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Authors
Isaacman, Allen
Isaacman, Barbara

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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE LIBERATION OF MOZAMBIQUE*

by

Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman

"The antagonistic contradition is not between women and men, but between women and the social order, between all exploited people, both women and men, and the social order. The fact that they are exploited explains why they are not involved in all planning and decision-making tasks in society, why they are excluded from working out the concepts which govern economic, social, cultural and political life, even when their interests are directly affected. This is the main feature of the contradiction; their exclusion from the sphere of decision-making in society. This contradiction can only be solved by revolution, because only revolution destroys the foundations of exploitative society and rebuilds society on new foundations, freeing the initiative of women, integrating them in society as responsible members and involving them in decision-making."

--Samora Machel, "The Liberation of Women is a Necessity of the Revolution, a Guarantee of its Triumph." (Opening Address to the Conference of Organização de Mulher Moçambicana, O.M.M., (Organization of Mozambican Women), 1973.

Despite the expression of such lofty sentiments by the President of FRELIMO, merely becoming involved in the revolutionary struggle against colonial capitalist oppression did not automatically liberate women from exploitative relationships. Rather, those women who chose to join the liberation movement, found themselves having to combat not only an external enemy but also the prevailing sexist attitudes and discrimination

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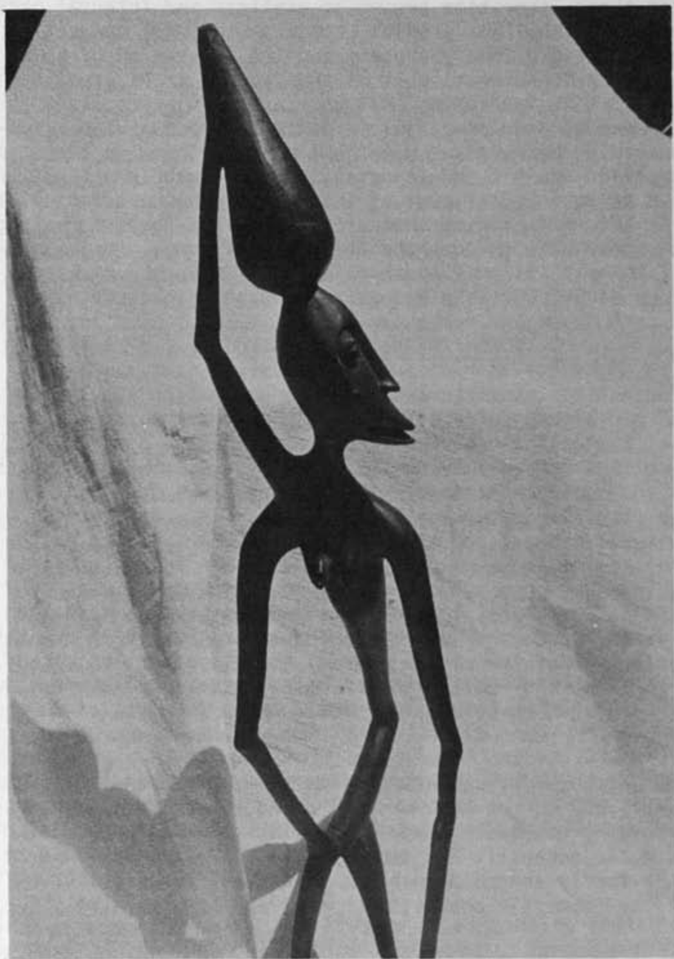
within FRELIMO. Initially male leadership did little more than issue proscriptive declarations stressing the importance of the emancipation of women. It was not until women gained enough self-confidence and began to make their own demands did the issue of their liberation become an explicit and integral part of the revolution. The gradual recognition of the connection between the revolutionary process and the liberation of women constituted a fundamental part of the radical transformation of FRELIMO. The increasing militancy of women, symbolized by their demand to bear arms, set in motion a process which, however unevenly, has altered relations of power between the sexes and compelled the FRELIMO leadership to treat the emancipation of women as an integral part of its post-independent socialist agenda. Before examining the role of women in the armed struggle and their efforts to shape their own history, a brief outline of the situation of women in colonial Mozambique and the emergence of FRELIMO is a necessary point of departure.

WOMEN IN COLONIAL MOZAMBIQUE

During the twentieth century, the Mozambican people, women and men alike, suffered from the oppressive nature of the colonial capitalist regime. They were recruited as _chibalo_ laborers[1] and forced to work for the Portuguese building roads, houses and public buildings. They labored long hours on Portuguese plantations for little or no salaries, cultivating agricultural crops, such as cotton or rice, introduced by the colonial regime to serve the interests of the ruling class in Portugal. They were subjected to ever increasing levels of taxation as Portuguese settlers grabbed the best land in the rural areas for themselves, which led to progressively greater impoverishment of the people and all the attendant social and cultural evils and humiliation of colonialism. They were also regularly beaten by colonial officials when they failed to behave in ways expected of them by the colonialists.[2]

Women, however, suffered even more deeply than men. This was partly due to the mere fact of being women in the context of colonial practices. Prior to the imposition of colonial rule a woman generally had two major tasks -- to grow food to feed her family and to give birth to and raise her children.* Among other domestic chores, such as preparing the family's

*This is what is referred to as the sexual division of labour historically discernible in all societies at the same stage of development. It is neither an exclusive characteristic of African societies nor a conscious social act, as anthropological studies tend to imply. (Ed. K.M.)

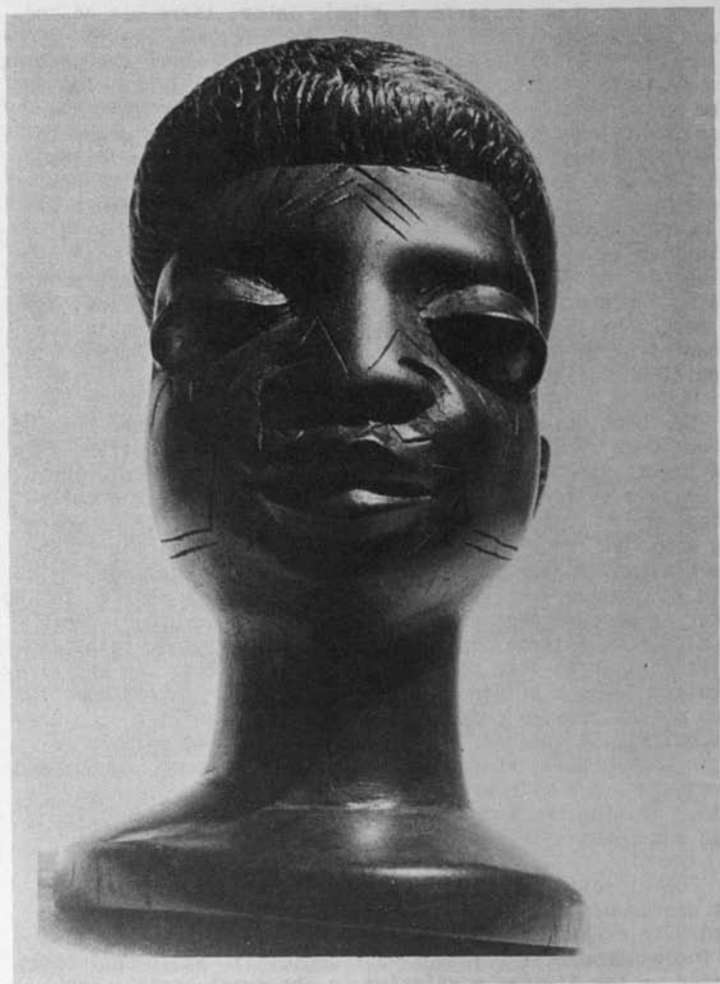


COLONIAL WOMAN
Fig. 1

food and fetching firewood and water, these 'duties' took up all of her time. To these traditional tasks, the colonial regime added an additional burden -- namely, forced labor requisite for the cultivation of cotton or rice. Thus, when she was rounded up to perform chibalo labor, there was no one to work on the family plot, prepare the food and care for the children. Similarly, if she lived in an area where the peasants were required to cultivate cotton or rice, all of her time had to be spent tending the crop, and there was little left over to cultivate food for her family's subsistence. In order to avoid starvation, women could only work on their own fields when they were not engaged in forced labor on the settler's plantations. This meant having to devote the early hours of the morning to their own fields between 4 and 6 a.m. -- and again late at night, by the moonlight. If a women's cotton fields were not kept sufficiently clean, if she was not seen working there often enough or if her yields were too low, she was beaten by the African agents of the cotton concessionary companies or by the African police attached to the Portuguese colonial administration.[3]

Her problems were compounded by the fact that her husband was not usually around to assist her in food production. Men were the first to be rounded up for chibalo labor.[4] To avoid the chibalo system or the requirement of forced cotton cultivation, many adult men migrated to neighboring colonies where they would at least be paid for their labor. This migration notwithstanding, labor recruiting was institutionalized in the south to provide workers for the South African mines and in the center to procure cheap labor for southern Rhodesia.[5] There was also some internal labor recruiting done by the large capitalist companies like Sena Sugar Estates. Those men who were recruited to work outside Mozambique usually returned home for a few months between contracts to see their families, but they left quickly in order to avoid being forced into chibalo labor.[6] They usually stayed at home just long enough to buy and impregnate a new wife or get their existing wife pregnant again,[7] leaving the women with large broods of children to raise and feed.

The effect of large-scale male migration on the women left behind was devastating. If the absence of men provided women with greater economic opportunities and increased economic independence, it resulted nevertheless in additional tasks imposed on the African population in the rural areas. For example, construction projects and forced production fell almost entirely on the women's shoulders. Furthermore, this perpetual absence of men left women with even greater responsibility for domestic and agricultural activities. As a result, women's lives worsened appreciably during the colonial period and the nutritional intake of the family declined



COLONIAL WOMAN
Fig. 2

dramatically.[8]

SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

Another form of oppression of women during the colonial period was their sexual exploitation by the colonialists. Pretty women, who in the traditional society suffered the indignity of forced marriage as "co-wives" of local chiefs, found their problems worsened during the colonial period with the arrival of large numbers of European men. Married or not, it was unsafe for young women to walk on the roads. Our informants recounted numerous instances in which such women were taken by the colonialists.[9] The colonialists also permitted their African police the same privileges. In fact, one of the causes of the 1917 Barue Rebellion, in what is now Manica province, was the widespread raping by the African police of girls as young as seven or eight who had been forced to work on the road building projects of the Mozambique Company.[10]

The situation worsened with the arrival of large numbers of Portuguese troops. Women in Beira recounted stories of soldiers who roamed the African suburbs at night looking for African women, and, if one struck their fancy, it didn't matter that she was out with her husband. They simply took her off, and her husband was helpless.[11] European men believed that any African woman would be pleased to sleep with them merely because they are white.

This attitude created serious problems for Mozambican women. In the urban areas, women began to consider themselves superior to others if European men expressed a desire to sleep with them.[12] The result was a form of 'racism' among women against which the Organization of Mozambican Women (O.M.W.) is still battling.

One outgrowth of the sexual exploitation of women by the colonial regime was the widespread prostitution it generated. Initially, prostitution flourished in the major urban areas in which the colonialists lived and to which tourists from South Africa and Rhodesia flocked to sleep with women who were taboo in their own countries. With the arrival of large numbers of Portuguese troops and their deployment throughout Mozambique, the evils of prostitution spread as a consequence. Prostitution also prospered in way-stations for the miners returning from South Africa, such as Ressano Garcia and Sinavane, where they were deluged by women eager to relieve them of their earnings.[13]

COLONIAL WOMAN
Fig. 3

During the colonial period prostitution was probably the major means an African woman could earn a living. This was the case especially in southern Mozambique. Owing to the abuse of women by their husband's families, and the difficulty of obtaining divorce, many women ran away to the cities to try to earn enough money to pay back the lobolo.[14] There were few jobs available for women with no skills, and any that existed paid little and forced women to work under brutal conditions.[15] Thus prostitution offered them almost the only opportunity to sustain themselves and their children. Additional urban factors, such as the pressure to live like the European bourgeoisie and to have nice clothes, also encouraged prostitution since that was the only way such aspirations could be achieved.[16]

It is, therefore, safe to say that the oppression of women increased during the colonial period. By forcing women to work harder and longer, as well as exploiting them sexually, Portuguese colonial policy permitted the traditional systems of oppression to flourish and even to become stronger. The presupposed inferiority of women, in traditional society, was thereby reinforced by colonial legislation and Christian doctrines as superimpositions on the pre-existing social systems.

THE 'LAW' OF LABOUR

Portuguese law divided the population of its colonies into two groups -- "civilized" and "primitive," corresponding to "non-native" and "native" respectively. The "civilized," "non-native" population was regulated by Portuguese law, itself very patriarchal and discriminatory towards women.[17] The "native" population was expected to continue to live according to the rules of their traditional legal systems, as interpreted and applied by the local Portuguese colonial administrators.[18] Under the latter approach the local administrator decided questions brought before him with the assistance of the "native" chiefs and other old men conversant with the operation of the traditional system. Since the administrator could decide cases at his discretion -- there being no effective way his decisions could be challenged -- assumptions about women's inferiority prevalent in the Portuguese legal system often found their way into his decisions.

Most of the Portuguese law was applied to Africans to regulate the use of their labor, because the exploitation of cheap, African labor underlay the entire colonial system.[19] To the extent that women worked as chibalo laborers or later as contract or domestic laborers, they were affected by these native labor codes.[20]

COLONIAL WOMAN
(Detail)

But the paternalism of employers permitted women to work only in certain jobs, primarily in the cashew and clothing industries, where they earned almost nothing. Treating women as inferior even to African men, Portuguese colonialists undervalued women's work, such that those sectors which hired African women workers paid the lowest salaries. Despite a provision in the Rural Labor Code[21] requiring equal pay for equal work,[22] women were consistently paid less, and the Protuguese administration closed its eyes.[23]

Finally, the alien religious systems imported into Mozambique both before and during the colonial period reinforced women's position of inferiority. This was the case with the penetration of Islam, especially in the coastal areas of Mozambique. It introduced bride purchase into areas that had not previously practiced it,[24] reinforced tendencies toward polygamy and even younger child marriages, forced women to cover themselves and become even more subservient, and wrested women away from whatever protection they had received living in their family's village with their 'outsider' husbands. Moreover, the Muslim divorce system permitted men to discard their wives at will, without giving women the right to divorce their husbands.[25]

Christianity also arrived in Mozambique full of patriarchal ideas about the inferiority of women. The penetration of Christian missionaries was less extensive in Mozambique than in most African countries;[26] nevertheless, Christian missionaries controlled all the formal education available to African children. In these institutions they instilled their students with the patriarchal and discriminatory ideology of the Christian religion. Moreover, the student body of mission schools was overwhelmingly male. This was partly due to traditional attitudes against girls receiving schooling, but these were certainly reinforced by the missionaries' position that schooling was more important to boys. The legacy of this policy of educating only boys has made it difficult for women to enter the labor market and to assume positions of importance in an independent Mozambique.

FRELIMO'S FORMATIVE PHASE, 1962-1964

As early as 1960 the nationalist fervor sweeping through Africa had captured the imagination of a small, but growing number of Mozambican men and women. It first manifested itself in the establishment of UDENAMO (União Democratica de Moçambique), MANU (the Mozambican-Makonde Union), and UNAMI (União Africana de Moçambique Independente), three exile organizations with narrow regional and ethnic appeal.

Their one effort at political mobilization proved disastrous. In June 1961, five months after the birth of their organization, several thousand MANU supporters, recruited from the network of northern agricultural cooperatives, staged a large peaceful demonstration in front of the Portuguese administrative center at Mueda. Teresinha Mblale, who subsequently fought in the women's detachment of FRELIMO, recalled the carnage that followed:

> *I saw how the colonialists massacred the people at Mueda. That was when I lost my uncle. Our people were unarmed when they began to shoot. To defend ourselves we picked up sticks and stones. We had gone to ask for freedom, for elections.*[27]

Another survivor echoed her account of the blood-bath:

> *. . . the governor invited our leaders into the administrator's office. I was waiting outside. They were in there for four hours. When they came out on the verandah, the governor asked the crowd who wanted to speak. Many wanted to speak, and the governor told them all to stand on one side.*
>
> *Then, without another word, he ordered the police to bind the hands of those who had stood on one side, and the police began beating them. I was close by. I saw it all. When the people saw what was happening, they began to demonstrate against the Portuguese, and the Portuguese simply ordered the police trucks to come and collect those arrested persons. So there were more demonstrations against this. At that moment the troops were still hidden, and the people went up close to the police to stop the arrested persons from being taken away. So the governor called the troops, and when they appeared he told them to open fire. They killed about 600 people. Now the Portuguese say they have punished the governor, but, of course, they have only sent him somewhere else. I myself escaped because I was close to a graveyard where I could take cover, and then I ran away.*[28]

Immediately thereafter the colonial state outlawed all African organizations with more than thirty members.

The Mueda massacre revealed MANU's lack of a coherent strategy for gaining independence, a problem shared by all the exile organizations. Influenced by nationalist gains in the neighboring British colonies, they believed in the efficacy of petitions, protest letters and non-violent demonstrations and failed to anticipate the inflexibility of the regime they confronted. In an effort to overcome the mutual suspicion which divided them, President Nyerere of Tanzania invited the three in 1962 to establish their headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam and to work toward the creation of a unified movement. Prodded by Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, the President of Ghana, and CONCP (the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies), the three movements -- UNAMI, MANU and UDENAMO -- reluctantly agreed to merge into Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) under the leadership of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane.[29]

Mondlane, protected by diplomatic immunity as a United Nations employee, had recently visited Mozambique. In shanty towns on the outskirts of Lourenço Marques and in his rural Gaza homeland, he had met secretly with dissidents, both women and men, who had urged him to organize a nationalist movement. His presence particularly inspired the young. Recalled Esperanca Muthemba, a seventeen-year old girl in high school who was to become one of the first women to participate in the clandestine struggle:

> *In 1961 we had an opportunity to meet with Eduardo Mondlane in Manjacaze. He emphasized to us (a group of high school students) the need to study in order to serve the people. This phrase remains in my head until today, although at the time I did not fully comprehend what he was saying. Sometime thereafter I discussed it with my father who explained that Mondlane was signalling us to get ready for the long struggle for independence and a subsequent task of governing a free nation.*[30]

Mondlane's immediate objective was to forge a broad-based insurgent coalition which could effectively challenge the colonial regime. This meant not only unifying the three opposition groups but drawing into FRELIMO those who had recently fled Mozambique and either were unattached to any of the older exile groups or opposed them because of their narrow regional and ethnic character. A younger generation of Portuguese-trained, Marxist-oriented intellectuals also demanded to be heard. At FRELIMO's First Congress in September 1962 a platform designed to be acceptable to all the diverse interests was adopted. The most urgent concern -- independence -- dictated

"RUGGED POSTURE"

unity. But, according to FRELIMO documents, unity in 1962 was extremely fragile.

> *The existing, externally-based organizations which joined hands to form FRELIMO at that time did so reluctantly, and largely at the urging of younger, unattached militants with more direct and recent experience of the harsh realities which existed inside Mozambique itself. The causes which kept these organizations separate in the past -- namely, tribalism, regionalism, lack of a clear and detailed set of goals and of agreed and relevant strategies -- continued to exist. The only thing which was common to them was their opposition to Portuguese colonialism. On all other particulars, including the actual aims of the struggle, the mode of military activity to be undertaken or the very definition of the enemy, there was no consensus.*[31]

Unity also meant incorporating into the movement all Mozambicans of whatever social class or strata -- peasants, workers, merchants, artisans and chiefs -- who supported the common struggle. Thus, its objectives and composition made FRELIMO a fairly typical Third World nationalist front uniting ideologically divergent groups on the basis of patriotism and opposition to foreign domination.

At the Congress' meeting in 1962 FRELIMO also took the first tentative step toward addressing the exploitation of women. Its organizing statutes included a commitment to "promote by all methods the social and cultural development of Mozambican women."[32] FRELIMO resolved to promote the involvement of women in the struggle and the establishment of a women's organization. Yet, for all the rhetoric, the emancipation of women did not surface as a critical issue within the liberation movement until 1966.

RURAL WOMEN IN THE EARLY PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE, 1962-1964

For nearly two years before the beginning of the armed struggle FRELIMO militants worked in small groups trying to mobilize the peasants of northern Mozambique. Their objective was to gain new recruits and to forge the rural support network necessary for future guerrilla activities. This was not an easy task, given the increased colonial surveillance, the presence of coopted chiefs in almost every village, and the fear and skepticism most communities had absorbed during sixty years of repressive colonial rule.

For those militants betrayed, their fate was always the same -- interrogation, imprisonment or summary execution.

Those who escaped detection still faced formidable difficulties.

When I first began to organize, the people did not know about politics. They only knew that they had been miserable all of their lives. I had many troubles in those days and I walked only during the night because the Portuguese knew my name and sometimes came looking for me. They called me a bandit.

By day I remained hidden in the bush and my contact man in the village sometimes gave me food. Usually I lived on mealie and cassava and bush rats. I held meetings at night and the ones who joined us went to their villages to organize. I worked a year and a half like this before the war finally started in 1964, and always lived in the bush.[33]

Despite these dangers, a number of women joined the ranks of the first FRELIMO cadres. Marcelina Joaquim recounted her own fears and the difficulties which she had to overcome:

My husband and I had fled to Tanzania before the war to escape the beatings at the hands of the Portuguese. There I joined FRELIMO and returned home to Mocimboa de Prai in 1963 to help organize the villagers. My husband chose to stay in Tanzania but my widowed mother supported my decision and joined the movement. At that time I did not have a very clear idea what FRELIMO stood for other than liberation from colonialism. I was afraid of being detected but nevertheless helped to organize meetings in the bush. There we discussed our dreams of freedom and what life would be like without forced labor and beatings. I recruited both men and women for FRELIMO.[34]

Juliana Lais and Hirondina Tonias also experienced self-doubt and peasant skepticism.[35] Both emphasized that the abstract appeal of fighting against either colonialism or imperialism evoked little enthusiasm, but, when they addressed the concrete conditions of exploitation, the peasants understood and responded.

We asked them if they had friends of family who were massacred at Mueda. What happened if they did not meet the cotton quotas? How often they had to work on the European sisal plantations or to build roads? What they received for their taxes? By the end of several reuniões there was a general understanding of how completely they had been exploited and a recognition that only by joining FRELIMO would their lives be altered.[36]

Female cadres also organized special meetings to recruit women. The logic of this strategy was self-evident -- every member of the indigenous society was needed against the tremendous power of the colonial regime. When women, historically oppressed and denied any role in the world of politics, remained silent or responded timidly, the cadres reminded them that "it is not only the men who suffered from the exploitation of the Portuguese. We are also exploited and discriminated against and we cannot sit by idly while the men do the fighting."[37] Even without using the issues of women's liberation as the bait -- and there's no indication that these were explicitly addressed -- women came to understand what was involved in their recruitment, as Juliana Lais remembered:

> *. . . when the women in the village saw us speaking out in public they knew that FRELIMO was good.*[38]

In short, the involvement of women heightened the consciousness of their oppression and produced some strong revolutionary women despite the fact that FRELIMO lacked a coherent ideological position on gender issues.

Slowly, and not without setbacks, FRELIMO cadres began to organize a network of clandestine cells in the two northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa. Whereas most party members remained in their villages, many teenage girls and boys who became members of FRELIMO's Youth League moved into the interior where a series of bush bases had been established. From there some went to Tanzania where they eventually got military training, while others, weaned from their hideouts, set out to mobilize additional support for FRELIMO. Life for them was extremely difficult. The cadres lived on hunting and gathering, with supplementary manioc which sympathetic villagers clandestinely provided them, and were constantly on the move to prevent detection. Their relatives suffered as well. "My parents were beaten and their fields burned," recalled Hirondina Tonias, "when the police discovered my absence."[39]

Apart from their involvement in political mobilization, the young women and men clandestinely stored arms and other war materiel smuggled into the country from Tanzania and elsewhere. At prearranged sites they also stocked dried manioc donated by the peasants so that the guerrilla forces would have a food supply when the struggle began. Other members of the Youth League kept Portuguese troop movements under surveillance and mapped our enemy bases. Paulina Matues remembered how:

> *. . . in 1963, well before the armed struggle began, I participated in clandestine activity . . . I spied on the Portuguese soldiers and because I was a little girl of twelve years of age, no one paid any atten-*

"RUGGED POSTURE"
(Detail)

tion to me.[40]

A year later, after the first contingent of FRELIMO soldiers had completed their military training in Algeria, preparations were made to launch the first phase of the armed struggle. Just prior to the attacks the covert FRELIMO network was activated. One young girl, who later fought in the women's detachment, recalled that

> *The FRELIMO organizers told us that we should prepare everything to go to the bush because soon the Portuguese would start arresting and massacring the people owing to our support for FRELIMO. Two days later we went to the bush. And some days later, on the 25th of September, the war started in our region. The people were given the task of blocking the roads with big trees and holes. We also cut telephone wires and cut down the poles.*[41]

WOMEN IN THE CLANDESTINE STRUGGLE

At the same time that Mozambican women were helping to lay the groundwork for the struggle in the north, their counterparts in the south were also engaged in anti-colonial clandestine activities of a slightly different character. Whereas the northern support network was rural-based, FRELIMO cells in the south were located primarily in the coastal cities and towns -- in the colonial capital of Lourenço Marques, Joao Belo, and in Inhambane. FRELIMO cadres made occasional efforts to recruit members in the rural hinterland, but there is no indication that they created a structure linking militants in the cities with the rural areas. From the outset these southern cells were small in number and isolated both from FRELIMO bases located 1,000 miles away and from the overwhelming majority of African peasants.

Just as the terrain in which the early FRELIMO cadres organized differed, so, too, did the social composition of the membership. This difference lay in the fact that in the north peasants filled the ranks of the movement, while in the south, most of the fewer southern activists were young high school students who had been actively involved in NESAM -- the Mozambican student movement. To a large measure they were the daughters and sons of relatively privileged blacks and mulattoes -- state bureaucrats, teachers, nurses and members of the petite bourgeoisie. In many cases their families had played an active role in such reformist organizations as the African Union (Grêmio Africano) or the Instituto Negrofilio.[42] In the privacy of their homes, their parents instilled in them a sense of racial pride and moral outrage at the previous injustices of Portuguese colonial rule. "I was particularly fortunate since

I had the luck of living in a family that was always very political," remembered Tufina Muthemba. "In my household we always discussed political issues."[43]

A small number of urban workers, migrant laborers who moved between the countryside and the city, and a handful of disgruntled traders joined FRELIMO's frail southern network. Some older relatives of militant students were also drawn into the movement. Typical of the latter was Adelina Madzonga, a seamstress who was forty-five years old, when her nephews joined FRELIMO and convinced her to allow them to use her home to hold secret meetings. A PIDE[44] infiltrator informed on her in 1963, and she spent the next year in prison. After her release she became "an active member attending secret meetings and helping to recruit young girls to flee the country and join the armed struggle." She went on to recount how she "hid two young women in her house, disguised them and accompanied them on the bush to the Swaziland border, until one day a group of parents complained to PIDE."[45] Madzonga was arrested and imprisoned for three years.

Madzonga's ordeal reflects the increasingly repressive climate in which the southern militants had to operate. Despite the fact that NESAM was a legal student organization from which student leaders took great care to invite only trusted NESAM members to join FRELIMO cells which operated independently of the organization, spies and infiltrators were everywhere. Recalled Esperança Muthemba:

> *Our objective was to mobilize all the students in Xai-Xai and we were successful in recruiting them into our organization. From this group we chose only those members in whom we had great confidence to join in the clandestine anti-colonial activities. But from the outset we had serious problems. The authorities harassed us and interrogated us and infiltrated our organization with spies.*[46]

The NESAM branch in Lourenço Marques suffered a similar fate:

> *We wanted to organize ourselves, but we were persecuted by the secret police. We had cultural and educational activities, but during discussions we had to keep a constant look out for the police . . . The police persecuted us, they even banned NESAM.*[47]

Predictably, the young militants lived under constant fear of being discovered. "In our cell were both boys and girls,

most of whom were in secondary school," noted Leonora Secahava. "We met secretly at our homes and we were warned that we must not discuss political issues outside of these cell meetings because we would be identified and arrested."[48] As Rufina Muthemba confessed, such warnings heightened their anxiety:

> *We were always afraid even of our own shadows. We had to be because of the threat of infiltration, and because we lacked any real security strategy. We just kept our eyes open for strangers or for people whom we did not know who enthusiastically promoted FRELIMO.*[49]

Fear created internal suspicions and a reluctance to recruit new members, and thereby further isolated the frail FRELIMO network, which "was based on familial and close friends."[50]

Despite increasingly repressive conditions, the FRELIMO cells not only continued to operate but, in the short-run, were to some extent successful in two activities; namely the dissemination of anti-colonial information propaganda beyond their own narrow networks and the creation of an "underground railroad" through which new recruits could escape to FRELIMO bases in Tanzania. Women played prominent roles in both counts.

One of the most pressing needs of the liberation movement was to capture the hearts and minds of Mozambicans living in the south, far from their bases. This was no easy task given the distance and the fact that the colonial regime had organized a massive propaganda effort to discredit the FRELIMO "terrorists." To counter this campaign and mobilize popular support, clandestine cells began to print anti-colonial fliers and pamphlets. The literature, based on material smuggled in from Tanzania, evoked the long tradition of resistance in southern Mozambique. It spoke of heroic efforts of President Mondlane to unify all Mozambican nationalists under the banner of FRELIMO, and highlighted the liberation movement's commitment to freedom and social justice.[51] All cell members participated in this campaign.

> *During this campaign both men and women, that is to say, both boys and girls, produced and distributed the pamphlets. We were not separated from the boys, we shared the same jobs and the same responsibilities.*[52]

The published material served as the basis for study sessions within the cells. Such political slogans, as "FRELIMO -- Victory or Death," were extracted from the documents and immediately scribbled on walls in the cities and the surrounding African townships.

The more substantial publications were clandestinely produced in Lourenço Marques and distributed throughout the southern part of the colony. Virginia Mathanda, one of the principal organizers, described how they avoided detection.

> *My husband and I had a small lorry. Late at night we dropped off pamphlets at designated locations in the shanty towns near Lourenço Marques. It was more difficult distributing material in Gaza province and north to the towns of Xai-Xai, Maxixe and Inhambane. Since my husband was a trader and regularly delivered goods to this area we placed the material in specially-marked crates and dropped them off at rural shops along with the other commodities. Almost immediately the pamphlets were distributed among the militants waiting at the shops.*[53]

On two occasions, at least, militants mounted effective public campaigns. On Christmas Eve in 1964, while parishioners were attending mass, young women and men simultaneously dropped thousands of FRELIMO pamphlets throughout much of the southern part of the colony calling for the immediate independence of Mozambique. They left the literature on church steps, in town squares and at other strategic locations. Esperanca Muthemba, then a young girl of seventeen, stayed behind to watch the commotion in front of the main cathedral in Inhambane:

> *When people came out of the church they found the pamphlets and picked them up. The Africans were all excited and a bit nervous. Where did these pamphlets come from, they wanted to know? Who is FRELIMO? What will the police do? Some churchgoers were arrested and interrogated by the secret police but were subsequently released for lack of information.*[54]

A month later the much publicized visit of a papal delegation in southern Mozambique was almost disrupted when militants infiltrated the large crowd and began to distribute FRELIMO pamphlets. The pamphlets demanded independence and condemned the alliance between the Catholic Church and the colonial regime.[55]

The clandestine cells also recruited young militants and eventually forged an escape route via Swaziland and Rhodesia to Tanzania. A number of teenagers were captured on their way to FRELIMO bases in Rhodesia. The 1964 arrest of Josina Machel, who was to become a leading member of the women's detachment, demonstrated the danger posed by the close working relationship between the Portuguese secret police and their Rhodesian and South African counterparts.

I was arrested at the Victoria Falls on the frontier between Rhodesia and Zambia. The Rhodesian police arrested me and sent me back to Lourenço Marques. There were eight in our group, boys and girls. The Portuguese police threatened us, interrogated us and beat up the boys. I was in prison for six months without being sentenced or condemned. I was in prison for six months without them bringing a case against me.[56]

Maria Mutanda and her husband were among those militants whom Rhodesian security arrested. They were both more fortunate than Josina. Instead of being sent back to Mozambique, they spent a month in a Rhodesian jail and then were allowed to return to Swaziland where they had established legal residence. Shortly after their return, they received a communiqué from FRELIMO leaders telling them not to try to escape again but to remain in Swaziland. Their mission was to organize a network of Mozambican exiles and sympathetic Swazis to ensure that escapees would have a place to hide and would be able to obtain Swazi passports and travel documents to permit them to travel undetected through Rhodesia. One 'activist' whose support proved critical was a son of the Swazi King Sobhuza. Acting without his father's permission, this unlikely sympathizer supported the necessary permits and provided the militants with a measure of protection.[57]

Once they had secured travel documents and places to hide the 'fugitives', Maria and other FRELIMO members returned to Mozambique to recruit prospective freedom fighters in their rural Gaza homelands.

I and several other women returned to Chibutu to organize the young men and women in our villages. We held secret meetings at night and a number of young people joined. The local administrator became very suspicious. One day he called me into his office and beat me. The chief, my husband's uncle, had informed on me. I was detained for several days and repeatedly beaten but never acknowledged my ties to FRELIMO. In the end I was released with a stern warning about not becoming involved with the terrorists.[58]

Other militants based in Swaziland dropped off tickets, money and travel documents at safe houses in Lourenço Marques which enabled a small number to escape without detection.[59] At the same time the FRELIMO cells in Inhambane, Xai-Xai and Lourenço Marques organized the escape of several militants from within their ranks. Among those who managed to flee was Josina Machel. Almost immediately after her release from imprisonment she

escaped with a group of young militants to Swaziland, travelled undetected through South Africa, and arrived in Bechuanaland There the six young exiles were arrested by British authorities, who governed the crown colony, and it was only after extensive international pressure that they were released. In May 1965, almost half a year after they fled Mozambique, they arrived in Tanzania.[60]

But these were among the fortunate few. In response to FRELIMO activity the Portuguese intensified frontier surveillance and effectively infiltrated a number of urban cells. "In December 1964," remembered Virginia Tembe, "PIDE discovered our cell in Inhambane. Those of us who were not arrested fled to the bush where we hid until we could make our way to Swaziland, a journey that took over a month."[61] Among those detained in Inhambane, Xai-Xai and Lourenço Marques were a number of senior organizers. In desperation, the remaining leadership agreed that only a mass exodus would prevent their incarceration, and for three months they carefully developed their plan of escape.

Early in March 1965 small groups of FRELIMO supporters slipped out of their homes. They travelled in twos and threes, making their way toward the Swaziland border. Rufina Muthemba's account captures the drama of their escape:

> *As I entered the bus I became very scared. We were all disguised. We had let our hair down, darkened our faces and wore capulaonas on our heads, so that we were not recognizable even to people who knew us well. As the bus stopped along the long, winding route, others from our group got on board. We never acknowledged their presence. We got off in small groups at designated stops near Namaacha (a frontier town), and we hid in assigned homes. We remained there for a few days. Finally, at 2:00 o'clock in the morning, our group of four women and two men slipped across the border and joined the others who had arrived just before us.*[62]

All in all, seventy-two women and men and three young children had managed to escape.

The "Seventy-Five" as they popularly became known remained in two FRELIMO-run centers in Mbabane, the Swaziland capitol, from January to May. The militants held clandestine political discussions in the evening and planned their flight to Tanzania despite the Swazi government's restrictions on their movements. Through intermediaries they contacted a European trader who had previously helped to smuggle members to Tanzania. On the night of May 9 the militants were picked up at an isolated spot along

the South African border. The trader had alerted the South African authorities! He worked for them! After a brief interrogation, all seventy-five were handed over to the Portuguese secret police.[63]

The fourteen women were incarcerated in Mavalane prison on the outskirts of Lourenço Marques. They were spared torture and death, unlike their male comrades, but suffered greatly. They were placed in one small cell without any bathroom facilities and for the first two days they received no food. Thereafter they were subjected to the capricious whims of the guards.

> *We were treated very badly by the guards and by PIDE. They made us get up at 3 o'clock in the morning when it was very cold to take baths. We were given porridge that was inedible with bugs and sand. When we became ill they refused to give us any medical treatment. As a result, there were several, many young babes who died for lack of treatment.*[64]

The women and their children were subsequently transferred to a civilian jail in the capital and ultimately to a workhouse from which they were released in 1968 after three and a half years in detention.[65] Other women who had helped to organize the escape of the "Seventy-Five" were also imprisoned and by 1966 the colonial state had effectively destroyed the last vestiges of organized FRELIMO support in southern Mozambique.[66]

THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN

It happened in the silence of the night of September 25, 1964. With logistical assistance from the surrounding population, FRELIMO fighters attacked the Portuguese administrative post at Chai in Cabo Delgado province. The colonial authorities were taken by surprise despite pre-warnings by a loyalist chief. The guerrillas were able to damage the post and kill one policeman and wound several others before melting back into the forest.

The raid at Chai marked the beginning of the military campaign against the colonial regime. Employing classic guerrilla tactics -- ambushing patrols, sabotaging communication and railroad lines, and making hit-and-run attacks against colonial outposts -- and then rapidly fading into inaccessible backwater areas, FRELIMO militants were able to evade pursuit and surveillance. In the two northern provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado, FRELIMO's peasant network provided critical supplies and ammunition.[67]

From the outset of the fighting Mozambican women, inte-

"REVEILLE!"

grated into FRELIMO's rural support network, played an important role in five critical support activities. These were: 1) mobilizing and recruiting new militants; 2) engaging in espionage; 3) carrying war materiel over long and treacherous routes; 4) procuring food for the guerrillas; and 5) helping to organize the rudimentary network of social services established in the liberated zones. In all these activities they worked side by side with their male counterparts. Yet, for all the appearance of sex equality, they were initially barred from receiving military training and engaging in combat, which remained the exclusive domain of men. This prohibition as well as women's absence from positions of authority is the clearest indication that the male leadership was still committed to perpetuating historic sex inequality, despite its revolutionary political agenda.

From the bush base women cadres, generally working together with male organizers, went to local villages each night for meetings with sympathetic villagers. Their objectives varied from recruiting new members to convincing entire communities to move in the interior where they would be under the protection of FRELIMO. After the large village meeting the female militants would hold a special session for the peasant women where they would explain "why the struggle was important not only in terms of freeing our country but also freeing women from the abuses both of traditional society and colonialism."[68] "We emphasized," noted Joaquina Tobias, "how women in FRELIMO were treated equal to men."[69] A number of new recruits acknowledged that this appeal had a strong impact on them. Modesta Assikla, who was twenty-two when FRELIMO cadres entered her village, was moved both by the words of the women and "because she had heard that there were already many women in FRELIMO and that it was common knowledge that FRELIMO wanted to liberate women as well as men."[70] But female cadres were not employed only to recruit women. According to a Western journalist who accopmanied FRELIMO forces during the early phase of the war, women "were very useful as political mobilizers and in recruiting hesitant males as guerrillas. They achieved this by first converting their wives who in turn pressured their husbands into joining."[71] Pauline Mateos, a military commander in the northern province of Cabo Delgado, explained the use of this strategy. "Some men have no heart for fighting," she said. "They are afraid if they don't want to leave their families and fields. But once a woman tells her man to go and fight, he feels more inclined."[72]

Not all women, or men for that matter, who joined the liberation movement were inspired by the appeals of the FRELIMO cadres. Some, such as Fatima Akidi, who lived in Niassa province, had their lives shattered by the war and initially had no other alternative.

"STAND BY"

> *Originally, I believed that the people of the mato (bush), the 'FRELIMOs' as they were called, were bad people since they provoked the fury of the Portuguese who retaliated against us . . . After one such incident PIDE arrested my husband and myself and accused us of being spies. They beat us, interrogated us until it was clear that we did not know anything, yet I was kept in solitary confinement for four months during which time I learned of my husband's death. After I was freed, I decided to flee to Malawi . . . In the bush I encountered some FRELIMOs. I did not want to go with them but I had no choice. Almost immediately I saw the difficult conditions under which they lived and how concerned they were about how the people suffered. I saw how men and women worked side by side. So my life began to change. With my first husband it was only I who carried the wood, with my tools and child on my back and he did nothing. I went to fetch the water and he remained seated. I thought that was normal and that I was inferior.*[73]

Fatima elected to remain with the guerrillas. Others joined the ranks of the liberation movement even before FRELIMO cadres reached their villages. Diolinda Simango came from the central province of Manica and Sofala. She travelled 800 miles, most of it on foot through a territory under Portuguese control before she arrived at a FRELIMO base in Tanzania.[74]

Many of the new recruits, as well as the seasoned veterans, were called upon to transport war materiel without which FRELIMO could not sustain its military effort. It was a long and arduous task carrying the weapons and munitions, characteristically in crates weighing 50 kilos (110 pounds), from supply bases just inside Tanzania to the front line.

> *Everything must be brought in from outside, on our heads, and we must plan these routes according to our geographical position. Most nearby countries are unfriendly to us; it takes a month to carry a box of ammunition into Niassa province from the frontier, for example, because the distances are enormous. Since we cannot ride, we must walk. And on the way the guerrillas and carriers are contending with hunger, thirst and sickness.*[75]

"It was very difficult," confirmed Rosa Albino. "My shoulders, my back and my legs were always sore."[76]

Peasant supporters, both women and men, also provided strategic information to the guerrillas.

The people are united and help us. Otherwise, for instance, we couldn't go into enemy areas; it is the people who give us all our information about the movements of the enemy, their strength and their position. Also, when we start working in an area where we have no food, because we have not yet had the opportunity to grow any, the people supply us and feed us. We also help the people. Until militias have been formed in a region, we protect the people in their fields against the action and reprisals of the colonialists; we organize new villages when we have to evacuate the people from a zone because of the war; we protect them against the enemy.[77]

Young girls were particularly effective as spies since the colonial troops viewed them as flirtatious sex objects.

But for all the drama of spying and political mobilizing and the sense of accomplishment which the first FRELIMO militants experienced during the first two years of the armed struggle, most women in the movement spent almost all of their time working in the fields surrounding the FRELIMO bases. They cultivated maize and manioc, with the latter becoming the staple food of the guerrillas. It is true that their male counterparts joined them at strategic moments in the planting or harvesting cycle, nevertheless the traditional sexual division of labor remained largely unchanged despite FRELIMO's rhetoric. Moreover, the women were expected to cook food and provide other domestic tasks when guerrilla units returned to the main bases. In short, they were involved in service roles, typically assigned to them by virtue of being women.[78]

By the middle of 1966 a contradictory situation had developed within the liberation movement with regard to the emancipation of women. As stated earlier, sex equality was on agenda in FRELIMO's ideology and radical pronouncements. But at its best this represented a vision of the future rather than a norm governing the behavior of FRELIMO members. We have also indicated the sharp distinction between the rhetoric of equality and the reality of inequality in the struggle over the right of women to bear arms. In connection with this issue, a 1965 FRELIMO war communiqué referred to the heroic effort of twenty-three young girls who fought the colonial troops in a major battle in Niassa,[79] but their involvement was clearly in contravention to FRELIMO policy. The leadership, which was almost entirely male, was initially strongly opposed to women receiving guerrilla training or even serving in rural militias. This opposition, as we have seen above, had the effect of assigning domestic chores to women, and thereby creating a second-class status of women within the movement.

"REVEILLE!"
(Detail)

But then as women increased in number, absorbed the FRELIMO rhetoric, and gained greater self-confidence, becoming in the process more conscious of the gap between theory and reality, they began to protest their subordinate position. By 1966 a number of women were complaining of discrimination within the movement and specifically attacking the policies which prohibited them from bearing arms.

> *When we girls started to work, there was strong opposition to our participation. Because that was against our tradition. We then started a big campaign explaining why we also had to fight, that the FRELIMO is a peoples' war in which the whole people must participate, that we women were even more oppressed and that we therefore had the right as well as the will and the strength to fight. We insisted on our having military training and being given weapons.*[80]

Rosa Albino described a similar situation:

> *It was important for us as women to combat the male prejudices which ran through the movement. Many men did not understand why the emancipation of women was a necessary part of the struggle against colonialism. When they joined FRELIMO they were told that the emancipation of women was part of the creation of a new society but it was very difficult for them to understand. It was too abstract.*[81]

Their demands, which began a process of changing relations of power between the sexes, caught the leadership by surprise. Bitterly divided over issues of race, class and ethnicity, and trying to develop an appropriate strategy for neutralizing the technical superiority of the Portuguese forces, the leadership had given little attention to sex inequality. Once it surfaced, however, the leadership could no longer ignore the issue. President Mondlane and a majority of the Executive committee of the Central Committee, including Samora Machel, Marcelino dos Santos and Joaquim Chissano, who had taken a radical rather than a narrow nationalist position, recognized that the emancipation of women had to become a central feature of the revolution. After a particularly acrimonious debate, in which the nationalists sought to blunt any serious discussion of the role of women, the Central Committee acknowledged in October 1966 the serious nature of the problem. For the first time it "condemned the tendency which exists among many male members of FRELIMO to systematically exclude women from the discussion of problems related to the Revolution, and to limit them to executing tasks."[82] The document further emphasized that appropriate measures would be taken "to assure the participation of women in the direction of work, in the differ-

ent organs and in all levels from the circle to the Central Committee and the Congress.[83]

At approximately the same time a women's organization, LIFEMO (the League of Mozambican Women), was organized. The main theme of its first meeting, held from May 31 to June 4, 1966, was the participation of women in the actual armed struggle. Selina Simango, president of the organization, set the tone in her opening address which presented a very romanticized picture:

> *As I am talking, hundreds of [women] with guns in their hands [are] facing the enemy or defending the population. Some of them have already given their lives during fierce battles. Many more will do the same. From this we can see that the Mozambican women are playing their full share in the liberation struggle. So the Mozambican women can be compared to Vietnamese who are annihilating U.S. soldiers and downing U.S. planes. Some of these heroines are dead, but their names will live generation after generation.*[84]

More realistically, President Mondlane responded that the two most immediate tasks were "the integration of the women of Mozambique into the actual armed struggle" and their "integration into the popular militias."[85]

Several months later, in early 1967, FRELIMO selected the first group of women from Cabo Delgado and Niassa to begin military and political training at the FRELIMO base in Nachingwea, Tanzania. To satisfy conservative male skeptics who argued that women were incapable of going through the rigorous military and ideological training, the divided leadership agreed that this would be done on a provisional basis. Josina Machel, who was in the first group and later became a political commissar in the women's detachment, wrote:

> *At first this was merely an experiment to discover just what contribution women could make to the revolution -- how they would use their initiative, whether they were in fact capable of fulfilling certain tasks. The 'experiment' proved highly successful and this first group of women became the founder-members of the women's detachment . . .*[86]

The creation of the women's detachment (Destacamento Feminino) in 1967 marked the first full participation of women in the armed struggle. It also reflected the increasing dominance within the leadership of the more radical faction, led by President Mondlane, who viewed the struggle as one to transform

"RESPONSE"

society and not merely to end colonialism.

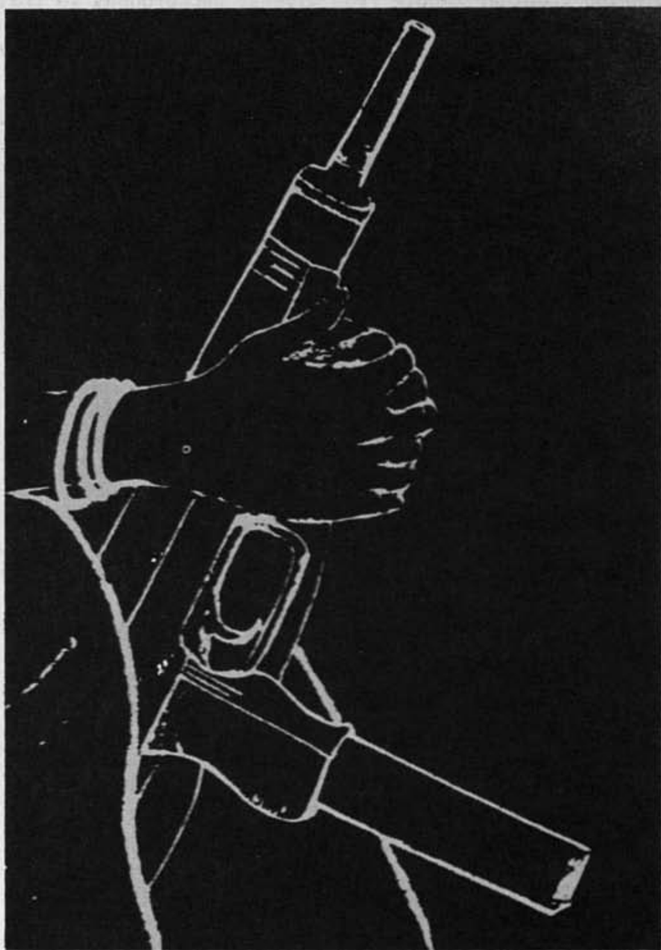
Joining the ranks of the female recruits at Nachingwea were women from all parts of the colony. It was FRELIMO policy to bring together people from diverse backgrounds so that the recruits would realize the vastness of Mozambique and that everybody regardless of ethnic background, was exploited by colonialism. There were Shangaan and Chope women from the south, Ndau and Shona from the central highlands, and women of Makua, Yao and Makonde descent from the far north. Initially this posed serious problems of communication. At Nachingwea, noted Joaquina, "we initially had great difficulty understanding each other. Quickly we each learned a bit of Macua, Yao, Shona and Ndau as well as Portuguese in formal classes which eventually became the most common mode of communication.[87]

Studying and training together also created a bond of unity which transcended narrow ethnic loyalties. Rita Mulumuba recalled that

> *In our units there are people from every region; I am with the Ajuas, Nyanjas, Makondes, and people from Zambezia. I believe this is good; before we did not think of ourselves as a single nation; FRELIMO has shown us that we are one people. We have united to destroy Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.*[88]

At Nachingwea the women's detachment went through the same rigorous training as their male counterparts. They woke at between three and four in the morning, exercised, and then had breakfast. Each morning they had military training in which they learned how to use the full array of light weapons in the FRELIMO arsenal. "We began first with carbines, MNs and then moved to bazookas, mortars and landmines," recalled Joachina Tobias. "We not only had to demonstrate that we could operate these weapons," she continued, "but that we could dismantle and maintain them."[89] After lunch the trainees learned Portuguese and some rudimentary history and geography. Evening sessions were devoted to political education. Toward the end of their training, long strenuous marches to test their stamina became more frequent. According to Pauline Mateos, who was in charge of 200 women guerrillas, the members of her detachment did as well as their male comrades.

> *We undergo the same program as the men because we will be doing men's work. We stay in the same camps and we regard them as our brothers. We suffer hunger and thirst and heat as they do, and we learn to handle all kinds of arms. When we first begin our training we think that we will die of hunger and fatigue. With the men we are marched past water holes and rivers,*



"RESPONSE"
(Detail)

"ATTENTION"

and not permitted by our trainer to drink although we might be near collapse with thirst. This is done to toughen us for the times when we might want to drink water from sources suspected of being poisoned by the enemy. Finally, when we are strong enough to have overcome all of these trials, we find that we can suffer as much and march as long as any of the men, even with our packs and rifles. Sometimes we overpass men who have collapsed.[90]

At the end of the six-month training period, the women's platoons selected as their "responsibles" those in whose political and leadership qualities they had the most confidence and were dispatched to FRELIMO camps within the liberated zones of Mozambique. A small number of women remained in Nachingwea for additional training as nurses or to become the instructors of the next group of recruits who arrived.[91]

Back in Mozambique the women assumed one or two military roles. Most platoons received the task of defending liberated areas against the escalating Portuguese attacks. "The military activities of the women," recalled one combatant, "are generally concentrated, together with the militia, in the defense of the liberated zones. In this way, the men are partly freed from the task of defense and can concentrate on the offensive in the advance zones.[92] They also helped the peasants to organize local militias, taught them rudimentary military skills, and encouraged women to participate in these activities.[93]

Other women's brigades undertook, side by side with their male counterparts, offensive actions against the colonial forces. They laid mines, ambushed Portuguese convoys, and attacked rural bases and, as one combatant proudly proclaimed, "They proved to be as capable and courageous as their male comrades."[94] Summarized below is the battle record of one woman stationed in Cabo Delgado:

I have already taken part in many battles. Some of the most important were: an ambush against a convoy on the Namaguangao Mudimbe road on 15 July 1967, where we destroyed two lorries and killed many more of the enemy. An artillery and infantry attack against the Nangololo post; two houses were destroyed and their helicopters came four times to collect the dead and take the wounded to the hospital at Mueda. During the 1970 offensive I participated in two ambushes, one on the Mueda-Mocimboa da Praia road, the other on the Nacatar-Mueda road, resulting respectively in four lorries disabled and three destroyed. Last year (1971) my unit destroyed lorries in an ambush on the Muatide-Mueda road. I also took

part in one big attack against the Mudimbe post in 1971, in which our artillery and infantry destroyed many houses. The helicopter came seven times for the dead and wounded. Shortly after that attack the enemy evacuated the post definitively.[95]

While most of these actions were small in scale, the women fighting in Tete province participated in major attacks on Portuguese bases at Chingodzi, Maloeara and Estima.[96]

SELF-LIBERATION IN ACTION

Like any new recruits going into battle, many women initially experienced fear and horror at the brutality of war. "The first time I shot an enemy soldier I had nightmares," recalled Pauline Mateus, "but thereafter I came to understand that it was a normal part of war."[97] But women also experienced a sense of power and dignity. "What I remembered after my first battle was being freed from my feeling of inferiority," said Rosa Albino.[98] Another militant described the pride in fighting to free her country and also her own sense of personal liberation which accompanied "the realization that I was the equal of any man."[99] Perhaps Paulina Mateus summed it up best:

I no longer felt that differences existed between men and myself since we fought side by side, we marched together, organized ambushes together, we suffered defeats together as well as the joys of victory.[100]

Instilled with this new sense of self-confidence many militants began to take a more active role in other aspects of the struggle previously reserved for men. President Mondlane wrote in 1968:

Through the army, women have started to take responsibility in many areas; they have learned to stand up and speak at public meetings, to take an active part in politics. The sight of armed women who get up and talk in front of large audiences caused great amazement, even incredulity in the movement.[101]

In addition to combat, members of the women's detachment continued their previous tasks -- transporting war materiel and engaging in clandestine activity and political mobilization. Josina Machel maintained that within the liberation movement women were recognized as being far more successful at recruiting new militants than male cadres.

It has been proven that we women can perform this task of mobilization and education better than the men for two reasons. Firstly, it is easier for us to approach

other women and, secondly, the men are more easily convinced of the important role of women when confronted with the unusual sight of confident and capable female militants who are themselves the best examples of what they are propounding. However, our activities are directed equally at the men and the presence of emancipated women bearing arms often shames them into taking more positive positions.[102]

The women's detachment also was instrumental in organizing a social welfare network in the liberated zones. It ran the FRELIMO orphanage, which took care of children whose parents were fighting in the war as well as those whose parents had been killed, and played an active role in the literacy campaigns organized by the Department of Education which they recognized were needed to increase women's self-esteem and political consciousness.[103]

Here again we have to overcome the outdated prejudices of fathers and husbands regarding the idea of education for women. But we are gradually winning the battle, for they realize that a literate and educated woman can make a far more constructive contribution to the revolution than an ignorant one. We now have many girls in our schools, some of whom have female teachers . . .[104]

The very visibility of women experiencing a new sense of political consciousness and personal confidence, however, not only heightened sex antagonism, it posed a threat to traditional sex roles. In villages both inside and outside the liberated zones, women cadres encountered strong opposition and skepticism from rural male elders who resented the loss of authority and power. Despite official pronouncements that women had the right and, indeed, the responsibility to bear arms, many northern men, especially in Muslim communities, viewed them with contempt. Some men demanded that their daughters and wives, who were in FRELIMO, "return home and do the appropriate jobs of women."[105] Older women often expressed the same sentiment.[106]

Even within the liberation force the position of women remained ambiguous. In the politico-military sphere, despite the formation of the women's detachment, there were initially no women officers higher than platoon leaders. At a public meeting in 1968 a woman in one of the units angrily complained to President Mondlane that "women were not being trained as officers so that all officers were men."[107] Mondlane's response "that nobody thought of making women officers,"[108] suggests how far FRELIMO still had to go.

"EN GARDE"

PUBLIC EQUALITY, PRIVATE INEQUALITY

It was in the private and domestic spheres, however, that the contradictions were most obvious. Both men and women militants tended to enter into social and physical relationships with their "traditional" values and stereotypes intact. For example, many men viewed women as sexual objects and refused to accept responsibility for their offspring. Recalled one militant who had joined the women's detachment in 1967:

> *Our relationships with men were always difficult to figure out because many of them would promise marriage, but it rarely happened. Even when it happened it did not mean the end of problems. For example, I finally stayed with one man from whom I became pregnant, but then he refused to accept the child, saying that the child was not his. He even suggested that I take medication to induce abortion. I refused and I had the child. I realized then how difficult it was going to be with two children. How to work and take care of two children at the same time?*[109]

That her experience was not unique was confirmed by Modesta Assikala who noted, "that while many comrades married during the war, others had sexual relations (and children) but never got married."[110] She went on to note that such things were probably inevitable, given the communal living patterns for militants. Moreover, marriage did not resolve the problems. On the contrary, while many of the male soldiers accepted the fact that women had the right to fight, within the household "our husbands continued to treat us as if they were still petty chiefs. To fetch water, clean the house, prepare dinner and take care of the children were all our tasks. In general they did not do anything and we did not demand that they do anything."[111]

As in the public domain, FRELIMO policies and the self-conscious militancy of the women, began to challenge male hegemony. The explicit denunciation at the Second Party Congress in 1968 of polygamy, brideprice and traditional practices which exploited women and the presence of women soldiers and female officers forced a number of men as well as women to begin to reconsider deeply-held assumptions about sex relations. "It was a jolt to have women instructors at Nachingwea," recalled one militant. "Here were young men learning to be fighters receiving instruction from female officers and we soon learned that they were as tough as nails. And we begrudgingly gave them our respect. My world of male superiority was turned upside down."[112] On the other hand, a female freedom fighter remembered that

"ACTION"

> *It was several years after the war began before things started to change. The armed struggle necessitated that men and women perform the same tasks without distinction, we began to combat brideprice, men began to work in the nurseries and in the kitchens men and women both began to cook. We women also began to be combatants which radically transformed our lives and that of men. In the meetings women as well as men spoke up about the problems and participated in political debates.*[113]

Her account summarises the obstacles women had to overcome and shows the time factor involved in the process of women's emancipation. It also demonstrates that the emancipation had become an important issue of debate within FRELIMO. In short, by the early 1970's the army had become a school in which problems of tribalism, racism and sexism were explicitly addressed, if not completely overcome.

WOMEN IN THE LIBERATED ZONES

These women in the armed struggle, for all the progress they made, represented an insignificant fraction of the total female population. Throughout the first decade of the armed struggle, most women, including those living in the liberated zones, did not experience a profound transformation in sex equality.

To win popular support for the revolutionary struggle the FRELIMO leadership recognized that it had to integrate the peasants into the political process, end exploitative economic practices, improve the quality of their lives, and provide them with a hope and a vision of a new and just society. Because women represented well over half of the population in northern Mozambique, whatever changes resulted from this political agenda necessarily affected them in some form. Thus, the public position of women living in the regions FRELIMO controlled was appreciably better than it had been under colonial capitalism. As in the liberation movement itself, however, working towards women's emancipation was not initially a central feature of the struggle.

Despite FRELIMO's emphasis on political education, integrating the peasants into the political process and institutionalizing the principles of mass participation and popular democracy proved to be difficult, especially with regard to women. Most peasants, intimidated by the colonial regime, were initially reluctant to participate in the weekly public meetings which became the hallmark of FRELIMO efforts to stimulate direct popular decision-making. Women, historically frozen out of the political process, were skeptical of FRELIMO's partici-

"TIME OFF"

patory rhetoric, especially when they were shunted to the side during reuniões and silenced by men who viewed their participation as an unwarranted intrusion.[114] As Marcelino dos Santos noted, "Even now for us the basic problem is not guns; the Portuguese have guns, too, but that does not make a revolution. The problem is man. It is not because you give a Mozambican a rifle that he becomes a revolutionary, the problem is a political one. Political consciousness is the base."[115]

Women were encouraged to express their ideas, but few initially did. Those who garnered up enough courage to do so were either inspired by the presence of armed women cadres or responded to the admonitions from members of the women's detachment to become more actively involved in the struggle.[116]

The elected committees, which ultimately replaced chiefs in the liberated zones, contained a token number of women. These new leaders organized collective production, presided over public meetings, sat as local courts which helped to establish new guidelines of sanctioned behavior, participated in district and provincial assemblies, and helped to organize people's militias. For women the local tribunals were particularly important. These provided equal legal protection for the people living in the liberated zones. Eventually they were also to be composed of lay judges of both sexes charged with the duty to adjudicate and to educate. In many villages these tribunals became a forum, albeit tentative, within which to criticize those traditional practices exploitative of women, and to discuss the need for sex equality.[117]

Popular democracy also required that the tyranny of illiteracy and superstition be destroyed. "We have always attached such great importance to education," noted President Mondlane, "because in the first place, it is essential for the development of our struggle, since the involvement and support of the population increases as their understanding of the situation grows; and in the second place, a future independent Mozambique will be in very great need of educated citizens to lead the way in development."[118] Through experimentation, FRELIMO militants, in conjunction with the local population, created at least an embryonic educational infrastructure in rural areas where few schools had previously existed. Within the liberated zones those who could read and write, however minimally, taught those who could not. It was not uncommon, for example, for children who had the equivalent of a third or fourth grade education to lead kindergarten and first grade classes in the day as well as adult education classes in the evening. As a result, large numbers of children, especially young girls, previously denied access to learning because of their subordination, race, class position and sex discrimination within the household received some formal education.[119]

At all levels the schools along with teaching basic skills helped to instill a new set of values. They attacked the historic myth of female inferiority as well as the colonial myths that negated Mozambican culture and divorced Mozambicans from their own history. In this respect schools became an important instrument for liberating the past and setting in motion the creation of a new cultural identity.

For the liberated zones to be viable it was necessary for FRELIMO to revitalize and restructure agricultural production which, during the colonial period, was largely in the hands of women. The position taken by most members of the FRELIMO Central Committee was that the collectivization of labor was the essential precondition for improving the material conditions of the people in the liberated zones. Furthermore, the establishment of communal villages and other collective projects would have the necessary effect of eliminating the sexual division of labor in production essential to the emancipation of women. This emphasis on the socialization of the countryside alone, however, could not possibly create sex equality since it failed to deal with such basic issues as domestic labor, childrearing and motherhood. And it was precisely here within the household that women's subordination remained so deeply embedded. In addition to new tasks in the collective public domain which many women assumed, they were expected to continue the full range of domestic responsibilities without support from their husbands.

Nor did the collective work experience address the traditional customs such as initiation rites, child marriages and polygamy, which kept women subordinate within the family structure. Despite FRELIMO's efforts, political education did not dent the firmly held beliefs which underpinned male domination. A confidential report noted that, pronouncements denouncing such practices notwithstanding, they were widespread throughout the liberated zones in Tete province. Contemporary accounts indicate that this was the case in the northern zones controlled by the liberation movement as well.[120]

Without a strong and vocal organization, such as the women's detachment, capable of addressing the existing inequalities and demanding emancipation, peasant women remained isolated, lacking a vision of what was possible. Their disconnection both from the armed struggle and from the social transformations which FRELIMO anticipated posed a serious problem for the leadership. The intensification of the war effort required more active involvement of women, and heightening their political consciousness was considered a necessary precondition for the creation of a new society once the colonial state had been dismantled. This is why some members of the male leadership had supported the formation of a women's organization as early as

1966. LIFEMO, which was established shortly thereafter, was comprised largely of exiles in Tanzania and therefore remained disconnected from the liberated zones. Since it never became more than a "paper organization," in 1969 it was abolished by the Central Committee.[121] Three years later the Central Committee, now dominated by radical forces led by President Machel, decided to establish the Organization of Mozambican Women (O.M.M.). It is important to note that unlike the formation of the women's detachment, which to a large measure occurred as a result of the internal struggle of female militants, the O.M.M. was not a spontaneous women's movement. Rather it was created by a decision of the male-dominated leadership in order to mobilize women in the liberated zones to carry out tasks which that leadership deemed important.[122]

In his opening address to the O.M.M. Conference held in March 1973, Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, emphasized the interplay between the total revolutionary process and the liberation of women.

> *The emancipation of women is not an act of charity, the result of a humanitarian or compassionate attitude. The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity for the Revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition for its victory . . . The main objective of the Revolution is to destroy the system of exploitation and build a new society which relates the potential of human beings, reconciling them with labor and nature. This is the context within which the question of women's emancipation arises.*[123]

Drawing heavily on the writings of Engels,[124] Machel laid out FRELIMO's ideological position on the reasons for the subordination of women in the traditional society and the proper form that the struggle against them must take. First, the private ownership of the means of production is the basis for the exploitation of both men and women. Second, women are doubly oppressed because of their special role as biological reproducers of workers. Their subordination to men stems from the need of feudal society to control their productive and procreative functions. Third, the contradiction is not between men and women but between both of them and the exploitative system of private property.[125] Thus, according to Machel, the struggle would have to be against both the system that maintained private property and the ideological and cultural mechanisms that maintained women in subordinate positions and taught them to be content with their subordination.

> *The antagonistic contradiction is not between women and men, but between women and the social order,*

between all exploited people, both women and men, and the social order. The fact that they are exploited explains why they are not involved in all planning and decision-making tasks in society, why they are excluded from working out the concepts which govern economic, social, cultural, and political life, even when their interests are directly affected. This is the main feature of the contradiction; their exclusion from the sphere of decision-making in society. This contradiction can only be solved by revolution, because only revolution destroys the foundations of exploitative society and rebuilds society on new foundations, freeing the initiative of women, integrating them in society as responsible members and involving them in decision-making.[126]

Comparing the systematic denigration of women to the similar mechanisms of colonial racism Machel concluded:

The process of alienation reaches its peak when the exploited person, reduced to total passivity, is no longer capable of imagining that the possibility of liberation exists and in turn becomes a tool for the propagation of the ideology and passivity. It must be recognized that the centuries-old subjugation of women has to a great extent reduced them to a passive state which prevents them from even understanding their condition.[127]

The implication of Machel's analysis is that the struggle for women's emancipation could not be carried out autonomously from the broader struggle to destroy the colonial capitalist system. (Editorial emphasis) The O.M.M., under the direction of FRELIMO, was expected to assume an increasingly major role.

Machel's address was significant for several reasons. It took issue with those in the movement who continued to argue that "the task of women's emancipation is secondary because it will dissipate our forces." It also emphasized once again that the revolution could not advance unless women were incorporated into it. Not only did women represent more than half the population, but they were the educators of future generations. "How can we ensure the revolutionary education of the generation which will carry on our work," Machel asked, "if mothers, the first educators, are marginal to the revolutionary process?"[128]

His identification of "mothers" as "first educators" revealed, however, that the leadership was paying insufficient attention to the sexual division of labor within the household and its role in the subordination of women which was to have

important programmatic implications for the O.M.M.'s and the Party's definition of its mission. Women continued to be viewed as best suited for the domestic sphere, serving other members of the household. Thus, while the leadership utilized classical Marxist principles to locate the source of women's oppression, in rectifying the problem it relied less on an analysis derived from historical materialism than on notions of women's domestic status, which provided a new justification for the existing sexual division of labor.[129]

Shortly after the Congress, efforts were made to organize O.M.M. groups throughout the liberated zone. The documentation is very sketchy for this period, but it appears that the women's organization remained small and fragmented relying heavily on members of the women's detachment to provide its leadership and direction. With the end of the war in 1974 and the establishment of the Transitional Government, the O.M.M. moved its headquarters south to the capital of Lourenço Marques. This was a period of great excitement, and women from the capital were quick to flock into the organization. The result, however, was disastrous. Militants who formed the nucleus of the organization came primarily from northern peasant backgrounds, and they were unfamiliar with urban living. Many also had other full-time jobs within the Defense Department or within FRELIMO, which left them little time for O.M.M. activities. For a variety of reasons, there was a tendency for many of the veteran members of the O.M.M. to drop out,[130] leaving the organization to these new converts, with no experience of participation in the struggle against colonialism and whose political perspective and class position was very different from that of FRELIMO.[131]

CONCLUSION

Despite the limited tangible effects of FRELIMO's transforming ideology on the lives of most women living in the liberated zones, by the time of independence more had to be done to attack women's oppression in Mozambique than probably anywhere else in Africa. For those who actively participated in the armed struggle, their lives were forever changed by the need to confront on a daily basis the contradictions posed by women's oppression. Moreover, by 1974 the rhetoric that women needed to be emancipated was firmly entrenched in the FRELIMO ideology. In independent Mozambique women would not have to fight for the right to participate in public life. Instead, they and men would be faced with the less glamorous, but more important, task of putting these principles into practice in a way that would expand the horizons of all women, not only the few who fought in the revolution. The meaningful participation of women in the process of socialist transformation is one of the principal terrains of the struggle in contemporary Mozambique.

"FINALE"

NOTES

[1]Chibalo is the word for labor which was very common in Mozambique until very late in the colonial period. Maria Maissa, a peasant from Morrumbene District, Inhambane Province, who is now a deputy to the People's Assembly, recounts her experience as a chibalo laborer in "Conversa com Deputados da Assemblia Popular (1)," Tempo, 379 (8 January 1978): 53-54. See also O.M.M. Archive, Report to the II Conference Inhambane Province, 1976; S.L. Young, "Mozambican Women in Transition: Reflections on Colonialism, Aspirations for Independence," paper presented at Conference on the History of women, College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minnesota, 21 October, 1977; Allen and Barbara Isaacman, "Mozambique During the Colonial Period," Tarikh (1979).

[2]Interview with Maria Maissa, peasant from Morrumbene District, Inhambane Province, "Conversa com Deputados da Assemleia Popular (1)," 54; interview with women in communal village 7 de Abril, Guija District, Gaza Province, 6 June 1979; interview with women in communal village Paulo Samuel Kankhombe, 7 June 1979.

[3]Ibid.; O.M.M. Archive, interview with Adelina Panicala, Maputo (manuscript).

[4]In these situations the women were expected to provide food for their husbands. They had to walk long distances with the food to where their husbands were working. This took away from the time she had to spend on food cultivation.

[5]Isaacmans, "Mozambique During the Colonial Period."

[6]Although it was illegal to force someone who was regularly employed to do contract labor, this happened regularly. See, e.g., O.M.M. Archive, interview with Adelina Panicela, Maputo (ms.).

[7]Interview with women in communal village 7 de Abril, Guija District, Gaza Province, 6 June 1979; interview with women in communal village Paulo Samuel Kankhombe, Massingir District, Gaza Province, 7 June 1979; "Os Mitos, As Credices, Os Tabus, as Interdições Religiosas e A verdade da Ciencia," Tempo, 289 (18 April 1976): 20-21.

[8]Young, "Mozambican Women in Transition;" Isaacman, "Mozambique During the Colonial Period."

[9]Interview with women workers at Imala State Farm, Muecate District, Nampula Province, 4 May 1979; interview with members of O.M.M. Secretariat, Guija District, Gaza Province, 6 June

1979.

[10]Isaacman, Tradition of Resistance.

[11]Interview with women in Bairro 19, Beira, Sofala Province, 6 October 1979.

[12]Ibid.; "Nos, Mulheres, Temos o Direito de Combater," Voz da Revolução, 68 (August/September 1979): 28.

[13]O.M.M. Archive, Discussion of Reports to II Conference from Maputo and Gaza Provinces, 1976.

[14]"Mulheres de Ontem Combatentes de Hoje," 48. Many women went to work at Cajuca, a large cashew shelling factory, in order to pay back their lobolo.

[15]See, e.g., "O Partido e a Luta dos Trabalhadores na Caju Industrial," Tempo, 405 (9 July 1978): 15-20, for a description of the life of women workers in the cashew industry. The life of a woman worker is described in "Uma Mulher," Tempo, 401 (June 1978): 26-28.

[16]"Relatorio da Comissão Coordenadora Nacional da Organização da Mulher Mocambicana à II Conferencia da O.M.M.," Documentos da 2° Conferencia, 60-61.

[17]This was especially true in family law.

[18]Diploma Legislativo no. 162, Boletim Official 1929, 22, 1ª, serie (1 June 1929), Regulamento dos Tribunais Privativos. This was modified in certain respects by the Estatuto dos Indigenas Portuguesas das Provincias da Guinea, Angola e Mocambique, Decreto-Lei no. 39.666 (1954).

[19]Isaacmans, "Mozambique During the Colonial Period;" Preamble to Decreto No. 14/75, Boletim da Republica 1975, 34, 1ª serie (11 September 1975).

[20]Código do Trabalho dos Indigenas de 1928, Decreto no. 16.199 de 6 de Dezembro de 1928; Código do Trabalho Rural, Decreto no. 44.309 de 25 de Abril de 1962; Regulamento dos Empregados Domesticos, Diploma Legislativo no. 2702 de 30 de Maio de 1966.

[21]The Rural Labor Code did not only apply to rural labor, but rather regulated the lives of all those who were not members of the Portuguese national trade unions, i.e., those who were neither Europeans nor assimilated Africans. This change of terminology from "native" to "rural" was an attempt by the Portuguese colonial regime to blunt international criticism of

the regime's brutal, racist policy of labor exploitation.

[22]Código do Trabalho Rural, art. 69.

[23]For this reason, at the time of independence it was necessary for the government to equalize salaries. This process has still not been completed. The Ministry of Labor could only guarantee that there was no salary discrimination in the Province of Maputo. Meeting with members of the Ministry of Labor, Maputo, 21 March 1979.

[24]See Cota, Projecto Definitivo, 47-54; O.M.M. Archive, Report to the II Conference, Nampula Province, 1976.

[25]See, for example, Entrevista com Momade Bin Momade Aly, Ex-Conservador do Registo, Pemba, 23 July 1979, AJU/79, Reports of Brigade no. 3, Cabo Delgado, Faculty of Law, University Eduardo Mondlane.

[26]As the national religion, Catholicism, received special treatment by the colonial regime and was given control over the entire African educational system; nevertheless it won over fewer converts than the Protestant missions. In any case, at the time of independence most Mozambicans had not adopted any of the alien faiths.

[27]Mozambique Revolution, 43 (April-May 1968): 4.

[28]Quoted in Mondlane, The Struggle, 118.

[29]See Ronald H. Chilcote, ed., Emerging Nationalism in Portuguese Africa (Stanford 1972), 429-432; Mondlane, The Struggle, 119-122.

[30]Interview with Esperança Muthemba in Maputo, 17 October 1979.

[31]Editoria, "25th of June, The Starting Point," Mozambique Revolution, 51 (1972): i.

[32]João Reis and Armando Pedro Muiuane, eds., Datas e Documentos da Historia de FRELIMO.

[33]Quoted in Barbara Cornwell, Bush Rebels (London, 1973), 56-57.

[34]Interview with Marcelina Joaquim at the Base Central, Mueda, 25 April 1979.

[35]Interview with Juliana Lias at the Base Central, Mueda, 25 April 1979; interview with Hirondina Tonias at the Base

Central, Mueda, 25 April 1979.

[36]Interview with Juliana Lias.

[37]Interview with Rosa Chipanda in Pemba, 22 April 1979.

[38]Interview with Juliana Lias.

[39]Interview with Hirondina Tonias.

[40]Quoted in Michele Manceaux, Mulheres de Moçambique (Lisbon, 1976), 86.

[41]Quoted in Liberation Support Movement (L.S.M.), Mozambican Women in the Revolution (Oakland, 1977), 10-11.

[42]For a discussion of these reformist organizations, see Allen and Barbara Isaacman, Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982 (Boulder, 1983), Chapter 4.

[43]Interview with Rugina Muthemba in Maputo, 10 October 1979.

[44]PIDE was the acronym for the feared Portuguese secret police. For a history of PIDE see Alexandre Manuel, Rogerio Carapinha and Dias Neves, eds., PIDE, A História da Repressão (Lisbon, 1974).

[45]Interview with Adelina Madzonga in Maputo, 12 October 1979.

[46]Interview with Esperança Muthemba.

[47]Quoted in Mondlane, The Struggle, 114.

[48]Interview with Leonora Sechava in Maputo, 9 November 1979.

[49]Interview with Rugina Muthemba in Maputo, 10 October 1979.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Interview with Leonora Sechava.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Interview with Virginia Mathanda in Maputo, 16 October 1979.

[54]Interview with Esperança Muthemba.

[55]Ibid.

[56] Quoted in Mondlane, The Struggle, 114.

[57] Interview with Maria Muthanda in Maputo, 22 September 1979.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.; interview with Adelina Madzonga.

[60] FRELIMO, 7th April 1972, 1st Anniversary of the Death of Comrade Josina Machel, Mozambican Woman Fighter (n.d.), 2.

[61] Interview with Virginia Tembe in Maputo, 7 July 1978.

[62] Interview with Rufina Muthemba.

[63] Ibid.; interview with Virginia Tembe; interview with Virginia Muthanda; interview with Leonora Sechava.

[64] Interview with Leonora Sechava.

[65] Ibid.; interview with Virginia Muthanda.

[66] Among those arrested were a number of prominent writers including Luis Bernardo Honwana and Jose Craveirinha (Mondlane, The Struggle, 112).

[67] See, for example, Cornwall, Bush Rebels, 19-118.

[68] Interview with Joachina Feliz Tobias in Pemba, 21 April 1979.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Quoted in Manceaux, As Mulheres, 69-70.

[71] Cornwall, Bush Rebels, 50.

[72] Quoted in ibid.

[73] Quoted in Manceaux, As Mulheres, 120-121.

[74] Cornwall, Bush Rebels, 22-23.

[75] Ibid., 65.

[76] Manceaux, As Mulheres, 73.

[77] Mondlane, The Struggle, 149.

[78] Manceaux, As Mulheres, 73.

[79]Mozambique Revolution, 21 (September 1965): 7.

[80]Quoted in L.S.M., Mozambican Women in the Revolution, 10-11.

[81]Quoted in Manceaux, As Mulheres, 73.

[82]Mozambique Revolution, 27 (October-December 1966): 3-5. (For contending interpretations on the split within the leadership, see Isaacmans, Mozambique, Chapter 5, and Thomas Henriksen, Revolution and Counterrevolution: Mozambique's War of Independence, 1964-1974 (Westport, 1983).

[83]Ibid.

[84]Mozambique Revolution, 25 (June-July 1966): 5.

[85]Ibid.

[86]Mozambique Revolution, 41 (October-September 1969): 24.

[87]Interview with Joachina Feliz Tobias.

[88]Quoted in Mondlane, The Struggle, 149.

[89]Interview with Joachina Feliz Tobias.

[90]Quoted in Cornwall, Bush Rebels, 51-52.

[91]Interview with Joachina Feliz Tobias.

[92]Mozambique Revolution, 41:24.

[93]Ibid., 24-27.

[94]Ibid., 24.

[95]Quoted in L.S.M., Mozambican Women in the Revolution, 10.

[96]Arquivo de O.M.M., Commissão Coordenador Provincial de O.M.M., "Relatório da O.M.M. da Provincia de Tete a II Conferencia Nacional de Organização de Mulher Moçambicana."

[97]Quoted in Manceaux, As Mulheres, 88-89.

[98]Ibid., 73.

[99]Interview with Hortensia in Pemba, 21 April 1979.

[100]Quoted in Manceaux, As Mulheres, 118-119.

[101]Panaf, Eduardo Mondlane (London, 1972), 86.

[102]Mozambique Revolution, 41:26.

[103]Arquivo de O.M.M., Commissão Coordenador Provincial de O.M.M., "Relatório da O.M.M. da Provincia de Tete a II Conferencia Nacional de Organização de Mulher Moçambicana."

[104]Mozambique Revolution, 41:72.

[105]Manceaux, As Mulheres, 72.

[106]Interview with Marcelina Joaquim.

[107]Panaf, Mondlane, 87.

[108]Ibid.

[109]Quoted in History Workshop, African Studies Center, "Toward a History of the National Liberation Struggle in Mozambique: Problematiques, Methodologies and Analyses," 9.

[110]Quoted in Manceaux, As Mulheres, 69-70.

[111]Tempo, 361 (9 April 1977): 41.

[112]Interview with Luis Bernardo Honwana in Maputo, 6 May 1983.

[113]Tempo, 361:41.

[114]See, for example, Mozambique Revolution, 27.

[115]Marcelino dos Santos, "FRELIMO Faces the Future," African Communist, 55 (1973): 28.

[116]Interview with Joachina Feliz Tobias; interview with Marcelina Joaquim; interview with Rosa Chipanda.

[117]Group interview at M'sawise, 27 August 1977; Barbara and Allen Isaacman, "A Socialist Legal System in the Making: Mozambique Before and After Independence," in Richard Abel, ed., The Politics of Informal Justice (New York, 1982), 297-299.

[118]Mondlane, The Struggle, 175.

[119]Interview with Benedito Domingos António Boise in Maputo, 28 August 1977; interview with Maria Teresa Veloso in Maputo, 24 August 1977. By 1966 more than 10,000 students attended FRELIMO primary schools in the liberated zones and by 1970 the number had tripled (Noticias, 9 February 1979; inter-

view with Benedito Domingos Antonio Boise).

[120]Arquivo de O.M.M., Commissão Coordenador Provincial de O.M.M., "Relatório da O.M.M. da Provincia de Tete a II Conferencia Nacional da Organização de Mulher Moçambicana;" see also Tempo, 381 (11 July 1976): 54-56.

[121]Arquivo de O.M.M., Commissão Coordenador Provincial de O.M.M., "Relatório da O.M.M. da Provincia de Tete a II Conferencia Nacional da Organização de Mulher Moçambicana."

[122]"Relatório da Commissao Coordenador Nacional da Organizacao da Mulher Moçambicana a II Conferencia da O.M.M.," Documentos da 2ª Conferência, 36-38.

[123]Samora Machel, A Nossa Luta (Dar es-Salaam, 1974), 5.

[124]For Engels' analysis of the relations between private property and the oppression of women see Frederick Engels, The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State (New York, 1972). Engels' thesis is contested by many feminist scholars, both Marxist and non-Marxist. See, for example, Lyedia Sargent, ed., Women and Revolution (Boston, 1981), and Zillah Eisenstein, ed., Capitalist Patriarch and the Case for Socialist Feminism (New York, 1979).

[125]See Machel, A Nossa Luta, 3-9.

[126]Ibid., 10.

[127]Ibid. This point is made very forcefully in Sonia Kruks, "Mozambique: Some Reflections on the Struggle for Women's Emancipation" (unpublished paper).

[128]Ibid., 13. For a critique of this position, see ibid., 9-12, and Bie Nio Ons and Kersten Ensland, "Zimbabwe: Women, Nationalism, and Revolution," RAPE (forthcoming).

[129]Ibid.

[130]Barbara Isaacman and June Stephen, Mozambique: Women, The Law and Agrarian Reform (Addis Ababa, 1980), 17.

[131]Ibid.