct them. We made successes and saw how to improve on them. *In doing this, we evolved a theory out of our practice; and then we found that this theory of ours evolving out of our practice, had already acquired a theorization under different times and places. This theory or theorization is Marxism-Leninism* [emphasis added][180]

Some analysts have however contested this argument. The most radical response comes from analysts like Michel Cahen. She starts by arguing that that the simple fact that FRELIMO declared itself officially Socialist and Marxist-Leninist is no reason for a social scientist, 'particularly a Marxist social scientist to accept a blank cheque'.[181] She goes on to say that: 'I have often been criticized on the grounds that, when it comes to it [debate on 'True and False' Marxism in Africa] I have defined an abstract model of 'true Marxism' in Africa in order, by contrasting it with the sad reality, to conclude that FRELIMO has never been Marxist or Socialist, and that Marxism was nothing other than a discourse'.[182]

Ottoway holds the same argument however in a more moderate tone. At its inception and under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO was a genuine Front, which embraced virtually anybody committed to the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. The 1968 incidents radicalised FRELIMO and the top leadership was purged of the more moderate or narrowly nationalist elements and 'started displaying Socialist leanings'.[183] Nonetheless, FRELIMO did not impose a rigid political line. Ottoway indicates, 'Sympathic observers portrayed the liberated zones as the land of perfect participatory democracy'.[184] For her, it was after 1997 that

FRELIMO became 'doctrinaire', trying to restructure itself into a Marxist-Leninist vanguard, which eroded the popularity it acquired during the war. She concludes that 'the reorganization pushed some into open opposition – there are reportedly many purged FRELIMO members in Renamo – but above all led to widespread disenchantment and apathy'.[185] She concedes however that compared to other political parties FRELIMO leadership remained truly collegial.

While not endorsing Marxism-Leninism as having originated in the 'liberated zones', their revolutionary legacy and FRELIMO's attempt to preserve it either as a model or source of inspiration for the construction of a Socialist society has gained support even in the most critical circles:

> This revolutionary spirit lives on, vitally influencing policies and decisions in independent Mozambique. The mission of the party cadre school at Matola is to perpetuate this revolutionary ethos and elan. Indeed, its foremost aim is to expand FRELIMO ranks with competent cadres. Nowhere is the need greater for trained and fervent party members than in the south, which stood outside the revolutionary experiences of the liberation struggle. What distinguishes the People's Republic of Mozambique from such self-declared African Marxist states as the Congo, Guinea, Benin, Somalia and Mali is its compelling heritage of revolutionary war. Given this legacy, FRELIMO seeks to shape its Socialist goals not only with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist texts but also through the experiences and inspiration of the liberated zones.[186]

'Liberated Zones' and the Post-independence Socialist Project

Of importance is the different ways the discourse of the liberated zones is reclaimed in the context of the challenge of reconstruction tasks of the post-independence period. In 1976, Graça Machel, Minister of Education and Culture, referred to the educational experience of the liberated zones as *a model* for the rest of the country: 'The model of the liberated areas . . . represents the basis of a new future society'.[187] The 'Economic and Social Directives', adopted by FRELIMO's 3rd Congress in 1977, reviewed the experiences gained in the liberated zones and restated them as the *basic guidelines* for development under the new conditions after independence. Samora Machel, as already indicated, referred to the adoption of Marxism-Leninism as the culmination of the theorisation of the experience of the liberated zones.[188] In my view, the significance of the liberated zones lies less in the establishment of objectively irreversible social facts, or pre-ordained models, than in the fact that experiences gained therein provided a source of inspiration and reliable guidelines for the solution of contradictions and problems in new situations. I am more impressed by the framework of principles and values than in the much-celebrated achievements in social and economic life. New problems were encountered in the complex situation inherited by FRELIMO. Solutions to the problems not encountered in the liberated zones had to be found, not by celebrating the victorious successes of the liberated zones but by emphasising the

lessons, by applying them and extending them to the conditions prevailing in Mozambique, not mechanistically but it in accordance with the post-independence stage of development. As Meyns has correctly noted, 'the process gave and continues to give, rise to numerous new contradictions in all fields of activity.'[189]

In some instances, the experience of the 'liberated zones' is kept at the level of individual experience and exchange of individual experiences as portrayed in the following account: 'What I know about the experience of the armed struggle is about people who only participated and who were talking about their own experience at that time, what was done... attempts were made to do certain things which disappeared such as production in schools. It was a failure.'[190]

Whether the experience of the 'liberated zones' represented a model, guidelines or was just a source of inspiration, its implementation became a highly contested matter. Some of our interviews are revealing. Mario, former Director of the Faculty of Education at the University Eduardo Mondlane, provides the following account:

> From what I've read and what I've heard from the people who participated in the armed struggle, I always had the impression that there is a huge gap between the experience of the armed struggle, liberated zones and what was implemented on the ground. There is a huge difference. First of all... the experience of the armed struggle was in fact an experience of education under the war, in conditions of war, without schools or the school was a tree, it was much directed to action. On the other hand ... the few who had access to post-primary [went] to secondary schools established in the countries that accommodated the fighters, namely the Instituto Moçambicano in Dar-es-Salaam and other institutions that were established. After independence, many of us – I was too young at the time – believed that what was happening was an attempt to replicate that experience in the Mozambican context, a vast context. However, when the time passed by, we became aware that there were, on the one hand, Mozambican schools and, on the other, FRELIMO schools. Thus, it makes me think that that experience that was developed during the armed struggle was considered only as a nursery for a group of people and not for the whole population. Or in other words, they thought perhaps that by perpetuating this distinction between schools for the population and FRELIMO schools, they would create a pool of people who would feed into the system or transfer that experience to the rest of the system. This did not happen for several reasons. The FRELIMO school in Maputo was closed because it had disturbances of different sorts... The secondary school of Ribaue was also closed.... [191]

Conclusion

Methodologically, the experience of the liberated zones constituted a radical departure from any other experience in Africa. Although FRELIMO had never openly declared its adherence to Marxism-Leninism, it claimed that its practice was based on a dialectical understanding of the realities and the challenges of the struggle. Marxism was used not only as an ideology but also as a method of social enquiry and social practice. Through criticism and self-criticism FRELIMO consolidated its revolutionary principles and relationships with the masses in the liberated zones. However, FRELIMO seems to have failed to take advantage of the educational culture forged in the liberated zones to develop an education system more appropriate to the complex reality of the rest of the country. As it will be shown, important principles such as those of criticism and self-criticism were replaced by dogmatism, authoritarianism and bureaucratic practices. Contrary to the spirit of FRELIMO's dialectics, ready-made formulas from the liberated zones were uncritically and mechanistically transplanted to whole country. A rigid form of democratic centralism formed the basis of FRELIMO's approach to democracy.

There were however some problems in the ways FRELIMO's experience was articulated. The first is the glorious and victorious approach that FRELIMO's leaders took to this experience, which in my view began to undermine the principle of self-criticism, one of its most impressive legacies. The educational experience of the liberated zones was presented as unquestionable and unproblematic. Related to this was also the assumption that FRELIMO's victory was a reflection of the just nature of its struggles and practices, thus sweeping aside the tensions, setbacks and contradictions which always accompany any process of change. This meant that the conditions of possibility of success were based on the previous success. Bragança and Depelchin make an important remark in this regard. For them in history as in any other science, it is necessary to step back and review the forms of knowledge that have come to be seen as definite truth. In the case of FRELIMO, it is not a matter of questioning the chosen objective, it is a matter of analysing how the process has been undertaken and whether the way we reconstruct this process is supported by evidence.[192]

Chapter Five

CHANGING SCHOOLS IN MOZAMBIQUE: NATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL POLICY PATHWAYS, 1975-1990

Introduction

As highlighted in the previous chapter, FRELIMO inherited a legacy of economic and social underdevelopment, with characteristics of a highly distorted economy and society.[193] Consequently, FRELIMO had to expand the educational infrastructure, train and educate a new leadership, prepare the 'working class for the control of the economy', and so forth, without an adequate social base and without material and financial resources. More than two decades later, analysts may regard FRELIMO's choice as unrealistic or misguided. However, for FRELIMO's cadres, driven by the revolutionary enthusiasm inspired by the victory against colonialism and the world political context of the time which seemed to favour left-wing politics, socialism in Mozambique was a dream which, with some effort and commitment, would one day come true. The road to the future was ambitiously defined as 'the road to Socialism'. Any commitment or compromise with 'imperialism' and its internal and external agencies - the World Bank clearly identified as one of them - was to be avoided at any costs. As during the liberation war, support was expected only from the Socialist block or progressive forces or allies from the West, including organisations with humanitarian record such as UNESCO and UNICEF. The idea that the world order could soon shift from cold war to globalisation was too remote. This chapter critically reviews this complex process.

The chapter argues that beyond the consequences of the civil war, the crisis faced in Mozambique's school system stems from three main miscalculations. First, Mozambique could not manipulate or avoid the consequences of the curse of the legacy of colonialism. FRELIMO government depended considerably on the old bureaucracy to change the educational system. Those who maintained the bureaucracy could not easily shed the patterns of behaviour learned when they had been pivotal figures in the colonial state that they served. Second, FRELIMO had to rely on a weak revolutionary state depleted of resources (human and material) to develop a severely underdeveloped economy and society. The Socialist project rested on sandy foundations. Shaky political and policy bases constrained the decision-making domain, which resulted in the overestimation of the legacy of the micro-world of the so-called liberated zones vis-à-vis an underestimation of the social and economic complexities of Mozambique as a whole. There was an almost mechanical implementation of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism from East European countries as well as the Tanzanian self-reliance concept, without accounting for the specific contextual challenges of the Mozambique, and a

nation-building model that ironically resulted in increasing segregation of ethnic minorities and rural masses by virtue of their traditional culture, language and ethnic loyalties.

The Mozambican Transitional State: 'A Case of Independence without Decolonization' and Implications for School Reform

In a recent paper on the South African transition, Jonathan makes two important theoretical considerations concerning the conceptual distinction of 'state' and 'government' in a society in transition from an authoritarian regime to a perceived democratic order. In any oligarchic or authoritarian regime with a ruling ideology, 'state' and 'government' are indistinguishable.[194] This was certainly the case of Mozambique in its transition from colonialism to FRELIMO's rule. The second is that the building of a democratic state (in this case the post-colonial state) is not an event but 'a lengthy process in which all "organs of state" – e.g. the judiciary, parliament and government, where applicable – are put in place. The civil society, the health and welfare sectors and public education at all levels – as well as those bodies and groupings which make up civil society and cultural life, play their part' in the process.[195] The complexity of this process depends largely on the form of the establishment of the new government, which could be 'through revolution' (regime overthrow), 'through replacement' (regime substitution) or through 'transplacement' or negotiated transfer of power from the old regime to the forces of opposition.[196]

FRELIMO ascended to power through a much-celebrated victory in its armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, i.e. through revolution. As Bragança put it, it was a case of 'independence without decolonization', or in the eyes of FRELIMO, independence without the imposition of a neo-colonial regime.[197] The intransigence of the Portuguese colonial regime in the face of the demands for independence ruled out the possibility of a negotiated decolonisation, while in the course of the struggle for liberation domestic factors converged to precipitate the process of radicalisation of FRELIMO. The Portuguese generals, who, under the leadership of Antonio da Silva Spínola, put an end to Marcelo Caetano's fascist regime in 25 April 1974, appeared divided. For those associated to Spínola, the people of the two remaining colonies – Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, were not ready from independence. For them, the solution entailed the creation of a Lusophone Commonwealth, which would safeguard neo-colonial ties with Portugal. Disillusioned by the colonial war, more radical generals called for an immediate independence of the three colonies. The new State President in Portugal, the Socialist leader Mario Soares, endorsed this position. For FRELIMO however the position was ambiguous: "The independence is non-negotiable. It is a legitimate right of the Mozambican people. Nonetheless, we are ready to discuss the modalities of transfer of power to the Mozambican people with FRELIMO as its only legitimate representative."[198]

The Portuguese colonial state power gave way to FRELIMO's regime through a regime overthrow leaving little room for compromises from FRELIMO or any consideration of different discourses or political voices in the political arena. The multiplicity of parties that proliferated after the Lusaka Accord between Portuguese authorities and FRELIMO were easily and quickly swept under the carpet. In this context, FRELIMO was able to proclaim itself as the only ruling party and the vanguard of the Mozambican state and people. However, as Simpson has correctly pointed out, 'the standard government versus state dichotomy is of limited analytical value in cases such as Mozambique, where the distinction between party and state remained in practice, until recently, a constitutional nicety'.[199] Simpson goes on to argue, 'When the ruling party has become almost an extension of the party, it is the latter that is the key variable in any explanation of political and economic change within society.'[200] Let me illustrate this claim through a brief foray into the early days of FRELIMO and the shaping of the one-party state Marxist and Leninist ideology or in other words the emergence of FRELIMO as the vanguard party of the alliance of workers and peasants in Mozambique.

Magode makes the point that FRELIMO originated as a system of alliances embracing varied social segments, a process that depended extensively on Eduardo Mondlane's own intellectual, symbolic and relational capital.[201] It embraced a coalition of different interests ranging from churches, members of academic institutions and civic associations and students to ordinary people united in the contestation of the colonial regime. This is well captured in the theory of Mozambicaness of Mondlane developed by Veloso.[202] According to both Magode and Veloso, Mondlane strived to ground FRELIMO's legitimacy on recognition of Mozambique's ethnic, religious, economic and cultural diversity. He succeeded in mobilising different forms of social networks, pulling together interest groups based on religion, chieftainship, family or marriage, etc., around the common purpose of national liberation. This particular perspective of FRELIMO was to be clearly articulated in FRELIMO's First Congress in 1962, which placed emphasis on its national character.

The emergence of the 'liberated zones', which raised questions about how they should be organised, and the 1968 crisis, posed questions about the ultimate objectives of the liberation struggle. Different interpretations have been articulated about how FRELIMO addressed these questions. According to FRELIMO's official historiography, the 1986 incidents were a manifestation of a clash between two conflicting ideological lines within the movement.[203] On the one hand, there was a 'petit-bourgeois' line comprising the 'new exploiters' led by Uria Simango, who campaigned to gain the leadership of FRELIMO after the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane on the basis of an anti-Socialist and anti-Southerner political platform.[204] Lazáro Nkavandame also emerged as a leader of those who saw in the liberated zones an opportunity to assert themselves as private agents responsible for marketing peasant cash crop production and managers of

consumer cooperatives. On the other hand, there was a revolutionary Socialist faction led by Samora Machel, which was concerned with the degeneration of the struggle into an exercise of simple replacement of white faces with black faces, while preserving the same exploitative social relations of the past. They widened their expectations to include the elimination of any form of 'exploitation of man by man'.

With the victory of the radical faction at the Second Congress in July 1968, the discourse of national liberation came to be articulated in terms of Socialist revolution and the elimination of the exploitative colonial capitalist system. A process began which culminated in FRELIMO asserting its position as the vanguard party. As articulated by Machel, 'the seventh year [1971] was the point of departure for the conscious evolution of the nature of our organization, its evolution towards becoming a vanguard party of the working masses of our country ... with a vanguard ideology'.[205] Do Rosário argues that the original utopia was about independence and the materialisation of the struggle. This utopia was tainted by the internal battles of FRELIMO and the crisis of 1968. For him,

> The crisis of 1968 takes the only the only bond of unit that kept the people united when Mondlane was assassinated. Thereafter there was to be 'a winner' and 'a loser'. The group that won, which is the group of Samora, rapidly transformed the 'utopia of all' into 'a utopia of some'. This... in my view defines the fate of Mozambique.
>
> Now 'the revolutionary' and 'the reactionary', etc., become the expressions that determine the 'winners' and the 'losers'. There is nothing to say, there is no crisis of certain ideas when they talk about the 1968 crisis. Now every winner claims a trophy. It is natural. It is anthropological. They claimed the trophy hence the principle of one party, state party, militarist hegemony, hegemony manifested in 'who is not with us is against us', which reflects this triumph.... There was no time to generate anti-bodies within this group from 1969 to 1974, five years. Probably that would have generated new forms; perhaps they would not have claimed so many trophies during the first years of independence. In essence, the independence, the country, the transfer of power to this group was, in my view, the trophy....[206]

The dominant role of FRELIMO in society and the state as the ruling party was made more explicit in Article 3 of the 1975 constitution, which blurred the distinction between party and state:

> The People's Republic of Mozambique will be guided by the political line defined by FRELIMO, which is the leader of the State and society. FRELIMO will establish the basic political policy of the State, so as to ensure the conformity of the policy of the State with the interests of the people.[207]

This strategy had profound implications for the transitional state and its role in school reform. First, it gave FRELIMO total hegemony over the state, reducing the state into the guardian of the ruling party hegemony, and state functions into mere practical execution or implementation of party policy directives. This explains the political and ideological resilience of FRELIMO, which has resisted all political upheavals, external and internal, to retain its national hegemony in spite of major ideological shifts and changes of government. In fact, despite the constitution of Renamo as an opposition party, a claim could be made that the only serious opposition faced by FRELIMO has been an internal opposition. The constant reconstitution of top decision-making structures within FRELIMO and government comes close to an expression of the reconstitution of internal hegemony driven by certain factions, which gave rise to Chissanism and more recently Guebusism. Today neither FRELIMO nor RENAMO as the opposition party have a clear ideological vision of the future of Mozambique. Rosario provided an interesting insight in this regard:

> I do not see any ideological discourse in which there is a national agenda. Say for example: 'these are my ideas about the development of this countries'. Nothing! You have programmatic discourses. In their discourse they all suggest that they are going to fight absolute poverty, whether liberal, Socialist, or democratic Socialist. Now, what line distinguishes the fight against absolute poverty of Renamo and the fight against absolute poverty of FRELIMO or of any other party? I do not see any.[208]

For a state established with the primary goal of securing the hegemony of the ruling party, education and schools in particular represented a privileged site to meet such a challenge. The instrumentalist and utilitarian perspective that characterised education under the armed struggle occupied centre stage in government's reform strategy. As will be shown, the creation of a new person with a Socialist outlook constituted a primary goal to be achieved through education. This went hand in hand with the consolidation of FRELIMO's influence and control at all levels of school life, particularly at the level of governance and administration, a function controlled by the Grupos Dinamizadores.

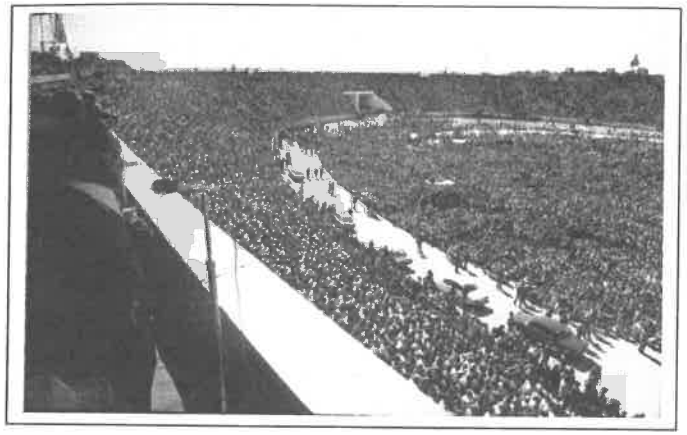

Plate 2. Mozambique's independence received with enthusiasm

Second, it resulted in an overestimation of FRELIMO's own capacity to build such a major social engineering project in Mozambique, which posed serious constraints at policy level. Educational policy formulation and issues of vertical and horizontal alignment in educational policy implementation, planning and costing, which fell within the sphere of government, tended to be neglected:

> In fact I think that there was capacity to formulate clear and consistent educational policies.... Capacity existed to define at macro level, policy guidelines which emanated from the congresses of the ruling party, FRELIMO. These included the Third Congress directives, Fourth Congress directives, the PPI, the famous PPI - *Plano Prospectivo Indivcativo* – (Indicative, Prospective Plan) to mention a few. Beyond this, there was no capacity to translate these macro directives into concrete sector policies in relation to teacher education.[209]

The substantive nature of the new state was to be built through legislation enacted by the new government under severe constraints imposed by the legacies and continuities. Paradoxically, while FRELIMO placed emphasis on the need to break up with the colonial legacies to build a revolutionary state, it did not escape the influences of the bureaucratic structures and traditions inherited from the colonial legacy, which became aggravated by an intolerant state dominated by communist ideology, known as 'democratic centralism'. The lack of alignment about the functions of the party and those of the state in schools, a site of fierce political contestation, resulted in some inconsistencies with detrimental effects on school

performance. I will discuss these implications in more detail in the rest of the chapter. The state made a transition through two distinctive stages, from Machel's era (First Republic) to Chissano's era (Second Republic). I borrow the defining features from Rosário:

> The first (Republic) had full authority [of the state] but an authority based on repression. The second has some authority of the state but based on the will of people to arrange spaces where they can exercise their citizenship. There is reasonable democracy.[210]

The Foundations of a New Education Policy

As indicated in Chapter Two, a salient feature of the so-called liberated zones is the fact that they symbolised the creative potential of a new type of liberation movement. From the point of view of FRELIMO leaders, this meant that as a liberation movement, FRELIMO's programme had embraced ideals well beyond the narrow confines of a nationalist movement. FRELIMO defined itself as a democratic revolutionary movement committed to a radical transformation of the Mozambican society into a Socialist one. In education, the demands and contradictions of the armed struggle, as manifested by the conflicts at the FRELIMO secondary school in Dar-es-Salaam, and the political struggles over the form and content of the organisation of society in the liberated zones, had resulted in the development of a new philosophy of education around the slogan 'educate man to win the war, create a new society and develop our country'. As such, the 'liberated zones' were portrayed as representing the laboratory of FRELIMO's education policies.[211]

Extending the experience of the 'liberated zones' proved a daunting task for educational leaders for several reasons. First, the 'liberated zones' constituted a micro-world that hardly reflected the complexity of the whole country. Second, the people who carried this experience and could articulate it intelligibly to the teachers and learners – let alone translate them into concrete policies - got swamped in different tasks in the party and government. This was the case, for example, with Gideon Ndobe, Lina Magaia and Joaquim Chissano. Graça Machel joined the movement in 1973, almost at the end of the liberation struggle. The chapter puts forward the argument that while the intention of transferring the experience of the liberated zones to the rest of the country might have existed, in practice the experience of the liberated zones remained just a source of inspiration for some people; the educational policy for the country was negotiated in highly contested conversations in forums such as the Beira Seminar in 1975 and the Maputo Seminar in 1978.

Positioning and Undoing Colonialism in Education, 1975-1983

Shortly after independence, education in Mozambique suffered from other factors beyond the legacy, such as the effects of the crisis on the settler community and generalised sabotage of the economy and national services. Having failed to engineer a neo-colonial settlement and to force a

Rhodesian UDI-type solution in an aborted coup attempt, after the Lusaka agreements between Portugal and FRELIMO, Portuguese settlers engaged in a massive emigration from Mozambique to South Africa, Rhodesia and overseas, which led to an almost total collapse of important economic sectors and services that had been entirely controlled by them. It is estimated that 40,000 settlers left Mozambique between 1971 and 1973, another 100,000 between the 25th of April 1974 coup in Portugal and the proclamation of independence in June 1975, and more than 100,000 of the remaining settlers in the first year of independence.[212] This exodus had a highly detrimental effect on the economy and particularly on the education system, which was almost exclusively dependent on Portuguese teachers and bureaucracy.

It was against this background that the newly appointed government adopted a strategy to initiate major reforms in the school system, considered strategic for the consolidation of FRELIMO's political and ideological hegemony throughout the country. An important aspect to emphasise here is the enthusiasm and idealism with which the newly-appointed government approached its mission, expressed in statements such as 'We are going to change the educational system'; 'Now schooling must serve the needs of the Mozambican people and the economic and social development' and so forth.[213] As a preliminary step, the government organised in Beira a major national seminar, the first national gathering in education that brought together important stakeholders in education, comprising representatives of national and provincial education departments, teachers and school leaders at all levels of education.

The Beira Seminar: Defining a National Vision of Education for Mozambique

Held in January 1975, the Beira Seminar brought together primary and secondary school teachers from all parts of the country, and university staff, for the first time, into contact with FRELIMO cadres for ten days of intense discussion. It provided a forum through which FRELIMO designed strategies and guiding principles for extending the experience of the liberated zones to the rest of country. Interestingly, the Beira Seminar provided the model for what would become the government's policy-making strategy. While the planning units within the Ministry of Education and the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE) assumed the research responsibility on educational issues, consultation and major deliberations took place in seminars. The 'seminar' became the official forum where most decisions for education policy at national, provincial and institutional levels were made.

Through a detailed, though somewhat romanticised narrative, the leading role of the liberated zones as sources of political inspiration was re-asserted and the main educational principles and concepts adopted. The experience of FRELIMO's schools was portrayed as a model for teacher training, curriculum design, organisation and management of schooling in the whole

country.[214] As in the liberated zones, the role of schooling was re-defined as the training of the *continuadores*, that is, those who would carry on the revolutionary struggle and ensure a Socialist future for Mozambique. Critics have interpreted this decision as symptomatic of the political desire for producing and reproducing Mozambican elite rooted in FRELIMO's history. I will return to this point later.

In the light of FRELIMO's experience, key policy issues were adopted. The Seminar pushed for a critical approach to the entire colonial syllabus together with all the textbooks that had been in use under colonialism, and the introduction of new history and geography courses informed by the revolutionary needs of FRELIMO. It embraced the principle of unity between theory and practice in all school activities through the link between study and production cultivated in the liberated zones during the armed struggle.[215] In line with FRELIMO's political strategy, the Seminar emphasised the need for political and ideological education for students and teachers as well as new cultural activities to promote and assert the Mozambican identity and patriotism. For this purpose all teachers had to undergo re-training or re-education (*cursos de reciclagem*). Ironically, Portuguese was declared as the exclusive medium in schools and the use of local languages - 'dialects'- in the classroom was prohibited by law. A comment by Newitt in this regard is worth quoting: 'ironically, greater efforts were made to widen the knowledge of it (Portuguese) and to make people literate in the language of Camões and Caetano than the Portuguese themselves had ever made'.[216]

The extension of the educational culture of the liberated zones to the rest of country soon proved to be far from being a simple task. First, the educational policy changes adopted at Beira Seminar were almost exclusively based on and justified on political grounds. No systematic research and careful consideration of environmental factors, material and human resources were undertaken. A major priority in education was the destruction of the colonial legacy, particularly the destruction of the state apparatus as stated in the famous song repeatedly sung by FRELIMO cadres: *vamos escangalhar o aparelho do estado colonial* (Let's destroy the colonial state apparatus). The implementation of Beira's deliberations entailed three important steps:

(i) promotion of national literacy campaigns;

(ii) nationalisation of schools, including church and missionary schools;

(iii) promotion of national unity; and

(iv) curriculum reorganisation (discussed in Chapter Seven).

National Literacy Campaigns

Johnston makes the point that 'The effects of literacy on society seem reasonably clear; at least, it is clear that societies with a high level of

literacy are materially better off than those with a low level, and that the presence of widespread literacy skills in a society substantially affects its culture, relationships, power structure, and economy.'[217] Among FRELIMO authorities there was to a large extent the belief that literacy has the value of material capital and that economic development would be accelerated if enough investment were made in education, particularly in literacy. This is an assumption that was recently challenged by Marshall. She argued that adult literacy in the workplace and the community was intended '... to become process of creating rather than transmitting knowledge, in which people develop a capacity to locate themselves in their own times and spaces, and legitimate their own activities and inter-relatedness'.[218] In Johnston's view, this led to a very strong ideology about and popular demand for education in Mozambique.[219]

Plate 3. Pupils photographed around the *Jornal do Povo*

Inspired by the Soviet Union and East Germany, FRELIMO opted for a modernisation project that entailed mechanisation of farming, collectivisation of peasant production through communal villages (*aldeias comunais*), spread of industries and an expansion of the commercial network in the countryside. The success of such a project, it was argued, depended on universal literacy. Literacy campaigns were undertaken at national level with a great deal of enthusiasm. Johnston estimates that 20 per cent of the population attended literacy classes.[220] The concept of self-

reliance borrowed from the Tanzanian experience was integrated into the communal villages and made a component of the school curriculum. A major responsibility for the spread of these ideas rested on the popular newspaper, named the *jornal do povo* (people's newspaper) published in Portuguese. Access to this newspaper also required a reasonable level of literacy. In addition, literacy had also an important function as a means of conscientisation of the masses or as Popov puts it, *ideological enlightenment*, through which all citizens would develop a sense of responsibility and accountability to the party and the state.[221] The best periodisation of the different functions attached to literacy in Mozambique comes from Johnston:

> Portuguese colonialism created a system which obstinately prevented Mozambicans from becoming literate, even when (1965-74) it seemed that it would be advantageous to the colonial regime that they should become so in greater numbers. The FRELIMO liberation forces (1968-75) promoted literacy almost as a weapon of war, an instrument of revolutionary change. The FRELIMO transitional government (1974-75) promoted literacy as a form of informing the masses that the world had changed and of organizing the masses to participate in and defend that change. The FRELIMO vanguard party (1977) initially planned literacy as a combination of political mobilizer and economic input to production, and then (1983) went over to literacy as a direct formal input into increasing human capital and accelerating economic growth. The FRELIMO mass party (1989) finds itself in a situation in which promoting literacy (in any language) is so far down the list of priorities that it does not really even feature.[222]

Arguably, literacy campaigning and adult education seem to have emerged as one of the few areas where the experience of the liberated zones could be replicated with a degree of success. However, as in the liberated zones, the most effective impact of literacy seems to have been political, in mobilising people behind FRELIMO and its political project. Unlike many Southern African countries, Mozambicans felt highly motivated to learn the colonial language – Portuguese – an ideal that fitted into the literacy campaign and FRELIMO's vision of national unity.

Plate 4. The launch of the National Literacy Campaign with the workers of the Mozambique Railways

Nationalisation of Educational Institutions

Although the nationalisation of schools in June 1975 created a favourable political context for more meaningful educational transformation, it imposed insurmountable pressures on the educational sector: an increase of the school population and consequent school congestion, a sharp drop in the numbers of qualified teachers and increasing dependence on foreign staff, rapid deterioration of the school infrastructure and resort to school shifts, high teacher turn over and high drop-out and failure rate. Mario describes the situation created by the nationalisations as follows:

> The educational system expanded rapidly, but there was no capacity to manage or administer the system adequately. Well, the period of enthusiasm as I call it faded away and we are still suffering the consequences. Because, on the one hand the war started from 1982 and began to be felt heavily in 1983 throughout the country through the destruction of the infrastructure, etc. In my view, the war only aggravated what was already a bad situation. It is true that with the destruction of the infrastructure and schools and the killing of people, many people moved to the neighbouring countries, millions of Mozambicans were displaced... That's true! However that only aggravated the situation in terms of the existing capacity to deliver quality education in the country. There was no capacity. In terms of teacher education, we were very backward. It is in this area -- teacher education and the training of education and school managers - where a huge mistake was made. We had no capacity to create suitable in those domains.[223]

For example, in the primary schools, where the crisis assumed substantial proportions, the number of students increased from 695,885 in 1974/75 to 1, 276, and 500 in 1976, while the number of teachers increased only from 10, 281 to 15, 000, which corresponds to a teacher/pupil ratio of 1:85 in 1976 from 1:67 in 1975.[224] There were schools where the numbers of pupils increased from 300 to 3000 and pupils were taught in three shifts. Mozambique had neither the material nor human resources to cope with these pressures. Mozambique had no teacher education policy. Mario pointed out that for instance, 'a study undertaken in 1991 indicated that Mozambique had not less than ten or eleven incompatible teacher training models'.[225] The lack of a teacher training policy made the teaching profession less attractive, though students were channelled into teacher education by Ministerial decision. Teacher education placed emphasis on repeated short courses (*cursos de reciclagem*), which resulted in teacher demotivation. Aggravating the situation was the lack of accountability mechanisms within the education system. The former Minister of Education and Culture, Graça Machel, recognised this limitation in 1979: 'If, on the one hand, the process of nationalisation signified a major victory, on the other, the effective and immediate control of the education process necessitated enormous efforts for which we had insufficient resources, either human or material.'[226]

Plate 5. Graça Machel, Minister of Education and Culture, addresses school children

Increasing Reliance on Technical Assistance

The state tried to minimise the problem of staff shortages through a programme of massive recruitment of foreigners from a wide variety of countries (e.g. Soviet Union, East German, Bulgaria and Cuba). These were known as *cooperantes* (co-operators or more appropriately technical assistants). Critics converge on attributing to these technical assistants some of the fundamental influences in the Mozambican education reform.[227] However, not only was the recruitment of *cooperantes* an expensive endeavour for a weak economy but it also had serious political and pedagogical implications. First, the diversity of experiences amongst *cooperantes* made it difficult to implement the newly set educational objectives. Most importantly, it created tensions between them and the Mozambican teachers because of huge salary disparities. A large section of the highly assimilated Mozambican elite came to see the status of cooperantes as economically and socially more desirable than their own status of Mozambican citizens. Consequently, increasing numbers of skilled and semi-skilled Mozambicans renounced their citizenship and adopted Portuguese citizenship to be employed as *cooperantes*. The state responded vigorously through the so-called 24/20 (*vinte quatro/vinte*)[228] ruling, whereby all those who had renounced their citizenship were given twenty-four hours and 20 kilos of luggage to leave the country. Several thousands of Mozambicans were expelled from Mozambique, which represented a considerable loss for an economy already faced with a rising shortage of skilled labour.

Plate 6. Improvisation in response to the shortage of classrooms

FRELIMO Takes Control: New School Governance

At school level, the implementation of Beira deliberations had to depend solely on the political will and commitment of the practitioners guided by the *Grupo Dinamizadores* - FRELIMO's political cells established at school level and made up of its members. This had important pedagogical implications for the teaching and learning process. The *Grupo Dinamizadores*, unable 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. This caused tremendous dissatisfaction and demotivation among teachers and students unfamiliar or sceptical towards FRELIMO's ideals. In the absence of textbooks or teaching aids, teachers acquired overwhelming power over their students. They dictated the content or wrote almost everything on the board. Most of these teachers were not prepared nor did they have enough time to experiment with the new methods. Consequently, pupils were very often forced to play a passive role. Rather than critical learning organisations, many schools turned increasingly into dogmatic and authoritarian institutions where learners were to digest uncritically and chant ideological principles and slogans.

Despite the obstacles, initial attempts at implementing Beira's policies registered meaningful political and pedagogical scores and enthusiasm embedded in Machel's 1978 slogan: 'Let's make the entire country a school where everybody learns and everybody teaches'.[229] The most important features included:

(i) the national literacy campaign discussed above;

(ii) the introduction of new governing structures in schools to change them into 'people's power centres';

(iii) links of schools with the productive sector; and

(iv) the introduction of a new curriculum, syllabuses and school textbooks.[230] Literacy enrolments increased from 260,000 in 1978/9 to 325,000 in 1980.[231] In 1977, the full primary school programmes were made available in three volumes. By 1978, manuals for literacy teachers and Portuguese language readers had been produced for secondary schools.[232] The same year the newly founded National Institute for Education Development (INDE) assumed the task of producing school textbooks. A variety of individuals formed subject groups, many of them often without sufficient experience or knowledge about the new learning targets and teaching methods.

Changing the schools into centres of people's power had a particular significance in the context of the Mozambican revolution. Literally, it meant the set of activities and practices that would change the colonial school into 'a democratic centre, where new types of relations between

pupils and teacher should evolve'.[233] Priority was given to those activities aimed at training, upgrading or 're-educating' teachers in the system and new teachers. Within the schools, changes included promotion of collective and democratic practices and 'correct relationships among the workers of the school', productive activities, political mobilisation and organisation of the school community under the slogan 'Unity, Work and Vigilance'.[234] The post of school principal was replaced by a school council representing the different sectors of the school community (workers, pupils and teachers) led by a management commission (the executive) and the school *Grupo Dinamizador,* constituted by political activists and representing FRELIMO.[235] It was hoped that these changes would lay the foundations for a 'new school', which would be a model for the relations, values and skills to be developed in the new society. For this purpose, the state, and particularly FRELIMO, would take exclusive responsibility for creating that model. These initial changes were generally characterised by emphasis on political and ideological objectives and a somewhat mechanistic or dogmatic approach to social subjects, particularly analyses based on historical and dialectical materialism.

The extension of the educational culture of the liberated zones to the rest of country soon proved to be far from a simple task. First, the educational policy changes adopted at Beira Seminar were almost exclusively based on and justified on political grounds. No systematic research and careful consideration of environmental factors, material and human resources were undertaken. The process of implementation had to depend solely on the political will and commitment of the practitioners guided by the *Grupo Dinamizadores*. This had important pedagogical implications for the teaching and learning process.

Education for Socialism

The nationalisation of the means of production and services in 1975 was to be followed by a systematic process of socialisation whereby the workers and the peasants would exercise effective control over the economy and the whole society. For this purpose, the Third Congress of FRELIMO, held in Maputo in February 1977, defined a general strategy and the necessary policies. The goals set for education involved the organisation of an education system to cater for workers and their children at all levels, the development of an education system at the service of society, the economy and the worker-peasant alliance, the political and ideological training of teachers and students, and the breakdown of the barriers between theory and practice or study and production. The education strategy outlined by the Third Congress was to be implemented under considerable economic and political constraints, including: the profound crisis of capital accumulation that faced Mozambique; the effects of the recession caused by the world energy crisis; the hostility of the neighbouring minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa; the tiny amount of international aid that Mozambique received; and the emergence of bureaucratic voluntarism,

characterised by uncontrolled and counter-productive bureaucratic decisions and practices in the name of democratic centralism.

Bureaucratic voluntarism describes a tendency to replace persuasion with enforcement, characterised by uncontrolled authoritarian practices in the name of democratic centralism. It eclipsed the organisational concerns and the initiative of the masses. It entailed massive mobilisation of individuals to perform national tasks without remuneration as an expression of patriotism. Bureaucratic voluntarism was partly due to the fact that FRELIMO adopted a strategy of accumulation that demanded sacrifices from the masses by cutting drastically the levels of consumption and material incentives for production and productivity. This economic strategy soon proved counter-productive, particularly at the level of mass mobilisation for the tasks of national reconstruction. It created a contradiction between the political consciousness achieved by the masses and the increasing deterioration of their social conditions. The well-celebrated principle that the country should produce to export in order to import machinery for national development began to be seen with suspicion by those who expected immediate rewards from their economic efforts. In education, bureaucratic voluntarism resulted in the institutionalisation of a militaristic code of conduct, indoctrination and dogmatism, whereby new policies, decisions or initiatives taken by the *Grupo Dinamizador* or Governing Council were not to be questioned but only *enriquecido* (enriched) and implemented.[236]

The emergence of bureaucratic voluntarism was not an isolated phenomenon but a manifestation of a decline of the notion of liberated zones as sources of inspiration. FRELIMO seems to have overestimated the role of the liberated zones as laboratories of future Socialist policies, while underestimating the complexity of the apparatus inherited from the colonial education system. The vast reality and diversity of Mozambique posed new questions to which the experience of the liberated zones had no answers. The cadres trained in the liberated zones either became overwhelmed by the bureaucracy inherited from the colonial apparatus or found themselves a tiny minority unable to provide an effective leadership. In many cases, the practices of criticism and self-criticism, which had made possible the education of trustworthy revolutionary cadres, degenerated into an autocratic culture of the colonial bureaucracy.

Production and Reproduction of a Social and Political Elite

The history of FRELIMO has from its inception marked by a fierce battle between *elitism* and *egalitariasm*. The group of activists at the centre of the conflict that culminated with the assassination of the former FRELIMO president, Dr Eduardo Mondlane, which was defeated during the 1965/66 crisis, have been characterised as protagonists of elitism. In the same vein, those students who went overseas to pursue higher education and claimed rights to leadership instead of re-joining the armed struggle have also been accused of elitism. In this sense, FRELIMO had been very consistent in its

stand against elitism in that it attached a dimension of anti-elitist strategy to the introduction of productive activities in schools, designed to reduce the gap between manual and intellectual work. However, this legacy began soon to erode either under the pressure of the almost overwhelming colonial legacy or as manifestation of an increasing degeneration of the lessons brought from the liberated zones. Perhaps the most controversial manifestation of this degeneration was the adoption of a conscious strategy designed at reproducing particular social and political elite with profound impact in the restructuring of power relations.

The first step in this direction entailed the creation of *escolas especiais* (special Party Schools) for children of FRELIMO members, where these could be taught and guided by FRELIMO's ethos. This particular initiative created a paradox around the education discourse concerning the legacy of 'the liberated zones' as a model for schools in the rest of the country:

> After independence, many of us, I was too young at the time, believed that what was happening was an attempt to replicate that experience to the Mozambican context – a vast context. However as time went by, we began to understand that there were Mozambican schools and FRELIMO schools. Thus, this makes me think that the experience developed during the armed struggle was considered as incubator only for a group of people and not for all the population. Or, in other words, perhaps they thought that by perpetuating this distinction between schools for the population and FRELIMO schools, they would create a pool of people who afterwards would feed the rest of the system or would transfer that experience to the rest of system, which did not happen.[237]

These schools (e.g. FRELIMO school in Maputo, the Secondary School of Ribaue) were eventually closed due to problems of different kinds.

The second step involved the closure of the controversial Faculty of Law at the University Eduardo Mondlane – perceived as promoting conservatism – and the establishment of the Faculty for the Former Combatants and Vanguard Workers in 1983. Its task was to provide higher education to FRELIMO combatants, the working class and the peasantry. Through it, members of FRELIMO party with basic literacy could benefit from accelerated pre-university education, which in Popov's view was 'the first *official* step to produce *new* state elite'.[238] By 1988, it had 663 students.[239] Parallel to this development, children of active FRELIMO members were also given access to schools with good teachers and resources. The division between education for the masses and elite education began to take shape. In addition, beneficiaries of this strategy included also those who were selected to study in Cuba and East Germany, some of whom returned with degrees to occupy high-ranking positions within the state hierarchy. These initiatives fell under severe criticism from several circles as mechanisms for creating an elite and reproducing privilege.[240]

It was however the integration of the graduates from these schools and programmes into the state apparatus that played a central role in generating a bureaucratic privileged elite. Johnston sums up this process as follows:

> Essentially, through its integration into the inherited central state apparatus, much of FRELIMO began to work alongside of and identify with the representatives of the ruling-class-in-formation in positions of management in the state and the economy. These were essentially more educated Mozambicans from an urban petty-bourgeois background who had risen in the colonial state in the years before independence. As a consequence, important sectors of the government became increasingly unconcerned about defending the interests of the working class and the peasantry. Rather, to consolidate their privileged positions, they concentrated power in their own hands through central planning and investment in technology. The gradual ascendance of this new class can be traced through the changes in FRELIMO policy and practice, for instance in literacy and adult education, as the central state apparatus became increasingly more centralist and technologist. This tendency in policy was not uniform or uncontested, but became dominant.[241]

Nation Building vis-à-vis Social Segregation

One of the challenges experienced by African countries in the post-colonial era has been the need to develop an alternative to the colonial assimilationist or segregationist colonial education systems. In most of these countries, not only was education linked to the ideology of the new ruling classes but also was bound up with the challenge for building national unity. FRELIMO too responded to this challenge by adopting a strategy of national unification. Thus the educational policy concentrated on global or national rather than local, regional or ethnic concerns. By so doing, FRELIMO hoped to create a unified sense of nationhood through the school system, using Portuguese as a national language and as the only medium of instruction. [242] The fact that the Portuguese colonial policy was based on the ideology of assimilation and had resulted in an apparent acceptance of Portuguese by the Mozambican elite as the only cross-ethnic communication medium seems to have fuelled a great deal of enthusiasm among FRELIMO leaders, who saw it as a solid basis for nation-building. It soon became clear that this approach underestimated the complexity of the Mozambican socio-cultural reality.

Based on the ideology of Marxism and Leninism and guided by Socialist principles and values, the education system was expected to precipitate a 'cultural revolution', which would alter the mind-set of the people in order to eradicate negative traditional cultural practices (superstition, fetishism, obscurantism and witchcraft) and colonial cultural practices (racism, tribalism, regionalism, individualism, and elitism). Contrary to many African countries, Mozambique adopted an educational policy, which systematically suppressed or marginalised traditional institutions and

challenged all forms of traditional culture, regarded as negative or anti-Socialist. This was based on the assumption that, in traditional societies, given the low level of knowledge that characterises them, superstition and similar practices take the place of science and block any scientific analysis of the material and social milieu in favour of the supernatural. Thus for FRELIMO, traditional education created passivity and took for granted as unproblematic ideas inherited from the colonial legacy. Traditional education encouraged the belief in the infallibility of older generations personified in elderly peoples, whose ideas remained unchallenged. Within the range of traditional values to be eliminated in the new system were for example women's submission to men and related sexist values and submission of young people to the chiefs or elderly people. Education was to promote a new culture, based on positive traditional forms together with new content dictated by the ideals of socialism. By adopting this education strategy, FRELIMO hoped to create what has been referred to as 'The New Man', that is, a society engineered along with the interests of the peasant/working-class alliance, with a Mozambican identity and a scientific, materialist and dialectical outlook.

The strategy of national unification had dramatic consequences for practitioners in education. Teachers were to promote a new culture and, for this purpose, they had to undergo a process of *reciclagem* (re-education) and socialisation into the desired ideal society and values. The curriculum, syllabuses and methods had to be integrated and informed by the ideology of the ruling party. As such, political education became compulsory and an important component of the new curriculum. The task of the new education authorities was to extend the culture of the 'New Man' or 'New Society' - which in FRELIMO's perspective was inspired by the experience of the liberated zones - to the rest of the country, that is, to apply at a macro-level what had been generated in a very particular micro-world. This was an obvious miscalculation that unfortunately did not appear as such, in the minds of enthusiastic FRELIMO leaders.

Building a New Education System

In what was publicised as a major education innovation, the National Education System approved by Parliament in 1982 began to be implemented in 1983, one grade per year. Its main objectives and principles included:

1) educating the 'New Man' for the tasks of Socialist development;
2) eradicating illiteracy;
3) introducing a system of free and compulsory basic education;
4) training highly qualified specialists for national economic and social development;
5) promoting the use of the Portuguese language in order to consolidate national unity;

6) developing a sense of aesthetics, art and appreciation of beauty amongst the youth; and
7) turning learning institutions into bases for consolidation of people's power.[243]

The National Education System, which was presented as a major departure from the colonial education system, consisted of five sub-systems: General Education, Teacher Training, Professional Technical Training, Adult Education and Higher Education. Structurally, its distinctive features were the extension of primary education from four to five years of schooling and thus the extension of pre-university schooling to twelve grades, the transfer of professional-technical training from the Ministry of Labour to the Ministry of Education and the incorporation of adult education into formal education.

The Departure from Socialism, 1977-1990

The process of education transformation was not without costs and struggles. Very soon, the Mozambican revolution found itself under attack from different fronts: the international imperialist movement, through the neighbouring minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, and the growing internal counter-revolutionary movement (RENAMO), direct military aggression from South Africa and undeclared economic sanctions against the Mozambican government.

These factors led the economy and social services to an almost total collapse, with serious implications for the education system: general degradation of the schooling system; the deterioration of teachers' working conditions; and substantial exodus of teachers from the teaching profession to more profitable jobs including the informal sector of small business, known as *candonga* and, most recently, as *dumbanengue.* Sexual harassment, 'marketing' of examination papers and certificates and other forms of corruption increased. Teachers became hostile towards *cooperantes* (in many cases for legitimate reasons). Undistributed book stockpiles were discovered in several offices. Complaints about unpaid salaries, and the victimisation and intimidation of successful teachers were common. These patterns of behaviour were represented by the image of *xiconhoca* (which personifies anti-revolutionary and reactionary behaviour). This crisis culminated in the extensive class and school boycotts of 1989-90. As a consequence of the crisis, many teachers were physically, psychologically, morally and intellectually traumatised, thus reducing their ability to perform their duties successfully.

The crisis in Mozambican education should also be understood with reference to the World Bank programme of structural adjustment, the *Programa de Reabilitação Económica* (Programme of Economic Rehabilitation), known as PRE. Introduced in 1987, the World Bank programme of structural adjustment, the *Programa de Reabilitação Económica* or sarcastically called 'PRE', (Programme of Economic Rehabilitation)

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envisaged three long-term goals: (i) increase of the GNP by recovering productivity; (ii) achievement of fiscal stability through restrictive fiscal and monetary policies to keep expenditure in line with available resources; and (iii) reduction of poverty through maintenance or expansion of public expenditure in social services, including basic education, primary health care and food subsidies. *Machambas do povo* (state organised farms where peasant worked collectively), agricultural cooperatives, and *lojas do povo* (state-owned shops), introduced as part of FRELIMO's socialist strategy, and were abolished to give way to private initiative. An *ofensiva political and organisacional* (political and organisational offensive), which replaced management committees with directors or managers within state enterprises to infuse efficiency and competitiveness, was directly led by the state president.[244] The appointment of directors was accompanied with military training of all people in management positions to infuse discipline while at a lower level a militia was established throughout the country as an emergency measure to face the war.

As in many other developing countries, the structural adjustment gave priority to the economic sector. There were some positive effects in education such as the restoration of some of the infrastructure, the establishment of teacher education centres and the increase in school enrolments. However the price to be paid was just too high. Social services, including education, were relegated to secondary level. Structural adjustment added to the effects of war in bringing the Mozambican education to almost total collapse. Capital expenditures were cut severely as well as supplies and subsidies to students. Real wages of teachers deteriorated considerably. For Mario, PRE made a significant difference:

> The country had already been paralysed; the economy had been strangled, and consequently education had become dysfunctional. The structural adjustment programme was introduced... the economic rehabilitation in 1987, the PRE, the so-called PRE. There was an attempt to rationalise the Ministry of Education. And with this effort of rationalisation of the Ministry of Education, some obvious victims were hit. The first victim was technical education. Technical education was relegated to ostracism. Technical schools degenerated. The fell to the lowest level and the interest in technical education disappeared. The second victim was literacy and adult education. This was the worst hit victims of structural adjustment... The World Bank had a devastating impact.[245]

Briefly, Mozambique was reduced to a country with a number of critical issues: limited access, particularly for rural and poor children, deteriorating quality, unqualified teachers, lack of instructional materials and textbooks, overcrowded classrooms, dilapidated infrastructure, inefficiency, mismanagement and so forth.

In education it targeted the development of human resources for economic growth, improvement in the quality of education and elimination of the social conditions that militated against effective teaching and learning.[246] It

privileged the improvement of secondary and higher education and selective expansion of primary education. However, PRE did not include an adequate policy for the education sector. First, priority was given to the economic sector. Social services, including education, were accorded secondary importance. Second, PRE was accompanied by a drastic devaluation of the metical (Mozambican currency), which had detrimental effects on the working conditions of teachers. Third, the education budget had been declining from about 12 per cent in 1980 to 4 per cent of the national budget in 1987, which created a considerable financial crisis in education.[247] Salaries declined in real terms and, with this, the motivation of teachers.

The first major manifestation of the school crisis in Mozambique was the class boycott in 1989 by the students at the University of Eduardo Mondlane. Their grievances included the need for student involvement in curriculum development and evaluation, more government support for newly graduated teachers and the creation of a university students' representative council.[248] The dissatisfaction in the teaching profession also culminated in a nation-wide protest and strike of teachers from 19 February to 7 March 1990.[249] The teachers demanded a 100 per cent salary increase, state subsidies for teachers working in war zones and rationalisation of some departments in the Ministry of Education to raise funds for teachers' salaries.[250]

The Fifth Congress of FRELIMO in 1989 acknowledged the increasing crisis facing Mozambican education, particularly the lack of financial resources and the consequent difficulties in moving towards universal basic education. In response to a wider crisis of its political and economic system, FRELIMO also announced a shift from Marxist-Leninism to a free market economy. Past nationalisation policies, central planning, and Socialist redistribution gave way to privatisation and a free market strategy. This created a favourable context for the intervention of the World Bank and the IMF in place of Socialist allies. It is speculated that mainstream FRELIMO leaders in the post-Machel era came to believe that Mozambique could only isolate its rival RENAMO and gain support of the West through systematic integration into the global economy, promotion of liberal democracy and liberalisation of all spheres of social and economic life. Further, this was blessed by a particular discourse of development, which linked free market policies to the notion of 'what really works', and also an increasing sense of pre-destination associated with the notion that 'there was only one path after all'.[251] It is in this context that structural adjustment policies, previously seen as a recipe for neo-colonialism and dependence, were aggressively endorsed by FRELIMO and regarded as a way of rejuvenating modernisation and revitalisation of the highly crippled Mozambican economy and education system.

One can strongly argue that the adjustment programme contributed to the reduction of the aggregate patterns of educational expenditure and

consequent changes in other indicators of educational performance and efficiency such as net enrolments, dropouts, repetition and student achievement, and deterioration of living conditions in families of most students, decline of teachers' salaries and motivation.

Socialism in Mozambique: What Future?

Marxism-Leninism as adopted by FRELIMO suffered from the limitations that have hampered Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Mazrui has an interesting analysis of these limitations, which I cannot resist mentioning. He argues that there are three major ways of looking at Marxism: Marxism as an ethical basis for distribution, Marxism as an ideology for development and Marxism as a methodology of analysis. According to him, recent developments in Eastern Europe have not discredited the first and the last. They have, however, discredited the second. Further, these problems in Marxism were aggravated by the tendency to interpret it with reference to the Russian Revolution, which added to Marxism the need for a vanguard to lead the revolution, reinforcing the tendency to one-party monopoly, a highly centralised role for the state and the promotion of personality culture.[252] The Mozambican revolution could not avoid these contradictions, the symptomatic expression of which included the tendency to overlook the practice of criticism and self-criticism in favour of bureaucratic decisions and the decline in the use of Marxism as a methodology of analysis.[253]

The use of Marxism as a methodology of analysis is one way - the most popular among progressive circles - of trying to come to grips with the reality to be transformed. There could be other ways. In any case, the process of transformation is a complex and delicate process which requires a constant link between theory and practice and, consequently, systematic research work. As I have attempted to illustrate, the process of curriculum change concerns, *inter alia,* the need to examine and assess the nature of the colonial legacy, to negotiate the principles and frameworks for new curricula, to define new education objectives and aims suited to the Mozambican revolutionary goals, to define the values, skills and knowledge to be incorporated in the new curricula, to determine variables that would regulate the transition and to prepare the appropriate objective and subjective conditions for the transition. Mozambique lacked the necessary human and economic resources to perform these tasks effectively. For this reason, Martins, the Director of the National Institute for the Development of Education, characterises the crisis in education as an 'external crisis', that is, a crisis determined by the economic depression and the war.[254] There is thus a need to evaluate curriculum models not only with reference to their political and ideological goals but also with reference to the material and human resources available for their implementation.

Conclusion

Education in any society represents an important ideological apparatus with a crucial role in both the reproduction and transformation of the dominant relations of production. If society in Mozambique in the late 1970s, given its underdeveloped nature, was not yet characterised by genuine Socialist practices, neither was it dominated by capitalist practices. Mozambique contained a developing mixed economy, with a considerable state and co-operative sector and the social features of a developing Socialist country.[255] The production process in many sectors had assumed collective forms. Co-operatives and communal villages in the countryside had become important forces of socialisation. The education system and the new curriculum were designed to ensure that the emerging social relations and structure were consolidated, and prevailed over colonial and traditional practices.

Emerging from the analysis of the Mozambican experience are several theoretical insights worth noting. The first is the emphasis on the *destruction of the colonial legacy* as a primary objective of education under FRELIMO and its unintended consequences in the education system. Old ideas and negative traditional values such as the oppression of women by men, tribalism, superstition and all those cultural practices that in the light of FRELIMO's revolutionary ideals had come to be seen as 'culturally non-acceptable' were also to be eliminated, and schools came to be seen as primary sites where this battle was to be fought. The methods and programmes had to challenge a colonial capitalist, individualist and competitive mentality and promote a revolutionary mentality based on the practice of collective work and study, democratic participation and the working out of new kinds of social relations between people free of any kind exploitation. The downside of it is that good dimensions of the legacy ranging from good curriculum practices, teacher knowledge, skills and experience to physical infrastructure were neglected and sometimes lost in the dust. This went with an outright overestimation of the existing capacity to build the new or the alternative. In any legacy there are always dimensions that deserve continuity and must be preserved.

The second concerns the *alignment of the curriculum with the political, economic and ideological orientation of FRELIMO*. Within the liberated zones, the structure and content of the school curriculum reflected the political ideology of FRELIMO, the emerging challenges of the national liberation struggle (production to support the war, conscientisation of the youth around the ideals of the 'national democratic revolution', etc.) and the affirmation of FRELIMO as the 'vanguard of the Mozambican people'. The third calls for the *building of national unity* under a unitary state. The fourth emphasised the fight *against underdevelopment* as a priority strategy to minimise poverty in the liberated zones. Finally, concerns with the reproduction of the ruling class resulted in strategies aimed at building a social and political elite, intensifying social stratification and inequality. Whether intended or unintended, such a strategy had contradictory effects

in the logic of the political project of the ruling party. The four principles forged constituted key pillars in FRELIMO's education discourse, though they assumed different meanings and content throughout the process that followed the proclamation of independence in 1975.

Chapter Six

CRISIS, ADJUSTMENT AND LIBERALISATION IN MOZAMBICAN EDUCATION

Introduction

The chapter looks at the implications of the political changes, which culminated in the rejection of Marxism-Leninism, and the transition to a new education system driven by global pressures and rooted in a neo-liberal ideology. Very soon, the Mozambican revolution found itself under attack from different fronts:

(i) direct military aggression from the minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa;

(ii) increasing internal opposition spearheaded by RENAMO; and

(iii) undeclared economic sanctions against Mozambican Government because of its Socialist orientation.

These factors led the economy and social services to an almost total collapse, with serious implications for the education system: general degradation of the schooling system, deterioration of teachers' working conditions and substantial exodus of teachers from the teaching profession into more profitable jobs in business and the informal sector.[256] The Fifth Congress of FRELIMO in 1989 acknowledged the increasing crisis facing Mozambican education, particularly the lack of financial resources and the consequent difficulties in moving towards universal basic education. In response to a wider crisis of its political and economic system, FRELIMO announced a shift from Marxist-Leninism to a free market economy. It is in this context that structural adjustment policies, previously seen as a recipe for neo-colonialism and dependence, were aggressively endorsed by FRELIMO and regarded as a way for rejuvenating modernisation and revitalising the severely crippled Mozambican economy and education system. This opened room for a re-conceptualisation of the goals of the education system in Mozambique. It was in this context that the ideal of national reconciliation came to be regarded as an important educational goal in Mozambique.

General Background

After several years of independence, the country went through a major economic crisis exacerbated by a civil war between FRELIMO and RENAMO, which only ended in 1992, when both parties signed a peace agreement in Rome. The first multi-party elections were held in 1994. At the end of the war, Mozambique was classified as the poorest country in the world. However, it soon became a country with the highest growth rate in Africa. It is now estimated that its economy is the fastest growing one in the continent, at the rate of 10 per cent, though Mozambique still remains

extremely poor. About 50 per cent of its public expenditure is covered through aid and loans. The education budget in 1999 was 14 per cent of state budget, of which 26 per cent is for higher education expenditure.

Mozambique features within the World Bank's ratings as the poorest country in the world, with a per capita income of approximately R160.780 MT (US$11) per month. The poverty is reflected at all levels of social and economic life. Despite efforts geared at rehabilitating the education system, education in Mozambique faces a crisis beyond imaginable proportions. The illiteracy rate among adults is 60 per cent, with significantly higher rate among women (about 70 per cent). It is estimated that nearly half of all children of primary school age are not enrolled. Note that these estimates are a result of the considerable improvements that have been made after the political settlement between FRELIMO and RENAMO. The percentage of children at school is even smaller at higher levels. Besides low levels of school enrolment, the school-learning environment is alarming as reflected in extremely low standards of expenditure, deteriorating infrastructure, quality and student performance. University lecturers lack motivation and concentrate their efforts on endeavours aimed at topping up their meagre salaries while teachers are increasingly deserting the profession.

Explaining the Demise of the Socialist Project in Mozambique: A Conceptual Framework

The complexity of the crisis in Mozambican education creates an analytical problem. Literature on Mozambican education system attributes the crisis to several factors:

(i) the war, which has had a devastating impact on all levels of social and economic life;

(ii) environmental disasters such as drought which has had tremendous impact on agriculture;

(iii) disorganisation and administrative problems associated with lack of governance and management capacity, including lack of articulation of institutions;[257]

(iv) constraining fiscal circumstances inherited from the structural adjustment programme of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF); and

(v) heavy influence on educational policy and planning from foreign funding agencies, operating very often outside the national policy framework.

While the devastation of the war has captured the attention of analysts as perhaps the most important factor behind the crisis, one cannot ignore the effects of inadequate policies, mismanagement and implementation strategies and the consequences of foreign influences, particularly the policies of the World Bank and the IMF in precipitating the educational

crisis in Mozambique. Many Mozambicans still keep terrible memories of what has been known as 'PRE', i.e. Plano de Reabilitação Económica (Economic Rehabilitation Plan), a strategy informed by the World Bank. Its effects on Mozambican education are considerable. The paper argues that it is not possible to determine whether the present crisis in the system is just a consequence of war devastation, failure of ill-conceived educational policies or a result of the impact of structural adjustment or other single factor. Any attempt to determine precisely the extent of the impact of each of these factors in isolation cannot be but a futile exercise. The educational crisis in Mozambique as in many other African countries like Zimbabwe and Angola must be approached in a holistic way. As Samoeff, referring to the effects of structural adjustment, writes:

> It is important to recall here that our effort has not been to distinguish the effects of a country's structural adjustment programme from the consequences of its economic and financial crisis. Our view is that this distinction is not analytically useful and, with rare exceptions, probably not possible to establish with confidence. Not have we sought to address crisis and adjustment as a cause and education and training policies and programmes as effects. Just as, for example, a chronic shortage of foreign exchange can influence national policies, so those policies may affect the volume and availability of foreign exchange. Similarly, structural adjustment measures may be both the result of the politics of interests and coalitions and at the same time the stimulus for those political alliances. Instead, our primary task has been to explore the interactions among crisis, austerity, adjustment and policy, seeking to understand each in terms of the others.[258]

Mozambican Education, 1977-1990: Destabilisation, Crisis and Adjustment

Education in any society represents an important ideological apparatus with a crucial role in both the reproduction and transformation of dominant ideas in society. By the late 1970s, Mozambique displayed a mixture of both Socialist command economy with a considerable state and co-operative sector and features of a colonial-capitalist legacy.[259] The production process in many sectors had assumed collective forms through co-operatives and communal villages. The shifts towards socialism were not however without costs and struggles. Very soon, the Mozambican revolution found itself under attack from different fronts:

a. direct military aggression from the minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa;

b. increasing internal opposition spearheaded by RENAMO; and

c. undeclared economic sanctions against Mozambican Government because of its Socialist orientation.[260]

These factors led the economy and social services to an almost total

collapse, with serious implications for the education system: general degradation of the schooling system, deterioration of teachers' working conditions and substantial exodus of teachers from the teaching profession into more profitable jobs in business and the informal sector.[261]

Many teachers became hostile towards *cooperantes* who came to be perceived as the main beneficiaries of the Mozambican educational crisis. Undistributed book stockpiles were discovered in several offices. Complaints about unpaid salaries, and the victimisation and intimidation of successful teachers were common. These patterns of behaviour were represented by the image of *xiconhoca* (the enemy - an image which personified anti-revolutionary and reactionary behaviour). This crisis culminated with class and school boycotts in 1989-90. As a consequence of the crisis, many teachers have been physically, psychologically, morally and intellectually traumatised, thus reducing their ability to perform their duties successfully.

As education reflected the political and ideological line of FRELIMO, RENAMO targeted schools as major factors of destabilisation. The report of the Central Committee of FRELIMO to the Fifth Congress in 1989 indicates that more than 2, 655 schools, amounting to 45 per cent of the whole primary school network, had been closed or destroyed.[262] At the lower primary school level - the most damaged by the war 807, 926 pupils and 12, 515 teachers suffered from the effects of the war between 1982 and 1989.[263] The migration of people from the countryside to the towns because of the war made the deterioration of the schooling system uncontrollable. A USAID report indicates that what the war had perhaps affected the most in terms of access and the regional distribution of schools. The urban areas began to receive more than their fair share of resources.[264] However, the possibilities of enrolment in the towns are very limited in spite of the double or triple shift system.[265] As indicated in the table below, from 1983 to 1992, approximately 60 per cent of the junior primary school infrastructure catering from 1, 414, 222 pupils and 18 per cent of senior primary school infrastructure catering for 13, 266 pupils were disrupted by the war. This was aggravated by the increasing failure rate that reached 40 per cent at national level by 1986.[266]

Plate 7. A provision of classes for children affected by the war in Sofala, 1989

It is estimated that, in 1980, 59 per cent of children between 7 and 10 years of age were not at school.[267] Only one third of children in school were enrolled in 1990.[268] The war also had an impact on educational quality. It is estimated that the number of learning hours per pupil per year had decreased by 30 per cent (from 850 to 595 hours) as a result of a dramatic increase in the demand for education in the urban centres following the influx of large numbers of people from rural areas.[269] Educational institutions, including the ministry and provincial departments were almost paralysed for many years, limiting their activities to schools within the main cities of Maputo, Xai-Xai, Inhambane, Beira, Quelimane, Tete, Nampula, Lichinga and Cabo Delgado. Rural areas became depopulated while many people migrated into these urban centres. These problems are aggravated by lack of or inadequate articulation and communication between institutions and departments. Martins indicates that all junior primary schools in the major urban centres had to run three shifts instead of the two originally planned. In addition, promotion annual rates were either declining or stationary (e.g. only 7.7 per cent of pupils enrolling in grade one completed grade five without repeating).[270]

Table 1. The impact of civil war on education, by province

Province	JP					SP/SS					Learning Centres and Boarding schools	
	Schools			Victims		Schools			Victims			
	Exist 1983	Closed/ Destroyed		Pupils	Teachers	Exist 1983	Closed/ Destroyed		Pupils	Teachers	Trainers	Trainees
		No	%				No	%				
C. Delgado	542	160	29.5	94, 375	1, 944	12			104	6		
Gaza	546	183	33.5	197, 236	3, 340	19						
Inhambane	506	223	44.1	179, 237	2, 681	12			507	22		
Manica	225	109	48.4	31, 569	595	10						
Maputo (p)	339	204	60.2	47, 288	828	9	2	22	1, 382	261	3	260
Nampula	1, 116	553	49.6	255, 650	3, 051	32						
Niassa	508	361	71.1	53, 927	1, 278	17	10	59	1, 517	79	13	2, 069
Sofala	386	254	65.8	68, 429	925	14	8	57	2, 848	52	5	953
Tete	479	454	94.8	98, 923	1, 278	9	4	44	2, 342	56	12	2, 251
Zambézia	1, 130	997	88.2	286, 264	5, 330	27	8	30	3, 451	70	11	1, 371
Maputo (c)	109			101, 324	1, 311	15			1, 115	15		
Total	5, 886	3, 498	59.4	1, 414, 222	22, 461	176	32	18	13, 266	561	44	6, 904

P: Junior Primary (1st/5th grade)
SP: Senior Primary (6th/7th grade)
SS: Secondary School

SOURCE: Ministério de Educação, Direcção de Planificação, 'Projecto de Emergência – Impacto da Guerra na Educação, 1983-1992: Estatística', Outubro 1994

The picture in the field of literacy and adult education was even more dramatic and led a former Minister of Education, Aniceto dos Muchangos, in 1980, to recognise that literacy and adult education programmes had come to a total standstill and Mozambique was again faced with an increasing illiteracy rate.[271] The refugee problem also highlights the impact of the war on Mozambican education. In 1990, the report of the Directorate of Planning in the Ministry of Education estimated that 82, 699 pupils continued their education in Zimbabwe and Malawi under the guidance of 733 Mozambican refugee teachers.[272]

Liberalisation and Structural Adjustment in Mozambican Education

The Fifth Congress of FRELIMO in 1989 acknowledged the increasing crisis facing Mozambican education, particularly the lack of financial resources and the consequent difficulties in moving towards universal basic education. In response to a wider crisis of its political and economic system, FRELIMO also announced a shift from Marxism-Leninism to a free market economy. Past nationalisation policies, central planning, and Socialist redistribution gave way to privatisation and a free market strategy. This created a favourable context for the intervention of the World Bank and the IMF in place of Socialist allies.

It is speculated that mainstream FRELIMO leaders in the post-Machel era came to believe that Mozambique could only isolate its rival RENAMO and gain support of the West through systematic integration into the global economy and promotion of liberal democracy and liberalisation of all spheres of social and economic life. Further, this was blessed by a particular discourse of development, which linked free market policies to the notion of 'what really works', and also an increasing sense of pre-destination associated with the notion that 'there was only one path after all'.[273] It is in this context that structural adjustment policies, previously seen as a recipe for neo-colonialism and dependence, were aggressively endorsed by FRELIMO and regarded as a way of rejuvenating modernisation and revitalisation of the severly crippled Mozambican economy.

Introduced in 1987, the World Bank programme of structural adjustment, the *Programa de Reabilitação Económica* or sarcastically called 'PRE', (Programme of Economic Rehabilitation) envisaged three long-term goals:

(i) increase of the GNP by recovering productivity;

(ii) achievement of fiscal stability through restrictive fiscal and monetary policies to keep expenditure in line with available resources; and

(iii) reduction of poverty through maintenance or expansion of public expenditure in social services, including basic education, primary health care and food subsidies.[274]

Machambas do povo (state organised farms where peasant worked collectively), agricultural cooperatives, and *lojas do povo* (state-owned shops) introduced as part of FRELIMO's socialist strategy were abolished to give way to private initiative. A political and organisational strategy, which replaced management committees with directors or managers within state enterprises to infuse efficiency and competitiveness, was directly led by the state president.[275] The appointment of directors was accompanied with military training of all people in management positions to infuse discipline while at a lower level a militia was established throughout the country as an emergency measure to face the war.

As in many other developing countries, the structural adjustment gave priority to the economic sector. Social services, including education, were relegated to secondary level. As such, in education, 'PRE' targeted the development of human resources for economic growth, improvement in the quality of education and elimination of the social conditions that militated against effective teaching and learning.[276] It privileged the expansion of basic education and selective expansion of post-secondary education. This was aggravated by the fact that 'PRE' led to a drastic devaluation of the metical (Mozambican currency), with detrimental effects on the working conditions of teachers. Note that the education budget had been declining from about 12 per cent in 1980 to 4 per cent of the national budget in 1987, which created a considerable financial crisis in education.[277] Note also that between 1880 and 1987 real per capita expenditure in education was reduced by nearly 50 per cent, falling by an average of 7 per cent per year. The distribution of expenditure in education also shows an interesting pattern: approximately 42 per cent of all expenditure went to primary education and 14 per cent to higher education. Public investment in education declined to almost zero in the same period. Salaries declined in real terms and, with this, the motivation of teachers.

As a result, foreign assistance was stretched to the limit to reach 41 per cent of all education expenditure in 1990 with the contribution of $14 million from ten countries, including the World Bank as the major contributor. The World Bank in particular implemented three major educational projects. The first involved a total of $17.9 million aimed:

1) to improve the quality and efficiency of primary education in Maputo;
2) to strengthen the quality and relevance of training of accountants and office managers, engineers and economists; and
3) to enhance the financial management and planning of the Ministry of Education.

The second project involved a total disbursement of $67.9 million aimed:

- to upgrade pre- and in-service training of teachers;
- to provide teachers with pedagogical support;

- to introduce distance education for teachers;
- to test local language instruction;
- to rehabilitate and expand the infrastructure in three cities; and
- to strengthen the university's management capacity and promote physical sciences, economics and engineering. The third project focused on capacity building in the public sector, technical and vocational training.[278]

Initiative was given to the private sector - cooperatives, church and welfare organisations, cultural, recreational and sports associations - to build, rehabilitate and administer private and community schools. These were to be run privately, subject to state supervision on matters concerning the curriculum, syllabi and principles of organisation. Private tuition, which had been abolished, was also restored. Palme links private tuition to corruption in schools. For him, the deterioration of school conditions created a climate 'where achievement sometimes is sold for money or linked to the conditions that pupils must accept taking paid *explicação* (extra tuition from the teachers).[279]

Structural adjustment added to the effects of war in bringing the Mozambican education to almost total collapse. Capital expenditures were cut severely as well as supplies and subsidies to students. Real wages of teachers deteriorated considerably. The USAID report presents the following account of the effects of structural adjustment:

With structural adjustment policies, the government is working towards a policy of full cost recovery, and parents are required to buy textbooks and workbooks for their children. This is an onerous burden for most Mozambican households, which, according to the World Bank, live in the poorest society in the world with only 80 dollars a year as income per capita. The official minimum monthly salary is 40, 000 meticais, or slightly more than twenty dollars; the salary of a qualified worker is roughly twice as much. Public education is very expensive for a peasant family who may have more than one child in school. In general, a family pays 1, 500 meticais for the 'processo' (initial fee for school record keeping), and 500 meticais as an annual enrolment fee. They also pay 2, 000 to 4, 000 meticais per textbook, with three to five textbooks per grade, depending on the grade; and 350 meticais per notebook, with at least two required per discipline per year. Beyond this, they are expected to purchase a geographic atlas at a cost of 480-500 meticais, as well as pencils, rulers, and so on. Total expenditures may thus amount to 20, 000 meticais per child per year, excluding the cost of transportation and clothing. Expenditures on this order are clearly beyond the means of many households: in one school we visited more than 20 per cent of the children who presented themselves for enrolment had been turned away because they could not pay the 500 meticais enrolment fee.[280]

The first major manifestation of the school crisis in Mozambique was the class boycott in 1989 by the students at the University of Eduardo Mondlane. Their grievances included the need for student involvement in curriculum development and evaluation, more government support for newly graduated teachers and the creation of a university students' representative council.[281] The dissatisfaction in the teaching profession also culminated in a nationwide protest and strike of teachers from 19 February to 7 March 1990.[282] The teachers demanded a 100 per cent salary increase, state subsidies for teachers working in war zones and rationalisation of some departments in the Ministry of Education to raise funds for teachers' salaries.[283] Briefly, one can strongly argue that the adjustment programme contributed to the reduction of the aggregate patterns of educational expenditure and consequent changes in other indicators of educational performance and efficiency such as net enrolments, dropouts, repetition and student achievement, and deterioration of living conditions in families of most students, decline of teachers' salaries and motivation.

National Reconciliation, Globalisation and New Educational Discourses in Mozambique: 1994-2001

Educational liberalisation meant that schooling for the first time in the post-colonial period would take place within a framework which was neither Socialist nor rigidly determined by FRELIMO's political line. This opened room for a re-conceptualisation of the goals of the education system in Mozambique. It was decided to invite the private sector – co-operatives, church and welfare organisations, cultural, recreational and sports associations – to get involved in building and running private and community schools. They could be run privately, subject to state supervision on matters related to curriculum, syllabus and organisational principles. Private tuition, which had been abolished, was also restored. Linked to these developments was also the recognition of the value of bilingual approach to literacy programmes and adult education. Schooling was to take place within a framework that was neither Socialist nor rigidly determined by FRELIMO's ideology.

Increasingly neo-liberalism began to gain prominence ideologically and in practice through a gradual liberalisation of social and economic institutions. New questions came to dominate the education debate following the rejection of Marxism-Leninism: What role should schools play in the emerging political and economic order? What principles and values should govern schooling? Should education be bound by a particular political force or should it become relatively neutral and thus suffer minimal changes with the changes of government, to the Right or to the Left? It was in this context that the ideal of national reconciliation came to be regarded as an important educational goal in Mozambique.

From the 'New Man' to the 'Mozambican Man': A framework for Peace, Stability and National Unity

When curriculum review began, concerned educationists at INDE were tentatively talking about the need for a curriculum for national reconciliation or national unity for building a Mozambican nation as opposed to a curriculum for Socialist transformation. This, they argued, privileged only one sector of the nation, namely the working class and FRELIMO's leadership. According to this view, social, cultural, economic, ethnic and linguistic diversity should be embodied in the national curriculum.[284] Along these lines, there was an attempt to re-conceptualise the concept of 'New Man'. About this, a leading educationist said:

> The concept of 'New Man' was a static concept, an unachievable abstraction developed on a Marxist-Leninist basis. Its starting point was a unified and united country from Rovuma to Maputo irrespective of its cultural diversity. What we had forgotten is that every individual prefers the immediate as a starting point. The national is too vast and too abstract. There is speculation that we are now working towards a more dynamic concept: the concept of 'Mozambican Man'. This implies that, to achieve national objectives, the interests of other forces should be accommodated and there should be an attempt to value our national culture in its diversity.[285]

The concept of 'Mozambican Man' would only materialise through 'national reconciliation', which is seen as a primary goal that an education curriculum should address. The National Education Policy and Strategies for Implementation introduced in 1995 recognises that national unity is 'an essential premise in the democratic society that we are building and should be based on respect for diversity of ideas, cultural traditions, religious convictions, ethnic origins and gender'.[286] This is advocated as a reaction to education in the liberated zones and under the First Republic,[287] which, it is argued, stressed national unity rooted in a peasant-worker alliance as advocated by the Third Congress of FRELIMO in 1977. Machili, Rector of the Universidade Pedagógica (UP), argued that there are two main reasons why this approach could not succeed. First, the curriculum did not accommodate social tensions created by colonial rule, including the regional, ethnic and linguistic diversity of Mozambican society.[288] Second, the alliance between the peasantry and the working class was a simple ideal, and to a large extent, artificial.[289] In addition, the economic policies implemented before the Fourth FRELIMO Congress (held in April 1983) and consequent dynamics of power tended to undermine the conditions of possibility for such an alliance. As the Congress recognised, these policies tended to privilege the working class while undermining the majority of peasants, who constitute more than 85 per cent of the population. As it will be shown, this shift in the conceptualisation of Mozambican society is central for understanding the foundations of the concept of 'local curriculum' embraced in current curriculum reform in Mozambique.

In practice, attempts at re-formulating Mozambican educational goals have been translated into systematic efforts towards introducing a bilingual approach to literacy programmes and adult education, research into indigenous languages, and search for alternative curriculum development models. The introduction of a New Constitution, which has dissociated public institutions, including those concerned with education, from party politics, has rendered out of date important sections of the core curriculum and school syllabus, still structured around the idea of the 'New Man'. The process raised a great need for conceptual, theoretical and methodological re-formulations of schooling in the light of the changing geo-political environment in Mozambique.

'Towards an Information Community'

According to Juvane, the need to meet the pressures of globalisation and the demands of the information and technology age has been an issue of priority in education in Mozambique.[290] In 1992, Mozambique formally introduced information and communication technologies (ICTs) in curriculum for senior secondary schools. In Juivane's words, this was nothing less than 'putting the horses behind the cart'. It soon became clear that it would not work as schools had no equipment, teachers lacked training and there was no clarity on the suitable ICT programmes for schools. The need for a pragmatic approach towards ICTs was reiterated in the Ministry's strategy for technical and professional education:

> The information and communication technologies (ICTs) are beginning to represent an important factor in the change of production processes at all levels of the economy... ICTs are already part of the lives of many Mozambican citizens, as they provide them with access to information from the most diverse sources in the world, the so-called information highways, which demonstrates the fact that the world is turning into a huge 'global village'.[291]

The phrase 'Towards an information community' refers to a workshop held in Maputo in February 1978 under the sponsorship of the International Development Research Center (IDRC), UNESCO and the World Bank to explore ways of introducing information technology projects in Mozambique. The discussions that followed the workshop culminated in a range of ICT initiatives, including the School Net initiative that came to be seen as a necessary experiment that would shed light on the best ways of integrating ICTs into the formal school curriculum.

It is important to note that ICTs in education in Mozambique are being promoted within a favourable policy context though under difficult economic circumstances. A report produced by Artur Manhiça, Project Manager and developer of MIS Solutions in Maputo, has some useful indicators in this regard.[292] The economic factors are prohibitive. An ISP linkage costs US$500.293 Internet cafes in Maputo charge US$3.00 an hour for access and dial-ups cost US$30 and an IBM compatible PC costs

US$ 236.[294] However, Mozambique's government has invested heavily in telecommunications and has sought to provide a sympathetic policy framework. According to the African Information Society Initiative (AISI), Mozambique spends 5 per cent of its GDP on telecommunications. Most importantly, the Government has established a National Commission on Information. This is a high-level government body led by the Prime Minister, Dr. Pascoal Mocumbi, to develop a national policy for the internet, information technology, research and the future of commerce through internet as well as to raise national consciousness on the importance of ICTs in the areas of education, science, health and entertainment. Internet usage is booming. According to Tropical Connection, one of the 10 ISPs operating in Mozambique, the number of users countrywide has more than doubled from 5,500 to more than 12,000 during the last two years (disparities in the economy explain why until recently 75 per cent of the users were located in Maputo and surrounding communities and the remaining 25 per cent at the provincial level). Despite this progress, ICTs in Mozambique are still far from becoming a national programme and Mozambique remains comparatively far behind countries such as South Africa and Namibia in its ICT initiatives.

'Reviving Schools and Expanding Opportunities', 1998-2003

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, education in Mozambique was undergoing a profound crisis that required a more pragmatic approach and a more modest approach to the educational goals of the past, particularly the commitment to free and compulsory basic education. Educational concerns were centred on massification and school improvement. The Mozambican authorities refer to internal and external factors as leading to this policy pragmatism. Internal factors include:

a) the reduction of investment in social sectors, including education, imposed by the FMI and the World Bank (the education budget decreased from 18 per cent of the National Budget in 1986-1987 to 11 per cent in 1993-1994);[295]

b) excessive centralisation of education governance;

c) lack of supervisory and monitoring capacity;

d) an economy highly dependent on agriculture;

e) natural disasters (drought and floods); and

f) a high rate of unemployment.

At the external level, reference is made to the impact of the world market, globalisation and competition, and impact of information technology and communication systems. However, the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jontiem, Thailand, is singled out as the most important factor. Following the Jontiem Conference, the Mozambican government started a national review of the education sector and established a forum for

dialogue with donors. There was an understanding that aid programmes were highly fragmented and aid agencies operated outside the national programme. Eight technical committees were established for the review.[296] Martins, ex-Deputy-Minister of Education, described the process as follows:

> We held conferences and seminars, during which policies, strategies and priorities were discussed. Technical commissions were appointed to reflect upon the options and produce recommendations on the following: structures and decentralization, training and capacity building, teachers' conditions, production of educational materials, privatization, evaluation and examinations, non-formal education, and curriculum design and development. These commissions were made up of educationists ranging from national directors to experts with a variety of specializations and functions as well as colleagues from other sectors.[297]

Better clarification about the structure of national education system was spelt out in 1992. The Mozambican education system was structured around three major bands. Pre-school education caters for children under the age of six. School education includes general, professional, technical and higher education. Extra-school education covers educational activities that take place outside formal education (see the figure below).

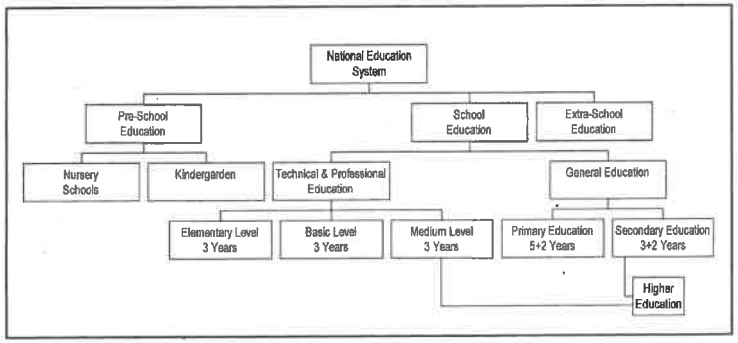

Figure 2. Mozambique's National Education System

The findings of the teams provided the basis for the development of the Master Plan for Basic Education in Mozambique in 1993 and the curriculum review with emphasis on mathematics, science and languages. In its Five-year Government Plan, the Mozambican Council of Ministers pointed to three main priorities concerning education. The first priority is the expansion of the school infrastructure to compensate for the loss of almost half of the school network during the war (1982-1992) and recover

the pre-war enrolment levels. The gross enrolment that reached 110 per cent in 1981 and dropped to 54 per cent in 1994 was recovered to 79 per cent in 1998. Note that as progress was being made towards recovery, the floods in several provinces damaged a significant section of the infrastructure. The table below highlights the impact of the floods on education:

Table 2. The impact of floods, by province

Province	School (closed or destroyed)	Classrooms	No. of pupils
Gaza	37	204	20, 509
Inhambane	19	72	3, 204
Manica	9	35	3, 298
Maputo	24	83	5, 613
Sofala	27	81	6, 200
TOTAL	116	475	38, 824

SOURCE: Ministério da Educação, Direcção de Planificação, – Impacto da Calamidades Naturais na Educação, Lista Nominal de Escolas a construir e reabilitar.

The second priority concerns the improvement of educational quality as a necessary component of education expansion. The third priority is the issue of capacity building in strategic planning and management, including research for policy and decision-making.[298]

Several projects and programmes emerged from the priorities defined by Government. For example, the Ministry of education established a Gender Unit within the National Directorate of Primary Education to ensure that education programmes and projects are gender sensitive, particularly taking into consideration the high failure and drop out rates of girls (52 per cent of girls repeated junior primary school in 1990 compared to 39 per cent of the boys). A bursary programme was established to increase access and secure retention of girls. The Ministry also decided to provide free textbooks to all primary school children as an important input to improve pupils' achievement. While the Master Plan for Basic Education constituted a significant effort towards a more systematic policy for the sector, it remained within a fragmented strategy. It was against this background that the Ministry of Education recognised the need for a systemic approach to education, which culminated in the launch of the National Education Policy and Strategies for Implementation in 1995 and its operational framework in the form of Education Sector Strategic Plan in 1998 under the catchphrase 'Reviving Schools and Expanding Opportunities,' which identified basic education as 'the topmost priority of the Government'.

Education was accepted as a fundamental human right and a key instrument in improving living conditions and basic means for understanding and participating in the tasks of social development, struggle for peace and national reconciliation. In its assumptions and goals, the policy represents a significant departure from the parameters set for the education system in

the past. As such the goals of the education system were re-conceptualised as involving:

- the provision of equal opportunity of access at all levels of education by expanding the network of institutions and providing financial assistance to the poor;
- increased participation of women through curricular and material incentives;
- integration into the education system of children of school age with learning difficulties or traumatised by war;
- supporting private initiative in the expansion of education;
- provision of distance education;
- improving the quality of education through various means, including developing incentives for the teaching profession, provision of textbooks, more effective forms of governance and management. The most significant difference is perhaps the increased emphasis on cognitive and pedagogical dimensions at the expense of ideological goals that gained primacy in the past (see the section on 'Building a new education system').

The core values that inform the vision of the Strategic Plan are 'inclusion' and 'participation' at all levels of the system. The plan envisages rapid integration in Southern Africa under the auspices of SADCC and the development of knowledge and skills to compete in the global economy. The first major objective of the Strategic Plan is to expand access to education. To achieve this objective, the following strategies are defined:

1) accelerated progress toward universal primary schooling;
2) increased access for girls and women;
3) enhanced internal efficiency;
4) complete primary schools to include grades 6 and 7;
5) low cost construction for additional classrooms;
6) incentives for private providers;
7) pre-service and in-service training for teachers;
8) incentive for teachers; and
9) distance education and alternative technologies.

The second major objective is to improve educational quality. This is to be achieved through the following strategies:

i. review and revision of the curriculum;
ii. provision of training for teachers;

iii. enhancement of the qualifications and training of school directors;

iv. improvement of monitoring and assessment; and

v. provision of essential learning materials.

The third major objective is to ensure that short-term accomplishments in terms of expanded access and improved quality are sustainable in the longer term. To accomplish this objective the Plan proposes:

a) decentralisation, organisational development and capacity building;

b) fiscal capacity though tax revenues (which remain relatively low compared to those in the neighbouring countries) and cost sharing with domestic partners (parents, NGOs, religious organisations and the private sector); and

c) public information and debate through consultation with stakeholders and representatives of civil society.[299]

The Strategic Plan also sets operational priorities in other sectors of the education system. First, pre-school opportunities for disadvantaged children are of special importance in improving the internal efficiency of primary schools and increasing social equity. The Ministry does not foresee a large role for the state in the direct provision of pre-school education programmes. Instead, it will provide support in the form of training of pre-school educators, or access to space in public school facilities for pre-school programmes. Second, moving rapidly toward universal primary schooling and improving the quality of education in primary schools is re-emphasised as critical for the achievement of Government's broader development and equity goals. Third, expanding educational opportunities for children with special needs is assumed as one of the implications of the principle of inclusion. This will require pre-service and in-service training of teachers to prepare them for the challenges of teaching an even more diverse group of students. At present there are only four schools for children with special needs in Mozambique and the population of these children has increased considerably as a result of the war.

Fourth, non-formal and adult education is also seen as having significant importance, taking into consideration that the illiteracy rate among adults is 60 per cent; with a significantly higher rate among women (70 per cent) and that nearly half of all children of primary school age are not enrolled in school.[300] Fifth, only three schools remain open at the elementary level of technical education, which together enrol 400 students. As secondary education, technical education is also seen as an area in need of expansion, including the re-opening and revitalising of Agricultural and Crafts Schools in rural areas.[301]

Sixth, the Ministry's policies for higher education encourage the provision of educational services by other actors, including religious organisations and the private sector. Through this strategy the Ministry envisages to promote the establishment of polytechnics and other specialised institutes for advanced training and the promotion of distance education technologies for education delivery. Established in 1990, private education comprises two categories of schools. There are community schools, which respond to local community needs, have modest resources and receive government support in the form of teacher training. There are also private schools, very expensive elite schools that depend on school fees and receive no support from government. Both categories of schools follow the official curriculum and get their teachers from public schools. Private schools are concentrated in Maputo, Sofala and Nampula and represent only 2 per cent of the whole school system. The government hopes that this sub-sector will expand with an increasing involvement of religious organisations, NGOs and the private sector.

Under the auspices of UNESCO, the Ministry of Education and INDE held a major summit in April 1997 to redesign the curriculum development strategies in Mozambique. The need to account for the diverse social, linguistic and cultural complexity of the country was emphasised. This was followed by a systematic review of the textbooks and primary school curriculum. Important considerations were made about the existing curriculum. First, the review indicated that some of the curriculum objectives and teaching and learning methodologies for primary school learners were extremely ambitious and did not take into account the cognitive abilities of the learners. Second, it overemphasised the role of the teacher, blocked creativity and neglected the role of the learner. Third, it promoted rote learning. A new curriculum has already been designed and its implementation will begin within the next two years. Generally the new curriculum is characterised by the following:

- maintenance of the subjects using a 'cut across integration approach';
- introduction of three Learning Cycles; and
- a combination of core and 'local curriculum'.

Learners will be exposed to general learning basics in the first cycle (1st and 2nd grades) as they move from general knowledge to systematisation and higher specification. During the second cycle (3rd, 4th and 5th grades), learners will consolidate the basics and be exposed to more systematic knowledge in the form of natural sciences. Civic and moral education as well as English language will form part of the third cycle. The concept of 'local curriculum', which should not be confused with extra-curricular activities, refers to the curriculum component, to be decided on a regional basis taking into account the country's social and economic diversity.

Optional introduction of mother tongue will be selectively introduced with community consent.

From 1998 to 1999, the Ministry undertook a review of the secondary education sector and technical and professional training with several concerns on the agenda. First, there were concerns about the high dropout and failure rate and the need to infuse strategies that would enhance quality and internal efficiency in schools. Measures were taken to balance the curriculum with market pressures by minimising its academic nature and emphasise its practical and vocational dimensions to reconcile school with the developmental needs of the country. Juvane summarised the challenges concerning technical and professional education as follows:

> Given our political system in the past and the nature of a centralized economy policy framework, our graduates were trained to work for a state enterprise (*empresa estatal*). Our government has recently shifted into a market-oriented economy. We need a graduate for market economy, a graduate with entrepreneurial skills. For this purpose, we need a dialogue with the private sector to explore what sort of articulation is required with them, what sort of training.... We need to articulate with SADCC in the context of our education protocol...[302]

Plate 8. Pupils at the Portuguese School in Maputo, 1996

Privatisation and the Emergence of a Private Sector

The 1990 Constitution made provision for participation of the private sector in the education sector. Such a provision opened space for the establishment of private schools at pre-school, primary and secondary levels. Surprisingly, early childhood education has been placed under the Ministry of Health. It is foreseen that the private sector may play an increasing role in the domain of technical education. NGOs and churches have already a strong legacy of dominance in technical or professional training through the so-called *Escolas de Artes and Officios*. These are schools dedicated to training in ordinary professional careers such as carpentry, electricity, car mechanics, etc. Generally they cater for the mass of learners who stand no chance of going through the formal schooling process. As in the colonial era, the Catholic Church is already playing a leading role in the process.

Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, I would like to highlight two major points emerging from the Mozambican experience with profound implications for other African countries. First, for educational transformation to be effective, it must start 'where people are' and has to be negotiated, step by step, with civil society, taking into account the changing social, political and economic environment. To start transformation 'where people are,' means taking seriously the nature of the legacies, social and economic complexities. It is with reference to these legacies that all ideals, goals, principles and strategies must be negotiated. Projects that give too much emphasis to pre-defined ideas and ideals shared by the initiators or political leaders at the expense of negotiation and partnerships with civil society are doomed to failure. This is perhaps the main weakness of FRELIMO's early education project. Instead of negotiating its project with society at large, FRELIMO tried instead to engage the masses with a pre-defined educational blueprint forged in the liberated zones. When challenged about the problems with this approach, Mozambican leaders were ready to respond with claims that 'theirs was a correct policy because it was tested in the liberated zones'. When questioned about the unpreparedness of civil society for these policies, again the answer was straightforward: 'We must educate our people to assume these new ideas'.

Second, the Mozambican experience highlights the fact that it is not just a matter of educating people to assume 'new ideas' but of creating a conducive environment for inventing new ideas and reinventing old ones together with civil society. Adjustment policies were conceptualised and implemented with very little discussion even within FRELIMO circles. Certainly democratic centralism with its rigid and selective form of representative democracy did not give enough room to meaningful and creative forms of stakeholder participation and involvement in the policy process. In contrast, current education reform under a multi-party democracy, though embedded in the elitism of the neo-liberal discourse,

has been characterised by a higher degree of consultation and involvement of the communities.

Third, what the Mozambican experience illustrates is also the need to establish a realistic balance between desirability and possibility, that is, between the desirability of an education project and the conditions of possibility for its implementation in real terms. What is desirable is not necessarily what is possible. It took Mozambique several years and a bumpy race through potholes to opt for more realistic policy initiatives. In addition, the Mozambican experience also highlights how education projects should always be accompanied by contingency and sustainability strategies. Projects do not follow a linear process, no matter how rationally and carefully they are planned. They are negotiated and re-negotiated constantly depending on prevailing circumstances at a particular point in time.

Chapter Seven

CURRICULUM POLICIES AND PROCESSES: THE COLONIAL LEGACY AND THE CHALLENGE OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Introduction

With reference to the periodisation provided in Chapter Four, this chapter looks in more detail at three major steps in the process of curriculum policy and practice in Mozambique:

a) the curriculum model inherited from Portuguese colonialism;

b) the attempts made in the course of the struggle for national liberation to develop an alternative curriculum;

c) the design and implementation of a curriculum for Socialist transition and its consequences; and

d) the current search for curriculum in the context of the newly-embraced neo-liberal macro-economic framework.

In this regard, it pays attention to the implications of the recent political changes, which culminated in the rejection of Marxism-Leninism and the liberalisation of the economic and social life for future curriculum policies.

The chapter draws attention to the problems entailed in the adoption of curriculum policies designed to foster particular ideological and party political goals, especially in periods of political crisis. It also shows the limitations of curriculum policies that do not reflect the complexity of the society in which they are implemented, particularly in cases of social, cultural, linguistic, geographical and economic diversity. It considers three main points of contention. The first is about how concerns with the relationship between culture, identity and citizenship have played themselves in the two stages. The second concerns the dynamics and processes in and around the school, very often translated in terms of balance between national and local curricula within the Mozambican debate. The third is related to the role of the ruling party and government, particularly its bureaucracy, structures and functions in the curriculum process, i.e. in management of the selection, adoption, organisation and delivery of knowledge.

Reforming Curriculum: A Conceptual Framework

Explaining curriculum reform in Mozambique remains a difficult task, particularly given the scarcity of critical literature in this domain and the absence of a theoretical framework on which to pin our analysis. This is

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Explaining curriculum reform in Mozambique remains a difficult task, particularly given the scarcity of critical literature in this domain and the absence of a theoretical framework on which to pin our analysis. This is

aggravated by what Taylor refers to as 'the extreme flux and contradiction' that signals the beginning of the new millennium: post-modernity recognition politics, residual modernisation pressures, the globalisation of commodity culture.[303] As illustrated in Chapter Two, the limited sum of literature on education issues concentrates on general policy principles and wider developments in education since independence.[304]

In conceptualising this chapter I have considered three important theoretical considerations. First, an important theoretical consideration to take into account is the relationship between changes in the curriculum and wider shifts in the political economy of the country. In this perspective, as Popov has correctly noted, shifts in political and economic power relations in the country have been reflected by changes in educational policy and curriculum reform in particular.[305] As Bernstein puts it, 'how a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principle of social control.[306] As it will be shown, there has been a tight relationship between the dominant conceptions of school curriculum with the political ideology of the ruling party, FRELIMO.

Second, the notion of *space* and *time* discussed by Popov also proves to be useful. Popov considers three dimensions in the conceptualisation of space - geographical, social and cognitive - and two dimensions of time – personal and social.[307] The geographical space encompasses where the person was born and lives, and defines the life opportunities available (e.g. access to the internet, farming life or cash crop production or employment in factory depending on the geographical space). Popov notes that different places in the social space make available different opportunities (e.g. positions in the social hierarchy).[308] The personal 'life-world', the social resources or networks that go with it, i.e. family opportunities provided each child an individual position with a cognitive space. In this perspective, the notion of differentiated spaces with different social and cognitive opportunities provides a useful frame for understanding the emerging concepts of curriculum in the Mozambican context, for example, the interface of national and local curriculum.

Third, curriculum processes entail crucial cultural and political choices and in the context of social and cultural diversity, these choices are not neutral to the child's cultural capital and the interface of national and regional as well as the interface of traditional and modern cultural variations.

Colonial legacy and the Challenge of National Reconstruction: Possibilities and Constraints

The processes of colonial education in Mozambique have been examined elsewhere in Chapter Three. This chapter will concentrate mainly on the colonial legacy and curriculum policies after independence. The colonial curriculum policy and practice was determined by the following factors: the ideal of 'Portuguesation' of Africans so that they could accept Portuguese

rule with little resistance; the centralisation policy, justified by the assumption that Mozambique was not just a 'Portuguese colony but a 'province' of the Portuguese territory; the belief that Africans could be diverted from their cultural traditions and be assimilated into the Portuguese nation and culture; and Caetano's belief that the promotion of miscegenation between Europeans and Africans under systematic exposure to the luso-tropical ideology would at least result in a Brazil-type mixed society.[309] In other words, Colonial education aimed 'to create an African populace that speaks only Portuguese, embraces Catholicism, and is intensely Portuguese nationalist as citizens of the metropolises.[310] Consequently, the curriculum, syllabuses and textbooks were either the same as or similar to those used in Portugal, with few modifications to meet local concerns. For this purpose, the teaching staff had to be predominantly of Portuguese origin and nationality. The use of the Portuguese language as both the official and the instructional language became compulsory in all education matters except the teaching of religion.[311] The use of African languages was banned from school grounds.

In the rudimentary schools African children received training in arithmetic, the sciences, drawing, manual work, religion and physical and musical education. Girls received 'female education', which instructed them in sewing, embroidery and cookery. After three years of 'adaptive instruction', African children were given an examination in order to pass to Grade Three of the primary school if they were under the age of thirteen. As the colonial economy grew, emphasis was placed on manual training in the mission schools, and on vocational, technical and professional education in commercial and industrial schools. Only the *liceus* retained their elitist and academic orientation. Commercial and technical schools offered a preparatory two-year cycle common to all pupils, followed by vocational training over three years with separate courses in skills such as commerce, woodwork and mechanics. There were also agricultural schools that trained farmers through practical courses lasting three or four years.[312] Most of the teachers in government schools were trained in Portugal. However, a *magistério primário* (teachers' college programme) was established, under which assistant primary teachers were prepared for local certification, Catholic missions also ran classes to train teachers exclusively for African rudimentary and primary schools. Protestant missions were not allowed to operate teacher-training institutions.

FRELIMO inherited a legacy of economic and social underdevelopment, characterised by: a lack of investment capital and the underdevelopment of productive forces, except in the plantations, farm pockets and main urban areas, and in the commercial infrastructure designed to stimulate peasant cash crop production (railways, roads and stores); unequal development between rural and urban areas; and a railway network - where the most significant portion of capital was invested - determined by and subordinated to the interests of the neighbouring countries.

The underdevelopment of the economy produced a typical colonial social structure. Within the white colonial community, a powerful bureaucracy, whose role was to protect Portuguese interests in the colony and safeguard loyalty to the metropolis, conflicted with a small class of Portuguese farmers. A number of Portuguese traders scattered around the country competed with relatively strong pockets of Indian merchants. Among Africans, very small and weak elite of mission-educated Africans, *mulatos* and *assimilados* occupied lower positions in the colonial economy such as clerks, interpreters, mission schoolteachers and labour *capatazes* (overseers). In general, all the skilled and semi-skilled positions in the colonial economy, and in political and social institutions, were reserved for expatriates to meet the pressures of unemployment in Portugal and were to be filled by Europeans, most of whom left the country soon after independence.

The virtual lack of African participation in positions of economic and political leadership reveals the failure of the Portuguese policies of assimilation and miscegenation in producing a weighty African middle class. For example, in 1950, out of a population of over six million, there were no more than 4555 *assimilados,* and only a few of their children attended secondary school.[313] By 1960, *mulatos* constituted only about 0.5 per cent of the population. Their importance was qualitative rather than quantitative.[314] They were urbanised and better educated than the *assimilados,* although their status did not in practice involve much racial equality. The present-day FRELIMO leadership reflects this colonial distortion.

The curriculum model reflected this social and economic pattern of development. The core curriculum remained extremely Eurocentric and prescriptive in spite of minor changes introduced in the 1960s. The abolition of the distinction between the system of adaptation and the normal primary school education did not include significant curriculum modifications. By its nature the curriculum restricted access to higher levels of schooling. Only those pupils whose class background and survival strategies embodied the colonial ethos which guided the teaching-learning process - memorisation and regurgitation of the subjects, conformism and disrespect for African linguistic and cultural traditions - could succeed in progressing to higher levels of schooling. By the time of independence, a much distorted pattern had been established. As already indicated, it is estimated that in 1966-7 about 70 per cent of Africans at the secondary level attended technical or occupational schools and that only about 2.8 per cent attended academic schools, whereas most Europeans attended academic schools.[315] Privileged subjects included Literature, Arts, Maths, Philosophy and (European) Languages with neglect of subjects such as Science, Physics and Astronomy, as illustrated by very low enrolments in this area. It is estimated that by the time of independence Mozambique had not one single Mozambican Science teacher.[316] A former Minister of Education, Arnaldo Nhavoto also indicates that only 7 per cent of the black

population was literate at the time of independence.[317]

While the absence of a strong elite facilitated FRELIMO's revolutionary commitments, it also created almost insurmountable obstacles to economic development in Mozambique. FRELIMO found itself in the situation of choosing whether to reproduce, at least for a while, the inherited exploitative system of economic development while creating conditions and resources for deeper social change or, for the sake of political freedom and legitimacy, to undermine and immediately dismantle the inherited system and build a new social, economic and political order. The latter option seems to have been the one chosen. This was a development that accompanied the metamorphoses undergone by FRELIMO within the liberated zones during the struggle for national liberation: within these areas African nationalism began to assume a more revolutionary perspective. Consequently, FRELIMO had to expand the education infrastructure, train and educate a new leadership, prepare the working class for control of the economy and so forth, without an adequate social base and without material and financial resources.

Towards a Curriculum for Socialist Transition, 1975-1983

As indicated in Chapter Two, a salient feature of the so-called liberated zones is the fact that they symbolised the creative potential of a new type of liberation movement. The demands and contradictions of the armed struggle, as manifested by the conflicts at the FRELIMO secondary school in Dar-es-Salaam, and the political struggles over the form and content of the organisation of society in the liberated zones, made possible the development of a new philosophy of education and new education concepts around the banner 'educate man to win the war, create a new society and develop our country'. As such, liberated zones represented the laboratory of FRELIMO's education policies, including curriculum policy.[318] Of interest to this chapter are three important principles that underpinned subsequent developments in education and school curriculum practices.

The first was the *destruction of the colonial legacy* as a primary objective of education under FRELIMO. Old ideas and negative traditional values such as the oppression of women by men, tribalism, superstition and all those cultural practices that in the light of FRELIMO's revolutionary ideals had come to be seen as 'culturally non-acceptable' were also to be eliminated, and schools came to be seen as primary sites were this battle was to be fought. The methods and programmes were to replace a colonial capitalist, individualist and competitive mentality with a revolutionary mentality based on the practice of collective work and study, democratic participation and the working out of new kinds of social relations between people. The second concerns the *alignment of the curriculum with the political, economic and ideological orientation of FRELIMO.* Within the liberated zones, the structure and content of the school curriculum cannot be separated from the political ideology of FRELIMO emerging from the challenges of the national liberation struggle (production to support the

war, conscientisation of the youth around the ideals of the 'national democratic revolution', etc.) and the affirmation of FRELIMO as the 'vanguard of the Mozambican people'. The third is related to the *building of national unity* under a unitary state. The fourth was the *fight against underdevelopment*, reflected in the strategies aimed at minimising poverty in the liberated zones.

I argue in this chapter that these four principles forged in the liberated zones became key pillars in FRELIMO discourse, though they assumed different meanings and content in the two periods considered after the independence of Mozambique. This peculiar principles and values framework, which characterised the uniqueness of FRELIMO's education practice as a liberation movement, constituted the basis for the formulation of Mozambique's national curriculum policy.

Dealing with the Colonial Legacy

The Beira Seminar brought university staff and primary and secondary school teachers from all parts of the country for the first time into contact with FRELIMO cadres for ten days of intense discussion. Through a detailed, though somewhat romanticised narrative, the leading role of the liberated zones as sources of political inspiration was re-asserted and the main educational principles and concepts adopted. The experience of FRELIMO's schools was portrayed as a model for teacher training, curriculum design, organisation and management of schooling in the whole country.[319] As in the liberated zones, the role of schooling was re-defined as that of training *continuadores*, that is, those who would carry on the revolutionary struggle and ensure a Socialist future for Mozambique.

In the light of FRELIMO's experience, key policy issues were adopted:

(i) a critical approach to the entire colonial syllabus and all the textbooks that had been in use;

(ii) the introduction of new history and geography courses informed by the revolutionary needs of FRELIMO;

(iii) the principle of unity between theory and practice in all school activities through the link between study and production;[320] and

(iii) the need for political and ideological education for students and teachers as well as new cultural activities to promote and assert the Mozambican identity and patriotism.

The Beira Seminar offered an opportunity to question the values, bias and stereotypes entrenched in the curriculum, school practice and the minds of all those involved in the education field. As a result of the Seminar, preliminary changes began to happen. These involved:

- the abolition of religion as a school subject;
- replacement of history of Portugal with the history of Mozambique as a compulsory subject in 1975 for all levels of schooling;
- extension and standardisation of physical education to include girls; (iv) suspension of most colonial textbooks;
- the re-training of new teachers - the *monitores* or teachers without formal teaching qualification; and
- improvisation of new teaching methods. I must emphasise that the involvement of young teachers moved by the 'the promise of self-liberation' that FRELIMO represented was beyond imagination. The Director of the Faculty of Social Sciences recalls some of his observations at the time:

> I remember that for example because of their rejection of the colonial curricula, teachers met to prepare *'textos de apoio'* [teaching materials] or improvised *'textos de apoio'* in Portuguese or wrote notes on the bases of certain narratives of the liberated zones, some history and ideas of the liberated zones of Jorge Rebelo and others influenced schools. For example the book by Bernardo Honwana, whch survived, *Nos Matamos o Cao Tinhoso* assumed in practice the role of a reading textbook, though it was not stipulated as such. Thus, in social sciences where teachers were not trained to prepare *'textos de apoio'*, the teachers used to meet [for such purpose]...[321]

In natural sciences the process differed. In practice, the Maths, Physics and Chemistry books were retained, though Chemistry was separated from Physics. A major reshuffling of the colonial curriculum took place in 1978 with the introduction of the pre-university courses (*propedeutico*). In essence, the pre-university programmes resulted in the strengthening of the subjects taught in the last years of secondary schooling and the mix of an extension of secondary school subjects and foundational university subjects into the pre-university component. However, these preliminary efforts at changing the colonial curriculum were followed by more radical transformation of the curriculum in the post-1983 period. I will return to this point later.

Building National Unity

One of the challenges experienced by African countries in the post-colonial era has been the need to develop an alternative to the colonial systems based on racial and cultural segregation and assimilation. FRELIMO responded to this challenge by adopting a strategy of national unification. Thus the education policy concentrated on global or national rather than local, regional or ethnic concerns. By so doing, FRELIMO hoped to create a unified sense of nationhood through the school system, using Portuguese as a national language of instruction and centrally prescribed textbooks and curricula. The fact that the Portuguese colonial policy was based on the

ideology of assimilation and had resulted in an apparent acceptance of Portuguese by the Mozambican elite as the only cross-ethnic communication medium seems to have fuelled a great deal of enthusiasm among FRELIMO leaders, who saw it as a solid basis for nation building. It soon became clear that this approach underestimated the complexity of the Mozambican socio-cultural reality.

Based on the ideology of Marxism and Leninism and guided by Socialist principles and values, the education system was expected to precipitate a 'cultural revolution', which would alter the mentality of the people in order to eradicate negative traditional cultural practices (superstition, fetishism, obscurantism and magic) and colonial cultural practices (racism, tribalism, regionalism, individualism and elitism). What was unique in this experience was the challenge to negative forms of traditional culture. This was based on the assumption that, in traditional societies, given the low level of knowledge that characterises them, superstition and similar practices take the place of science and block any scientific analysis of the material and social milieu in favour of the supernatural. Thus for FRELIMO, traditional education creates passivity and takes for granted respect towards inherited ideas. It encourages the belief in the infallibility of the older generations personified in the elders. It also tries to justify historically women's submission to men and other sexist values. Education was to promote a new culture, based on positive traditional forms together with new content dictated by the ideals of socialism. By adopting this education strategy, FRELIMO hoped to create what has been referred to as 'the New Man', that is, someone with a working-class consciousness and a scientific, materialist and dialectical outlook, fully devoted to the creation of a new collective society.

In his address to the Second Meeting of the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1979, Vieira defined the values entailed in the creation of the 'New Man' as: equality, work, science and scientific knowledge, unity, sense of collectivity, the spirit of initiative, and the spirit of responsibility, balance and love.[322] As Johnston has correctly pointed out, the problem of attributing the aim of creating the New Man to the school is that 'it tends to cast the system in the role of a factory for the production of idealised (male?) individuals, rather than a site of struggle'. Schools were to inculcate new values, relations and attitudes to individuals in society who would transform it, and then ensure that its new collective form is reproduced. Certainly, this conception suffers from a great deal of idealism.

The strategy of national unification had dramatic consequences for FRELIMO. Teachers were to promote a new culture and, for this purpose, they had to undergo a process of *reciclagem* (re-education) and socialisation into the desired ideal society and values. The educational, ideological and political framework had to guide the creation and development of the prospective socio-economic base. The curriculum, syllabuses and methods had to be integrated and based on old and new value systems, chiefly the

latter, and a core language - Portuguese - was adopted as the only medium of instruction at all levels of education. Schematically, the model could be represented as A+B+C+D = E, where E represents the national culture of the 'New Man' or 'New Society', which in FRELIMO's view had begun to emerge in the liberated zones. The task of the new education authorities was that of extending this culture to the rest of the country, that is, to apply at a macro-level what had been generated in a very particular micro-world.

The first national education conference took place in Beira (the Beira Seminar) in January 1975, and brought primary and secondary teachers and university staff from all parts of the country into contact with FRELIMO cadres for the first time for ten days of intense discussion. The experience of FRELIMO's schools came to be seen as a model for teacher training, syllabus design and the organisation and management of schooling.[323] The leading role of the liberated zones as sources of political inspiration was reasserted. Their schools came to be seen as models of the 'new school' in the rest of the country and had the role of training *continuadores,* that is, those who would carry on the revolutionary struggle when the current generation passed on.

In the light of FRELIMO's experience, the participants came to an agreement on key policy issues: a critical approach to the entire colonial syllabus and all the textbooks that had been in use; the introduction of new history and geography courses; and the need for political and ideological education for both students and teachers as well as new cultural activities to promote and assert the Mozambican personality and patriotism. All school activities were to be guided by the principle of unity between theory and practice through the link between study and production.[324] The Beira Seminar offered an opportunity to question the values, bias and stereotypes entrenched in the curriculum and the minds of all those involved in the education field. As a result of the conference, preliminary changes were made. These involved: the abolition of religion as a school subject; the replacement of the history of Portugal with the history of Mozambique as a compulsory subject in 1975 for all levels of schooling; the extension and standardisation of physical education to include girls; the suspension of most colonial textbooks; an attempt to train new teachers, the *monitores* (teachers without formal teaching qualifications); and the improvisation of new teaching methods.

These changes, effected without enough time for transformation and systematic research and at a time of political convulsion, had important pedagogical implications for the teaching and learning process. In the absence of textbooks or teaching aids, teachers acquired overwhelming power over their students. They dictated the content or wrote almost everything on the board. Most of these teachers were not well prepared, nor did they have enough time to experiment with new methods. Consequently, pupils were very often forced to play a passive role. Political education (patriotic education from 1985) was placed in the hands of unqualified new

teachers in 1977 after brief upgrading workshops. As a result, it never captured the interest of the pupils. At university level, Marxism-Leninism, taught in a dogmatic way, led to a controversy that culminated in the closure of the Faculty of Marxism by Machel.[325]

Enforcing the Discourse of the Ruling Party: Curriculum for Socialist Transformation

The project of schooling for socialism reached a decisive moment in 1983 with the introduction of the National System of Education and the implementation of a new curriculum. Besides the mediation of the colonial legacy and some influences of the liberated zones (almost evaporated by this time), critics converge in attributing to the Socialist block the key role in shaping the new school curriculum.[326] Russian teachers taught science and mathematics subjects in all pre-university and many secondary schools. Popov indicates that the Soviet Union and East Germany supplied considerable human and material resources to support the creation of a new educational system.[327] According to the Director of the Faculty of Education (2007), all technical assistants were drawn from East European countries (*o leste*):

> I doubt about the proportion in which the practices of the liberated zones may be reflected in the national system of education. I doubt... Yes I remember that big influence was from the eastern bloc and in terms of where people got their training, people were trained in the Faculty of Education and in this faculty the lecturers were Russian, East German... and in the Instituto Superior Pedagogico (today Universidade Pedagogica) where they were predominantly Russian, Ukrainian... and from East Germany, talking about those trained in the country. Those who were trained outside the country went to Democratic Germany to three schools... one school named Sheriverin... a school in Rostock and another in Dresden... Exactly, these were the orientation for the teachers because the military went to the Soviet Union and the teachers to Democratic Germany.[328]

Drawing on his experience at INDE and looking back to the late 1980s, Popov paints the following picture:

> The Soviet Union supplied the country with educational literature. There were, for instance, Russian school Physics textbooks translated into Portuguese (without any adaptation to local conditions), scientific and popular scientific literature of Soviet authors. Also, dozens of tons of ideological magazines and books came regularly from China, North Korea, Soviet Union and East Germany. This literature now constitutes the core of most educational institutions' libraries. Hundreds of Mozambican students at that time were trained at universities and pegadogical colleges of Socialist countries. Thousands of the secondary school pupils from all provinces of the country had opportunity to study in Cuba – Ilha da Jueventude. All departments of the Ministry of Education and many regional directories of education had pedagogical and administrative advisers from Socialist countries. Curriculum and educational materials development, pre-service and in-service training were subjects of their special attention. Local personnel had no experience in this field at the time of independence.

Popov's account is not an exaggeration. One could argue with plenty of evidence that through such strategies Mozambique engaged in policy borrowing that nearly compromised its legacy from the liberated zones.

As the curricula reflected the political and ideological line of FRELIMO, schools were targeted as major factors of destabilisation by RENAMO. The report of the Central Committee of FRELIMO to the Fifth Congress in 1989 indicated that more than 2, 655 schools, 45 per cent of the primary school network, had been closed or destroyed.329 The migration of people from the countryside to the towns because of the war made the deterioration of the schooling system uncontrollable. The possibilities of enrolment in the towns were very limited in spite of the double or triple shift system.330 In 1980, it was estimated that 59 per cent of children between seven and ten years of age were not at school.331 The picture in the field of literacy and adult education was even more dramatic and led the Minister of Education, A. dos Muchangos, to recognise that literacy and adult education programmes had come to a total standstill and Mozambique was again faced with an increasing illiteracy rate.[332]

Beyond the Socialist Dream: What Future?

The Fifth Congress of FRELIMO in 1989 recognised deteriorating conditions in education, principally the lack of financial resources and other factors, as preventing effective implementation of free and compulsory education. It was decided to invite the private sector - co-operatives, church and welfare organisations, cultural, recreational and sports associations - to build and administer private and community schools. These were to be run privately, subject to state supervision on matters concerning the curriculum, syllabuses and principles of organisation. Private tuition, which had been abolished, was also restored. Another important shift was the recognition of the need for a bilingual approach to literacy programmes and adult education. It is difficult to predict what the effects of the new policy will be. It seems however that, as a consequence of the political shift made by the Fifth Congress, schooling will take place within a framework that is neither Socialist nor rigidly determined by FRELIMO's political line. The shift from mono-party politics to multi-party politics, as reflected in the new constitution, will have far-reaching implications for education and curriculum policies. The private sector and community and religious organisations will have considerable participation in addressing the crisis in Mozambican education.

The introduction of a new constitution, which has dissociated public institutions, including those concerned with education, from party politics,

has rendered important sections of the core curriculum and school syllabus out of date. There seems to be a great need for conceptual, theoretical and methodological reformulations in the light of the changing geo-political environment in Mozambique. Some of the questions currently under discussion in major education circles such as the university, the Instituto Pedagógico and INDE, following the rejection of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, are:

> What criteria should govern curricular selection? Should a particular political force bind the curriculum or should it remain relatively neutral and thus suffer minimal changes with the changes of government, to the Right or to the Left?[333] What role should the curriculum play in the new political and economic context? What should a curriculum of national reconciliation incorporate? Obviously, these questions may lead to new principles and conceptual frameworks, and new curricula, syllabuses, textbooks and classroom interactions.

Concerned educationists at INDE are tentatively talking about the need for a curriculum for national reconciliation or national unity, for building a Mozambican nation as opposed to a curriculum for Socialist transformation, which, they argue, privileged only one sector of the nation, namely the working class and FRELIMO's leadership. According to this view, social, cultural, economic, ethnic and linguistic diversity should be embodied in the national curriculum. Along these lines, there has been an attempt to re-conceptualise the concept of the 'New Man'. A leading educationist said the following about this:

> The concept of 'New Man' was a static concept, an unachievable abstraction developed on a Marxist-Leninist basis. Its starting point was a unified and united country from Rovuma to Maputo irrespective of its cultural diversity. What we had forgotten is that every individual prefers 'the immediate' as a starting point. The national is too vast and too abstract. There is speculation that we are now working towards a more dynamic concept: the concept of 'Mozambican Man'. This implies that, to achieve national objectives, the interests of other forces should be accommodated and there should be an attempt to value our national culture in its diversity.[334]

Attached to the concept of 'Mozambican Man' is the idea of 'national reconciliation', which is seen as a primary issue for the curriculum to address. This is advocated as a reaction to the curriculum during the First Republic,[335] which, it is argued, stressed national unity rooted in a peasant-worker alliance as deliberated by the Third Congress of FRELIMO in 1977. There are three main reasons why this approach did not succeed. First, the curriculum did not accommodate social tensions created by colonial rule, including the regional, ethnic and linguistic diversity of Mozambican society. Second, the alliance between the peasantry and the working class was embryonic and, to a large extent, artificial. Third, the economic policies implemented before the Fourth FRELIMO Congress (held in April

1983) and consequent dynamics of power tended to undermine this alliance. As the Congress recognised, these policies tended to privilege the working class while undermining the majority of peasants, who constitute more than 85 per cent of the population.

Third, the fact that the process of nation building unwittingly initiated by the colonial administration was based on an assimilationist model might have some bearing on the way transitional policies were implemented in the rest of the country. The curriculum for the development of the 'New Man' was by definition an assimilation strategy. The curriculum incorporated universal Socialist values and accounts of the experiences in the liberated zones, which were to be extended to and assimilated by the whole nation. However, these did not necessarily match the complex cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity of Mozambican society. As a consequence, in some cases they were met with indifference or regarded as alien to the prevailing cultural or 'traditional' setting, particularly when inexperienced teachers translated the curriculum into highly abstract or inaccessible terms.

Related to this is the centrality of curriculum policies in minimising social tensions and conflicts that have dominated past history in African politics. Within the traditional Socialist movement the concept of class struggle was seen as the driving force in history and in nation building. Curriculum policies were conceptualised and shaped with reference to class stratification in society and the course of class struggle. The Mozambican experience, read in the light of the changes in Eastern Europe, motivates for a review of these traditional conceptions, the need to recognise the principle of national reconciliation and embodiment of the principles of non-racism, non-sexism and democracy in our future curriculum policies.

Dealing with Diversity: Curriculum Implications

When curriculum review began, concerned educationists at INDE were tentatively talking about the need for a curriculum for national reconciliation or national unity for building a Mozambican nation, as opposed to a curriculum for Socialist transformation. This, they argued, privileged only one sector of the nation, namely the working class and FRELIMO's leadership. According to this view, social, cultural, economic, ethnic and linguistic diversity should be embodied in the national curriculum. [336] Along these lines, there was an attempt to re-conceptualise the concept of 'New Man', which gave rise to the concept of 'Mozambican Man'. This implies that, to achieve national objectives, the interests of other forces should be accommodated and there should be an attempt to value the national culture in its diversity.[337] The concept of 'Mozambican Man' would only materialise through 'national reconciliation', which is seen as a primary goal that education curriculum should address.

The *National Education Policy and Strategies for Implementation* introduced in 1995 recognises that national unity is 'an essential premise in the democratic society that we are building and should be based on respect

for diversity of ideas, cultural traditions, religious convictions, ethnic origins and gender'.[338] This is advocated as a reaction to education in the liberated zones and under the First Republic,[339] which, it is argued, stressed national unity rooted in a peasant-worker alliance as advocated by the Third Congress of FRELIMO in 1977. In practice, attempts at re-formulating Mozambican educational goals have been translated into systematic efforts towards introducing a bilingual approach to literacy programmes and adult education, research into indigenous languages, and search for alternative curriculum development models, particularly the pursuit of the notion of *local curriculum*. The introduction of a new constitution, which has dissociated public institutions, including those concerned with education, from party politics, has rendered out-of-date important sections of the core curriculum and school syllabus, still structured around the idea of the 'New Man'. The process raised a great need for conceptual, theoretical and methodological re-formulations of schooling and school curriculum in the light of the changing geo-political environment in Mozambique.

The new curriculum review put an end to any aspect of the curriculum for Socialist transformation under the influence of the Eastern Block. The Ministry of Education and Culture had already replaced almost all consultants from that region with experts from the World Bank, IMF and technical assistants from the USA, The Netherlands, Britain and Sweden. To revitalise research on curriculum at INDE, Sweden funded a staff development programme that offered the opportunity to some of its staff to complete their Master of Education studies.

Generally, four main aspects can be identified in recent reformulations of the school curriculum:

i. the strengthening of professional and vocational dimensions in the national curriculum;

ii. promotion of learners in earlier grades;

iii. the introduction of the mother tongue as medium of instruction; and

iv. the introduction of local curriculum. Let us look at these aspects in more detail.

Professionalisation and Vocationalisation of the National Curriculum

The new national education system was targeted at secondary education, the strengthening of the professional and vocational dimensions of the national curriculum aimed to make the curriculum less academic and encyclopaedic and to prepare learners for the labour market and self-employment through the integration of appropriate competences and skills into the curriculum. This is referred to as education for entrepreneurship, which promotes appropriate skills such as the use of information and communication technologies and computers.[340] This comes as a challenge to traditional curricula that tended to be encyclopaedic in scope, tried to

cover everything and did not take cognisance of the community context where learners live and learn. According to the new philosophy, besides preparedness for university education, secondary school graduates must be ready for the world of work.

Reforming Technical and Vocational Education (TVET)

TVET in Mozambique is primarily offered through government schools and training centres managed by a diverse number of different Ministries. More recently, some private training providers have entered the market and offer specialised training programmes for their private sector clients (mostly new foreign investors), but these programmes still only accommodate a minority of students in the TVET system.[341] The main provider of TVET courses is the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) with a provision of full time pre-employment technical education course programmes to children of school-going age through a network of 47 technical schools in which enrolment was about 45,000 students in 2005. This amounts to about one per cent of total enrolment in primary, secondary and technical education combined, although, more significantly, it is about 15 per cent of the total secondary level student population.[342] The largest provider of vocational training is the Institute of Employment and Training (INEFP).[343] Interventions in this domain arise out of concerns about the mismatch between the labour supply and the evolving needs of labour market, which require more skilled workers.

Initiated in 2004 is an *integrated TVET reform* programme, which entails making the curriculum relevant to the demands of economic development of the country, particularly in the areas of industry, agriculture and commerce as well as the information and communication technologies. This is still at planning stage with the backing of the World Bank, though with very promising prospects. Steering the implementation of this strategy is a major national project known as PIREP, led by Dr Zeferino Martins, former Vice-Minister of Education. PIREP's Project Development Objective is *to facilitate the transition to a demand-led training system and provide the beneficiaries with more market relevant skills and improved economic opportunities*.[344] Against this background the project seeks to address the main factors that undermine relevance, quality, access and equity. Its programme includes the development of an institutional framework, of standards-based qualifications and training system, quality improvement in TVET institutions and the establishment of a skills development fund or *Fundo para o Desenvolvimento de Competências Profissionais* (FUNDEC). There are serious doubts about institutional capacity and readiness to support the reforms. In this regard, the success of the project will depend on the provision of adequate functioning TVET facilities, the completion of a new competency based curriculum and the production of competent teacher/trainers. Overall, steps have been taken to address crosscutting issues of gender equity and HIV/AIDS.

Automatic Promotion of Learners

Another aspect of the curriculum reform is the introduction of the policy of automatic promotion of learners during the first five years of schooling without subjecting them to formal examination. School councils and the directorate of schools received the authority to make decisions to let learners pass depending on their individual learning trajectories.[345] The aim is to reduce the rate of repetition in schools that had become costly and worsened classroom overcrowding. The problem however is to be felt at the level of implementation particularly in those schools where institutional capacity is limited. It is being met with increasing scepticism as passionately articulated by Cruz e Silva:

> The new primary school education sub-system, I imagine..., was not conceived for a situation in line with our reality. Accordingly, the child does not have to write an exam to pass. If the teacher has twenty pupils, that's correct, because the teacher has [conducive] conditions. However, if the teacher has an immense crowd of pupils, the textbooks are delivered late to the school, the school year starts without books, the teacher does not have working conditions, and there is a series of problems where teachers demand money from the parents to enrol their children, to promote their children, which is a complicated issue in primary and secondary schools, it means that those children will pass, will enter secondary schools with a low level of education, and proceed to the university. Therefore... when they enter the university the tendency is the levelling with reference to the lowest standards, because the majority of students have problems.[346]

Cruz e Silva went on to describe how in her university classes she has to start by teaching her students how to read, because 'they are not prepared either to read or to think'.[347] For her this is a problem that has its roots in the primary and secondary schools, and it is reproduced up to the university.

Introduction of Mother Tongue as the Medium of Instruction

More innovative was also the authorisation for the use of local languages for the first time in Mozambique history as media of instruction for the first years of schooling in spite of an absence of a language policy in the country. Literacy training for children during the first three years is conducted in the mother tongue. While the children learn Portuguese, they are taught by the medium of the mother tongue. After the three years Portuguese becomes the medium and the mother tongue turns into a learning subject.

The Concept of Local Curriculum

There has been an immense effort towards curriculum reform and curriculum transformation, which culminated in a curriculum document that has been implemented since 2003. In this context, local curriculum emerged as one of the main curriculum innovations in Basic education in

response to the need for education relevant to the local communities in view of the commitment to eliminate absolute poverty and vulnerability.[348] More specifically it aims to enable children, youth and adults to participate in the social, cultural and economic development of their own community and the country at large. It is envisaged that local curriculum will allow for the transfer of animal and plan production technologies to the communities to minimise vulnerability. In the same way, basic health knowledge can be transmitted to the local population. For this purpose, the national curriculum would reserve 20 per cent of the time for the local curriculum. School are responsible for the design, development, integration of the local curriculum content in the teaching and learning.[349] This is how 'local' in the curriculum is defined:

> The local is not the space that can be defined in pure geographic terms. Indeed, it comprises the space where the school is situated, including the whole range of lived experience and aspirations of the community where it is located, resting with the community the responsibility of defining what their children should learn. Thus, the selection of the contents to be included in the subject is not merely from the geographic but as it appears relevant in the context of the community.[350]

To support the process, the Institute for the Development of National Education (INDE) developed a manual. The manual deals with the content related to the following themes: culture, history, local economy, moral and civic education, environmental studies, agriculture and animal care, and health. The criteria for the selection of contents are socio-economic relevance, contribution to the strengthening of national unity, promotion of self-employment, the development of basic competences for life, and contents that capture children's interest and contribute to their development. [351] The process is to be facilitated through involvement of community leaders or knowledgeable members of the community. Selected education authorities have been trained to drive the implementation process. Among these were specialists in Basic education at the district level, instructors of teacher training centres, officials responsible for pedagogic matters at district level and district coordinators.

A comprehensive site visit was undertaken in May and June 2004 to monitor progress in the implementation of the new curriculum in Basic education in several schools in the provinces of Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane, Manica, Sofala, Tete, Zambézia, Nampula, Niassa and Cabo Delgado. A report was released by INDE the same year.[352] The results are shocking. Shortage of teachers remains a general problem. While many teachers had been trained, there were serious difficulties in the teaching of disciplines such as '*oficios*', social sciences, English and music. In this case, pupils were only asked to sing in classes.[353] Shortage of books was also reported, particularly in subjects such as *Oficios*, Music, Physical education, Portuguese, English, Social sciences, Natural Sciences, Civic Education and Ethics. The same applies to bilingual material for pilot schools.[354] No

school managed to implement the local curriculum because of lack of understanding of the approach to be used in the classroom and the scope. The report attributes part of the situation to alleged 'laziness' of the teachers, inherited from the previous curriculum where lesson plans and guidelines were in the teacher's book. The new curriculum, it is said, requires creativity, consulting bibliography and constant research.[355] The question is whether these teachers have been trained to undertake these tasks effectively. Note that the report acknowledges that current teacher education programmes are outdated and inadequate in relation to the programmes designed for the new Basic education curriculum.

The report gives a gloomy picture with too many complicated problems to tackle and too many long-term recommendations to implement and concludes in a rather contradictory manner in its general assessment:

> In spite of the various difficulties found, related to the process, there is an understanding from the teachers, pupils, parents, guardians and those who directly or indirectly intervene in the education process, that the introduction of the new curriculum requires a long process, costly and huge effort and good will from everybody. It was possible to achieve positive results. The pupils from the classes where the new curriculum was introduced have demonstrated that they have acquired the abilities required at their level of schooling.[356]

The introduction of the National Education System marked the beginning of a more systematic reformulation of the syllabuses. This task was undertaken by the *Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação* (INDE). Of particular importance is the methodology followed by INDE. This included definition of the general objectives of the National Education System, definition of the objectives of each sub-system by the respective department, establishment of subject groups, the outlining of the content, means and methods to be applied, practical testing and subsequent revision of the material produced and production of textbooks and teachers' guides. The whole process was informed and based on the general principles and aims of the National Education System. These principles and aims came under fire six years later at FRELIMO's Fifth Congress held in 1989, which marked the end of FRELIMO's Socialist policies.

Under these circumstances, the changes of syllabus did not assume major significance. They were largely limited to the replacement of some topics according to the new curriculum objectives. In 1977, the full primary school programmes were made available in three volumes. By 1978, manuals for literacy teachers and Portuguese readers had been produced for secondary schools.[357] The same year the newly founded National Institute for Education Development (INDE) assumed the task of producing school textbooks. A variety of individuals formed subject groups, many of them often without sufficient experience or knowledge about the new learning targets and teaching methods. These initial changes were generally characterised by emphasis on political and ideological objectives and a

somewhat mechanistic or dogmatic approach to social subjects, particularly analyses based on historical and dialectical materialism.

Conclusion

As I have attempted to illustrate in this chapter, the process of curriculum change concerns, *inter alia*, the need to examine and assess the nature of the colonial legacy, to negotiate the principles and frameworks for new curricula, to define new education objectives and aims suited to the Mozambican revolutionary goals, to define values, skills and knowledge to be incorporated in the new curricula, to determine variables that would regulate the transition and to prepare the appropriate objective and subjective conditions for the transition. Mozambique lacked the necessary human and economic resources to perform these tasks effectively. As with education in general, Frelimo made curriculum choices almost exclusively with reference to its political goals with little attention to the material and human resources available for their implementation.

The fact that the process of nation building unwittingly initiated by the colonial administration was based on an assimilationist model might have some bearing on the way transitional policies were implemented in the rest of the country. The curriculum for the development of the "New Man" was by definition an assimilation tool. The curriculum incorporated universal Socialist values and accounts of the experiences in the liberated zones, which were to be extended to and assimilated by the whole nation. However, these did not necessarily match the complex cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity of Mozambican society. As a consequence, in some cases they were met with indifference or regarded as alien to the prevailing cultural or "traditional" setting, particularly when inexperienced teachers translated the curriculum into highly abstract or inaccessible terms.

Related to this is the centrality of curriculum policies in minimizing social tensions and conflicts that dominated past history in African politics. Within the traditional Socialist movement the concept of class struggle was seen as the driving force in history and nation building. Curriculum policies were conceptualised and shaped with reference to class stratification in society and the course of class struggle. The Mozambican experience, read in the light of the changes in Eastern Europe, motivates for a review of these traditional conceptions, the need to recognise the principle of national reconciliation and embodiment of the principles of non-racism, non-sexism and democracy in our future curriculum policies.

Chapter Eight

CONCLUSION

LOOKING THROUGH THE REAR VIEW MIRROR: WHAT INSIGHTS? WHAT LESSONS?

Introduction

Less than five years on the road to multi-party liberal democracy, analysts have asked whether Mozambique would just be another case of permanent entrenchment of democratic minimalism. Mozambique, whether it is perceived as a case of democratic minimalism or of fully-fledged commitment to consolidation of democracy, represents today one of the leading democracies in the Southern African region after South Africa. The introduction of a neo-liberal macro-economic approach to economic development in 1986, the peace accord between FRELIMO and RENAMO signed in Rome in 1992, the implementation of a multi-party constitution in 1990 and the public sector reform strategy in 2000, have already made considerable impact and have resulted in growing macro economic rates well beyond the reach of many countries in the region. A multi-party democracy has been working smoothly in spite of an extremely weak civil society. Mozambique is today regarded as a success story among countries engaged in post-conflict education reconstruction. While these recent reforms were not the main focus of this book, past experience of national reconstruction reviewed in this book shows that this success may be doomed to failure if the complex post-independence political, social and educational legacy is not taken seriously into account.

Generally, the book has shown that *Education for all* is something that the Mozambican people still have to fight for, not a gift from independence. This is still to be fulfilled in spite of the discourse of delusion fuelled by more than two decades of uncritical scholarly work emanating from solidarity or engaged scholars as documented in Chapter Two. Chapters Three, Four and Five have shown that thirty-three years of national reconstruction are gone and Mozambican education system still displays patterns of development not far from the colonial legacy. This is so for several reasons. First, the initial educational discourse rooted in the liberated zones and the subsequent Marxist and Leninist ideology proved inadequate to address the complex educational challenges faced in the country at large.

Second, it appears from Chapter Six that Mozambique was not able and is not still able to dispose enough domestic revenue sufficient to keep the system running. Instead dependence on external aid in education has increased. Material and financial constraints put serious pressure on the programme for education development and change, particularly taking into account the demands emerging out of the nationalisation of educational

institutions and the need to integrate the whole missionary and church school network into the state school system after 1975. Current curriculum reforms and the integration of massive pool of returnees, war orphans and displaced children into the devastated school system have added more pressures on the national education budget.

Third, the rigid adoption of Portuguese as the medium of instruction and communication at all levels of the school system also manifested itself as an obstacle, particularly in the rural areas. Fourth, the Mozambican educational system continues to be constrained by chronic shortages in the supply of qualified teachers and other education personnel. Other constraints are related to shortage of books, classrooms, equipment and problems of sub-nutrition. The war also resulted in a massive migration of people to the main urban centres, where a three-shift system was introduced, which reduced the school day from five hours to three hours and left no room for extra-curricular activities.[358] Chapter Seven has given some insights into some of these critical issues. With the exception of agricultural schools and the schools of *artes* and *officios* many of which were destroyed during the war or by floods, too much emphasis on academic education – a general pattern from the colonial era to the present – has resulted in a dismal failure to develop successful initiatives to build the skills of young people. Worth highlighting are important elements of continuity and discontinuity:

- The dominant educational discourses have displayed considerable shifts throughout the Mozambican educational history. Colonialism constructed its educational goals around the discourse of "civilization" which placed this responsibility to Portuguese settlers and missionaries via gradual assimilation and submission of the "natives" and miscegenation strategies. Nonetheless the luso-tropical society that was to emerge from these processes was dismal failure, and Portuguese colonialism proved to be one of the most brutal system and racial oppression in world history. Drawing on the legacy of assimilation, Frelimo proclaimed the discourse of modernisation and emancipation – with emphasis on collectivism, which was to lead to a Socialist Mozambique. The advent of neo-liberalism has placed the role of education in the process of democratisation – with emphasis on individualism - at the centre of the educational debate;
- Two important dimensions have characterised organisational and control issues in education. The partnership between the church, particularly the Catholic church and the colonial state as the main education agencies gave way to Frelimo's control of all educational institutions, through nationalisations. The inability of the government to respond to the increasing demand for education, financial constraints and education liberalisation have opened room for private institutions, the Church and NGOs to play a major role in education;
- Frelimo replaced the binary school curriculum with strong academic component (for whites and assimilados) and a vocational component for Africans with academic curriculum that privileges the arts and humanities. This pattern has remained constant until the present. An important innovation is the recent introduction of the concept of local curriculum alongside the national curriculum; and
- Unique to the Mozambican reform process is the consistent preservation of centralisation, bureaucratic governance and management in the school system, and authoritarian teaching and passivity in the classroom. Similarly, Portuguese has remained the main language of instruction in all schools at all levels though a debate is gaining momentum about the need to integrate national languages in education.

The table below summarises these features:

Table 3. General characteristics of Mozambican education in three periods[359]

	Colonial legacy	Liberated zones	1975-1990	After 1990
Education agencies	Catholic Church Colonial Government	FRELIMO	FRELIMO Government	Churches Government. Private providers
Education discourses	Civilisation (assimilation)	Emancipation	Modernisation (emancipation)	Democratisation (liberation)
Education strategies	Assimilation, Submission	Collectivism	Collectivism	Individualism
External influence/support	Portugal	Socialist countries	Socialist countries	Western countries
Curriculum content and priorities	Academic Practice/labour oriented Humanities	Academic Humanities	Academic Science	Academic Humanities/Languages
Aims of education	Good catholic	New Socialist person	New Socialist person	Mozambican personality
Type of education	Religious	Secular-ideological	Secular-ideological	Secular/religious
Conditions of access	Catholic Church membership	FRELIMO membership	FRELIMO Party membership	Bank account
Type of schools	Church/Private/State	FRELIMO	State	State/private/Church
Classroom climate	Authoritarian teaching/passivity of pupils	Authoritarian teaching/passivity of pupils	Authoritarian teaching/passivity of pupils	Authoritarian teaching/passivity of pupils
Language of instruction	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese/Local languages
Organisation	Centralised and Bureaucratic	Centralised Bureaucratic	Centralised and Bureaucratic	Centralised and Bureaucratic

Overall the study points to important theoretical insights with profound policy implications, which I will discuss in the following sections.

The Simplicity of the 'Liberated Zones' vis-à-vis the Complexity of the Country

The specific conditions of the 'liberated zones' where FRELIMO had total control in all domains of social life, and FRELIMO's constructivist and generative methodology combined with its distributive values and principles resulted in a progressive education theory, radical pedagogy and effective guidelines suited to the specific conditions of the 'liberated zones'. The considerable success achieved in this process compelled FRELIMO to rely far too much on this experience without systematic reflection on the complexities of the rest of the country and the necessary adaptations. The self-defeating spirit of victory backfired: 'if we did it this way and succeeded in the "liberated zones" it must also work for the whole country.' It was not to be so! The consequence was an overestimation of FRELIMO's own preparedness as a ruling party for a project of considerable magnitude drawing on an almost messianic celebration of the experiences of the narrow micro-world of the liberated zones. The consequence was also an underestimation of the complexities of the wider context of the Mozambican society, particularly the complexity of the legacy left by Portuguese colonialism and its effects on the transition. This is what I refer to as the *curse* of the legacy.

The Curse of the Legacy

The *curse* of the legacy was the antithesis to the assumption that the success in Socialist transformation lies in the outright destruction or transformation of the legacy as articulated in the phrases and popular songs such as '*escangalhar o aparelho to estado*' (let's destroy the state apparatus) without considering the strategic implications of such a radical and rapid change. It certainly did not take many years for FRELIMO government to dismantle the colonial state apparatus and its economic, social and political foundations. However, the unintended consequences of such a sudden transformation are still felt today in the Mozambican education system.

The structures of the colonial state apparatus might have been destroyed but its agency lives on. FRELIMO cadres, who are enthusiastic and visionary though inexperienced, joined a ministry dominated by a bureaucracy that neither could nor had will to shed the behavioural patterns learned as pivotal figures in the colonial state that they had served so recently. Mozambique has experienced two radically different processes of educational transformation – under Socialist and now under neo-liberal macro-economic strategies – but the Mozambican bureaucracy remains deeply entangled with FRELIMO party apparatus and still bears the 'over-formalised and over-bureaucratised features inherited from the Portuguese colonial administration',[360] with fragile

accountability mechanisms. This is largely due to the absence of a democratically organised and strong civil society, capable of diluting or limiting the power of the state and initiating and promoting democracy within the ruling party (e.g. recent changes in South Africa). Ironically, despite the emphasis placed in the destruction of the colonial state apparatus, the bureaucratic hierarchy, procedures and norms inherited from the Portuguese rule remained intact, which undermined all efforts to reframe the prevailing governmentality.

Human Capacity Challenges

While successful in the military and political front, FRELIMO would pay a heavy price for having neglected or perhaps underestimated the preparation of educated personnel for the tasks of national reconstruction. Emerging after independence was a pragmatic and ambitious state, depleted of resources, both human and material, to transform a severely underdeveloped economy and a very weak and fragile civil society. The Socialist project was to be built on shaky and sandy foundations. To aggravate this situation, cadres were selected primarily with reference to political and ideological loyalty with limited consideration to the knowledge and skills they possessed to undertake the complex tasks of national reconstruction as expressed in the popular phrase "*Damos prioridade a política, não a técnica*" (we give prionrity to politics over skills). As in many other Socialist oriented countries at the time, the middle class and more particularly the intellectuals were regarded with a great deal of suspicion and hostility.

The neo-liberal democratic project rests on similar foundations, though there are encouraging signs of a more pragmatic approach to human resource development (e.g. the increasing number of teacher education institutions; the increasing number of universities and polytechnic institutions contributing to the preparation of qualified personnel for the education system; the reform of professional and technical education; etc.). Many young Mozambicans are also being encouraged to undertake higher degrees nationally and overseas.

Policy Dialogue, Persuasion and Organisational Learning vis-à-vis Authoritarianism and Bureaucratic Control

Two conflicting models have dominated FRELIMO's policy discourse, in the process leading to the demise of the Socialist project and its education strategy. As indicated in Chapter Five, sympathetic 'observers portrayed the liberated zones as the land of perfect *participatory democracy*', which according to Ottaway degenerated into 'doctrinaire' practice when, after 1977, FRELIMO restructured itself into a Marxist-Leninist vanguard. She suggests that this political change eroded the popularity acquired during the war[361] and led to 'widespread disenchantment and apathy', though its senior leadership remained genuinely collegial.[362] Indeed, evidence indicates that in the educational experience of the 'liberated zones',

FRELIMO had a more constructivist approach to its policies, guidelines, theory and its utilisation, which became a means to facilitate dialogue, reflection and persuasion of the members on the imperatives of production, education and the significance of the armed struggle, where the ideas generated by all stakeholders were applied.

Participation, negotiation and persuasion provided legitimacy to the discourse of the movement and solicited commitment and dedication in their implementation. Through criticism and self-criticism, learning experiences were distilled that strengthened the organisational capacity and popularity of FRELIMO. Borrowing from Reimers and Mcginn, I refer to this approach as *policy dialogue, participation and organizational learning* and in it lies to a large extent the highly celebrated success of FRELIMO in the 'liberated zones'.[363] Together with production, education, a site of fierce struggles, constituted the key domain where this particular approach assumed more visible expression. As Reimers and Mcginn suggest, one of the key aspects for informed dialogue for participation and organisational learning to take place entails becoming more open to dealing with and expecting the unexpected:

> In many circumstances, decision makers cannot specify goals with any clarity because what is being sought does not yet exist and is not known. We can distinguish here between innovations of new methods, in which the goal is known but we are looking for a better way to achieve it, and new projects in which we seek something not yet experienced.[364]

Unfortunately, after independence the FRELIMO legacy degenerated into a top-down, authoritarian and bureaucratic approach as its cadres increasingly internalised the values, principles and norms of the colonial bureaucracy. By virtue of its position in power as the vanguard of the state and the people of Mozambique and because of its control over all symbolic resources valued in the context of the 'liberated zones', FRELIMO established a monopoly over policy production. It became the only source of policy-relevant knowledge. The government was the main agency responsible for the distribution and implementation of this 'official knowledge' in all domains of social, economic and political activity.[365] In practice, this meant that the party generated policy and translated it into 'policy directives' and the government expanded these directives through seminars, workshops and in-service training (*cursos de reciclagem*) with stakeholders and practitioners, invited to '*enrich*' (enriquecer), '*internalise*' (internalizar) or '*implement*' (implementar) them. In contrast to the experience in the 'liberated zones' very little room was left in this process for contestation or change of the directives. As a result, the clashes of norms and assumptions among differing organisational cultures within party and government structures increased in spite of Machel's constant efforts to recall the principles and values distilled from the 'liberated zones'. At the same time the monopolisation of policy decisions (from formulation to implementation) by the ruling

party, which was portrayed as a choice determined from the vanguard perspective, might as well be read with a degree of inevitability as a manifestation of the crisis of expertise outside the party and in the educational system in general.

Indoctrination vis-à-vis Liberal Education

Frelimo's approach to schooling valued in the context of the struggle for national liberation under the banner "Study, produce and fight", which came to dominate post-independence practices, did not always appear rational to many educated under colonialism, particularly when schools were reduced to instruments or mechanisms for achieving the ideological and political and economic concerns of the ruling party. I refer here to the highly contested idea that the education system was to precipitate a "cultural revolution" , which would alter the world outlook of the learners to eradicate what was perceived as negative traditional cultural practices (superstition, fetishism, obscurantism and magic) and colonial cultural practices (racism, tribalism, regionalism, individualism and elitism). Unfortunately such a project was to be achieved through a form of indoctrination into the ideology of Marxism and Leninism and Frelimo's politics. The idea of individual freedom, independence and autonomy, through the enculturation of the mind, which gives rise to the widening of opportunities for self-development, self-enrichment and self-fulfillment in society had no place in schools. Content knowledge and specific pedagogical approaches, very often associated with learner-centeredness and critical thinking, were excluded.

Massification vis-à-vis Promotion of a Bureaucratic Elite

Unfortunately, education that began as the guardian and nursery of democratic practices turned into the vehicle for social stratification and a basis for building a privileged class in the state. While claims were made for the need for preparing future leaders and national cadres in special Frelimo's schools, an unintended outcome was the creation of privilege for the children of the ruling class, who through such education enjoyed the opportunity of joining the political and bureaucratic elite. Berman quoting Johnson captures well the consequences in this regard:

> The highly centralised nature of the regime, however, has resulted in 'the subordination and virtual emasculation of people's democracy' while at the same time permitting 'an embryonic privileged class in the state to entrench and extend its own power and prestige'.[366]

Desirability vis-à-vis Possibility

What the Mozambican experience also illustrates is the need to establish a realistic balance between *desirability* and *possibility*, that is, between the desirability of an education project and the conditions of possibility for its implementation in real terms. What is desirable is not necessarily what is possible. It took Mozambique several years and a bumpy road through

potholes to opt for more realistic policy initiatives. Free and compulsory education is something that the Mozambican people still have to fight for, not a gift from independence. This is so for several reasons. First, material and financial constraints put serious pressure on the programme for education development and change. Second, it became practically impossible to integrate the whole missionary and church school network into the state school system after 1975. The language problem also manifested itself as an obstacle, particularly in the rural areas. Other constraints were related to shortage of books, schools, equipment and teachers (in spite of the tremendous effort undertaken by Frelimo in teacher training) and problems of sub-nutrition. The war also resulted in a massive migration of people to the main urban centres, where a three-shift system was introduced, which reduced the school day from five hours to three hours and left no room for extra-curricular activities. In addition, the Mozambican experience also highlights the need for contingency and sustainability strategies when engaging in education projects of such magnitude. Projects do not follow a linear process, no matter how rationally and carefully they are planned. They are negotiated and re-negotiated constantly depending on prevailing circumstances at a particular point in time.

Generative vis-à-vis Redistributive Concerns

FRELIMO's experience was incredibly strong in its *redistributive nature* but relatively weak in its *generative potential and capacities*. There is a sense in which a separate or parallel system could have had an incubatory effect in nurturing and in reproducing a pool of cadres whose outlook was rooted in the experience and discourses of the 'liberated zones', to ensure the transfer of these and cross-fertilisation across the education system. However, with the rapid degeneration of the school system, perceptions of a parallel system as a depository of privilege and power of the elite could not have been avoided, particularly when in other sectors (e.g. consumer) parallel institutions were established to provide access (e.g. *lojas francas* that provided access to consumer goods not available on the local market to government officials), or selective access was provided to higher education and training overseas on the grounds of political affiliation or loyalty. These unintended or contradictory pathways were symptomatic of a much wider problem: the failure of FRELIMO's redistributive strategy; the crisis of its redistributive capacity that had proved incredibly successful in mobilising freedom fighters, teachers and peasants in the 'liberated zones', when its generative potential and capacity became extremely limited.

Government had exhausted its redistributive resources. It had also limited and declining generative capacity whether in the economy, consumer or social institutions. For example, when the school system became a 'no option' outlet for the children of the veterans, a special treatment and consequent establishment of FRELIMO schools came to be seen as the solution. Similar was the situation in higher education, where a faculty of

former combatants was established (*Faculdade dos Antigo Combatantes*). At the macro level, the *lojas francas* were also symptomatic of the declining economy and shrinking consumer market. Similar was the situation in other sectors such as health care.

Educational and Learning Concerns vis-à-vis Other Non-educational Concerns in Schooling

Paris argues that the constant frustration with the inability of educational reform movements to deliver promises can be explained by the fact that 'we have high and perhaps unrealistic expectations about what schools can and should do.'[367] We tend to set too many complex goals for schooling without carefully considering what schools as sites of learning and socialisation can or cannot do. Schools have been called upon to become vehicles for nation building, building of democracy, the creation of the new person, achieving global competitiveness, meeting the social and economic needs of the community, fighting perceived traditional negative values, serving the armed struggle challenges, bases for people to take power, and so forth. Can the schools realistically cope with, if not solve, the myriad problems that are being assigned to them? Could other institutions in society not address some of these problems more effectively? No reference is made in these ideals about the need to prepare independent and autonomous citizens with a critical mind to face the challenges that today's world poses. This is a dimension that places learning at the centre of the social project of schooling.

Policy Symbolism vis-à-vis Policy Practice

Ginsburg et al. (1991) make the point that educational reform can be considered as 'symbolic gestures designed to indicate governmental ... awareness of problems and sympathetic intentions, rather than serious efforts to achieve social change.'[368] There are two important ways of looking at the meaning of the construct of policy symbolism. On the downside, policy symbolism has been linked to impressive policies, frameworks or directives designed to change education, which do not have 'implementation' as their primary commitment, or to the setting of educational goals that are not meant to be achieved.[369] This view is based on the assumption that politicians do not always invent policy to change practice; they translate policy into a symbolic break from the past rather than the substance of change – hence policy symbolism. People get duped, deceived or led to believe that change is about to come in substance.[370] On the positive side, symbolism entails a strategic mobilisation of symbolic resources to precipitate the efforts and energy of the people towards the achievement of realistic development, transformative or change goals. In this sense, Buckland acknowledges 'the importance of symbolism in education and the need to provide bold symbolic actions ... that signal that the reform of the system has started'.[371] Symbolism is meant to reposition people and reframe people's mindsets by providing the feelings or perceptions and sometimes some experience that things have indeed

changed or the country has achieved a point of no return. It degenerates into a sort of a fallacy or conspiracy if not attached to or accompanied by a realistic strategy and programme of actions for realising concerned transformative goals. In Mozambique's case, the worst type of symbolism was certainly bound up with several unrealistic decisions such as the nationalisation of the education system, the plan for defeating underdevelopment in ten years and so forth without taking into account capacity and resource constraints.

Managing Opposition and Difference in Educational Change

I draw here on the construct of 'moral panic' held by McRobbie. She sees the moral panic as a means to social control, in which those in power frantically create 'moral panics', 'to the extent that the panics are no longer about social control butt rather about the fear of being out of control'.[372] This affects all those who either share a different opinion or spring up to fill the vacuum left by the absence of an effective political opposition. Al these individuals are very often confused with the enemy. As Fowler has pointed out:

> Law and public opinion stipulate that there are many ideas and behaviours which are to be condemned as outside the pale of consensus: people who practise such behaviours are branded as 'subversives', 'perverts', 'dissidents', 'trouble-makers', etc. Such people are subjected to marginalization or repression; and the contradiction returns, because consensus decrees that there are some people outside the consensus. The 'we' of consensus narrows and hardens into a population which sees its interests as culturally and economically valid, but as threatened by a 'them' comprising a motley of antagonistic sectional groups: not only criminals but also trade unionists, homosexuals, teachers, blacks, foreigners, northerners, and so on.[373]

'Moral panic' seems useful to describe the political climate in schools and other social domains in the 1980s where the Socialist project was under attack from all fronts and the search for the 'enemies' represented by the popular image of '*Xiconhoca*' became a generalised practice. Schools are today faced with the challenge of replacing 'moral panic' with healthy ethics, trust and dialogue. The critical space reclaimed by scholars, educators and practitioners with the multi-party democracy and the liberalisation of political life has established a favourable environment.

Finally, I would like to close this chapter with two main points, which may have some relevance to a progressive project of curriculum reform in the continent. First, Marxism-Leninism as adopted by FRELIMO suffered from the limitations that hampered Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Mazrui has an interesting analysis of these limitations, which I cannot resist mentioning. He argues that there three major ways of looking at Marxism: Marxism as an ethical basis for distribution, Marxism as an ideology for

development and Marxism as a methodology of analysis. According to him recent developments in Eastern Europe have not discredited the first and the last. They have however discredited the second. Further, these problems in Marxism were aggravated by the tendency to interpret it with reference to the Russian Revolution, which added to Marxism the need for a vanguard to lead the revolution, reinforcing the tendency to overlook the practice of criticism and self-criticism in favour of bureaucratic decisions and the decline in the use of Marxism as a methodology of analysis.

Second, the use of Marxism as a methodology of analysis is one way –the most popular among progressive forces – of trying to come to grips with the reality to be transformed. There could be other ways. In any case, the process of transformation is a complex and delicate process which requires a constant link between theory and practice and, consequently, systematic research and critical work.

Endnotes

1. The manuscript opts for the terms 'change' and 'transformation' to describe the process undergone by the Mozambican education system as opposed to the term 'reform', which is popular in most literature on the post-colonial education in Africa. Transformation describes more adequately the radical and rapid changes introduced in education. As Assié-Lumumba has suggested: 'Reform of a given social system is planned change based on an articulated programme geared to improving, at least in principle, an existing situation without having to entirely transform the structure of society or even the structure of the system.' (Assié-Lumumba, N. T. (2000). Educational and economic reforms. Gender equity, and access to schooling in Africa, IJCS XLI (1), p.92. The Socialist project in education in Mozambique was essentially a social-engineering project aimed at transforming the Mozambican society and creating a new society.
2. Saul, J. (1985) *A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique* (Monthly Review Press); Hanlon, J. *Mozambique: the Revolution Under Fire* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1990. 8vo. 294 pp); Ottaway, Marina (1988). From symbolic socialism to symbolic reform, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 26 (2).
3. Karl Marx
4. *Assimilados* were Africans considered to have divested themselves of all tribal customs and to have assimilated Portuguese values and culture. They were distinguished from the *indígenas*, who represented the majority of the African population. These had no citizenship and had to carry and produce on demand an identity card or *caderneta indígena*. They were subject to all the regulations of the *regime do indigenato*, such as forced labour, influx control, control of movements and restrictions on the use of social amenities. In theory, an *assimilado*, as a *não-indígena*, was to be regarded as a full Portuguese citizen. He or she enjoyed all the privileges that went with Portuguese citizenship. A set of social and economic benefits was granted to those who succeeded in the transition to the status of *assimilado*, such as exemption from certain taxes and the right to purchase land, other property, and labour. In practice, the *assimilados* remained a third category.
5. Quoted by Mawema, p.209.
6. Mondlane, p. 50. For more details on 'adapted education', see Udo Dube, 'The Adaptation Concept in British Colonial Education', Comparative Education 19, 3 (1983); David Ruddel 'Class and Race: neglected determinants of colonial "adapted education" policies', Comparative Education 18, 3 (1982): 341-55.
7. See for example Marc E. Wuyts, Money and Planning for Socialist Transition: The Mozambican Experience (Aldershot: Gower, 1989).
8. See for example Marc E. Wuyts, Money and Planning for Socialist Transition: The Mozambican Experience (Aldershot: Gower, 1989).
9. See for example Ana Teles, 'A socio-cultural study for the introduction of population and family life education' (Maputo: INDE, 1991); K. Hyltenstam, 'Linguistic policy and education in a multilingual situation with some examples from Mozambique' (Maputo: INDE, 1991); Jose Capela, 'Apriorismo Ideológico na Historiografia de Moçambique', Paper presented to the Conference on 'Mozambique: 16 Years of Historiography' (Maputo: Campo Universitário, 30 July - 3 August 1991); Luis J. Loforte, 'História e Democracia', Paper presented to the Conference on 'Mozambique: 16 Years of Historiography' (Maputo: Campo Universitário, 30 July - 3 August 1991); and Eulália Maximiano and A. F. de Assis 'O ensino da história no período pos-independência', Conference Paper (Maputo 30 July - 3 August 1991), p.2. Of particular importance is Jan Halkes and Jolke Oppewal in an article entitled 'Mozambique: Socialism and Solidarity' (Amsterdam: Eduardo Mondlane Foundation, 1989). It discusses the same issue within and outside a Socialist framework.
10. Interview with Mr Zeferino Martins, Maputo: INDE, 16.09.1991.
11. Republic of Mozambique, Council of Ministers, *National Education Policy and Strategies for Implementation*. Resolution No.8/95 August 22, 1995, p.2.
12. This is commonly used to refer to the period after the introduction of the new constitution.
13. Aquino de Bragança had a very close relationship with President Samora Machel. He died in the accident at Mbuzini on 19 October 1986, as a member of the delegation accompanying President Samora Machel on his way back from Zambia.
14. De Bragança, A. and Depelchin J. (1986). Da idealização da FRELIMO a compreensão da história de Moçambique, *Estudos Moçambicanos* 5/6, p.35.

15. Jeanne Penvenne, 'A Luta Continua! A Recent Literature on Mozambique', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 18, I (1985), p.112.

16. J. Muller, 'Social justice and its renewals: A sociological comment', *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 7 (2) (1997), 198.

17. J. Oelkers, 'Nohl, Durkheim, and Mead: Three Different Types of 'History of Education'', *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 23 (5) (2004), 347-366.

18. J. Muller, 'Dreams of wholeness and loss: Critical sociology of education in South Africa', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 17(2) (1996), 177–195.

19. Muller, 'Social justice and its renewals…' op. cit., 198.

20. Within university circles the only scholarships possible concentrated on classical studies, classical languages and archaeology, domains of academic practice that posed little critical danger to the colonial order.

21. Isaacman, Allen (2003). Legacies of Engagement: Scholarship Informed by Political Commitment, *African Studies Review*, 46 (1), pp. 1-41.

22. Isaacman, Allen (2003). Legacies of Engagement … op. cit., pp.3-4.

23. Isaacman, Allen (2003). Legacies of Engagement … op. ct., p.3.

24. Gramsci, A. (1971). Selections from the Prison Notebooks. London: Lawrence and Wishart, p.10.

25. In a review of some of these studies Kenneth W Grundy makes the following comment: 'Scholarly studies in English about contemporary Mozambique are rare. With very few exceptions, almost all such studies are Marxist analyses, written by scholars associated in some way with the Centre of African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. That certainly is understandable since government approval is necessary to undertake political studies, and the government insists that affiliation to and clearance by the social science research institute is imperative' (Grundy K.W. (1987). Critical integrity and ideological commitment, *Canadian Journal of African Studies/ Revuew Canadienne des Études Africaines*, 21(1), p.80.

26. See M.A. Mawema, 'British and Portuguese Colonialism in Central African Education', (EdD diss., Columbia University Teachers College, 1981); Barbara Barnes, 'Education for Socialism in Mozambique,' Comparative Education Review 26 (October 1982): 406-19; E. Mondlane, The Struggle for Mozambique (London: Zed Press, 1983); Judith Marshall, 'Making Education Revolutionary', in *A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique*, J.S. Saul (ed.), (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985); Chris Searle ' 'Escola Nova': the New Secondary School in Mozambique,' *A Quarterly Journal of Africanist Opinion*, 8 (Spring 1978): 32-35; R. Hamilton,.'Cultural Change and Literary Expression in Mozambique', *A Quarterly Journal of Africanist Opinion*, Vol. Vlll, I (Spring, 1978): 39-42; and Mario Azevedo and T. Mugomba in A. Mugomba and M. Nyaggah, *Independence without Freedom: The Political Economy of Colonial Education in Southern Africa* (Santa Barbara: Oxford University Press, 1980).

27. M.B. Gomes, *Educação Moçambicana – História de um process: 1962-1984* (Maputo: Livraria Universitária, 1999); B Mazula, *A educação, cultura e ideologia em Moçambique, 1975-1985* (Lisboa: Afrontamento, 1995); Castiano J. P., Ngoenha, S. V, and Berthoud, G. (2005). *A longa marcha duma educação para todos em Moçambique* (Maputo: Imprensa Universitária); Anton Johnston, 'The Mozambican State and Education', in Education and Social Transition in the Third World, ed. Martin Carnoy and Joel Samoeff, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990); Anton Johnston, Study, Produce and Combat! Education and the Mozambican State, 1962-1984 (University of Stockholm: Ph D Thesis, 1989).

28. G. Bender and A. Isaacman, 'The Changing Historiography of Angola and Mozambique', in *African Studies Since 1945*, ed. C. Fyfe, (London, 1976); Jeanne Penvenne, 'A Luta Continua! A Recent Literature on Mozambique', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 18, I (1985): 109-37; Landeg White, 'Review Article: The Revolution Ten Years On', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2, II, (April 1985): 320-32; Darch, C. 'Análise bibliográfica, escritos e investigação 1975-1980, *Estudos Moçambicanos* (1) 1980, p.111.

29. This is the emerging tendency, for example, in South Africa. Surprisingly, Jan Halkes and Jolke Oppewal, in an article entitled 'Mozambique: Socialism and Solidarity' (Amsterdam: Eduardo Mondlane Foundation, 1989), arrive at similar conclusions after surveying opinions from a wide range of *cooperantes* who worked in Mozambique for several years. These include Guido van Hecken, Marc Wuyts, Barry Munslow, Michel Cahen and others.

30. Among these one can mention John Saul, Marc Wuyts, Barry Manslow, Allen Isaacman, etc.

31. Judith Marshall, 'Making Education Revolutionary', in *A Difficult Road - The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique*, ed. J. Saul, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985); Searle, "Escola Nova..., op cit; and Russel Hamilton, 'Cultural Change..., op cit. See also theses on Mozambican education published under the INDE series, Cadernos de Pesquisa. These theses contain interesting and engaging reviews on Mozambican educational writings.

32. Serra correctly draws attention to the lack of studies or knowledge of the nature of critical scholarship during the Socialist period. He goes on to say: 'Resistance can be passive if the system allows it. It can be active, if the system allows it. Now, it is possible that there was passive resistance; it is

also possible that some people tried to resist or to critique the system and ended up in re-education camps, etc… For me, it is because the system at the time did not give enough space where people could express themselves' (Interview with Dr Carlos Serra, Maputo, Centro de Estudos Moçambicanos, November 2007).

33. See for example the recently published PhD theses by Miguel Buendia Gomes, Brazão Mazula and José Magode: MB Gomes, *Educação Moçambicana – História de um process: 1962-1984* (Maputo: Livraria Universitária, 1999); B Mazula, *A educação, cultura e ideologia em Moçambique, 1975-1985* (Lisboa: Afrontamento, 1995); and Magode J. (2006). *Pouvoir et réseaux sociaux au Mozambique: Appertenances, inteactivité du social et du plutique, 1933-1994* (Paris: Connaissances et Savoirs). Of significance is also Castiano J. P., Ngoenha, S. V, and Berthoud, G. (2005). *A longa marcha duma educação para todos em Moçambique* (Maputo: Imprensa Universitária). There has been also a massive proliferation of studies on diverse aspects of the Mozambican society: Magode J. Ed. (1996). *Etnicidades, Nacionalismo e o Estado: Transição Inacabada* (Maputo: Centro de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais); Serra, C. (1997). *Combates pela mentalidade sociológica: Crenças anómicas de massa em Moçambique, seguido de, Mitos e realidades da etnicidade, e de, Para um novo paradigma da etnicidade* (Maputo: Imprensa Universitária)

34. See a review of this trend see Isaacman, Allen (2003). Legacies of Engagement …, op. cit. pp.1-41. See also Marshall, Judith. 1993. *Literacy, Power and Democracy in Mozambique*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press; Azevedo, M J. (1995). Review: Literacy, power and democracy in Mozambique: the governance of learning from colonisation to the present by Judith Marshall, *African Studies Review* 38 (3), pp. 163-164; Saul, John (1993). *Recolonization and Resistance in Southern Africa in the 1990's*. Trenton, NJ.: African World Press; Hanlon, Joseph (1991). 1991. *Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

35. A useful insight from Adam, Y. (1991). Historiadores e ideólogos. In José A and Meneses P. M. G. *Moçambique – 16 anos de historiografia: focos, problemas, metodologias, desafios para a década de 90* (Maputo 1991).

36. See for example Isaacman, Allen F. (1976). *The tradition of resistance in Mozambique* (London: Heinemann); Isaacman, Allen F. and Isaacman, Barbara (1983). *Mozambique: From colonialism to revolution* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House); Alpers, Edward. 1979. 'The Struggle for Socialism in Mozambique, 1960-1972.' *In Socialism in Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Carl Rosberg and Thomas Callaghy, 267-95. Berkeley: University of California Press; Liesegang, Gerhard (1986). *Vassalagem or tratado de amizade? História do Acto de Vassalagem de Ngungunyane nas relações externas de* Gaza (Maputo: Arquivo Histórico); Alpers E. A. (1985). The role of culture in the liberation of Mozambique, *Ufahamu*, 12 (3), pp. 143-189 (circulated three years earlier).

37. De Bragança, A. and Depelchin J. (1986). Da idealização da FRELIMO à compreensão da história de Moçambique … op. cit.; and Adam, Y. (1991). Historiadores e ideólogos. In José A and Meneses P. M. G. *Moçambique – 16 anos de historiografia: focos, problemas, metodologias, desafios para a década de 90* (Maputo 1991), p.54.

38. Gerhard (1986). Vassalagem or tratado de amizade? História do Acto de Vassalagem de Ngungunyane nas relações externas de Gaza (Maputo: Arquivo Histórico).

39. Serra, C. (1986). Como a penetração estrangeira transformou o modo de produção dos camponeses moçambicanos – o exemplo da Zambézia, 1200-1964 (Maputo: NE).

40. Silva, T. Cruz and Jose, A. (1990). Eduardo Mondlane: Pontos para uma periodização da trajectória de um nacionalista, *Cadernos de História*, 8, pp. 5-52.

4. Interview with Dr Carlos Serra, Maputo, Centro de Estudos Mocambicanos, November 2007.

42. For some of their work see First, Ruth (1983). *Black Gold: The Mozambican Miner, Proletarian and Peasant*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983; Wuyts, Marc (1980). 'Economia Politica do colonialismo em Moçambique', (Political economy of colonialism in Mozambique), *Estudos Moçambicanos* (1); Davies, R., Adam, Y. and Dlamini, S. (1981). A Luta pelo futuro da Africa Austral: Estrategias das CONSAS e SADCC, *Estudos Moçambicanos*, 3, pp.65-80; Manghezi, A. (1981). A mulher e o trabalho, *Estudos Moçambicanos*, 3, pp.45-56; Darch, C. (1980). 'Análise bibliográfica, escritos e investigação 1975-1980 …, op. cit.; Darch, C. (1981). Analyse bibliográfica: Trabalho migratorio an Africa Austral: um apontamento critico sobre a literature existente, *Estudos Moçambicanos*, 3, pp.81-96; O'Laughlin, B. (1981). A questao agraria em Moçambique, *Estudos Moçambicanos*, 3, pp.9-32; O'Laughlin, Bridget. (1996). 'Through a Divided Glass: Dualism, Class and the Agrarian Question in Mozambique.' *Journal of Peasant Studies* 23: 1-39; Centro de Estudos Africanos (1977). O mineiro Mocambicano: um estudo sobre a exportacao de mao de obra. Maputo: Instituto de Investigação Científica de Moçambique; Egero, Bertil. 1987. *Mozambique: A Dream Undone. The Political Economy of Democracy*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.

43. Centre of African Studies (1982). Strategies of Social Research in Mozambique …, op.cit., p.37.

44. I borrow the framework from Isaacman, Allen (2003). Legacies of Engagement …, op. cit., pp.3-4.

45. Centre of African Studies (1982). Strategies of Social Research in Mozambique, *Review of African Political Economy*, 25 (sep- Dec), pp.30-31.

46. Centre of African Studies (1982). Strategies of Social Research in Mozambique …, op.cit., p.35. Students who enrolled on the Centre's development research training programme came from the national headquarters of FRELIMO, the Army, Ministries such as Agriculture, Education and Information, and national banks.

47. Centre of African Studies (1982). Strategies of Social Research in Mozambique, op.cit.,p.36. Note that the Centro de Escudos Africanos and the perspective pursued by authors such as John Saul represented in Mozambique a challenge to the approach in the orthodoxy of East European consultants. Saul for example argued that the orthodox Marxism of the East European countries applied to the African context, let alone elsewhere, ran the risk of distorting the development process by its misguided emphasis on forcing the pace of development of the productive forces at the expense of genuinely transforming relations of production within the labour process, more specifically that through such a process democratisation could be lost at the altar of accumulation. See Saul, J. (1985) *A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique* (Monthly Review Press). See also Munslow B. (1986) Review: A Difficult road: The transition to socialism in Mozambique by John S. Saul, *Journal of the International African Institute*, 56 (3), pp.380-381.

48. Muller, 'Dreams of wholeness and loss: Critical sociology of education in South Africa', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 17(2) (1996), 177–195.

49. Centre of African Studies (1982). Strategies of Social Research in Mozambique …, op.cit., p.36.

50. Serra, C. (1986). Como a penetração estrangeira transformou o modo de produção dos camponeses moçambicanos – o exemplo da Zambézia, 1200-1964 (Maputo: NE); Silva, T. Cruz and José, A. (1990). Eduardo Mondlane: Pontos para uma periodização da trajectória de um nacionalista, *Cadernos de História*, 8, pp. 5-52; Coelho, Jão Paulo Borges (1984). A primeira frente de Tete e o Malawi (Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique); Coelho, Jão Paulo Borges (1986). O início da luta armada em Tete, 1968-1969: A primeira fase da Guerra e a reacção colonial (Maputo: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique.

51. Interview with Dr Carlos Serra, Maputo, Centro de Estudos Moçambicanos, November 2007.

52. Clarence-Smith, Gervase (1986)l. Review: Mozambique in the making, *The Journal of African History*, 27 (2), p. 403.

53. Clarence-Smith, Gervase (1986)l. Review: Mozambique in the making… op.cit., p. 4040.

54. Serra, C., Sopa, A., Rocha, A., Hedges, D., Medeiros, E., Liesegang, G., Da Cruz, M. (1982). *História de Moçambique*. Maputo: Departamento de História e Tempo.

55. Penvenne, Jeanne (1985). 'A Luta Continua! A Recent Literature on Mozambique' …, op. cit.,p.110.

56. A comment from John Saul in 1993.

57. See for example Davidson B. (1981). *The people's cause* (Longman)

58. See for example Hanlon, J. *Mozambique: the Revolution Under Fire* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1990. 8vo. 294 pp); Isaacman, Allen and Isaacman, Barbara (1983). *Mozambique: from colonialism to revolution, 1900-1982* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press); Saul, J. (1985) A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique (Monthly Review Press); Saul, John S. (1973). FRELIMO and the Mozambican revolution. In Arrighi G. Nad Saul J. S. eds. *Essays on the political economy of Africa* (Monthly Review Press); Munslow, B. (1983). *Mozambique: the Revolution and Its Origins* (London: Longmans); Munslow, B. (1984). State intervention in agriculture: the Mozambican experience. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 22(2), pp.199-221; Campbell, H. (1984). War, reconstruction and dependence in Mozambique. *Journal of African Marxists* 6, October, Pp.47-73; Cahen, M. (1985). Etat et pouvoir populaire dans le Mozambique Independent. *Politique Africaine*, 19, pp.36-60.

59. Henriksen, T. (1983). *Revolution and counterrevolution: Mozambique's war of independence, 1964-1974*. Westport (Connecticut: Greenwood Press); Henriksen T.(2001). Marxism and Mozambique, African Affairs, 77 (309) 309, pp.441-462; and Henriksen T.H. The rise and decline of rogue states, *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 2001, pp.350-371. Henriksen argues that Moscow was able to engineer or bolster pro-Soviet regimes in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, South Yemen, Grenada and Nicaragua. He goes on to say that using a strategy that was at once low cost and low risk and offered a high payoff, Moscow took advantage of social discontent in target countries by enlisting others to achieve its aims (p.355).

60. De Bragança, A. and Depelchin, J. (1986). Da idealização da FRELIMO à compreensão da história de Moçambique, *Estudos Moçambicanos* 5/6, p.35.

61. Judith Marshall, one of the authors in John Saul's collection refers to 'internationalism' as her main motive.

62. For an interesting review see Penvenne, Jeanne (1985). 'A Luta Continua! A Recent Literature on Mozambique' …, op. cit.,pp.109-138. Joseph Hanlon is a journalist who lived in Mozambique from 1979 and 1984, and reported on Mozambican developments to the *BBC*, and the Guardian and other publications. John Saul was a close friend of FRELIMO and supported the Mozambican Revolution since the days when he was a Professor of Social Science at the University of Dar-es-Salaam.

63. See for example, Zawangoni, S. A. (2007). *A FRELIMO e a formação do home novo, 1964-1974 e 1975-1982* (Maputo: CIEDIMA – Central Impressora e Editora).

64. Grundy, K.W. (1987). Critical integrity and ideological commitment..., op.cit., p.80.

65. Grundy, K.W. (1987). Critical integrity and ideological commitment...

66. Judith Marshall, Making Education Revolutionary ..., op.cit., p.208.

67. De Bragança, A. and Depelchin J. (1986). Da idealização da FRELIMO à compreensão da história de Moçambique, *Estudos Moçambicanos* 5/6, p.32.

68. Grundy, K.W. (1987). Critical integrity and ideological commitment ..., op.cit., p.82.

69. Penvenne, Jeanne (1985). 'A Luta Continua! A Recent Literature on Mozambique' ..., op. cit., p.128.

70. Cahen, Michel (1993). Check on socialism in Mozambique. What check? What socialism? *Review of African Political Economy* 57, pp. 46-47.

71. De Bragança, A. and Depelchin, J. (1986). Da idealização da FRELIMO... op. cit., p.49.

72. De Bragança, A. and Depelchin J. (1986). Da idealização da FRELIMO... op. cit., pp.34-39.

73. Adam, Y. (1991). Historiadores e ideólogos. In José A and Meneses P. M. G. Moçambique – 16 anos de historiografia: focos, problemas, metodologias, desafios para a década de 90 (Maputo 1991)

74. Veloso, J. (2006). *Memórias em Voo Rasante* (Maputo: JVCI, Lda).

75. When Carlos Cardoso established the famous periodical *Metical* in 1992, he set the example for the appearance of the newspaper *Fax*, which created a platform for investigative journalism in Mozambique. As a result Mozambique has become a country that has considerable liberalisation and freedom of the press.

76. An expression repeated in my interviews is 'the lies of Veloso'. Cruz e Silva interprets this as referring to the literature emanating from the officialdom, which, in her view, is retrospection into the past to justify the official discourse and narrative and its applicability in the changing context. This is done for example through the reclaiming and re-appropriation of the political theory of Mondlane (Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008). This explains the reason why most of the current literature emerges as a challenge to the social order and the official discourse.

77. Cruz e Silva speculates that the bulk of this literature may be a result of recently completed MA and PhD dissertations. It appears that Swiss aid has stimulated publication of these. In her view, there are also publications emanating out of consultancy where a provision is made for publications. This is the case of publications in the domain of political sciences (Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane,

November 2008).

78. Zawangoni, S. A. (2007). *A FRELIMO e a formação do home novo...*, op.cit.

79. Interview with Dr Carlos Serra, Maputo, Centro de Estudos Moçambicanos, November 2007.

80. See for example last chapter of Veloso, J. (2006). *Memórias em Voo Rasante* (Maputo: JVCI, Lda); José Magode: MB Gomes, *Educação Moçambicana* op. cit.

81. Magode, J. (2006). Pouvoir et réseaux sociaux au Mozambique: Appertenances, inteactivité du social et du plutique, 1933-1994 (Paris: Connaissances et Savoirs); Magode J. Ed. (1996). Etnicidades, Nacionalismo e o Estado: Transição Inacabada (Maputo: Centro de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais); and Veloso, J. (2006). Memorias em Voo Rasante (Maputo: JVCI, Lda).

82. Mazula, B., De Abreu, A.P., Motta, H., Mondlane, I., Covane L., Comiche, E. C., and Franco, A. (2001). *Democracia e Desenvolvimento* (Maputo: Associação Joaquim Chissano). At Government level, this debate dominated the Beira Conference on Culture and Democracy held in 12/15 May 1994. See Comissão Nacional de Moçambique para a UNESCO (CNUM). (1995). *Cultura de Paz e Democracia* (Maputo: Tempográfica).

83. AZAGAIA, which means 'spear', a symbol of war in the past, is a nickname for Edson da Luz, a Mozambican with a Cape Verde father and a Mozambican mother, currently a Geology student at the University Eduardo Mondlane. He uses rap and Mozambican hip hop music to wage a critique of current contradictions in Mozambican social and political life, including the recent assassination of a Mozambican high profile journalist, and the fate of the so called 'Magermanes', Mozambicans who studied and worked in East Germany and were sent back after the unification of Germany.

84. Interview with Dr Carlos Serra, Maputo, Centro de Estudos Mocambicanos, November 2007.

85. Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

86. See for example Anton Johnston, 'The Mozambican State and Education', in Education and Social Transition in the Third World, ed. Martin Carnoy and Joel Samoeff, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990); Sarah Graham-Taylor, Education in the Developing World: Conflict and Crisis (Essex: Logman, 1991); Anton Johnston, Study, Produce and Combat! Education and the Mozambican State, 1962-1984 (University of Stockholm: Ph D Thesis, 1989).

87. Interview with Dr Carlos Serra, Maputo, Centro de Estudos Mocambicanos, November 2007.

88. Interview with Dr Carlos Serra, Maputo, Centro de Estudos Mocambicanos, November 2007.

89. Interview with Jose Magode, author of several books on the nature of the Mozambican state (see bibliography). Maputo, November 2007.

90. Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

91. Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

92. Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

93. Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

94. Interview with Dr Carlos Serra, Maputo, Centro de Estudos Mocambicanos, November 2007.

95. Interview with Armando Jorge, Director of the Faculty of Humanities, University Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

96. Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

97. Cruz e Silva thinks that the conversion of the Ministry of Higher Education into the current Ministry of Sciences and Technology has aggravated the situation: 'there is no preoccupation in the Ministry of Sciences and Technology with social sciences'. (Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008).

98. Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

99. Interview with Dr Teresa Cruz e Silva, Maputo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

100. Mouzinho M. et al, 'Revisão Analítica e crítica dos estudos sectoriais em educação realizados em Moçambique, 1990-1998' (Maputo 2000).

101. Joel Samoff, 'The financial-intellectual complex', paper presented at the Thirty-Third Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Baltimore, Maryland, 1-4 November 1990.

102. Riddel, A. (2001) Sector-wide approaches in education: issues for donor Agencies arising from case studies of Zambia and Mozambique, (IIEP-UNESCO), Paris; Takala, T., and Marope, M. 2003. Partnerships between Ministries of Education and international funding and technical assistance agencies --The case of Mozambique. Paris: ADEA Working Group on Education Sector Analysis, UNESCO; Telford, J. Synthesis Study of Eight Country Programme Evaluations: Egypt, Vietnam, Nepal, Mozambique, Zambia, Nicaragua, Ethiopia and Kenya - Synthesis Report, Final. (for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, 25 July 2002).

103. Zeferino Martins, 'Mozambique: Some considerations on educational research, policy formulation and decision making', Prospects, vol. XXVII, no.4, December 1997, p.620.

104. Azevedo, M. J. (1995). Review: Literacy, power and democracy in Mozambique ... op. cit., pp. 163-164.

105. Azevedo, M. J. (1995). Review: Literacy, power and democracy in Mozambique ..., op.cit., p.165.

106. Azevedo, M. J. (1995). Review: Literacy, power and democracy in Mozambique ..., op.cit., p.164.

107. Henriksen T.H. (1978). Marxism and Mozambique, *African Affairs*, (77) 309, pp.441-462; Henriksen T.H. (2001). The rise and decline of rogue states, *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring, 54 (2), pp.349-354.

108. Isaacman, Allen (2003). Legacies of Engagement ..., op. cit., pp.4-5.

109. See e.g., W. Rodney, 'Education for Underdevelopment,' in How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (London: Bogle-l'ouverture, 1972); and N. Majeke, *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest* (Cape Town: Society of Young Africa, 1952).

110. An alliance between the state and the church was established and consolidated through three main agreements: the Vatican and Portugal Concordat of May 7, 1940, the Missionary Accord of 1940, and the Missionary Statute of 1941.

111. See, e.g., J. A. McDonagh, 'The Contribution Made by the Sisters of the Holy Cross to the History of Education in Southern Africa, 1883- 1980' (M.Ed. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1980); Andrew Prior, ed., *Catholics in Apartheid Society* (Cape Town and London: David Philip, 1982).

112. See L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,' in *Education, Structure and Society*, ed. B. J. Cosin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977); and S. Bowles and H. Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976).

113. See e.g. Eugenic A. Lisboa, 'Education in Angola and Mozambique,' in *Education in Southern Africa*, ed. B. Rose (Johannesburg: Collier-Macmillan, 1970).

114. Ibid.; M. A. Mawema, 'British and Portuguese Colonialism in Central African Education' (Ed.D. diss., Columbia University Teachers College, 1981); Barbara Barnes, 'Education for Socialism in Mozambique,' *Comparative Education Review* 26 (October 1982): 406- 19; E. Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, rev. ed. (London: Zed, 1983); Judith Marshall, 'Making Education Revolutionary,' in *A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique*, ed. J. S. Saul (New York: Monthly

Review, 1985); Chris Searle, ' 'Escola Nova': The New Secondary School in Mozambique,' *Quarterly Journal of Africanist Opinion* 8 (Spring 1978): 32-35; Russel Hamilton, 'Cultural Change and Literary Expression in Mozambique,' *Quarterly Journal of Africanist Opinion* 8 (Spring 1978): 39-42.

115. Mondlane; the first edition was published in 1969. This does not, however, reduce the value of his book, which constitutes an important classic analysis of the policies of Portuguese colonialism.

116. Lisboa, E. A. (1970). Education in Angola and Mozambique. In Rose, B, (ed.) *Education in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: Collier-Macmillan.

117. G. Bender and A. Isaacman, 'The Changing Historiography of Angola and Mozambique,' in *African Studies since 1945*, ed. C. Fyfe (London: Longman, 1976); Jeanne Penvenne, 'A Luta Continua! A Recent Literature on Mozambique,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 18, no. 1 (1985): 109-37; and Landeg White, 'Review Article: The Revolution Ten Years On,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 2 (April 1985): 320-32; and Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, *Mozambique: 16 Years of Historiography*. Conference Proceedings (Maputo: Campo Universitário, 30 July - 3 August 1991).

118. A sound periodisation of Portuguese colonialism is provided by Marc Wuyts, 'The Political Economy of Portuguese Colonialism in Mozambique,' *Mozambican Studies* 1 (1980): 10-22. Wuyts considers the colonial-fascist period to cover the years between 1926 and 1960, which is acceptable in the sense that fascism had been introduced in Portugal in 1926. However, colonial fascism as a new form of colonialism began to be implemented from the 1940s onward. For the purpose of this chapter, I adopted the year 1945 as the real beginning of the new period.

119. A. N. da Costa, Penetração e impacto do capital mercantil portugês nos séculos XVI e XVII: O caso de Muenmutapa (Maputo: Tempo, 1977).

120. In practice, Portugal was forced to act as an agent of the most industrialised countries, particularly Britain.

121. See e.g. P. Harries, 'Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness: The Making of Modern South Africa - Kinship, Ideology and the Origins of Migrant Labour' (seminar paper, University of London, 1980), and 'Production, Trade and Labour Migration from the Delagoa Bay Hinterland in the Second Half of the 19th Century' (seminar paper, University of London, 1980).

122. See A. Rita-Ferreira, *A etno-história e cultura traditional do grupo angune*, vol. 2, ser. C (Lourenço Marques [Maputo]: Institute de Investigação Científica de Moçambique, 1974); and G. Liesegang, 'Notes on the Internal Structure of the Gaza Kingdom of Southern Mozambique, 1840-1895' (seminar paper, University Eduardo Mondlane, Mozambique, 1980).

123. Avila de Azevedo, *Política de ensino em África* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, 1958), p. 122.

124. Azevedo, p. 122; Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era* (Paris: Unesco, 1974), p. 52.

125. Mondlane (n. 6 above), p. 71.

126. Allison Herrick et al., *Area Handbook for Mozambique* (Washington, D.C.:Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 105.

127. James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge, Mass.: Haward University Press, 1959), p. 111.

128. Kenneth Blakemore and Brian Cooksey, *A Sociology of Education for Africa* (Winchester, Mass.: Allen and Unwin, 1981), p. 29.

129. Brian Rose, *Education in Southern Africa* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1970), p. 179.

130. Ferreira, p. 60.

131. For more details on the Colonial Act of 1930, see Marcelo Caetano, *Tradições, princípios e méthodos de Colonização Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Agência geral do Ultramar, 1951), pp. 275-76.

132. The change of status from 'colony' to 'province' was intended to reinforce the colonial situation against the 'denationalising pressures.'

133. Mondlane, p.41.

134. Mawema (No. 6 above), p. 155.

135. Mondlane, pp. 50-54.

136. A. Isaacman and B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982* (Boulder, Colo: Westview, 1983), p. 50. Ibid.

137. Ibid.

138. Anuário do Ensino, 1930, quoted in *Panorama do Ensino na Província de Moçambique* (Lourenço Marques [Maputo]: Direcção dos Serviços de Instrução, 1963), p. 26.

139. P. Harries, 'Education in a Developing Country: The Mozambican Case' (University of Cape Town, n.d., typescript), p. 51.

140. Ferreira, p. 64.

141. Panorama do Ensino na Província de Mozambique, p. 28.

142. Isaacman and Isaacman. D. 50.

143. Duffy (No. 19 above), p. 313.

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid., p. 315; Mawema (No. 6 above), p. 180.

146. Herrick et al. (No. 18 above), p. 99.

147. Mawema, p. 174.

148. Mondlane, p. 59.

149. Quoted in 'Education Policy in the People's Republic of Mozambique' (address by the delegation from Maputo to the conference of Ministers of Education of African member states of Unesco held in Lagos from January 27 to February 4, 1986), p. 332. See also Mondlane, p. 60.

150. Quoted by Mawema, p. 209.

151. Mondlane, p. 50. For more details on 'adapted education,' see Udo Dube, 'The Adaptation Concept in British Colonial Education,' *Comparative Education* 19, no. 3 (1983); David Ruddel, 'Class and Race: Neglected Determinants of Colonial 'Adapted Education' Policies,' *Comparative Education* 18, no. 3 (1982): 341-55.

152. Mondlane, p. 50.

153. Ibid., p. 51.

154. Ibid., p. 65.

155. This explains why most Mozambican nationalists emerged from or had connections with Protestant mission schools, which numbered 41 out of a total of 2,041 rudimentary schools in 1955..

156. Lisboa (No. 5 above), p. 295; and J. V. Simão, *Da Universidade* (Lourenço Marques [Maputo]: Tipografia Académica, 1970).

157. For the general policy of this institution, see Simão.

158. Mawema, p. 207.

159. Based on statistics compiled by Lisboa, pp. 276-333.

160. Mawema, pp. 231 -32.

161. The underdevelopment of Mozambique is blamed by Joseph Hanlon on what he refers to as the 'shopkeeper colonialism'.

162. See for example B. Mazula, *A educação, cultura e ideologia em Moçambique, ·1975-1985* (Lisboa: Afrontamento, 1995); MB Gomes, *Educação Moçambicana – História de um process: 1962-1984* (Maputo: Livraria Universitária, 1999); Magode J. (2006). *Pouvoir et réseaux sociaux au Mozambique: Appertenances, inteactivité du social et du plutique, 1933-1994* (Paris: Connaissances et Savoirs); Silva, T. Cruz and Jose, A. (1990). Eduardo Mondlane: Pontos para uma periodização da trajectória de um nacionalista, *Cadernos de História*, 8, pp. 5-52; Hanlon, J. *Mozambique: the Revolution Under Fire* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1990. 8vo. 294 pp); Isaacman, Allen and Isaacman, Barbara (1983). *Mozambique: from colonialism to revolution, 1900-1982* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press); Saul, J. (1985). A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique (Monthly Review Press); Saul, John S. (1973). FRELIMO and the Mozambican revolution. In Arrighi G. Nad Saul J. S. eds. *Essays on the political economy of Africa* (Monthly Review Press); Munslow, B. (1983). *Mozambique: the Revolution and Its Origins* (London: Longmans).

163. For this criticism see for example De Bragança, A. and Depelchin J. (1986). Da idealização da FRELIMO à compreensão da história de Moçambique, *Estudos Moçambicanos* 5/6, p.36.

164. De Bragança, A. and Depelchin J. (1986). Da idealização da FRELIMO a compreensão da história de Moçambique..., op. cit. p.36.

165. Simpson, Mark (1993). Foreign and Domestic Factors in the Transformation of FRELIMO, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 31 (2), pp. 310.

166. Henriksen, Thomas H. (1978). Marxism and Mozambique, *African Affairs*, 77 (309), p. 444.

167. B Mazula, A educação, cultura e ideologia em Moçambique, 1975-1985 (Lisboa: Afrontamento, 1995), p.105.

168. See for example Machel, Samora Moisés (1971). Produzir e aprender , aprender para produzir e lutar melhor. Maputo: INLD/DTIP; Machel, Samora Moisés (1971). A libertação da mulher e uma necessidade da revolução, garantia da sua continuidade, condição do seu triunfo. Maputo: INLD/DTIP; Machel, Samora Moisés (1974). Estabelecer o poder popular para servir as massas. Maputo: INLD/DTIP; and Machel, Samora Moisés (1976). O processo da revolução democrática popular em Moçambique. Maputo: INLD/DTIP.

169. Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, Addressing a symposium in honour of Amílcar Cabral, in 1973.

170. Mondlane, E, (1975). *Lutar for Moçambique.* Lisboa: Sa da Costa, p.137.

171. For further discussion of these issues see for example Barnes, Barbara (1982). Education for Socialism in Mozambique, *Comparative Education Review*, 26 (3), pp. 406-419.

172. For more details see B Mazula, A educação, cultura e ideologia em Moçambique, 1975-1985..., op. cit., p.113.

173. Quoted in 'The match that lights the flame: education policy in the People's Republic of Mozambique', an official document submitted to UNESCO (London: Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Information Centre, 1976), p.334.

174. Samora Machael quoted in Meyns, Peter (1981). Liberation Ideology and National Development Strategy in Mozambique, *Review of African Political Economy*, 22, p.48.

175. Machel, S. (1971), p.1.

176. Maria Rita Ribeiro, 'Curriculum development and socio-cultural context in

Mozambique', thesis for partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Education (Inde/Stockholm Institute of Education), p.11.

177. De Bragança, A. and Depelchin J. (1986). From the Idealization of FRELIMO to the Understanding of the Recent History of Mozambique, Maputo' Centro de Estudos Africanos.

178. Samora Machel, Establishing People's Power to Serve the Masses, 1977, pp. 37-38.

179. De Bragança, A. and Depelchin J. (1986). Da idealização da FRELIMO a compreensão da história de Moçambique, *Estudos Moçambicanos* 5/6, p.36.

180. Basil Davidson, 'The Revolution of People's Power: Notes on Mozambique 1979,' Race and Class 21(2) (Autumn 1979), pp.130-31.

181. Cahen, Michel (1993). Check on socialism in Mozambique. What check? What socialism? *Review of African Political Economy* 57, p.46.

182. Cahen, Michel (1993). Check on socialism in Mozambique..., op. cit., p.47. See also Cahen, M. (1985). Etat et povoir populaire dans le Mozambique Independent. *Politique Africaine*, 19, pp.36-60.

183. Ottaway, Marina (1988). From symbolic socialism to symbolic reform *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* 26 (2), p.214.

184. Ottaway, Marina (1988). From symbolic socialism to symbolic reform..., op. cit., p.214.

185. Ottaway, Marina (1988). From symbolic socialism to symbolic reform..., op. cit., p.214.

186. Henriksen, Thomas H. (1978). Marxism and Mozambique..., op. cit., p.445.

187. Graça Simbine, Minister of Education and Culture (wife of the President), 'New Social Relations in Mozambique', reported in Ikwezi, II, IV (December 1976), p. 47.

188. Meyns, Peter (1981). Liberation Ideology and National Development Strategy in Mozambique, *Review of African Political Economy*, 22, p.49.

189. Meyns, Peter (1981). Liberation Ideology and National Development Strategy in Mozambique..., op. cit., p.55.

190. Interview with Dr Mouzinho Mario, former Director of the Faculty of Education, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

191. Interview with Dr Mouzinho Mario, former Director of the Faculty of Education, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, November 2008.

192. De Bragança, A. and Depelchin J. (1986). Da idealização da FRELIMO a compreensão da história de Moçambique, *Estudos Moçambicanos* 5/6, p.34.

193. Mondlane, p. 50. For more details on 'adapted education', see Udo Dube, 'The Adaptation Concept in British Colonial Education', *Comparative Education* 19, 3 (1983); David Ruddel 'Class and Race: neglected determinants of colonial 'adapted education' policies', *Comparative Education* 18, 3 (1982): 341-55.

194. Jonathan, R. (2006). Academic Freedom, Institutional Autonomy and Public Accountability in Higher Education: a Framework for Analysis of the 'State-Sector' Relationship in a Democratic South Africa Research report prepared for the CHE Task Team on South African Government Involvement in, and Regulation of, Higher Education, Institutional Autonomy and Academic Freedom (HEIAAF), p.6.

195. Jonathan, R. (2006). Academic Freedom, Institutional Autonomy and Public Accountability in Higher Education... op. cit., p.6.

196. Ibidem.

197. De Bragança, Aquino. (1986). Independência sem descolonisação: A Transferência do poder em Mozambique, 1974_1975. Notas sobre os seus antecendentes. *Estudos Moçambicanos* 5/6, pp.5-29. See also Louis, W.R. ed. (1982). Portugal and Africa: the last Empire. *In the transfer of power in Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press), pp. 337-85.

198. Statement of the Executive Committee of FRELIMO issued in Dar-es-Salaam in 2 May 1974.

199. Simpson, Mark (1993). Foreign and domestic factors in the transformation of FRELIMO, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 31 (2), p.309.

200. Simpson, Mark (1993). Foreign and domestic factors ...,op.cit., p.309.

201. Interview with Jose Magode, author of several books on the nature of the Mozambican state (see bibliography). Maputo, November 2007.

202. Veloso, J. (2006). *Memórias em Voo Rasante* (Maputo: JVCI, Lda)

203. For details see Central Committee of FRELIMO (1969). Os graves acontecimentos de 1968 e as divergencias ideologicas (The grave events of 1968 and the ideological disputes). (Dar-es-Salaam, mimeographed).

204. Simpson, Mark (1993). Foreign and domestic factors ...,op.cit., p.316. Complaints were made against the dominance of *mulatos*, *assimilados*, Indians and whites from the south of Mozambique in the leadership of FRELIMO.

205. Mensagem do Presidente da FRELIMO para os Combatentes das FPLM e ao Povo Mocambicano, por ocasiao do 7 Aniversario da Luta Armada de Libertacao Nacional, in 'A Vitoria Cosntroi-se, A Vitoria Organisa-se', in *Textos e Documentos da FRELIMO*, 2 (Maputo 1977).

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207. People's Republic of Mozambique, Constitution, October 1975.

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209. Interview with Dr Mouzinho Mario, former Director of the Faculty of Educational Sciences, University Eduardo Mondlane. Maputo, November 2007.

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212. Marshall., p.41.

213. The term 'idealism' was suggested by Mouzinho Mario, former Director of the Faculty of Educational Sciences, University Eduardo Mondlane, in an interview held in November 2007. Mario stressed that generally people believed in such statements.

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224. Adapted from Marshall, p.171.

225. Interview with Dr Mouzinho Mário, former Director of the Faculty of Educational Sciences, University Eduardo Mondlane. Maputo, November 2007.

226. Graça Machel 'Opening address to the Third National Meeting of the Ministry of Education and Culture', 1979, mimeo, p.13.

227. Interview with the Director of the Faculty of Educational Sciences, University Eduardo Mondlane. Maputo, November 2007.

228. It reads: vinte quatro barra vinte.

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230. For details see A. Lind, Adult Literacy Lessons and Promises: Mozambican Literacy Campaigns, 1978-1982 (Stockholm: Institute of International Education, 1988).

231. See Johnston, p. 153.

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233. Ministério da Educação e Cultura (MEC) (1977) Organização política e administrativa das escolas (Maputo: MECIDNE).

234. This policy was outlined in the following documents: Ministério da Educação e Cultura (MEC) (1975) A escola como centro democrático (Maputo: MEC) [mimeo]; Ministério da Educação e Cultura (MEC) (1976) 0 trabalho pedagógico nas escolas (Maputo: MEC/ONE) [mimeo]; Ministério da Educação e Cultura (MEC) (1977) Organização política e administrativa das escolas (Maputo: MECIDNE); and Ministério da Educação e Cultura (MEC) (1978) Algumas considerações sobre o trabalho em grupo (Maputo: MEC/ONE) [mimeo],

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236. Interview with a group of former teachers of Escola do Noroeste, Maputo 15 January 1996.

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240. 'Orçamento chega apenas para manter o aparelho do ensino a funcionar', Ministro da Educação em entrevista exclusiva a Tempo, 16.07.1989, No. 979, pp.23.24.

241. Johnston, Anton (1990). Adult literacy for development in Mozambique ..., op, cit., p.94.

242. For detailed discussion of this model see M. Cross, Resistance and Transformation - Culture, Education and National Reconstruction in South Africa (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, 1992).

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244. Describing the state of disorganisation in these enterprises, Machel said that he visited a state company, called for the directors and 'five pigs' showed up.

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246. Ministro da Educação (1990) A Educação em Moçambique - Problemas e Perspectivas (Maputo: MINED), p.8.

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262. Partido FRELIMO, Por um Consenso..., p.212.

263. USAID, p.7.

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266. Mouzinho, M. et al. 'Revisão Analítica e crítica dos estudos sectoriais em educação realizados em Moçambique, 1990-1998'(Maputo 2000), p.5.

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284. See for example Ana Teles, 'A socio-cultural study for the introduction of population and family life education' (Maputo: INDE, 1991); K. Hyltenstam, 'Linguistic policy and education in a multilingual situation with some examples from Mozambique' (Maputo: INDE, 1991); Jose Capela, 'Apriorismo Ideológico na Historiografia de Moçambique', Paper presented to the Conference on 'Mozabique: 16 Years of Historiography' (Maputo: Campo Universitário, 30 July - 3 August 1991); Luis J. Loforte, 'História e Democracia', Paper presented to the Conference on 'Mozambique: 16 Years of Historiography' (Maputo: Campo Universitário, 30 July - 3 August 1991); and Eulália Maximiano and A. F. de Assis 'O ensino da história no período pos-independência', Conference Paper (Maputo 30 July - 3 August 1991), p.2.. Of particular importance is Jan Halkes and Jolke Oppewal in an article entitled 'Mozambique: Socialism and Solidarity' (Amsterdam: Eduardo Mondlane Foundation, 1989). It discusses the same issue within and outside a Socialist framework.

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