

**Rethinking the role of underground political work in the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique, 1950s-1970s**

*Repensando o papel do trabalho político clandestino na luta de libertação de Moçambique, anos 1950s-1970s*

*Repensar el papel del trabajo político clandestino en la lucha por la liberación de Mozambique, décadas de 1950-1970*

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ABSTRACT: Studies on underground (or clandestine forms of political struggle) remain largely unknown with just a few of them published. The study focuses on underground political work in southern Mozambique from the 1950s to the 1970s. The main argument that the study seeks to make is that despite the intensification of colonial exploitation for the benefit of the Portuguese capital, violent repression, imprisonment and systematic denial of the exercise of political rights for most of the Mozambican people, the people of southern Mozambique had already a period of active underground political growth, inspired by the international political environment (decolonization process after World War II) and after connected to FRELIMO and its platform. Small cells, mostly connecting educated, assimilated people, civil servants, artists, writers, painters, self-employed and workers developed underground activities ranging from the political task of organization, to political awareness, propaganda and spying, to the military task of recruitment for training abroad and to provide the military. Therefore, they countered Portuguese state propaganda and articulated an alternative political agenda. The underground political work

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had connections and continuity with other forms of struggle, such as with the colonial resistance of the 1950s and the FRELIMO struggle. The study combines primary and secondary written materials and oral accounts with underground political activists/militants.

Keywords: Underground. Mozambique. Portugal. FRELIMO. Cells.

RESUMO: Estudos sobre clandestinidade (ou formas clandestinas de luta política) permanecem amplamente desconhecidos com somente uma pequena parte deles publicada. O estudo concentra-se no trabalho político clandestino no sul de Moçambique entre anos 1950 e 1970. O principal argumento que o estudo pretende apresentar é que, apesar da intensificação da exploração colonial em benefício do capital português, repressão violenta, prisão e negação sistemática do exercício de direitos políticos para a maioria do povo moçambicano, o povo do sul de Moçambique tinha já um período de crescimento político clandestino activo, inspirado no ambiente político internacional (a descolonização após a Segunda Guerra Mundial) e depois conectado à FRELIMO e sua plataforma. Pequenas células, ligando principalmente pessoas educadas e assimiladas, funcionários públicos, artistas, escritores, pintores, trabalhadores por conta própria e trabalhadores assalariados, desenvolveram atividades clandestinas que vão desde a tarefa política da organização até consciencialização política, propaganda e espionagem, até a tarefa de recrutamento para treino militar no exterior e apoio material e moral aos guerrilheiros. Portanto, eles combateram a propaganda do estado português e articularam uma agenda política alternativa. O trabalho político clandestino tinha conexões e continuidade com outras formas de luta, como a resistência colonial da década de 1950 e a luta da FRELIMO. O estudo combina materiais escritos primários e secundários e fontes orais com activistas / militantes políticos clandestinos.

Palavras-chave: Clandestinidade. Moçambique. Portugal. FRELIMO. Células.

RESUMEN: Los estudios sobre la clandestinidad (formas clandestinas de lucha política) siguen siendo en gran medida desconocidos con sólo unos pocos de ellos publicados. El estudio se centra en el trabajo político clandestino en el sur de Mozambique desde los años cincuenta hasta los setenta. El argumento principal que el estudio busca hacer es que, a pesar de la intensificación de la explotación colonial en beneficio del capital portugués, la represión violenta, el encarcelamiento y la negación sistemática del ejercicio de los derechos políticos para la mayoría de los mozambiqueños, la gente del sur de Mozambique tenía ya un período de crecimiento político clandestino activo, inspirado en el entorno político internacional (proceso de descolonización después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial) y después conectado a FRELIMO y su plataforma. Las células pequeñas, que conectan principalmente a personas educadas, asimiladas, funcionarios, artistas, escritores, pintores, trabajadores independientes y trabajadores asalariados desarrollaron actividades clandestinas que van desde la tarea política de la organización, la conciencia política, la propaganda y el espionaje, hasta la tarea militar de reclutamiento para entrenar en el extranjero y proveer a los militares. Por lo tanto, contrarrestaron la propaganda estatal portuguesa y articularon una agenda política alternativa. El trabajo político clandestino tenía conexiones y continuidad con otras formas de lucha, como la resistencia colonial de la

década de 1950 y la lucha FRELIMO. El estudio combina materiales escritos primarios y secundarios y relatos orales con activistas / militantes políticos clandestinos.

Palabras clave: Clandestinidad. Mozambique. Portugal. FRELIMO. Células.

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### Introduction

After World War II, unlike the upsurge of nationalist movements in most African countries towards self-determination, Mozambique remained at the apogee of Portuguese colonialism characterized, on one hand, by intensification of colonial exploitation for the benefit of Portuguese capital and, on the other, by violent repression and systematic denial of the exercise of political rights for most of the Mozambican people.

Colonial exploitation increased considerably through the intensive use of already established means of coercion and exploitation of the workforce, mostly in forced cropping and conscript labor. At the same time, the growing Portuguese settler population occupied an increasing number of semi-skilled and skilled jobs. Their privileged social and economic situation was enhanced by racial barriers, mainly under the pretext of unionization of the white workers.

Additionally, the majority of the population continued to be subjected to a system of education that undermined their well-being and blocked any significant advance in their education and access to jobs that required technical and professional qualification.

Despite these many difficulties, including extensive repression and imprisonment, Mozambican people tried to undermine the Portuguese colonial system, taking into account the principle of self-determination. Their efforts were never rewarded with any kind of “dialogue”. The only reaction was repression, violence, imprisonment, censorship and strengthening of the *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* – PIDE (International Police for the State Defense) the secret police. In light of that, political activity in Mozambique had to resort to techniques of “underground action”, secrecy and to flee the country into exile.

In Mozambican historiography, a significant body of work has been produced on the liberation struggle for independence led by FRELIMO but very little is known about underground work. This may be due to perceptions that the liberation of Mozambique was a

result of military action only or to the covert nature of the underground work. In fact, underground work, particularly in the south, where colonial power was strongest, played a significant role in mobilizing people to join FRELIMO and to permanently contest the system.

By the 1960s and 1970s, some literature on nationalism movement in Mozambique existed. Eduardo Mondlane's classic study, *Lutar por Moçambique* provided a clear analysis of the discriminatory, repressive and exploitative colonial Portuguese system. Related to the birth of Mozambican nationalism, he privileges the role of the youth in *Núcleo dos Estudantes Secundários de Moçambique - NESAM* (Nucleus of the Secondary Students of Mozambique) who in their attempt to join FRELIMO were arrested by PIDE (Mondlane 1995). Similarly, Samora Machel in *O Processo da Revolução Democrática Popular em Moçambique* described the problems of the development of the nationalist movement in the 1970s in rural Mozambique, taking into account the Portuguese efforts to promote one layer of black Mozambicans while increasing the violent repression of the rest. (Machel s.d.) However, these authors did not make any reference to the underground political work that begun in the late 1950s or its role to the struggle in southern Mozambique, particularly the role played by the underground militants in the preparation of the IV Military Region of the struggle of liberation led by FRELIMO.

In the 1980s, other works about the liberation of Mozambique were published. Thus, Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman in *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982* analyse the Portuguese regime, the mass opposition to colonial rule and the struggle for independence arguing that NESAM members clandestinely began to organize politically to spread the idea of national independence (...) Many leaders of NESAM were arrested in the early 1960s. Some managed to escape to Tanganyika (...) and helped to organize the FRELIMO (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983, 72). Raúl Bernardo Honwana's work describes how he and later his son Luís Bernardo were arrested, investigated and imprisoned, accused of subversion by PIDE (Honwana 1989). Teresa Maria da Cruz e Silva by studying the clandestine network of FRELIMO in Lourenço Marques, 1960-1974 shows that FRELIMO penetrated easily in the south due to the existence of a clandestine political network but, at the same time, the life of the clandestine network of FRELIMO was shortened by the action of the PIDE (Cruz e Silva 1986).

Since 2000, a profusion of biographies, auto-biographies and monographs on the liberation struggle in Mozambique<sup>1</sup> emerged. These works are very interesting because through the life stories of these individuals one learns about the characteristics of the Portuguese system, the brutalities and atrocities of Portuguese authorities, the discriminatory measures and humiliation Mozambicans suffered, the terrorizing work of *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do*

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<sup>1</sup> Some examples of the literature: Matusse (2004); Matusse & Malique (2008); Mateus & Mateus (2010); Mateus (2006) and Mussanhane (2012).

*Estado/Direcção Geral de Segurança - PIDE/DGS* (International Police for the State Defense/General Directory of Security), the life in Machava political prison and the different forms of Mozambican resistance against the Portuguese system with emphasis on the armed struggle. Yet very little research has been conducted on the meaning, structures, strategies, tactics and impact of the underground political work in the liberation struggle in Mozambique.

This article seeks to build on some of the insights derived from South African scholars<sup>2</sup> by drawing on memories and life stories of political activists and revisiting the body of autobiographies, biographies and monographs published. The focus is on the underground political work in southern Mozambique as a case study to demonstrate the role played by individuals (men and women) and groups of Mozambicans from late 1950s to 1970s. In fact, I define underground work in Southern Mozambique as political activity, and the manifestation of clandestine nationalism. It involves individuals or groups of people participating in political activities that could not take place in the public domain. Although they wished their work to have a public impact, it had to be conducted in secrecy to escape notice from the police – the PIDE.<sup>3</sup>

The article makes a two-pronged argument: First, the people of southern Mozambique as individuals or groups performed underground political work before the creation of the liberation movements, particularly FRELIMO, and after the creation of FRELIMO. Some were members of or linked to FRELIMO, but others were not. The underground political work in the south demonstrated a process of continuity, adaptation and innovation in the resistance struggle against Portuguese domination. The second argument is that the militants in this underground political work in the south played a major role alongside the armed struggle as an important vehicle for enhanced political consciousness, building awareness, mobilizing the population, recruiting youth to join the armed struggle and supporting the guerrillas. In short, they countered Portuguese state propaganda and articulated an alternative political agenda.

I begin by looking at Southern Mozambique in the 1950s and 1960s. I then turn to the underground political work of individuals and groups in southern Mozambique. Phase one precedes the creation of FRELIMO, phase two takes places after the establishment of FRELIMO and phase three after de mass incarcerations of 1964/5. Finally, I draw some conclusion.

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<sup>2</sup> Some examples of the recently scholars in South Africa such as Suttner (2008); Kasrils (1993); Houston (2010) have begun to shift their focus to underground work. They demonstrated how members of the banned South African Community Party (SACP) and ANC or, and individuals operated underground, mainly facilitating the formation of cells, distributing ANC and SACP leaflets, recruiting people and maintaining underground structures.

<sup>3</sup> Definition inspired on Suttner's work (Suttner 2008).

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## The Political, Social and Economic Context of Southern Mozambique in the 1950s and 1960s

In the colonial era southern Mozambique was comprised of three districts (currently the designation is provinces) namely: Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane. It was bordered on the west by South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), to the South by Swaziland and South Africa, to the East by the Indian Ocean and to the North by the Mozambican districts of Manica and Sofala.

Despite Salazar's implementation of a policy of economic nationalism southern Mozambique continued to be a privileged export market of labor to the South African mines, and provided transit traffic railway services from South Africa to the international port of Lourenço Marques. The domination of South African mining capital in southern Mozambique created a semi-proletarian peasantry.

Mozambican migrant workers in South Africa had access to more open and international press, as well as to legal political parties and their activities. This sharing of experiences created conditions for comparison of colonial systems in terms of degrees of exploitation. Their experience with political and civic freedoms fueled the growth of nationalist consciousness.

As early as 1920, the African National Congress of Mozambique was formed and had an ephemeral life<sup>4</sup>. In her memoir, Alice Chongo recalls that her father, a migrant worker in the mines of South Africa in 1960, brought home a picture of a black man with a white woman and hung on the wall. She curiously asked the father about the gentleman and was told: "It is Seretse Khama from Botswana who fights for their independence"<sup>5</sup>. One of the bosses of PIDE insisted that monitoring the border between Mozambique and South Africa was essential since some 200 thousand Mozambican migrant workers crossing it each year were exposed to "the big communist propaganda in that country [South Africa]." He feared that some, if not many migrants, would return "contaminated" (Mateus 2004, 25).

After the Second World War, Portugal sponsored a large scale white immigration, and then expropriated some of southern Mozambique's best agricultural lands in the Limpopo and Incomati river valleys for planned white settlement. As a result, the peasantry of the south faced barriers for their economic expansion and development, many were instead reduced to cheap labor for the white settlers.

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<sup>4</sup> The founding members were Carlos Matola, Lindostrom Matsinhe, João Tomás Chembese, José da Conceição Hobjana e Jeremias Nhaca (Ndelana 2012, 30).

<sup>5</sup> Alice Chongo was a nurse apprentice, member of the underground work and prisoner incarcerated in 1965. Alice Chongo, personal archive, 4 March 2016.

No less important, was the religious influence of the Protestant churches considered by the fascist regime as subversive in the southern region of Mozambique. It was through the Protestant churches that many “indigenous” Mozambicans managed to circumscribe the racial barriers of the educational system, completing primary education, secondary/ polytechnic schools and sometimes going abroad for university studies. Eventually, such Protestant educated Mozambican students galvanized the student nucleus known as NESAM.

With the rapid growth of the port and railway traffic, the development of industry and civil construction, Lourenço Marques attracted rural migrants seeking paid employment. These largely uneducated and poor migrants competed for housing in urban periphery/suburb without infrastructures or legal protection, as the colonial capital Lourenço Marques was a cosmopolitan city home to young people from different parts of the country, particularly from the south who came to continue their secondary education and look for better job opportunities. It was also home to Portuguese, South African and Indian businesses and residents. This cosmopolitan city created a distinct dynamic of socio-cultural and political-economic development. Shortly after the Second World War, a complementary movement to the Portuguese Democratic Unity Movement – MUD-Youth was formed in Mozambique, the Movement of Young Mozambican Democrats - MJDM whose objective was to make an intense propaganda against the New State, through the distribution of political propaganda pamphlets clandestine. In 1948-1949, the fascist regime suppressed the movement, through the trial of its leaders<sup>6</sup> (Hedges 1993, 202). At the same time there was the *Centro Associativo dos Negros* of the colony of Mozambique (1938)<sup>7</sup>, the African Association<sup>8</sup> of Lourenço Marques (1938) and Quelimane and the Nucleo Negrófilo de Manica e Sofala, representing the aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie of the various racial groups. In the late 1940s and early 1950s they were also repressed by the fascist regime (Hedges 1993, 202-203; Neves 2008, 134-149).

In late 1950s and early 1960s, southern Mozambique experienced a growth of nationalist consciousness, and the development of groups of organized militants who fought in the underground. With the creation of FRELIMO, some of these underground nationalist militants fled or tried to escape across several points in the south into neighboring countries, intending to reach FRELIMO’s headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam. In light of this the fascist regime intensified surveillance and repression in the south. It established cooperation

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<sup>6</sup> The leadership of the MJDM consisted of Sobral de Campos, Sofia Pomba Guerra, Raposo Pereira, Joao Mendes, Ricardo Rangel and Noémia de Sousa.

<sup>7</sup> The former name was Negrófilo Institute created in 1932.

<sup>8</sup> The former name was African Union created in 1908.

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agreements with South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Malawi to ensure police support in the pursuit and prosecution of Mozambican nationalist militants trying to reach FRELIMO.

FRELIMO's armed struggle for liberation began in 1964. It never reached the south or southern cities. The districts of Lourenço Marques, Gaza and Inhambane had another kind of “war” – the underground political struggle. That war was also exhausting and it occupied the attention of Portuguese civilian and security forces, above all that of the PIDE/GDS.



**Fig.1:** Lourenço Marques, 1963, *Map of Southern Mozambique*, adapted from Divisão Administrativa da Província de Moçambique, Imprensa Nacional de Moçambique.

### The underground political work in southern Mozambique

By late 1950s the process of independences in Africa extended to south of the Sahara. The news of political changes in Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Mali and Congo, as well as, the problems of the British colonies of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland and, the situation of South Africa reached the southern populations with some schooling through the radio and



newspapers (national or foreign). These events had a great impact in the wake of the consciousness of freedom among Mozambicans.

In the same time, Portugal proclaimed in the United Nations that it had no colonies – only overseas provinces with full citizenship rights. However, in the early 1960s the majority of Mozambicans were still unable to enjoy the rights of citizenship. The social injustice and segregation associated to racism in Mozambique, made it worse than the Apartheid in South Africa. This hostile atmosphere fueled Mozambicans anti-colonial consciousness and commitment to gain their freedom. However, intense police repression limited nationalists in Mozambique to exercise some of the experiences of struggle learned in neighboring countries which steered them to operate in secrecy, in small and separate groups called cells.

#### *Phase 1: Underground political work before the creation of FRELIMO*

By the late 1950s existed in southern Mozambique clandestine organizations involving few dozens of Mozambican nationalists who met regularly to discuss local and international political issues, especially in Lourenço Marques. However some political cells were infiltrated by PIDE, and hence, their members were arrested in 1961 and 1962.

Interviews with Mozambicans reveal that predominantly underground political activities were characterized by meetings to listen news related to the decolonization process on the radio (Radio Moscow, Radio BBC International service, Mozambique radio Club), to read newspapers (the *Tribune*, *Notícias*, *Star*, *Guardian*)<sup>9</sup> and to share informations and debate. This form of militancy shaped the political maturity among members and the desire to do something to change the situation in which they lived. Between 1957 and 1958, Amaral Matos<sup>10</sup> and his brother Alexandre Matos, Nuno Caliano da Silva, Youssuf Bin Abubakar, Lopes Lapiseiro Baúle, Daniel Henriques, Abdul Carimo Varzina, Águeda Ceita, Luísa, Matsombe, Ibrahim Manguço and Virgílio Lemos (the only white) regularly met to discuss and exchange information on politics and decolonization. These meetings were held at Amaral Matos's house in Chamanculo<sup>11</sup>. The diversity of employment and experience within this group's membership promoted their sophisticated appreciation of political culture in many countries around the world<sup>12</sup> (Mateus 2006, 65-66).

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<sup>9</sup> These media had some specific programs concerning anti-colonial struggles, the right to self-determination, etc., which were considered subversive.

<sup>10</sup> Amaral Matos, one of the co-founder of the underground political work in Lourenço Marques.

<sup>11</sup> One of the many so called "Indigenous" neighborhoods together with Xipamanine, Mafalala, Mikadjuine and Lagoas on the outskirts of the "concrete" neighborhoods inhabited by the whites

<sup>12</sup> Amaral Matos being radio-telegraph operator of the Navy had contacts with what was going on in the world for besides the contacts with sailors and workers from other countries. Nuno Caliano had lived and worked for some time in South Africa. Youssuf Bin Abubakar was from Comores. Virgílio Lemos was a poet, journalist and pharmaceutical propagandist (Mateus 2006, 64 and 66; Cruz e Silva 1986, 91).

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In early 1960s Amaral Matos's group organized itself in small cells in Mafalala, Chamanculo, Catembe, Matola and Malhangalene. These five groups were linked to Amaral Matos. Other groups had different links. The heads of each group gathered at Amaral Matos's place. There were eleven or twelve all together. In 1961, these members (heads) as well as Luísa and Águeda's aunt, Dumande, Mário Mondlane and the *régulo* of Magude were arrested and accused of spreading news of the massacre of Mueda – Cabo Delgado in June 1960. Amaral Matos who conveyed those news was arrested and his house was searched. Fortunately, PIDE did not find anything since Matos had bored holes in the wall stalks and placed any relevant papers inside<sup>13</sup>. Matos and his companions were arrested on September 1961 and later on (December 1962) charged with having links with FRELIMO. Ironically he was charged of possessing FRELIMO documents although by the time of his imprisonment FRELIMO was not still established. They were all tried and acquitted! (Amaral Matos, AHM, 1 February 1986; Mateus 2006, 67-71).

Albino Maheche, who was a male nursing assistant practitioner (a course for "natives") at the Miguel Bombarda Hospital in Lourenço Marques, in 1955-1956 recalled in an interview:

In the dorms, during free time, carefully, myself, Francisco Manguíça Langa, António Mondlane, Samora Moisés Machel, Vicente Mucavele, Aurélio Benete Manave and Rodolfo José Flores gathered to talk about the situation of the Portuguese colonies and other African colonies, as well as the "Indigenous" policy. The information was obtained from newspapers and from the Mozambique Radio Club. The group was also joined by Filipe Samuel Magaia (student at the Commercial school and consociate of Albino), Pascoal Mocumbi and Joaquim Alberto Chissano (high school students and the first a cousin of Rodolfo). It was in their political role that Francisco Manguíça Langa, Aurélio Benete Manave and Samora Moisés Machel on behalf of the practitioners in auxiliary nursing went to claim a salary increase in the administration of the Council. They were turned down (Albino Maheche, personal archive, 29 March 2016)<sup>14</sup>.

In João Belo, capital of Gaza district (currently Xai-Xai), some Mozambican civil servants, assimilated Mozambicans and others who had access to formal education, in short the black elite, developed also underground political activities. Thus, Mateus Sansão Muthemba, his brothers Abiatar and Abner, Augusto Lucas Mhula, Júlio Makavi, Alberto Chissano and others held meetings and debated colonial policies. When the Massacre of Mueda took place in Cabo Delgado in 1960, Mateus Sansão Muthemba, spread the word to trusted colleagues. When the District Government realized what Muthemba did, he withdrew all transmission equipment from his home and installed it in the Administration Headquarters, right in the Administrator's own office so that any further political activities would not go un-noticed (Dava, Dove and Muthemba 2008, 31 and 34).

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<sup>13</sup>Amaral Matos inferred that would have been a denunciation made by two infiltrators in the group namely: Taju and an Abissínio who worked for PIDE.

<sup>14</sup>Albino Maheche was nurse, underground activist in Lourenço Marques and Nampula in late 1950s, underground operative linked with FRELIMO in 1964 and political prisoner. Albino Maheche, personal archive, 29 March 2016.

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In 1961, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, already a PhD in Anthropology and an United Nations official, visited Mozambique and were taken strong security measures. In Mozambique, besides contact with his family members, he visited the Swiss Mission Headquarters in Lourenço Marques, at Ricatla, and the parishes of Gaza and Chamanculo where he conversed with the believers, pastors and missionaries. He also established contacts with some underground political networks in Lourenço Marques and Gaza.

Albino Maheche vividly recalled that, along with Samora Machel and Miguel Samuel, he visited and talked several times with Mondlane at Khovo (Swiss mission Center in Lourenço Marques). Immediately after Eduardo Mondlane left the country, Albino Maheche was arrested, beaten up, tortured and interrogated by PIDE about his trip to Khovo<sup>15</sup>. He was detained for 6 months while Samora Machel was under surveillance by PIDE. In his account, Amaral Matos said that they welcomed Eduardo Mondlane at the Swiss Mission and had a meeting with him in the evening at the house of a male nursing assistant of the Municipal Council (Amaral Matos, AHM, 1 February 1986; Mateus 2006, 65). Armando Emílio Guebuza and Virgínia Tembe, who had not yet entered politics, were part of the audience that packed the Swiss Mission Churches in Chamanculo and Khovo when Eduardo Mondlane addressed the audience about the parable of the Eagle. [He claimed that even if Mozambican blacks were assimilated, they wouldn't be Portuguese. They had IDs for assimilated blacks that were not the same as Portuguese (white) IDs] (Matusse 2004, 28-29; Rosária Tembe, personal archive, 4 March 2016).<sup>16</sup>

In João Belo, Mateus Muthemba and his underground fellows hosted a dinner for Eduardo Mondlane where, even with the presence of PIDE spies, Mondlane switching to speak in the Shangaan (local) language asked Mateus Muthemba, “Ma hanha lomu kaya kê” (How do you feel about each other here in the homeland?) and Muthemba answered: “Hi kona, kambe ha tukurha” (we are alive but suffering). On the same occasion, Mondlane urged the young generation to study very hard (Dava, Dove and Muthemba 2008, 32; Rufina Muthemba, personal archive, 24 March 2016).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> In 1960, Albino returned to Lourenço Marques to attend the general male nursing course (for whites) and reencountered Samora Moisés Machel (old companion in politics) and Salomão Massango (colleague in nursing) and he met for the first time Matias Mboa (a friend of Samora). Albino Maheche, personal archive, 29 March 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Armando Guebuza was student, one of the Presidents of NESAM, leader of underground work in Southern Mozambique and leader in FRELIMO in the armed struggle. Virgínia Tembe, was nurse, wife of Sidónio Bila who died in Machava jail, militant of underground work and political prisoner.

<sup>17</sup> Mateus Sansão Muthemba and his brothers Abiatar and Abner were protagonists in underground work in Gaza and Lourenço Marques. Later, Mateus integrated FRELIMO and was killed by a group of reactionaries who assaulted the headquarters of FRELIMO in Dar-es-Salaam. Abiatar and Abner were political prisoners. Alberto Chissano, father of Joaquim Alberto Chissano and militant of underground work in Gaza.

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Yet, in 1961, according to Luís Bernardo Honwana underground militant groups in Lourenço Marques established contacts with UDENAMO<sup>18</sup>. The goal was to enhance political mobilization, integrate militant cells into the movement and recruit Mozambicans to leave to Tanzania. Lopes Tembe Ndelana, a migrant worker in Southern Rhodesia and founding member of UDENAMO, recalled that he stayed in Lourenço Marques from May to October, 1961, and was linked to the clandestine political work. Through family and friends he did political mobilization and recruitment of people to join the movement fighting against the Portuguese system from Tanzania (Ndelana 2014, 43-46). When Amaral Matos was released from jail (December 1962), his underground political group selected two members to abandon Mozambique, namely Abdul Carimo who did underground political work from Durban and then Dar-es-Salaam and Ibraímo Manguço in Swaziland. Sad, he recalled that Ibraímo Manguço was killed by PIDE in Swaziland in underground political activity for the liberation of Mozambique (Amaral Matos, AHM, 1 February 1986).

In sum, nationalist militants clandestinely developed political activities against the Portuguese colonial regime. Their dominant approach was listening, reading and hosting debate meetings concerning Portuguese colonialism, African and international politics. Over time, these clandestine militants began to mobilize, recruit and became a breeding ground for Mozambican militants who followed to Tanzania to join the armed struggle.

They were organized in cells comprising three to five members. These cells were designed to be less permeable because only a few people knew people from other cells. This form of organization, according to the interviewees, was to ensure that if a cell member was arrested, he would only be able to reveal the identity of three to five people of his own cell. Thus, political activity would be less likely to be crushed through infiltration.

Luís Bernardo Honwana argued that, the establishment of cells was a strategy that was adopted in the underground work and it was a result of many nationalist that came from different backgrounds, with different motivations, and through different paths - urban, rural, media, trade union, association (Luís Bernardo Honwana, personal archive, 25 January 2016). They were mainly Mozambicans with some education, assimilated, living in cities or towns and usually associated with the civil service including nurses, teachers, clerks, interpreters, meteorologists, drivers. They also included businessmen, counter workers, writers, painters, musicians and students. They met mainly where they lived, in the “indigenous” suburbs of Chamanculo, Mafafala, Xipamanine in Lourenço Marques and João Belo in Gaza.

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<sup>18</sup> Luís Bernarndo Hownana, writer and one of leaders of underground work in Lourenço Marques and political prisoner. UDENAMO was created in October 1960 in Southern Rhodesia – currently Zimbabwe. Luís Beranrdo Honwana, personal archive, 25 January 2016.

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*Phase 2: Underground political work after the establishment of FRELIMO (1962)*

The severity of colonial repression, demonstrated by the massacre of Mueda (1960) and the response to the rebellion in Angola (1961), created conditions for the development of nationalist movements abroad, out of immediate reach of PIDE. *União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique* – UDENAMO (Democratic Union of Mozambique) formed in 1960 in South Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), *União Nacional Africana de Moçambique* - MANU (Mozambique African National Union), formed in 1961 in Tanganhica (now Tanzania) and *União Nacional Africana de Moçambique Independente* - UNAMI (African Union for the Independence of Mozambique) was established in Malawi in 1961.

With Tanganhica's independence in 1961, the three nationalist movements opened separate offices in Dar-es-Salaam. Eduardo Mondlane also arrived in Dar-es-Salaam. International and continental institutions such as the Organization for African Unity and the United Nations favored the unification of nationalist movements against the colonialism, because they judged that sponsoring multiple groups all fighting against the same colonial power was an inefficient use of resources. In light of this pressure, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique – FRELIMO, was created on June 25<sup>th</sup> 1962. FRELIMO then began to lay the groundwork for an armed struggle.

One of the immediate tasks was the creation of radio Freedom – *A Voz da FRELIMO* in Tanzania (later in Zambia) that disseminated FRELIMO's information and propaganda and mobilized the Mozambicans for the struggle against the Portuguese regime. It was transmitted in Portuguese and in Mozambican languages in order to reach as many listeners as possible. In fact, it was an important instrument to articulate an alternative political position, one of liberation, and to counter the Portuguese state's propaganda messages. It also facilitated the movement of Mozambicans to Tanzania by spreading knowledge of FRELIMO's platform. That was the case of Matias M'Boa and Samora Machel. Both were members of underground cells who fled Lourenço Marques to Dar-es-Salaam on 4 March 1963 (Mboa 2009, 82; Mateus and Mateus 2010, 6).

Other underground militants remained in Mozambique to mobilize people and create support for FRELIMO and recruit young men and women to join the struggle. As part of its strategy for armed struggle FRELIMO decided to create a distinct political and propaganda structure for southern Mozambique. Mozambican refugee militants in Swaziland shaped that decision. Later, FRELIMO established the 4th Military Region to support and organize nascent underground work with support from guerrillas sent out from Dar-es-Salaam.

In 1963, for example, Mateus Sansão Muthemba who was transferred from João Belo to Lourenço Marques by the Portuguese authorities, lived in Chamanculo and continued with underground activities in support of FRELIMO. Rufina Muthemba, Mateus's daughter recalled that in early 1964, her family hosted a priest whose name was Muiambo. Muiambo's full name was Vicente Muiambo but was known in the underground simply as "Mysterious." Eduardo Mondlane, then FRELIMO's President, had sent Muiambo from Dar-es-Salaam to Lourenço Marques. As the eldest daughter living in her father's house, Rufina took care of the household including the guests. In the evenings, priest Muiambo offered a 'subversive' prayer asking God to bless the people of Mozambique in the struggle against the Portuguese colonialism. Rufina recalled: "The Mission of priest Muiambo, along with my father and António Merinho (my boyfriend), was the mobilization and recruitment of militants for FRELIMO. This work was done at various points in Gaza such as Guija, João Belo, and Madragoa during the weekends. The transportation was guaranteed by the 'Plymouth' [car] of my deceased brother Sansão". In Lourenço Marques mobilization work and the establishment of cells was underway. Mateus was also connected to Rodrigues Chale (Rufina Muthemba, personal archive, 24 March 2016).<sup>19</sup>

Soon after priest Muiambo returned to Tanzania, Mateus welcomed at his house Maduna Xinana, whose official name was Joel dos Santos Monteiro, Political Commissar of the 4<sup>th</sup> Military Region of Mozambique. Rufina's father then explained to her how careful she should be regarding that visitor. She had to prepare water for his bath very early in the morning, meals would be served in his bedroom, and no visitors would be allowed. She had only to receive or share any information with her father or her brother Milagre, himself an underground militant. Rufina had the opportunity to talk to Maduna. He explained to her that he was a FRELIMO envoy tasked with preparing conditions for bringing the war for independence to southern Mozambique. That is how Rufina gained political awareness and engaged in the struggle. "Maduna didn't carry weapons. What I saw and passed along to Muheti Mbazima were FRELIMO pamphlets and articles". During the evenings Rodrigues Chale used to come, and along with her father and brother Milagre they had lengthy conversations. After about 3 months, having known that PIDE discovered that Maduna was staying at Mateus's place, they organized his immediate departure. "It was Rodrigues Chale who came around 2 o'clock at night to take Maduna to the house of a bachelor in Chamanculo" (Rufina Muthemba, personal archive, 24 March 2016).

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<sup>19</sup> Rufina Muthemba was eldest daughter of Mateus Sansão Muthemba, student, underground militant and political prisoner.

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Rogério Daniel Dawana (known as Rogério Ndjawana) corroborated her testimony, recalling that he met Joel dos Santos Monteiro through Luís Bernardo Honwana, José Craverinha and Abner Sansão Muthemba, his cellmates. It was him who arranged the hideout, in the house of his friend Tchaúque, a bachelor residing in Chamanculo. He was also the one responsible for the logistics and movements of Joel, as well as, a guide for militants who had to contact him. That's how in a given Sunday, he also took in his cellmate Domingos Arouca. The political work meetings were held at night. Rogério said that his group also made contributions in cash (100 escudos each) and conducted fundraising campaigns to support FRELIMO. His cell had links with FRELIMO militants in Swaziland through Luís Bernardo Honwana. Luís Bernardo Honwana travelled to Swaziland and brought Matias M'Boa to Lourenço Marques. He smiled when he confirmed: "I was a clandestine nationalist well before FRELIMO existed. What FRELIMO has done is to consolidate the clandestine work and give a safe and clear orientation of this struggle". (Luís Bernardo Honwana, personal archive, 25 January 2016)<sup>20</sup> Agreeing with Rogério Dawana, Luís Bernardo Honwana added:

We, the clandestine nationalists had organized money, houses and other support for FRELIMO militants. The money we contributed came from people opposed to Salazar [the Democrats] and families without great political activism. With PIDE quick to act, the clandestine network rushed Leonardo Cumbe out of the country. He was taken by Ana Maria Barradas and her husband Jorge Neves (both whites) to Swaziland. (...). Jonatana Rodrigues Chale, a driver in the colonial Cotton Institute, driving a volkswagen "combi", transported FRELIMO guerrillas [Justino Mucal, Daniel Malhayeye, André Manjoro, Lameque Michangula and Jossefate Machel - guerrillas of the 4<sup>th</sup> Military Region of Mozambique] and left them at the indicated places even when they were being pursued by PIDE. I just came to know Jonatana when he was already at Machava penitentiary [December 1964] (Luís Bernardo Honwana, personal archive, 25 January 2016).

Armando Pedro Muiuane<sup>21</sup>, without underground work experience prior to FRELIMO's foundation, began his involvement in politics in March 1963 when his cousin and friend Samora Moisés Machel said goodbye to him saying: "I'm leaving, I'm going, if I stay this week, they are going to arrest me. Don't get out of here. I will be back with the independence". Terrified and worried about this message, he told José Craverinha, partner in the National Press and *compadre* (sort of mate), what happened. Craveirinha was overjoyed and said: "I hope that more guys like Samora go there, to Tanganhica". That is when Armando started having political conversations with José Craveirinha. One day in 1964, a boy (Matias M'Boa, commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Military Region of Mozambique) showed up at Armando's house around 8:00 PM with a note written by Samora saying: "Cousin Armando, please get me some books about 'indigenous' and some maps of the settlements". The next day he told José Craverinha,

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<sup>20</sup> Rogério Daniel Dawana, clerk, underground militant and political prisoner.

<sup>21</sup> Armando Pedro Muiuane was proofreader, activist of underground work, political prisoner. Armando Pedro Muiuane, personal archive, 8 and 12 January 2016.

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who said: “Armando let’s get these books and maps. You get the books here and I’ll get the maps”. After sometime, a man whose name was Albino Maheche arrived from Swaziland to take the package. Armando and José Craverinha went to meet with Albino at Ernesto Matangala’s place. He was Matias M’Boa’s brother-in-law and also underground militant. From there, Armando went on to attend meetings and political activities. He recalled accompanying Rui Nogar to an encounter with Matias M’Boa in Matangala’s home in Chamanculo, as well as having participated in meetings where Albino Maheche, Leonardo Cumbe, Matias M’Boa, Rodrigues Jonatana Chale, Rogério Ndjawana, Luís Bernardo Honwana, José Craveirinha, and Daniel Magaia were also present. After a short silence Armando said:

José Craverinha and Luís Bernardo Honwana were the ones who knew things and directed us how to do things and where to go. One day José Craveirinha said, ‘*Compadre*, I have someone coming from abroad, we want to meet at your place.’ I agreed and at night José Craverinha showed up in the company of a stranger (who was Joel dos Santos Monteiro), Rui Nogar, Daniel Magaia, Malangatana Valente Ngwenya, Rodrigues Chale and José de Sousa Parente had also gathered at my home. Joel explained the objectives of the struggle led by FRELIMO, the need to mobilize and recruit more young people to Tanzania and left fliers, statutes and programs of FRELIMO (Armando Pedro Muiuane, personal archive, 8 and 12 January 2016).

Furthermore, there is the experience of Albino Maheche, an underground militant who decided along with Francisco Langa, Aurélio Benete Manave and Leonardo Cumbe to get organized and escape to Dar-es-Salaam in 1964 via Swaziland. In Swaziland, Albino received a communication that he should remain in Swaziland to escort Prof. MacDonald<sup>22</sup>, an American to Lourenço Marques and also to do mobilization for FRELIMO. Albino recalled:

I received the mission of political mobilization and clandestine distribution of pamphlets in Lourenço Marques, Gaza and Inhambane. M’Boa, commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Military Region of Mozambique, instructed me, and I organized rallies [meetings] in Quissico - Zavala, Inharrime, Manjacaze, Chibuto where I had individual contacts [Frelimo militants] such as: *régulo* (chief) Machatine, Amós Mahanjane, the son of Varela, Marcos or Mateus the interpreter of the Administration. I travelled by bus and on site I relied on the support of a contact member. In Lourenço Marques I worked with José Craveirinha, Armando Muiuane, Rui Nogar, Rogério Ndjawana and Luís Bernardo Honwana. The meetings were at Matangala’s place, brother-in-law of Matias M’Boa. I received the topographical blueprints of the Portuguese barracks in Mozambique from Rui Nogar (Albino Maheche, personal archive, 29 March 2016).

These interviews reveal that the organization of the underground work continued based on small cells where most of the members did not know most of the members of the underground work. There were the leaders like Luís Bernardo Honwana, José Craverinha, Mateus Sansão Muthemba, and Amaral Matos who made the connections or coordinated the work with different cells. They created the conditions, received and responded actively to FRELIMO’s initiatives. In fact, it was through these southern underground cells that FRELIMO mobilized,

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<sup>22</sup> Prof. MacDonald was to establish contacts with the some people in order to get release the students jailed (The group of Guebuza) on their way to Dar-es-Salaam.

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recruited militants for the struggle, secretly harbored FRELIMO leaders and guerrillas, and supported FRELIMO's struggle.

Clearly some continuity of membership and relationships existed between the resistance of the 1950s, the southern underground political work and FRELIMO's struggle. First, some members of the resistance in the 1950s became militants in the underground, such as José Craverinha, Luís Bernardo Honwana and Amaral Matos. Second, some FRELIMO guerrillas and leaders were members of underground work in the south, such as Samora Machel, Matias M'Boa and Aurélio Manave. When in Tanzania these individuals used their underground channels to disseminate FRELIMO messages and gather information. Third, the underground work before 1962 was predominantly listening, reading and sharing of political issues related to decolonization to build awareness about colonialism and nationalist consciousness. With the creation of FRELIMO, the underground work became more activist, including mobilization of population, recruitment of youth to join the struggle and protection of undercover FRELIMO militants. Thus, this process can be understood as a continuity and cross-fertilization of experiences of resistance, underground political work and armed struggle where nationalism reached its highest point of theoretical content, higher levels of organization, structure and appropriate means to fight against the Portuguese fascist regime.

The *Núcleo de Estudantes Secundários de Moçambique - NESAM*<sup>23</sup> (Nucleus of the Secondary Students of Mozambique) also developed political work. After a period of dormancy, in 1963 with the election of Armando Emílio Guebuza as President, NESAM boosted and ignited the nationalist spirit of the young. Under his leadership, NESAM revived energy around education, publishing, cultural and intellectual work that embraced Mozambican identity (Matusse 2004, 36; Tembe 2014, 18; Fernando Andrade Fazenda Mbeve, personal archive, 19 May 2016<sup>24</sup>). The cultural and intellectual activities raised political awareness amongst young people through coded debates that emphasized African pride and disdain for the Portuguese colonizers.

Within this new dynamic, NESAM assumed a new name, *Núcleo dos Estudantes de Moçambique - NEAM* (Nucleus of the Students of Mozambique) opening the doors to a wider population of Mozambique and gaining Portuguese authority in 1963 to open a branch of NESAM/NEAM in João Belo despite the constant surveillance of PIDE. The João Belo group included Esperança Muthemba, Milagre Mazuze, Juvenália Muthemba, António Marcos

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<sup>23</sup> NESAM was founded by Eduardo Mondlane in 1949 and consisted of secondary school students in Lourenço Marques, including students educated in South Africa.

<sup>24</sup> Fernando Andrade Fazenda Mbeve was public servant, NESAM member and monitor (voluntary teacher) of evening school, militant of the underground work and political prisoner.

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Cuambelo and António Xavier (Juvenália Abiatar Muthemba, personal archive, 15 January 2016<sup>25</sup>; Matusse & Malique 2008, 250).

In attempting to join FRELIMO, in March 1964, Armando Emílio Guebuza, Josina Abiatar Muthemba, Ângelo Azarias Chichava, Milagre Machaire Mazuze, Mariana Saraiva and Cristina Tembe tried to flee to Dar-es-Salaam via South Rhodesia. They were followed by Tiago Nhaca, Adelina Bernardino Paindane, Judite Mutaca, who also tried to flee Lourenço Marques. Unfortunately, PIDE arrested the first group at Victoria Falls. By then Amós Manhanjane and Simione Chivite had joined the group and were also arrested. The second group was apprehended in Manhiça and held in jail for 5 months. Armando Guebuza and Ângelo Chichava were jailed one more month (Adelina Bernardino Paindane, personal archive, 25 March 2016<sup>26</sup>; Matusse & Malique 2008, 45-48; Matusse 2004, 38-58; Mussanhane 2012, 113-116).

Once free, the youths continued with the underground political work establishing more cells of 3 to 4 members. They were well structured and populated by NESAM members. Under the leadership of Armando Guebuza, Ângelo Chichava and Milagre Mazuze, they connected with FRELIMO's underground cells supporters. Armando Guebuza and Ângelo Chichava also began translating FRELIMO's statutes into Ronga and Changana, the most widespread languages in the South, to facilitate popular mobilization (Matusse 2004, 60).

The work in Lourenço Marques was quite diverse and extended to professional people. In 1964, Alice Chongo, then an assistant midwife in the Chamanculo Hospital, was integrated to political activities by António Simbine and Adolfo Bila. The group has introduced her to their activities after Sunday Mass at the Church of Chamanculo. Once they were convinced of her commitment, she was invited to join the evening meetings held in a house in Chamanculo (Alice Chongo, personal archive, 4 March 2016). Virgínia Tembe, wife of Sidónio Alberto Bila, said that she joined the underground work influenced by discussions and political work that took place in her place. Several times António Mabote Simbine, Vidal and Bernardo Dimande arrived at her house carrying a typewriter. "It was here where they prepared the pamphlets of FRELIMO and organized the material for distribution". Several times her husband used his rental truck to transport FRELIMO militants to the border (Virgínia Tembe, personal archive, 24 March 2016).

Although political mobilization and recruitment of young Mozambicans in the South, was growing apace, PIDE had also improved its strategies and networks, especially on Mozambique's

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<sup>25</sup> Juvenália Abiatar Muthemba, daughter of Abiatar Muthemba and sister of Josina Muthemba (later Josina Machel) and Esperança Muthemba, was a student, member of NESAM, underground activist and political prisoner. Juvenália Abiatar Muthemba, personal archive, 15 January 2016.

<sup>26</sup> Adelina Bernardino Paindane was a student at a technical school, underground activist and FRELIMO militant. Adelina Bernardino Paindane, personal archive, 25 March 2016.

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borders and with police in Rhodesia and South Africa. Incrementally PIDE agents infiltrated underground cells to enable PIDE to crack down. As a result, from November 1964, Matata Bombarda Tembe, in charge of liaising with the interior, was arrested by the Rhodesian police and handed over to PIDE. The guerrillas who were trained to open the 4<sup>th</sup> Military Region of Mozambique fell in succession into the hands of PIDE (Mateus 2004, 66). In December, Matias M'Boa (known in the struggle as Mathias Thomas Khumaio) and Joel dos Santos Monteiro (known as Maduna Xinana) – Military Commander and Political Commissar of the 4<sup>th</sup> Military Region of Mozambique were arrested. Then several members of the Lourenço Marques underground were arrested, including Luís Bernardo Howana, Rogério Ndjawana, Armando Pedro Muiuane, Abner Sansão Muthemba, Albino Maheche, Francisco Moniz Barreto (known as Rui Nogar), Jonatana Rodrigues Chale, José Craverinha, Malangatane Valente Ngwenya, Domingos Mascarenhas Arouca and others (Luís Bernardo Honwana, personal archive, 25 January 2016; Armando Pedro Muiuane, personal archive, 8 and 12 January 2016; Rogério Daniel Ndjawana, personal archive, 5 February 2016 and Albino Maheche, personal archive, 29 March 2016<sup>27</sup>; Muiuane 2006, 46-63 : Mboa 2009, 22-23). One of the survivors of the 1964 imprisonment was Amaral Matos. He said that when the others were arrested he was on duty in the Island of Inhaca, but even so PIDE asked the others if they knew him and if he was not part of the group. Everyone said that didn't know him and so he wasn't arrested! From that moment on, to avert the PIDE, he started to work for 1 month on the island or other parts of the coast instead of working week in the island and the following week in Lourenço Marques. (Amaral Matos, AHM, 1 February 1986).

These arrests swept the command structure and many of the most experienced people. It threatened to end the underground work and FRELIMO in the south. Some of the leadership was able to safely hide, as was the case for Mateus Sansão Muthemba and his son Milagre<sup>28</sup>. Some of the young militants from NESAM, led by Ângelo Chichava and Armando Guebuza continued the underground activities. They had no guns, but armed only with pamphlets they were determined to temper PIDE's euphoria. Then, they produced two flyers. One displayed images of Eduardo Mondlane, Urias Simango and Marcelino dos Santos next to a FRELIMO flag with the caption: Frelimo has more leaders. The second was a drawing of a pot-

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<sup>27</sup> Most of the interviewees of the militants arrested in December stated that who denounced them was Floriano, an indian, smuggler of madeirenses from Lourenço Marques to South Africa and sometimes helping some underground or FRELIMO militants to cross the border but agent of PIDE. In fact, it was Floriano who gave ride to Matias M'Boa to Manhica and later on, denounced him to PIDE.

<sup>28</sup> Rufina said that PIDE went to her house looking for his brother Milagre and searched the house. He had already left the house. Virgínia Tembe said that Mateus Muthemba and his son Milagre were hiding in her place and that it was her husband Sidónio who took them to the border on their escape to FRELIMO. Rufina Muthemba, personal archive, 24 March 2016 and Virgínia Tembe, personal archive, 4 March 2016.

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bellied Portuguese man in shorts, carrying a big bag of money and a black Mozambican kicking him along. The caption read: Only if we kick them will Portuguese colonialists realize they need to accord Mozambique its independence and return to Lisbon. These pamphlets were distributed in the 3 districts in the South of the country on the 24 December 1964 beginning at 9:00 pm (Matusse 2004, 63-64; Mussanhane 2012, 118-119).

In Chicumbane, Cadmiel Muthemba (member of the underground work in Gaza since 1964) received a suitcase [from Simione Chivite] containing leaflets with instructions to turn them over to Milagre Mazuze, the leader of his cell. In turn, Milagre organized the members and distributed the pamphlets. Cadmiel and Abel Nuvunga distributed the pamphlets in the Swiss mission, school, hospital, and stores located in Chicumbane (Cadmiel Filimone Muthemba, personal archive, 22 January 2016<sup>29</sup>). Juvenália Muthemba (member of the NESAM/NEAM and underground political work), Marcos Cuembelo and António Xavier distributed the pamphlets in uptown João Belo with emphasis in the vicinity of Vasconcelos's house, a high rank from PIDE. António Ferrão Merinho and Sebastião Dengo carried out the work in Inhambane. In Lourenço Marques, where the city was divided into downtown [whites] and the "indigenous" zone, Amós Mahanjane, Josina Muthemba, Judite Tembe, Cristina Tembe and [Fernando Fazenda] distributed the pamphlets (Rufina Muthemba, personal archive, 24 March 2016). Muheti Juchua Mbazima recalled that he distributed the pamphlets in Matuba [railway] station situated in Chókwé – Gaza. After the distribution, the decision was to flee to Swaziland (Mateus 2004, 532).

PIDE was not only angry and embarrassed about the pamphlet distribution, but also knew about the key people who organized and participated in the distribution of pamphlets. By March 1964, the group of former prisoners became increasingly distrustful of PIDE, NESAM and the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique. Faced with such distrust, the young underground militants decided to leave the country. In successive waves they headed to Swaziland to meet some FRELIMO underground militants. Swaziland had the bare minimum political conditions for militants to be able to transit to Dar-es-Salaam. Armando Guebuza, Josina Muthemba, Adelaide Paindane, Rosária Macamo, Aurélio Manave and Francisco Langa accompanied by priest Muiambo (the Mysterious) reached Dar-es-Salaam. Unfortunately, António Chichava, Milagre Mazuze, Juvenália Muthemba, Rufina Muthemba, Milagre Muthemba, António Merinho, Amós Mahanjane, Fernando Fazenda, Muheti Mbazima, Virginia Tembe, Sidónio Bila, Cadmiel Muthemba, Alfeia Vilanculos, Maria Chissano Vilanculos, Alice Chongo and many other underground militants [In total 75 people -14 women, 6 children and 57 men]

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<sup>29</sup> Cadmiel Filimone Muthemba, public servant, militant of underground work and political prisoner. Cadmiel Filimone Muthemba, personal archive, 22 de January 2016.

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were caught inside South Africa (Middelburg) on 10 May 1965, after were handed over to PIDE in Ressano Garcia. The whole group was incarcerated in the Mabalane prison camp where all of them were interrogated and the men were also tortured. Two months later, they were transferred to Lourenço Marques, where men were jailed in the Machava penitentiary and the women in the civil jail (Rufina Muthemba, personal archive, 24 March 2016; Cadmiel Filimone Muthemba, personal archive, 22 January 2016; Juvenália Abiatar Muthemba, personal archive, 15 January; Adelina Bernardino Paindane, personal archive, 25 March 2016; Virgínia Tembe, personal archive, 4 March 2016; Alice Chongo, personal archive, 4 March 2016; Maria Chissano Vilanculos, personal archive, 4 February 2016).

*Phase 3: Underground political work after the mass imprisonment (1964/65)*

Although the arrests of 1964/65 created a sense amongst underground militants that PIDE was fairly omnipotent, and consequently encouraged an environment of repression, mistrust and fear, the underground work continued but with maximum precautions. For example, even with his house under surveillance and one of his brothers-in-law an agent of PIDE, Amaral Matos continued doing underground work.

He observed: “We learn how to do things, to circumvent situations. When the group of 75 was imprisoned, I was very careful. I traded positions with one colleague to be out of town for three months, an exchange to be out to sea” (Mateus 2006, 71-72).

Despite the intensification of PIDE’s repression, the Command of Defense of Lourenço Marques (Comando de Defesa de Lourenço Marques - COMDELM) recognized the existence of FRELIMO cells. According to a report by COMDELM in 1967, “in a three month period, 2 FRELIMO cells had been detected in Lourenço Marques. The cells had conducted 10 subversive meetings and 13 suspect meetings. (...) 21 cell members who tried to migrate clandestinely were apprehended, and 20 strikes and labor conflicts took place (...)” (Souto 2007, 279). In 1969, the report of PIDE / DGS - Delegation of Mozambique to the General Directorate of Security of the Metropolis was informed that on February 12, 1969, they found on the doors of the men’s bathrooms at the Vasco da Gama Technical and Commercial School with the following writings “FRELIMO President Mondlane died.” “Mondlane will be resurrected to come and end the shit of Portuguese colonialism. Long live FRELIMO” (AHM 1969, caixa 2326). In 1972, the Centralization and Coordination Service of Information in Mozambique (Serviço de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações de Moçambique - SCCIM) confirmed that the Caniçado and Chibuto councils of Gaza District were strongly “infected by subversive ideals” as had happened in Lourenço Marques, especially in the “indigenous” suburbs. The subversive

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networks cadres were drawn largely from lower ranks of the banks, civil service, industrial and commercial enterprises (Souto 2007, 282).

In light of PIDE's repression, alternative forms of underground work were developed. Without cells or links to others partners, individuals gathered information and reported directly to FRELIMO. In 1971, José Luís Cabaço, a white Portuguese working as director of personnel and advertisement for a public works company in military camps, often under the pretext of guaranteeing the safety of its workers he collected data on military commanders. And he explained:

I arrived at the camp and I asked the Commander about workers' security issues saying: 'I want to know how they are defended.' [The Commander] then showed me a map and explained the barracks defense plan. I took mental notes but when I returned to my bedroom I wrote down my notes, so as not to forget anything. Later I wrote a report that confirmed that the barracks were defended by a unit, and I described the structure ... I gave a lot of information about these military structures. One of them was about an airport, where later on, comrade Mabote (...) told me that a colleague told him that the drawings on which FRELIMO had planned the attack were made from my report (Soico 2012, 172-175).

Beginning in 1968, the militants who had been imprisoned for underground work were gradually released, but still under PIDE surveillance. Amós Estevão Mahanjane<sup>30</sup> remembered that when they were released, they began to have meetings and tried to mobilize people until the coup d'état in Portugal. He was doing this political work with Aurélio Bucuane, Fernando Fazenda Mbeve, Matias Mboa and Ângelo Chichava. Supporting this testimony, José Luís Chissano<sup>31</sup> recalled that by 1973-74 while he was conducting registrations through brigades in Panda – Inhambane, he secretly spoke to the youth about FRELIMO and the need of the struggle. After the coup d'état in Portugal, they started to send brigades to Gaza and Inhambane in order to contact the former underground members and mobilize the people for FRELIMO's arrival.

In a similar vein, Amaral Matos recalled that during the negotiations between Portugal and FRELIMO in Lusaka (September 5-7, 1974), which culminated in the signing of the Lusaka Agreement (consisting of the cease-fire and the creation of conditions for the Independence of Mozambique under the direction of FRELIMO), participated in the group "Galo Amanhecer" that fought the colonist insurrection of September 7, 1974 in Lourenço Marques. With Nuno and Teresa Caliano's house as their headquarters, they fought the escalation of colonist violence in Lourenço Marques, the attempt to seize Rádio Clube de Moçambique and the airport of the capital for 7 days. He was continuing his political work. (Amaral Matos, AHM, 1 February 1986).

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<sup>30</sup> Amós Estevão Mahanjane, was a public servant, activist of underground work and political prisoner. (Mussanhane, 2012, 140-141).

<sup>31</sup> José Luís Chissano, older brother of Joaquim Chissano, was a public servant and activist of underground work. José Luís Chissano, personal archive, 17 February 2016.

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However, these underground political militants and political prisoners visibly sad remembered that after independence, in March 1978, the FRELIMO Political Commission considered them “enemies” and, or “compromised” (about 300 prisoners in the Machava jail) and having been tried and some sentenced to prison in Machava jail (ironically the same where they had been prisoners) and others taken to military training (Mateus & Mateus 2010, 80; Mateus 2006, 643; Armando Pedro Muiuane, personal archive, 12 January 2016; Maria Chissano Vilanculos, personal archive, 4 February 2016). Different experience was that of Domingos Arouca, an underground political militant and political prisoner who, in 1974, did not support FRELIMO’s official policy, left the country and went into exile in Portugal. In 1976, he founded the FUMO Party - Front United of Mozambique, the first democratic opposition movement in Mozambique (Loforte 2020, 33; Peixoto and Meneses 2013, 103).

In sum, neither the dismantling of the 4<sup>th</sup> Military Region of Mozambique nor the imprisonment of the majority of the underground activists prevented the continuity of underground political work, the spread of Mozambican knowledge of and support for FRELIMO. The underground movement in Southern Mozambique reorganized its methods.

## Conclusion

Reconstructing the history of underground political resistance in Southern Mozambique and in the country in general remains a challenge. First, there is a relative paucity of sources both written and oral, but more important, because this work was illegal and clandestine the historical actors did not wish to be identified at the time.

Despite innumerable difficulties, including extensive repression and imprisonment, in the wake of Frelimo’s foundation in 1962, southern Mozambique had already a period of active underground political growth, and later inspired by and connected to FRELIMO and its platform. Small cells, mostly connecting educated, assimilated people, civil servants, artists, writers, painters, self-employed and workers developed underground activities. No less important, was the participation of women in the underground political work although it was a male domain accordingly the tradition and rule of that time. They made a great deal of headway before facing a wave of arrests and a crush of colonial repression that sewed a climate of mistrust, despair and terror among both young and mature southern activists.

Collaboration among PIDE, South Africa’s Apartheid secret police and the Swazi police which were “dependent” upon South Africa, greatly complicated mobility and actions by the southern underground network, and hindered their ability to develop transit corridor from

Swaziland to Dar-es-Salaam. Nor could Swaziland serve as a base for the guerrillas and underground militants to launch the armed struggle in southern Mozambique.

Although the imprisonment of activists and guerrillas in 1964 and 1965 forced a tactical retreat, foiled FRELIMO's attempt to launch the armed struggle on all the fronts simultaneously and effectively dismantled the southern underground network, it also led to much more knowledge of FRELIMO and the liberation struggle as FRELIMO used diplomatic pressure, international campaigns and prison lobbies to denounce the regime's atrocities and win support for FRELIMO's program.

This study reveals that this underground political work had connections and continuity with other forms of struggle, such as with the colonial resistance of 1950s and the FRELIMO struggle. It is also true that underground work had specific places and ways of functioning that distinguished it from other forms of struggle. The people concerned made difficult choices that often led them to pay a heavy price in their personal lives and opportunities for individual and family fulfilment. It is true, that underground political work emerged before FRELIMO was founded. It continued in collaboration with FRELIMO.

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