



UNIVERSIDADE
E D U A R D O
MONDLANE



Instituto de Investigação Sócio-Cultural

International Symposium

Biographies and Liberation: Life Writing in

Transversal Perspectives

October 31-November 3, 2022

ARPAC, MAPUTO

Synopsis

This four-day international symposium, hosted by ARPAC in Maputo (Mozambique), will bring scholars from various corners of the globe to discuss and reflect on the biographies and political trajectories of liberation fighters and political thinkers from the Global South. The originality of this academic gathering rests particularly on the desire to bring to the surface not only those figures considered as belonging to the pantheon of African and Asian political thought (i.e, Ghandi, Nyerere, Mondlane or Cabral), but also to challenge various dominant official historical scripts by rescuing back those figures considered as the “villains” and historical outcasts (i.e Nkavandame, Mugabe or Savimbi).

Coordinators:

- Ute Fendler, Romance studies, full professor, University of Bayreuth
- Livio Sansone, Anthropology, full professor, Federal University of Bahia
- Elisio Jossias, Anthropology, vice-director, Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Eduardo Mondlane University
- Carlos Fernandes, Sociology, Centre of African Studies, Eduardo Mandlane University
- Enocent Msindo, History, full professor, Rhodes University
- Peter Simatei, Literature, full professor, Moi University

List of participants

1. Peter Simatei (Moi) English literature
2. Enocent Msindo (Rhodes) political sciences
3. Patricia Godinho Gomes (UFBA) history
4. Antonio Tomas (University of Johannesburg) sociology
5. Paolo Israel (UWC) anthropology
6. Ciraj Rassool (UWC) history
7. Patricia Hayes (UWC) history – Visual culture
8. Colin Darch (UCT) history and library sciences
9. Fabio Baqueiro (UFBA) history
10. Issa Shivji (University of Dar es Salam) law studies and history
11. Cheikh Thiam (Umass at Amherst) sociology
12. Subhadra Channa (University of Delhi), anthropology
13. Valdemir Zamparoni (UFBA) history
14. Ute Fendler (UBT) Romance literatures and cultural studies
15. Livio Sansone (UFBA) anthropology
16. Jocelyin Alexander (Oxford University) history.

List of Mozambican participants:

1. José Luís Cabaço (Universidade Tecnica de Mocambique) anthropology ,
2. Clinarete Munguambe (Oxford University) development studies , 3. Elísio Macamo, (University of Basel) sociology ,
4. Isabel Casimiro, (Codesria) gender studies
5. Tereza Cruz e Silva, (UEM) history
6. Yussuf Adam, (UEM) history
7. Simao Jaime (AHM) ethnic and African studies
8. Carlos Fernandes (CEA, UEM), sociology
9. Severino Ngoenha (UP & UTM), philosophy).

Theme of the Symposium

Our proposal encompasses three Research Sections (A&A, Knowledges; Moralities) and proposes the creation of a new field: South-South Knowledge Production, by bringing together in an international symposium 25 scholars (10 from Mozambique) to be held at the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane on October 31-November 3, 2022. Over the last few years Africa has been experiencing a (auto) biographical wave. In many ways this has to do with the celebration of independence and liberation. Our symposium aims at scrutinizing this process in thus far new and innovating fashion, which elicits a number of aspects that need highlighting: the gender question, the uses of literacies, the visual culture of independence and the several entanglements that have been so far mostly silenced (between the local and the global, highbrow and popular culture, cosmopolitanism and the politics of ethnicity and race, the South-South connections).

In order to attain our goal to change the approach, the members of the project face the challenge to not only bring in their respective expertise on a region or on historical protagonists but to develop a comparative approach. There will be a methodological and a thematic line. Shifting the focus towards the entangling aspects, we have to connect two or more elements/histories, to bring forth the interconnectedness (as suggested by Mbembe's emphasis on the "planetary" and Glissant's on "tout monde") and explore new paths in both trans-African and South-South comparative methodologies by developing a perspective that is both diachronic and synchronic. Therefore, we need to create a dialogue between different regional perspectives, and various disciplines, such as the study of biographies, history, revolutionary spaces/places, artistic approaches to historical data in documentaries, films, songs, etc. Such emphasis on interconnectedness will question the dominant body of national and patriotic historiography when confronted with a theoretical and methodological framework that reveals the multilayered character of the biographies of liberation. We stress the relevance of relating those connected histories across not only geographical, but also linguistic boundaries such as those between the languages of the formal colonial powers. By this approach, the outcome will be a map of a (fresh) set of Global South trajectories, networks and circuits that characterized the struggle for independence (Lentz & Lowe eds. 2018; Furtado & Sansoneeds. 2020).

The symposium will be streamlined according to three areas:

Gender and Intersectionality: Why the visibility of these female protagonists are mostly visible through documentaries, films and songs, before historical interest is stirred? How have gender and masculinity been represented or left out in the biographies of the fathers of the nations and how have these questions become part of the more recent biographical turn? In general terms, women have been unrepresented in the African historiography (Zezeza, 2005). Most of the narratives have described them as subordinated and eternal "victims" of male oppression. African nationalist historiography has presented a romanticized view of women and gender roles. In most texts women's historical experiences are described under the veil of timelessness, in which they are reduced to "trans-historical" subjects, outside the dynamics of historical development. On the other hand, intersectionality as a research method has been taken up in empirical studies with relevant methodological implications to rewrite women's history and stories, because it locates the subject with the relational logic of the power structure. It does so through emphasizing at the same time the role of the oppressed and the oppressor. In this respect the intersectional approach scrutinizes the various forms of oppression to which women were subjected in the context of the struggle for independence.

Heritage: What are the processes by which these biographies are constructed (deconstructed) into national heritage? What kind of tensions does it highlight? This can be done in several ways: “reading” monuments such as statues and memorials, scrutinizing older and more recent published biographies and the growing number of autobiographies, interviewing diverse freedom fighters as well as their opponent (as it takes place in a growing number of documentaries, such as the long RTP TV series *A Guerra*), interviewing people in the surrounding of a museum (such as the Open Air Mondlane Museum, in his place of birth, Mandjacaze) and organizing focal group with different generations to recollect and comment collectively – using photos, music, newspapers, police reports and audiovisual material to stir up memories. In our research the whole gamut will be attempted.

Aesthetics: It is of interest to link multiple aspects of how materialities and symbols have been mobilized in the production of collective memories, memorials, museums and official commemorations. They have also been mobilized through visual culture, movies and music lyrics for the moulding and transmission of history. Therefore, the iconic aesthetics and the expressive styles as well as the use of national or local cultures and languages have to be taken into account in order to bring forth theoretical genealogies, political practices, building visions of the future and the past. The reconstruction of biographies, especially the highly complex and often contradictory ones, around which co-exist diverse and even opposing narratives, depend on and forge at the same time aesthetics and politics. Based on exemplary studies, the interaction of political acting in these biographies with storytelling, popular culture and art, symbols and fashion will be analyzed and discussed. The symbols created after independence, picked up in early documentaries and films (Kuxa Kanema, etc.) reappear in fiction films (Licínio Azevedo e.g.) and in fashion and merchandise of the party and for tourism. This flow allows to scrutinize the iconic value and the transfer through space and time and their meaning in present days.

Format, Program, and Expected Outcome

Each participant will focus on one biography or trajectory. In each session there will be a discussant from a different discipline, so as to increase our interdisciplinarity. Most of the symposium will be in sessions open to the general public, mostly consisting of graduate students, that will, if technically possible, also be offered online, in streaming. One or more sessions could be organized as “webinars” – with scholars (e. g. biographers of a specific leader) from various locations who cannot attend in person. In organizing this, we hope to be able to get the assistance and guidance of the Digital Research Environment of the Cluster Africa Multiple, Bayreuth University. The working language of the symposium will be English, with consecutive translation in Portuguese. A selected number of films related to the topic Biographies and Liberation will be screened, followed by debate – whenever possible, with the author.

The results and outcome of the symposium will be made available on a digital platform as well as in monographs, a collective book and a number of academic papers.

PROGRAM

Monday, 31.10.2022

Arrival of participants

14-15h: Enrolment

15h-15.40: official opening: Organizers and Partners

15.45-16.45: key note speech by Issa Shivji: Interrogating history through biography: critical reflections on writing Nyerere's biography

17-18:30: film screening and discussion Zdravko Velimirovic: O tempo dos leopardos (Yugoslavia/Mozambique, 1985) (with: Camilo de Sousa, Licínio Azevedo)

Tuesday, 1.11.22

8.30-12.30 Panel A. The gender of independence

Patricia Gomes: From the inside out: nation building from Women's biographies in Guinea-Bissau

Isabel Casimiro: Memories from the margins: women, biographies and armed struggle in Mozambique.

Jocelyn Alexander: Learning and teaching in a ZPRA soldier's life story: Memory, maturity and masculinity.

12h30-14h break

14h-17 Panel B. The forerunners: Kenyatta, Senghor & Ghandi

Peter Simatei: Autobiography, and the Quest for Nationhood in Kenya Subhadra

Channa: Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi: Spiritual Guru or Political Leader?

Cheick Thiam: Beyond Coloniality: Senghor's Sereer experience and the idea of Negritude.

17h00-18h30 Film screening and discussion:

Amil Shivji: *Tug of war '93*, Tanzania, 2021

Wednesday, 2.11.22

8h30-12.30h Panel C: Liberation – Other voices

Paulo Israel: "Surrender! Don't surrender!" The life of Lázaro Nkavandame at the crossfire of repressive archives

Enocent Msindo: Factionalism and Robert Mugabe's Leadership Antonio Tomas:

Body of the Nation: life, death and the afterlife of Jonas Savimbi

Clinarete Munguambe: Memoirs of Veterans and the process of writing a military history

12.30h-14h Break

14h00-16h00 Panel D. Visual culture and independence

Patricia Hayes: Zenzo Nkobi, ZAPU photographer: exile, visibility and the anteroom of war in Zambia, 1977-80

Ute Fendler: Sankara's trajectories

16h00-18h00 Panel E.

Sources and Archives

Colin Darch: Life Writing, the “Liberation Script”, and Contemporary Mozambican Historiography: an Overview

Carlos Fernandes and Simao Jaime: Dusty voices: orality, restitution and sound archives of Cabo Delgado

18h00-19h00 film screening and discussion, Catarina Simão, *Effects of Wording*, 29th, Portugal 2014.

Thursday, 3.11.22

8h30-11h15 Panel F. Independence and power

Fabio Baqueiro: The leaders and the led: a gendered approach to biography, prosopography, and social history of independence in Angola

Ciraj Rassool: Biography and the post-apartheid heritage complex in South Africa

Yussuf Adam: Memories, biographies and ego-history in Northern Mozambique.

11h15-13.00h Panel G. Cosmopolitan nationalism: networks, exchanges, circuits

Livio Sansone: Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane: nationalism, cosmopolitanism and the social sciences

Valdemir Zamparoni: “Assimilated”: Journalism, militancy and Mozambicanity, a trajectory.

13.00h-14h30 Break

14h30-17.30h Panel H. The struggle for memory and heritage (in Mozambique) Jose Cabaço: Utopia and deviations

Severino Ngoenha: Mondlane’s philosophies

Elisio Macamo: Tragic biographies – how heroes become villains

Teresa Cruz e Silva: Heroes, Memories and Narratives: In the History of the Armed Struggle for National Liberation in Mozambique

17.30h-18.30h Final Roundtable

18.30h Book launch: Issa Shivji, Saida Yahya-Othman & Ngwanza Kamata (2020)

Development as Rebellion: A Biography of Julius Nyerere, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 3 vols.

Friday, departure

Abstracts

Issa Shivji

Keynote Speech

Interrogating history through biography: critical reflections on writing Nyerere's biography

Through a discursive narrative of writing Julius Nyerere's biography, I will explore some theoretical, methodological and political challenges we faced and the insights we gained in the process of doing this Work. Nyerere was the prime leader of the independence movement, the post-colonial head of state of first Tanganyika and then Tanzania (when Tanganyika and Zanzibar united on his watch and under his leadership) for the next quarter of a century and then the revered „father of the nation“ for the next decade and a half. Nyerere was also an unwavering advocate, supporter and guide of the southern African liberation movements; one of the respected leaders of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU); an inspirational force behind the non-aligned movement and a principled supporter of oppressed peoples and nations of the world. In all these roles, Nyerere had to steer his country through the „cold war“ and super-power rivalry while at the same time build nationhood at home guided by his home-grown socialist ideology of Ujamaa. Right from the outset, we had decided that we will tell the man's story in the context of his country's history using the method of historical materialism. Through critically reflecting on the process, I intend to highlight the challenges we faced and the insights we gained as we went through several iterations of the project. One of the least, and what on first sight looks like a mundane concern, was the fact that there were three authors coming from different intellectual traditions attempting to write a biography of a subject they admired but consciously did not want their writing to become another hagiography. Another was how to tell the story of a revered man without treading on the toes of his followers. The third, not necessarily the least challenging, was how to synchronise and harmonise the theoretical underpinning of the three authors to ensure certain amount of consistency. In raising these issues I hope to make a contribution to the theme of the symposium.

Bio:

Issa G. Shivji is Professor Emeritus at the University of Dar Es Salaam where he taught Public Law for 36 years before retiring in 2006. Prof Shivji was the first and founding professor of Mwalimu Nyerere Professorial Chair in Pan-African Studies, 2008-2013. He was the founding Director of Nyerere Resource Centre, 2013-2019 established at the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). He has been a Visiting Professor to a number of Universities in the Global South. Currently he is Honorary Visiting Professor to the National Law School University of New Delhi, India. Professor Shivji has published over a dozen books, some 100 journal articles and contributed numerous chapters to edited books on varied developmental and human rights topics. He is a recipient of two Honorary Doctorates and several national and international awards. Professor Shivji's latest publication, co-authored with two other colleagues, is a three-volume biography of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere called Development as Rebellion: A biography of Julius Kambarage Nyerere.

[Issa Shivji, Saida Yahya-Othman & Ng'wanza Kamata (2020) Development as Rebellion: A Biography of Julius Nyerere, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 3 vols: total about 1200 pp]

Colin Darch

Life Writing, the “Liberation Script”, and Contemporary Mozambican Historiography: an Overview

The purpose of the paper is first of all to present an overview of the major categories of life writing within Mozambican historiography, focussing mainly but not exclusively on memoirs and depoimentos by participants in the armed struggle for national liberation. The paper will in addition examine the extent to which what might be termed a prosopographical approach to this corpus is possible or useful, and the degree to which the authors’ personal stories are determined by contemporary political metanarratives.

Bio:

Colin Darch is a South African documentalist and historian. He has a PhD in social and economic analysis from the University of Bradford. He is now retired and presently holds honorary research positions at the University of Cape Town in South Africa, the Human Sciences Research Council, and the Federal University of Pernambuco in Brazil. Since the 1970s he has worked in universities and research institutions in Ethiopia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Brazil and South Africa, writing mainly on Mozambican topics and on the political economy of information. His most recent publications are a collection of texts by Aquino de Bragança, translated into English and co-edited with Marco Mondaini, and A dictionary of Mozambican history and society, co-edited with Amélia Neves de Souto (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2022). A collection of texts entitled Pan-Africanismo e as Perspectivas para a Unidade Africana na década de 1960 is to be published by UFPE in Recife in 2022, co-edited with David Hedges.

Patricia Hayes

Zenzo Nkobi, ZAPU photographer: exile, visibility and the anteroom of war in Zambia, 1977-80

Zenzo Nkobi acted as official photographer from 1977 for Joshua Nkomo, President of the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) based in Zambia since 1963. This paper considers the nationalist project and how modes of documenting presidentialism, Panafrikan and socialist solidarity in newly-independent African states from the 1960s might have shaped Nkobi’s influences. Nkobi’s archive constitutes the photographic heritage of a liberation movement marginalized since Independence in 1980.

Bio:

Patricia Hayes is DSI/NRF SARChI Chair in Visual History & Theory at the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. Her work is in African history, with emphasis on colonial and anti-colonial photographic archives in southern Africa. She is co-editor of *Ambivalent. Photography and Visibility in African History* (2019) and *Love & Revolution in the Colonial and Postcolonial World: Perspectives from South Asia and Southern Africa* (2021), as well as the special issue on „Other Lives of the Image“ of the journal *Kronos* (Vol 46, 2020).

Cheick Thiam

Beyond Coloniality: Senghor's Sereer experience and the Idea of Negritude

In this paper, I argue that the pervasiveness of the modern paradigm and its corollary, the colonial matrix of power, have led the history of the scholarship on Negritude to think of Senghor's work either as an anti-thesis to the antiblackness constitutive of European modernity or as another manifestation of the West as the subject of history. I consequently revisit Senghor's childhood in Joal and Djilor and read his theory of Negritude through the prism of Sereer traditionalists, poets, and religious scholars without the filter of the West as the subject of history. The decolonial perspective that I adopt does not only reiterate the necessity of an Africa-centered reading of Senghor's life and philosophy, it also sets the foundation for a new relation to the discipline of Africana studies. I postulate that since Negritude is one of the founding movements in Africana studies, reading it in light of Senghor's experience in Joal and Djiloor will necessarily have a repercussion on the ways we think of post-Negritude Africana scholarship beyond the colonial linguistic divides. I explore, in this light, the ways a decolonial understanding of Negritude can clarify, nuance, or even expand pivotal interventions in the discipline of Africana studies that have developed in contradistinction to Negritude with a focus on Paul Gilroy's theory of the Black Atlantic.

Bio:

Cheick Thiam holds a doctorate in comparative literature from Binghamton University (S.U.N.Y.), was tenured professor at the Department of African Studies of Ohio State University, Academic Dean of the School for International Training in Dakar and at present is the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. He is the author of, among others, *Return to the Kingdom of Childhood: Re-envisioning the Legacy and Philosophical Relevance of Negritude*, The Ohio State University Press, 2014, and editor of the special issue entitled *Negritude Reloaded*, in the *Journal on African Philosophy*, Summer 2015.

Valdemir Zamparoni

“Assimilated”: Journalism, militancy and Mozambicanity, a trajectory.

During the anti-colonial armed struggle, Frelimo formulated its conception of which social segments it could count on to implement its project. The narrative of the natural worker-peasant alliance prevailing in the times of the Cold War made it easy to identify natural allies and enemies. But this was a simplistic separation from a historically complex social reality. In the sociocultural reality of colonial Mozambique, the small black or mixed-race subaltern officials of the administration were subjected to the legal status of *assimilados*. Under Frelimo the term came to have a pejorative meaning and the assimilated, as a category, were seen as collaborators of colonialism, however the liberation movement had in its ranks and governing bodies people whose personal and family trajectory was linked to the “assimilated” and their socio-political organizations of the past, such as the *Grêmio Africano de Lourenço Marques*, whose leading figure was João Albasini. After independence, studies gradually emerged that showed how much the members of this social category were involved in the denunciation of violent colonial practices and in the struggle to defend the interests of the immense majority of the population subjected to the category of “indigenous” and in the emergence of a conscience of Mozambicanity. The communication intends to trace the trajectory of some of these militants, especially João Albasini, and to see if Frelimo changed its narrative in the face of evidence.

Bio:

PhD in Social History from USP, Zamparoni works in the Multidisciplinary Graduate Program in Ethnic and African Studies, at the Center for Afro-Oriental Studies, Federal University of Bahia, where he supervises dissertations and theses. He has been visiting professor in the Master in History of Africa and Angola at Universidade Agostinho Neto and the Doctoral Program in History of Contemporary Africa at the Pedagogical University (Mozambique). He teaches and advises graduate students in Brazil, Angola and Mozambique. He has experience in the area of History, Anthropology, Theory and Methodology of Research, with an emphasis on African Studies, working mainly on the following topics: Angola, Mozambique, colonialism, racism, gender, ideology, biomedicine and healing practices.

Subhadra Mitra Channa**Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi: Spiritual Guru or Political Leader?**

Gandhi is venerated by Indians not just as the Father of the nation but also as a saint, a sage. How necessary was it for Gandhi to have had the image of a renouncer, a sage? Would it have been possible for him to lead millions of Indians who always owe maximum allegiance to a spiritual guru than to political figures, no matter how charismatic. Spirituality demands submission, it is beyond the level of rationality. The way Gandhi could persuade millions of people to follow him as in his Dandi March (The Salt Satyagraha) and also persuade them to rise to impossible heights like not retaliating with violence when beaten or hit by sticks. For the Indian masses it was not possible to relate only to speeches by political leaders. The Indian people, over centuries and by tradition had accepted the rulers (any ruler) only according to their deeds and given them divine or near divine status. Since India was a fragmented agglomeration of feudal states, the concept of a nation, as projected during the Freedom Struggle was relatively unknown to most. In the earliest years of the struggle for freedom, allegiance for the struggle was made possible by casting the nation in the image of a Goddess. This image of Bharat Mata (the original of which is in Victoria Memorial Museum in Calcutta) along with the salutation Vande Mataram (Salute to the Mother); the mother symbolising the nation as a goddess was the key symbol used during the entire period to free the chains of colonization and is still the most powerful image to arouse patriotic feelings in all Indians.

As is understood, the nation is a constructed entity and for millions of Indians internally divided by caste, religion, language and ethnicity; unification was only possible under a sacred Key Symbol. There was no better way to mobilise the masses than by a person who cast himself in the image of a saint. Gandhi was first and foremost a spiritual leader, an upholder of moral values. Even today, when Indians speak about Gandhism, it is to talk about moral values and a specific way of life. Gandhi is symbolic of not just a political struggle but of the establishment of an entire mode of non-violent protest, possibly never seen before in history. Even today many highly successful protests and mass participation of civic society is made possible only through the Gandhian methods, the latest of which was staged by a community of Muslim women in Delhi, against the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA).

Therefore, the conjunction of the nation resurrected as a Mother Goddess and the Father of the nation as an ascetic, a spiritual leader, A Mahatma, was a necessity that perhaps motivated Gandhi to take on the role of the Naked Fakir, as he was known. Gandhi therefore needs to be understood against the back drop of the Indian ethos as well as the social and geo-political realities of the sub-continent. A region marked by its immense diversity, could

only be pulled together by a supra-human imagery and we can refer to the work of Clifford Geertz and Emile Durkheim to realize the immensely motivating power of the sacred.

The cult of Mother-Goddess worship in India, was useful in deifying Mrs. Indira Gandhi, a middle-aged widow, at the time she assumed power. She was referred to as Amma or Mother by a large number of her followers and although not at all ascetic in nature, had the aura of asceticism by virtue of her widowhood. Even in the present day, most powerful female leaders have at least an overt association with asceticism by being either widows or being unmarried; Ms. Sonia Gandhi, Ms Jayalalitha, Ms. Mayawati and Ms. Mamata Bannerjee for example.

It is very important to understand that in India, the political and moral universes intersect and the highest power is spiritual power, at least conceptually although only in rare cases, actual.

Bio:

Retired as Professor at the Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi in 2017. Research Interests: Identities: embodied and gendered, Religion and Cosmology, Environmental issues, Landscapes including sacred and urban ones and various aspects of Marginalization. Received many Fellowships and Awards: Charles Wallace Visiting Fellowship in Anthropology for three months to Queens' University, U.K from February – May, 2000; Fulbright Lecturer to U.S.A. for one teaching semester, August –December, 2003. Taught one semester of Women's Studies and also Anthropological Theory at Auburn University, Alabama; Visiting Professor to Maison D'Sciences De L'Homme, Paris for one month at the invitation of the French Government from March- April, 2004; Visiting Scholar to Kyoto University for presenting paper at symposium, " Is Race an Universal Idea?" at the invitation of the Japanese government; Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence (Visiting Professor) to University of South Carolina, U.S.A from 15th Aug, 2008 to 15th May 20; Visiting Scholar to the University of Kentucky, Lexington, U.S.A from August –November, 2012; Nominated Fellow of the Society for Applied Anthropology, U.S.A; President of the Indian Anthropological Association from 1997-2000; Awarded the Sarat Chandra Roy Gold Medal for life time contribution to Cultural Anthropology by the Asiatic Society. Served as Senior Visiting Professor at the Centre for African and Oriental Studies, Federal University of Bahia, Brazil (2-16th Sept, 2019) and also participated in the Factory of Ideas project. Was awarded the Distinguished Teacher Award by the University of Delhi, for being judged as the best serving teacher of the university in 2016. Co-Chair of the Commission on the Anthropology of Women of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), an International body of anthropologists from 2003 -2008. Was elected Chair of this body in the Congress in Kunming, China in 2009 and continued till 2013. Elected Vice-President of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) in July 2013 and now serving as the Senior Vice President, IUAES chair of the Commission on Marginalization and Global Apartheid. Publications include, Gender in South Asia (Cambridge University Press) Life as a Dalit (ed.) with Joan P Mencher (Sage Publications), The Inner and Outer Selves: A Study of Gender, Cosmology and Ecology on the Himalayan Borders(Oxford University Press) and Gender, Livelihood and Environment(ed.) along with Marilyn Porter (Orient Blackswan), Anthropological Perspectives on Indian Tribes (Orient Blackswan) and more than eighty scholarly papers. channa.subhadra@gmail.com and csubhadra@hotmail.com

Fábio Baqueiro Figueiredo

The leaders and the led: a gendered approach to biography, prosopography, and social history of independence in Angola

In Angola, remembering the road to independence and its aftermaths is marked by social and political tensions reflected in heated debates over who should be awarded the role of heroes and who should be despised as traitors, as different regional environments produced rival anti-colonial organizations, and as continuous in-fight split the nationalist milieu over divergent allegiances. Even within the “winners”, a host of participants have struggled to settle the narrative regarding their own role and its significance. Some of them are universally recognized as first-rate characters, though the moral evaluation of the roles each played varies widely. There are many who are perceived of as more modest yet important leaders, while others have received disparate assessments – the hierarchy of leading characters is complex, and far from consensual. Official accounts pushed along public schools and mass media, published memories and testimonies, investigative journalism, collective books celebrating passed-away nationalists, libels denouncing the misdeeds of sacred cows – all were entangled in, and contributed to, moral assessments of individual leaders, be they heroes or villains in any given rendering of the recent past, mytographically framed between the epic and the tragic.

The making of professional history, by Angolans and foreigners alike, has been deeply constrained by these moral concerns and by the ongoing struggles to control public history, in a local context of restricted access to written and oral sources, and of a low level of institutionalization of research as well as archives. The first attempts to write comprehensive appraisals of the processes around independence had to deal with a forest of conflicting accounts, plain falsifications turned dogma, and oppressive taboos, in such an extent that they were very much grounded to the basic tasks of establishing factual sequences – with the corresponding impairment of interpretative density. Focused on the history of the prevailing nationalist organization, these authors tried to balance a biographical stance that proved inevitable with the regard for more collective actors, sliding into prosopography in a bid to construct more significant understandings. More recent contributions have sought to move into a more social history, sometimes taking as its starting point a prosopography of, say, musicians, intellectuals, aid workers, middle cadres, or female guerrilla fighters. The place of women, in particular, has been brought center stage along with a critique of the gendered nature of nationalist discourse, and with inquiries into putative and actual gender roles in domestic as well as public spaces – within family (nuclear and extended), church, grassroots activism, the maquis, rural kinship groups, the formal labor market in major cities, the party and its mass organizations, the government, and so on. This contribution seeks to discuss the relation of professional history and the contested field of social memory about independence in Angola, considering a spectre of historical modes of writing that goes from biography to prosopography to social history, in contrast to an encompassing, diffuse, and disputed mytographic field that draws upon the „extraordinary“ nature of the leaders, as well as their metaphorical and metonymic functions. In thematic terms, this proposal is concerned with the relation between leading and being led within the writing of professional history, without losing sight of the symbolic uses different social groups currently put these historical figures to, in the unfinished business of settling the founding myths of the nation. It will focus on scholarship discussing the role of women as individuals, social groups or demographic sets, considering the ambiguous situation gender often imposed on the dynamics of leading and being led.

Bio:

Fábio Baqueiro Figueiredo is Professor of African History in Bahia Federal University in Brazil. He does research on the relation of culture and politics in contemporary Africa, particularly Angola, and the making and remaking of social and political identities in the second half of the twentieth century. He has authored a number of articles on the anti-colonial struggle and the building of Nation and state in Angola, and is co-editor of *Pandemias & utopias: agendas políticas e possibilidades emergentes* [Pandemics & Utopia: political agendas and emergent possibilities] (2021).

Teresa Cruz e Silva

Heroes, Memories and Narratives: In the History of the Armed Struggle for National Liberation in Mozambique

Heroic memories are socially constructed, aiming to create collective identity references and social mobilizations. Taking into consideration that memory is a social representation built about the past and based on the “official history” of the Armed Struggle for National Liberation in Mozambique, as well as on “places of memory”, the purpose of this paper is to discuss the role of memory in the historical narrative.

Bio:

Teresa Cruz e Silva, Mozambican, is a Social Historian. Currently she is a retired Full Professor from Eduardo Mondlane University, although active in a part-time basis at the African Studies Centre at Eduardo Mondlane University, which she has served in several other capacities, since 1976. As an independent researcher, she participates in several research networks and research programs. Her research interests are: Contemporary Social History from Mozambique and Southern Africa; liberation movements and nationalism in Africa; social networks, religion and society; youth and social identities, studies on gender and extractive industries. tcsilva@mail.com

Paolo Israel

“Surrender! Don’t surrender!”

The life of Lázaro Nkavandame at the crossfire of repressive archives

Lázaro Nkavandame, the Makonde leader who in 1969 defected to the Portuguese, occupies a special place in the “anti-hagiography” of traitors elaborated by Frelimo. Once the pioneer of the peasant cooperatives that had constituted the first kernel of organised resistance to the Portuguese colonial regime, Nkavandame would have given over to ambition and embraced profiteering and power-mongering; pushed for a rash military intervention instead of a prolonged people’s war; sparked the internal crisis that beset the movement between 1968 and 1969; ordered the death of fellow guerrilla Samuel Kankhomba; and possibly even colluded in the murder of Eduardo Mondlane. The worst epithets were apposed to his name: petty bourgeois, proto-capitalist, big man, tribalist, regionalist, sexist, and anti-white racist. As soon as the war was over, Nkavandame was arrested, forced to read a confession at the public trials of Nachingwea in Tanzania, interned in a reeducation camp, and executed in circumstances that still remain obscure.

This article discusses the life of Lázaro Nkavandame, drawing from two opposite “archives of repression”: on the one hand Portuguese surveillance, on the other Frelimo’s interrogations, especially the recording of the only extant interview with Nkavandame, at the reeducation camp of M’telela. The personality of Nkavandame emerges as dominated by ambivalence and undecidedness. His defection was a rash gesture, of which he soon repented, but he never found a way to re-enter the liberation movement. This ambivalence was also expressed in Nkavandame’s confessions at Nachingwea, however coerced they might have been, and at his last interview/interrogation, in which he vehemently refuted some of the charges. If the figure of Nkavandame is forever imprisoned within the frames of these two archives of repression, echoes of his voice can be heard at their fault lines.

Bio:

Paolo Israel is associate professor in the History Department of the University of the Western Cape. He has researched and written in the fields of performance, orality, and magic, with a focus on northern Mozambique. His monograph *In Step with the Times: Mapiko Masquerades of Mozambique* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014) charts the twentieth-century trajectory of a tradition of masquerading, focusing on performance and political engagements. He edited a special issue of the journal *Kronos*, „The Liberation Script in Mozambican History“ (2013) and *Out of History: Re-imagining South African Pasts* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2016), with Jung Ran Forte and Leslie Witz. He is part of the editorial team of *Kronos* and the advisory board of the *Journal of Southern African Studies*. At the core of his current interests is the issue of experimental historical writing. He has recently completed *The War of the Magic Lions of Muidumbi*, a polyphonic narrative ethnography; and is working on a history of the Mueda massacre of 16 June 1960.

Elisio Macamo

Tragic biographies – how heroes become villains

The paper addresses the paradox of African post-colonial political development. The men and women who fought for Africa’s liberation from colonial rule were heroes to the extent that through personal sacrifice they secured freedom and self-determination to their nations. Once delivered into freedom, however, most evolved into tyrants, some of whom were violently ousted from power. In exploring this paradox, I would like to understand the role played by a

reliance on an “alien” (i.e. Enlightenment) normative discourse which does not seem to have bound political actors to local social forces that could have created a genuine independence project. The claim I wish to advance is that the tragic nature of these biographies documents the pitfalls of relying on “alien” normative discourses in the pursuit of emancipatory projects.

Bio: Elísio Macamo is professor of sociology and African studies at the University of Basel, Switzerland.

Ciraj Rassool

Biography and the post-apartheid heritage complex in South Africa

This paper considers the field of biographic production in new museums, heritage displays and public culture and argues that a biographic order has been created framed by modernist history and its desires to create a narrative of the triumph of the human spirit over adversity alongside the story of how resistance culminated in reconciliation and the new nation. In studying this biographic character in the constitution of the post-apartheid heritage complex, this paper also wants to think about how the recovery of life histories of people whose corpses and skeletons had entered museums at the turn of the 19th century might constitute not just a domain of rehumanisation, but potentially also a means of departing from the biographic order and the terms of that heritage complex

Bio:

Ciraj Rassool is Senior Professor of History at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), where he also teaches Museum and Heritage Studies, and Curatorship. Among his latest publications are *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories and Infrastructures* (New York 2015), co-edited with Derek Peterson and Kodzo Gavua; *Rethinking Empire in Southern Africa* (published as *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41, 3, June 2015), co-edited with Dag Henrichsen, Giorgio Miescher and Lorena Rizzo; *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts* (Ann Arbor, 2017), written with Leslie Witz and Gary Minkley; and *Missing and Missed: Subject, Politics, Memorialisation* (published as *Kronos: southern african histories*, 44, 2018), co-edited with Nicky Rousseau and Riedwaan Moosage. He served on the boards of the District Six Museum, Iziko Museums of South Africa, the South African Heritage Resources Agency and the National Heritage Council of South Africa. He has previously chaired the Scientific Committee of the International Council of African Museums (AFRICOM), and is a member of the Scientific Advisory Board for the study of the Physical Anthropology Collection „Felix von Luschan“ at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Germany. He was recently appointed to the South African Advisory Committee for Restitution and Repatriation.

Isabel Maria Casimiro

Memories from the margins: women, biographies and armed struggle in Mozambique.

The research and reflection on the role of women in history brought by feminists in both the academia and social movements, has made visible their contribution in the resistance against capitalist-colonial exploitation, against racism, in the armed struggle for liberation and for its affirmation in the post-colonial period. Interviews with former guerrillas in the Niassa province of Mozambique reveal a feeling of abandonment and lack of recognition for their commitment to the struggle. Moreover, there is a feeling of lack of recognition of the

participation of women in post-independence political processes, which is stronger as they move away from the country's decision-making centers.

Bio:

Isabel Maria Casimiro has a PhD (2008) and Master (1999) in Sociology, CES, Faculty of Economics, University of Coimbra. Degree in History, Faculty of Arts, UEM, 1986. A feminist academic, she has been professor at UEM and CEA since 1980. She is co-founder and member of several women's organizations in Mozambique and chairman of the Board of Directors of WLSA Mozambique. She was member of Parliament for the Frelimo party in the first multiparty legislature, 1995-1999. Casimiro is author and co-author of several publications and has been President of CODESRIA – Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa – since December 2018. She was the Coordinator of the 14th Worlds of Women Congress, Maputo, 19-23 September 2022.

Carlos Fernandes (CEA)

Dusty voices: orality, restitution and sound archives of Cabo Delgado

The 1960s were marked by African independences and new ways of thinking the making history. In Mozambique, in 1975, while politicians were engaged in the construction of the new Independent state, intellectuals turned to orality as a way to build a decolonized knowledge. Collecting oral sources was implemented as an epistemic weapon to overthrow colonial knowledge and produce a new version of history told by the "People". Massive recording campaigns were launched by the Historical Archive of Mozambique (AHM), the Centre for African Studies (CEA) and Radio Mozambique (RM). Today that material is being recovered and organised, by Mozambican partners and the Mayibuye Archive of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in South Africa. In this debate, the speakers will bring to the surface not only the steps already taken in this inter-institutional collaboration, but also the historical contours of the constitution of these sound archives, and the dusty voices encased on magnetic tapes. The panelists will also suggest clues for research from a "long duration" perspective, where it can be argued that the technical and epistemic rescue of these archives from the past is crucial for the understanding of the historical, anthropological and sociological reasons behind the insurgency in Cabo Delgado today.

Bios:

Carlos Fernandes holds a PhD in African Studies from the Federal University of Bahia, Brazil. He was a post-doctoral fellow at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa (2012-2013), and at the University of Basel, Switzerland (2015). He is Assistant Researcher at the Centre for African Studies (CEA) of the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM). His research interests focus on the sociology of knowledge in Africa and intellectual history of Mozambique.

Simão Jaime is a researcher, lecturer and Head of Department of Research and Extension of the Historical Archive of Mozambique. He holds a degree in History from the Eduardo Mondlane University and a Master's and PhD from the Federal University of Bahia (Brazil), on themes linked to Ethnic and African Studies. He is a regular lecturer in national and international seminars; author of several publications where his researches on cultural aspects prevailing in Mozambique are reflected, namely the situation of archives, uses of religion, indigenous knowledge and, especially, the collection and management of oral history in

conflict zones linked to the period of the Civil War (1975-1992) and Colonial War (1964-1975).

Jocelyn Alexander

Learning and teaching in a ZPRA soldier's life story: Memory, maturity and masculinity

In the protracted struggles of liberation armies, soldiers' stories often encompass journeys, ordeals and contention with the previously unimaginable; they are also stories of interaction across compressed war „generations“. This paper focuses on the life story of a ZPRA military instructor, Cetshwayo Sithole, who became a soldier in a period of violent division within and among liberation movements in camps across central Africa. He fashioned his experiences into lessons for a new wave of recruits, taught in a physically brutal, masculinist mould, and intended to guarantee young men's trainability, loyalty, and – above all – survival. In Sithole's story his own militarised maturation echoed through and authorised his „cooking“ and „baking“ of men barely younger than himself, rendering them „mouldable“. I argue that this language of transformation served as a legitimisation that was at once masculinist and maternal, and that it lived on in Cetshwayo's making of communities of memory in the present, in the streets of his home town.

Bio:

Jocelyn Alexander is Professor of Commonwealth Studies at the University of Oxford. She has written widely on the social and political history of southern Africa. Her current work focuses on the transnational lives of liberation movement armies.

Clinarete Munguambe

Memoirs of Veterans and the process of writing a military history

My aim is to discuss how political memoirs written by Mozambican war veterans allow us to understand the specificities of liberation struggle on the battlefield. I contend that differently to the memoirs written by political elites, which function as a tool to reinforce the official history and legitimize Frelimo's power, the memoirs written by soldiers who fought the war itself are much more valuable in the process of writing military history, insofar as they give us more details about the war, the nature of military strategies, philosophy of the war, military techniques and management of weapons.

Bio:

Clinarete Munguambe is D.Phil student at Department of International Development, Oxford University. Her doctoral project focuses on the solidarity developed between Frelimo and ZANU on the Battlefield. She has a Master's degree in History from the University of the Western Cape, in South Africa and a *Licenciatura* in History from Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo.

Peter Simatei, Moy University

Autobiography, and the Quest for Nationhood in Kenya

This paper maps spaces of intersection of the autobiographical self and nationalist imagination in Kenya and how the two have mutually shaped each other rhetorically and

politically through deployment of disparate media as both seek to construct a sense of nationness and national belonging. I read personal hi/stories of Duncan Ndegwa, Bethwell Ogot and Wangari Mathai, as texts produced by both the promise and the illusion of the nationalist project, and therefore as indeterminate mixture of fact and fiction. I argue that like all narratives of the nation, nationalist self-writings or autobiographies are driven by self-invention and fashioning. Yet it is exactly this „constructedness“ of the autobiographic hi/stories that makes the genre suitable for both the construction and the contestation of the „unfinished Kenyan nationhood“.

Bio:

Peter Simatei is Professor of Comparative Literature and Culture and Director of the Moi University African Cluster Centre, Kenya. He teaches African literature, African Drama, Diaspora Literatures and literary theory and African Cinema in the Department of Literature, Theatre & Film studies of Moi University. He has been a German Research Council (DFG) Post-doctoral Fellow (Postcolonial Studies Program) at the University of Munich and a fellow of the Five College African Scholars program at the University of Massachusetts, USA. He is also an alumnus of the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, Germany and has a PhD from the University of Bayreuth, Germany. Prof Simatei has published in journals in Africa, Europe, and the US on African literature and popular Culture. He is the author of *The Novel and the Politics of Nation-Building in East Africa* (Bayreuth African Studies, 2001).

Patrícia Godinho Gomes

From inside out: nation building from Women“s biographies in Guinea-Bissau

Nation building in Guinea-Bissau was a complex process within a long term liberation struggle led by PAIGC (Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde). From the hegemonic nationalist view of History and a “male streaming” historiography, my presentation will focus on the nation building process considering the “untold history” from Women“s biographies and perceptions. My interest is to understand the ways the “heroines” has been (un) represented and to what extent women“s biographies and trajectories can be useful as theoretical approach to rethink national History and sources.

Bio:

Patricia Godinho Gomes is a Guinea-Bissauan (Guinea-Bissau), Historian and Visiting Professor at the Federal University of Bahia, Brazil, in the Graduate Program on Ethnic and African Studies/PósAfro. She is graduated in International Relations by the University of Lisbon (Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas) and Doctor in History and Institutions of Africa, by the University of Cagliari/University of Bologna (Italy). She holds a post doctorate in History of Africa by the University of Cagliari (2010-2012) and a post doctorate in Ethnic and African studies (2014-2018) by the Federal University of Bahia/Brazil, on Ethnic and African Studies. She has carried out research in the West African region, in particular Guinea-Bissau and Cape-Vert, in topics related to Woman and Gender studies. She is currently researcher of the Center of African and Oriental Studies/CEAO, Federal University of Bahia/Brazil; Associate Member of the National Research Institute of Guinea-Bissau/INEP and Alternate Member of the Executive Committee of the Council for the Development of Research in Social Sciences in Africa/CODESRIA. Patrícia Godinho Gomes is currently engaged in a book manuscript on "Women in the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau: gender and power relations".

Livio Sansone

Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane: nationalism, cosmopolitanism and the social sciences

“Eduardo Mondlane... a professor with the look of a guerrilla fighter and a guerrilla fighter who looked more like a university professor” (Herbert Shore 1999: 22). We know that the relationship between anti-colonial thought and the social sciences has been complex on a variety of fronts. On the one hand, the social sciences, especially anthropology, grew and gained power within the academic world thanks to the new fields of investigation opened up by colonialism. On the other hand, there has been a process of appropriation and re-signification of the social sciences by natives from various social positions and classes, ranging from field assistants who, soon after independence, became anthropologists of their home country, gaining access to spaces traditionally denied to them in research centers such as the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, to the use of training in social sciences by young scholars who soon after – or even during their university education in the West – were helping to organize the fight for independence in their countries and became leaders of these struggles (among others, Kenyatta, Nkrumah and Mondlane). Hence the anti-colonial narratives of these future leaders made use of hegemonic discourses in the social sciences or some of their most popular theories. This was the case, for example, of cultural relativism (employed in the writings and speeches of Kenyatta and Nkrumah) or, two decades later, reference group theory, developed in social psychology, the formation and manifestation of racial prejudice (used by Eduardo Mondlane in his anti-colonialist discourse, which always remained, we could say, strongly humanist). Here my main argument is that training in social sciences was a determining factor in the construction of the self of Mondlane and that this training, including the day-to-day functioning of academic life in which they were embedded, provided access to social networks, language and various forms of cultural capital that would later help shape the politics and practice of these same leaders. Furthermore, even though in nationalist discourse the emphasis is often much more on the local rootedness of the leader than on his cosmopolitan training, one can argue that, rather than being a contradiction, the homeland/cosmopolitanism polarity suggests a constitutive tension of activism, especially pan-African activism. While various studies have already been undertaken of the biographies and theoretical genealogies of Kenyatta and Nkrumah, from the hagiographies to the synthetic and national biographies, the case of Eduardo Mondlane is still relatively little researched, although the complexity of his life history could and should have attracted more attention from social scientists.

Bio

Livio Sansone (Palermo, Italy, 1956) got his PhD from the University of Amsterdam (1992). Sansone has been living in Brazil since 1992, where he is full professor of anthropology at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA). He is the head of the Factory of Ideas Program – an advanced international course in ethnic and African studies – and coordinates the Digital Museum of African and Afro-Brazilian Heritage. He has published extensively on youth culture, ethnicity, inequalities, international transit of ideas of race and antiracism, anthropology and colonialism, globalization and heritage with research based in the UK, Holland, Suriname, Brazil, Italy and, recently, Cape Verde, Senegal, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. His best known book in English is *Blackness Without Ethnicity. Creating Race in Brazil* (New York: Palgrave, 2003). Other more recent articles in English are available in the on-line journals *Vibrant*, *Codesria Bulletin*, *Historia*, *Ciencias, Saude - Manguinhos*, *Berose* and *Rockefeller Archive Center Research Reports*. His next book is *La Galassia Lombroso, l' Africa e l' America Latina* (forthcoming with editor Laterza, Italy). Over the last few years his research has been on the circulation of ideas of race and emancipation between Southern Europe, Africa and Latin America, the influence of Cesare

Lombroso's ideas in Latin America, the transnational making of Afro-Brazilian anthropology in the 1940's and the role of Lorenzo Turner, E. Franklin Frazier and Frances & Melville Herskovits, and the trajectory of Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. He is member of the Africa Multiple Program of the University of Bayreuth, Germany. From September 2021 through January 2022 he was visiting professor at the Institute of Latin American Studies (IHEAL), Sorbonne-Nouvelle, Paris. From May through December 2022 he will be visiting researcher at the Centre for Humanities Studies, UWC, Cape Town (South Africa). Sansone is external reviewer of the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

Jose Luis Cabaco

Utopia and its deviations

FRELIMO, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, has, since its foundation, set two clear objectives: the liberation of Mozambique territory from foreign occupation (political liberation) and the struggle against colonial alienation and the exploitation of human beings by human beings (economic liberation). In the struggle for independence, the Movement managed to mobilize the population of different ethno-linguistic groups and successfully promote the ideas of Unity and Nation. The post-independence effort to build a socialist state that would combat exploitation and social injustice and eradicate alienating vestiges of colonialism collapsed in the face of internal and conjunctural obstacles that the Frelimo Party was unable to face. The present work intends to raise the debate about the causes of the success of the first objective and the failure of the project to release the exploitation system. To both stages was associated a charismatic leader, Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel. Other leaders are associated to the successive stages. It is important to scrutinize to what extent the presidents shaped the different stages or was their biography determined by the conjuncture.

Bio

Born in Maputo in 1941. Cabaco took an active part in the struggle for Mozambique's independence and, between 1974 and 1992, he held ministerial positions in the first governments of the young Republic and assumed responsibilities in the leadership of the Frelimo Party. In August 1992, at his request, he abandoned public life. He holds a degree in Sociology from the University of Trento, Italy, and a PhD in Anthropology from the University of São Paulo, Brazil. Between 2008 and 2014 he was Rector of the Technical University of Mozambique of which he is currently Professor Emeritus. He is the author of the book "Mozambique: identities, colonialism and liberation", ANPOCS Award 2008, published in Brazil by UNESP and in Mozambique by the publishing house Marimbique and of the book "À Sombra da Utopia" whose first volume was published by the publisher of the Fernando Leite Couto Foundation in Maputo in July 2021. He was a guest researcher at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro in 1996, a visiting researcher at CEBRAP in 2001 and, in 2017, at Unicamp. He has given courses, seminars and lectures at several universities in Brazil, Mozambique and Italy. He has authored chapters in collective books published in Mozambique, Brazil, Italy, Portugal, Norway and Austria.

Enocent Msindo

Factionalism and Robert Mugabe's Leadership

In this paper, I argue that the late Robert Mugabe was a product and beneficiary of the politics of factionalism within the broader nationalist movement and in his own party before and after independence. Because Mugabe rose to power within the context of factional power struggles in ZANU, his leadership has been sustained chiefly by incessant tendency to generate and manipulate factions so as to weaken internal dissent in ZANU-PF and government. In his later years, the major factor that sustained him in power was the enmity of the factions in his party, which makes it difficult for them to unite and challenge him. However, his decision to dislodge Emmerson Mnangagwa, one of the faction leaders led to his eventual demise. By persistently criminalising succession debates and stifling internal party democracy, he unwittingly weakened the party and undermined its capacity to rebrand itself from being a liberation movement into a people's party after independence, little wonder that ZANU-PF party is usually reactive and paranoid when faced with a myriad of crises. With the same party having captured key state structures, the crisis in ZANU-PF become a part of the crisis of Zimbabwe.

Bio

Enocent Msindo is the Director of the Rhodes University's African Studies Centre as well as the current Dean of the Faculty of Humanities. He has a PhD in history obtained from the University of Cambridge. He has worked on a number of issues in African history including issues of ethnicity and nationalism; language and identity; social history of medicine as well as other broader thematic issues in African studies. He is currently working on three edited books, two on covid-19 and one on communities on the margins of the state.

Ute Fendler Sankara's trajectories

The coup d'état of Sankara in 1983 could be seen as a belated independence of Burkina Faso. His assassination in 1987 contributed to the construction of a martyr of the revolution in between the official negation of his merits and the extinction of his official memory on the one hand and the construction of a Pan-African icon on the other side. This paper will trace the process of the creation of an icon taking into consideration different audio-visual material as documentaries, video clips, ending with the discussions about the statue of Sankara in 2019/2020. The focus will be laid on aspects of in/visibilities, silence and narration, narratives of heroes and martyrs that differ considerably depending on the historical and regional perspectives. This particular case allows to shed light on the complex processes of construction of official and oral memory using different formats (video, music, statues, photos, film).

Ute Fendler, chair "Romance Literary and Comparative Studies", University of Bayreuth (Germany), co-spokesperson of EXC Africa Multiple (since 2019): Recent publications: with A. Mbaye/V. Azarian (eds.): *Archeology of the Future: African cinema and imaginary*. München: AVM, 2018; with K. Fink/N. Siegert/U. Vierke: *Revolution 3.0: Iconographies of social utopia in Africa and its diasporas*. München: AVM, 2019; "Lusophone Filmmaking in the realm of transnational African cinemas: from „global ethnic“ to „global aesthetics“." In: L. Apa/ P. de Sousa Aguiar de Medeiros: *New Essays on Contemporary Lusophone African Film: Transnational Communities/Alternative Modernities*. Routledge, 2020, 33-51.

António Tomás

Body of the Nation: life, death and the afterlife of Jonas Savimbi

University of Johannesburg.

In February 2002, Jonas Savimbi, the rebel leader of the UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola – National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), was killed in “combat,” in the Angolan province of Moxico. The death of Savimbi came as the result of a manhunt operation that had started four years earlier, in 1998. Hastily buried, the body of Savimbi was kept on the place of his death, in Lucusse, at about 700km from his birth place, in the province of Bié. The purpose of this was to prevent Savimbi’s grave from becoming a site of pilgrimage. It would take at least 17 years of pressure, threats and lobbying from UNITA’s leadership to allow the transfer of Savimbi’s remains to his birth place. In this paper, I will look into the controversies surrounding the killing and the burials of Jonas Savimbi to shed light on Angola’s political leadership. The ultimate argument of my paper is that when it comes to understanding politics in Angola and particularly the sway given leaders have over life-changing political events, engaging with their deaths is as important as measuring their actions and contributions during their lives. To make such a case, this paper discusses also the deaths, and particularly, the afterlives of other important figures in Angolan politics, namely Agostinho Neto, Nito Alves and José Eduardo dos Santos.

Bio:

António Tomás was a senior lecturer at the University of Cape Town (South Africa). He holds a PhD in Anthropology from Columbia University, in New York. He has worked as a journalist in Angola and Portugal and has written extensively on issues related to Lusophone Africa. He is based at the University of Johannesburg, Graduate School of Architecture. He is the author of, among others, *Amilcar Cabral: The Life of a Reluctant Nationalist*. Hurst, 2021.

Severino Ngoenha

Mondlane’s philosophies

Philosophy for Mondlane appears, as in the social sciences in general, as an epistemological instrument that contributes to making theories, methodologically important instruments for social investigation. But philosophies, in turn, result from socially and temporally situated historical paths. Mondlane drew on convictions and instruments of American pragmatism that presents itself as reformist and the antipodes of European revolutionary philosophies. How did these opposing philosophies operate in Mondlane and make him transition from reformer to revolutionary?

Bio:

Ngoenha, PhD in Philosophy at the Gregoriana University in Rome, is a philosopher engaged with the reality of Mozambique and presently President of the Universidade Tecnica de Mocambique.

Yussuf Adam

Memories, biographies and ego-history in Northern Mozambique.

The historian and every other social scientist tries to separate the wheat from the chaff, that is, to separate what really happened and what the different sources think happened. It is a task as difficult as walking a tightrope. This permanent conversation between the historian and his

sources forces the researcher to take a critical position both about who witnesses, in any type of document from oral and written sources, and to be attentive to the reproduction of official speeches or any other version of a testimony. When I started my fieldwork, I was convinced that ego-history, biographies or life stories, in their various versions - life stories themselves from birth to the moment of the interview, the stories of life passages or even testimonies about subjects that the interviewee had witnessed - they were rare diamonds that led us to the truth. It was, alas, the wrong conclusion of a young beginner. I soon saw that in each statement – which I had to use – I should differentiate the values or value judgments, the empirical data, the theories and the objectives of the subject giving the statement. In my practical work I have found that the autobiography, the life story, etc. were not the magic silver bullet that would lead us to the truth of the facts. Few, if any, biographies, with the exception of “The struggle for Mozambique” by Eduardo Mondlane and perhaps Uria Simango's article “Gloomy situation in FRELIMO”, were edited before Mozambique's independence. Efforts to produce biographies of political leaders, workers, etc. were almost nil. It was only from the 1990s onwards that biographies of leaders of the armed struggle and others began to emerge. Most of them were not written by the protagonists themselves. These are reports produced by groups of people selected by themselves or organizations to which they belong or their associates in business or other activities, about their friends. A comparison between biographies produced by South African activists in the anti-apartheid struggle and those in the anti-colonial struggle in Mozambique shows that South Africans try to describe the socio-economic facts that motivated their actions and the consequences of their understanding of the facts, ideology etc.. Self-criticism is always little present in the reports of some and others. There is already a remarkable collection of works with some autobiographical nature in Mozambique, which we are going to focus on: the books by Jacinto Veloso, Oscar Monteiro and Sergio Vieira. These works help us to understand the difficulties we have in using these quasi-biographical testimonies as sources for a historian.

Bio:

Adam is historian and retired professor of the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane