

Mário Pinto de Andrade and the Orders of Discourse: An Introduction

Mário Pinto de Andrade (1928-1990) has long been recognized as one of Africa's most important intellectuals as well as one of the leading anticolonial and nationalist militants of the twentieth century. He was, throughout his life, a prolific writer and tireless editor in French and in Portuguese and is best known for his critical writings on Lusophone African literature, especially poetry, and on movements of national liberation and independence in Lusophone Africa, particularly in Angola. Although Mário Pinto de Andrade was an active participant in the intellectual debates and political events about which he wrote, he nevertheless possessed the remarkable capacity to analyze them from a critical distance in history, sociology, criticism and theory.

Despite his pioneering work as an intellectual and as an anti-colonialist and nationalist, it was said that he considered his main contribution to Angolan nationalism, broadly understood in cultural and political terms, to be his documentation of its history.¹ He intended to achieve this goal in three ways: by collecting, preserving and archiving documents; by editing and publishing scholarly, theoretical and literary works by others; and by assiduously researching, writing and lecturing about it.

Mário Pinto de Andrade's attempt to document and understand the history of Lusophone African nationalism enhances his prominent intellectual and political legacy. His extensive archive is now housed at the Fundação Mário Soares in Lisbon and a significant portion of its contents have been made available online.² He was the official biographer of Amílcar Cabral and editor of his writings,³ and he edited and published several groundbreaking anthologies of Lusophone African poetry related to anti-colonial and nationalist themes.⁴ His seminal book-length study, *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano*, and landmark article, "As Ordens do Discurso do 'Clamor Africano': Continuidade e Ruptura na Ideologia do Nacionalismo Unitário," represent his principal historical and theoretical writings on the development and significance of nationalism in Lusophone Africa from the late nineteenth century to the unleashing of the armed struggle

in Angola in 1961.⁵ Both of these publications, written in Portuguese, have until now remained inaccessible to the general Anglophone academic community. The present translation of “As Ordens do Discurso do ‘Clamor Africano’” and the forthcoming translation of *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano* are intended not only to promote knowledge and advance research on the works of Mário Pinto de Andrade and on the history and theory of nationalism in Lusophone Africa. They also aim to better integrate Mário Pinto de Andrade as a writer, editor and lecturer into African, Francophone and Lusophone intellectual traditions, while highlighting his distinctive contributions to them, and to more easily facilitate incorporation of the study of anticolonial and nationalist movements in Lusophone Africa into mainstream scholarly conversations and university teaching. We feel this initiative honors the intention of Mário Pinto de Andrade’s lifelong archival, editorial and scholarly efforts.

Mário Pinto de Andrade’s article “As Ordens do Discurso do ‘Clamor Africano’” provides a theoretical consideration of the ideologies and practices of movements of unitary nationalism in Lusophone Africa from nineteenth-century nativism, through the proto-nationalist period (first order of discourse, 1911-early 1930s) and subsequent transitional phase (discourse of rupture) to the emergence of modern nationalism (second order of discourse, 1957-1961), which was followed by the beginning of the armed struggle for national liberation and independence (Angola, 1961; Guinea-Bissau, 1963; and Mozambique, 1964).⁶

In his analysis of the lines of continuity and rupture in nationalist ideology and praxis, Mário Pinto de Andrade focuses on language and discourse. He also investigates the social background of the producers of texts and of their intended readers, and underscores the site and medium of that political enunciation. The “Orders of Discourse” of the title derives explicitly from the article by J. Achille Mbembé, from which he quotes, but also more distantly from *L'ordre du discours* by Michel Foucault.⁷ This theoretical framework enables Mário Pinto de Andrade to foreground the linguistic and demand research on a wide range of written, performative and oral texts, while reminding readers that the nationalist discourse must be understood amid pre-existing institutional power relations within an international context. Mário Pinto de Andrade here shows us the ways in which these relations were negotiated, challenged and refused in political enunciations and nationalist discourses through newspaper articles and editorials, political associations as well as class and cultural organizations, canticles and church songs, poetry and literary movements, academic lectures

and research, and a theoretical body of writings composed of proceedings from meetings, letters, communications and resolutions.

However, what is not made explicit in the article is that fact that Mário Pinto de Andrade was himself one of the principal figures of the transitional period (1940s-1950s) and the emergence of modern nationalism (1957-1961) and the primary author of the texts he discusses from these years. This is concealed, in part, by the theoretical language of analysis he adeptly employs with such precision. In keeping with the argument of his article on the significance of language, certain word choices and phrasings were made to convey specific meanings and evoke particular associations, and their deliberate stiltedness has been retained in the translation. Mário Pinto de Andrade's strategic use of language in this text and others is itself worthy of investigation.

A brief biographical sketch of these years can help restore Mário Pinto de Andrade to the narrative and provide insight into the development of his thought and political activity as well as the role language played in it.⁸ Mário Pinto de Andrade left Angola for Lisbon in 1948 to study classical philology and his interventions at the Casa dos Estudantes do Império and the Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA) focused on language, linguistics and literary themes. The famous *Caderno de poesia negra de expressão portuguesa* (1953), which he edited with Francisco José Tenreiro, emerged out of his intellectual activity at the CEA, which he founded in 1951 with Amílcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto. Mário Pinto de Andrade was the critical and editorial champion of Lusophone African poetry during the 1940s and 1950s as well as one of the intellectual and organizational leaders of the period of transition.⁹ Forced to leave Lisbon in 1954, he transferred to Paris and became an editor at *Présence Africaine*, where he worked with the major intellectuals of Francophone Africa, including Alioune Diop, Cheikh Anta Diop, Frantz Fanon, Léopold Sédar Senghor and Aimé Césaire, and enrolled in sociology at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), where he sharpened his skills of critical analysis with France's leading academics. His experience in Paris and exposure through *Présence Africaine* to figures associated with Pan-Africanism and the Négritude movement were transformative. The kinds of Pan-African connections Mário Pinto de Andrade forged in Paris and the intimate knowledge he gained of French and Francophone anti-colonial and nationalist thinking determined the shape and success of the period—and the language and substance of the theoretic corpus of writings—he here describes as the second order of discourse (1957-61) and which corresponds to the emergence of modern nationalism in Lusophone

Africa. The intellectual, political and geographical trajectory of these movements of unitary nationalism is incomprehensible without the apprenticeships first in Lisbon and then in Paris.

As one of the founders and first president of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola), Mário Pinto de Andrade would announce the decision for “direct action” in the press conference he held in the House of Commons in London and he would serve as president of the first conference of CONCP (Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas), an organization he would continue to oversee for many years. Although he would remain one of the leading figures of the movements of national liberation and independence, he would be forced to leave Angola in 1974 due to political disagreements with Agostinho Neto that led to the dissolution of the “Revolta Activa” and persecution of those involved in it.¹⁰ While in permanent exile he would serve as minister in Guinea-Bissau until the coup of 1980.¹¹ However, he would continue to research, write and lecture, activities he indefatigably pursued throughout his life. He collaborated with UNESCO in Paris, worked with the government of Cabo Verde and eventually found a home for a brief period of time at the Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA) at the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) in Mozambique. The article translated here belongs to this phase. It was originally written on a notebook of the Conselho Nacional/Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde (PAICV), to which he belonged; it is signed and dated “Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane/Maputo, 13 de Outubro de 1987/ Mário de Andrade”; and it is dedicated to Aquino de Bragança, his longtime friend and director of the CEA who died in the mysterious plane crash that also killed President Samora Machel on October 19, 1986.¹² The CEA/UEM was appropriately named after the Centro de Estudos Africanos founded by Mário Pinto de Andrade in Lisbon in 1951, and this connection draws attention to the continuity and rupture experienced in his own life. In many ways, the writing of the article “As Ordens do Discurso do ‘Clamor Africano’” embodies the characteristics defining the transitional period and the emergence of modern nationalism, for it highlights the importance of personal relationships and sociability, the necessity of conceiving of Lusophone Africa as a whole in relation to broader international contexts, and the crucial role of unremitting intellectual activity and production for the future of Africa. But it also underscores Mário Pinto de Andrade’s unwavering commitment to these principles and values and the uncompromising urgency of securing a space for praxis.

NOTES

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1. "Obituary: Mario de Andrade, 62, a Founder of Angola's Governing Movement," *The New York Times*, August 27, 1990.

2. http://casacomum.org/cc/arquivos?set=e_3944#le_3944

3. Mário Pinto de Andrade, *Amílcar Cabral, Essai de biographie politique*, Paris: François Maspero, 1980; Amílcar Cabral, *Unité et lute: 1. L'arme de la théorie. 2. La pratique révolutionnaire*, edited and introduced by Mário Pinto de Andrade, Paris: François Maspero, 2 vols., 1975; *Pour Cabral: Simpósio Internacional Amílcar Cabral*, Paris: Présence Africaine, 1987.

4. Mário Pinto de Andrade and Francisco José Tenreiro, eds., *Caderno de poesia negra de expressão portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1953; Mário Pinto de Andrade, *Antologia da poesia negra de expressão portuguesa*, Paris: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1958; Mário Pinto de Andrade, *La poésie africaine d'expression portugaise*, Paris: Pierre Jean Oswald, 1969; Mário Pinto de Andrade, *Antologia temática de poesia africana: 1. Na noite grávida de punhais. 2. O canto armado*, Lisbon: Sá da Costa Editora, 1975 & 1979. For his criticism, see Mário Pinto de Andrade, "Qu'est que c'est le Luso-Tropicalisme?," *Présence Africaine*, n. 4, 1955, pp. 24-25; Mário Pinto de Andrade, "Literature et Nationalisme en Angola," *Présence Africaine*, n. 41, 1962, pp. 91-99.

5. Mário Pinto de Andrade, *Origens do nacionalismo Africano*, Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1997 (written in 1990); Mário Pinto de Andrade, "As Ordens do Discurso do 'Clamor Africano': Continuidade e Ruptura na Ideologia do Nacionalismo Unitário," *Estudos Moçambicanos*, v. 7, 1990 (written in 1987), pp. 9-27.

6. The article ends with the decision for direct action and first meeting of CONCP. For some of his main writings on movements of national liberation and independence after the beginning of the armed struggle, see Mário Pinto de Andrade, *Liberté pour l'Angola*, Paris: François Maspero, 1962; Mário Pinto de Andrade, "La Lutte de Libération Nationale dans les Colonies Portugaises: Fondements Unitaires" and with Amílcar Cabral, "L'Afrique et la Lutte de Libération Nationale dans les Colonies Portugaises" in *La Lutte de libération nationale dans les colonies portugaises: la conférence de Dar Es-Salaam (1966)*, Hydra, Algiers: Information CONCP, 1968; Mário Pinto de Andrade and Marc Ollivier, *La guerre en Angola—Étude socio-économique*, Paris: François Maspero, 1971; Mário Pinto de Andrade, *A guerra do povo na Guiné-Bissau*, Lisbon: Sá da Costa Editora, 1974.

7. J. Achille Mbembé, "La palabre de l'indépendance: les ordres du discours nationaliste au Cameroun (1948-1958)," *Revue française de science politique*, n. 3, 1985, pp. 459-487; Michel Foucault, *L'ordre du discours*, Paris: Gallimard, 1971.

8. See Michel Laban, *Mário Pinto de Andrade: Uma entrevista*, Lisbon: Edições João Sá da Costa, 1997.

9. This was the “nationalist nucleus” composed of Amílcar Cabral, Mário Pinto de Andrade, Agostinho Neto, Marcelino dos Santos, Francisco José Tenreiro, and, briefly, Eduardo Mondlane, among others.

10. For discussion of the “Revolta Activa,” see Jean-Michel Mabeko Tali, *Dissidências e poder de estado: o MPLA perante si próprio (1962–1977): ensaio de história política*, Luanda: Nzila, vol. 1, 2001, pp. 247-288.

11. In 1978, during his tenure as Minister of Information and Culture, Mário Pinto de Andrade, along with Sana Na N’Hada, founded the Instituto Nacional de Cinema e Audiovisual (INCA). This was the result of a deep and active interest in cinema. He was married to the French-born militant filmmaker Sarah Maldoror and they had spent time with the Senegalese filmmaker Ousmane Sembène in China (1958) and in Moscow (1962). Although Mário Pinto de Andrade vigorously supported the cinematic production of Sarah Maldoror and others, his contributions in this realm of cultural production remain less well known.

12. For the original typescript study with hand-written emendations, see Fundação Mário Soares, Arquivo Mário Pinto de Andrade, 04356.007.001 (<http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04356.007.001>).

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The Orders of Discourse of *Clamor Africano*: Continuity and Rupture in the Ideology of Unitary Nationalism

For Aquino de Bragança

In Memoriam

When in May 1887 the “restless” and “irreverent” former second lieutenant from Angola, **Alfredo de Aguiar**, prepared himself in Quelimane (Mozambique) as editor for the launching of the weekly paper *Gazeta do Sul*,¹ he certainly could not have foreseen that a century later one of his future fellow countrymen would employ the evocative title of another newspaper of which he was the political editor—*Clamor Africano*—with the explicit purpose of using it to reconstruct the guiding ideological thread that was collectively elaborated by **elite** Africans.

Indeed, we intend in this presentation of the material under discussion to deconstruct the nationalist discursive system, in other words, to analyze the historical *processus* of continuity and rupture in the ideologies of movements of unity which emerged from the struggle against Portuguese colonial domination between 1911 and 1961.

Movements of unity, which brought together political groups presenting themselves as representatives of the oppressed masses in the Portuguese colonies, emerged during the beginning of the [twentieth] century, benefiting from a climate favorable to freedom of expression which was inaugurated with the proclamation of the First Republic in Portugal.

The first impulse for association came from the natives of São Tomé and Príncipe, who survived, economically, the relentless struggle for land possession unleashed during the course of the nineteenth century after the abolition of slave labor relations and the organization of an economic structure based on capital.

The African community resident principally in Lisbon expanded and included, in varying proportions, prominent personalities from throughout the “Empire.”

Some members of this community, originating from the social class of agricultural property owners (this is the particular case of São Tomé and Príncipe), and the sons of public servants and businessmen, would come to practice the liberal professions and occupy administrative positions in colonial societies as

well as in Portugal. This was a non-homogeneous **elite**, representative of a (rural and urban) petite bourgeoisie, whose natural vocation was the administration of autonomous or regional power in their own interest.

Influenced by the ideas disseminated by the theoreticians of the Portuguese Republic, the **proto-nationalists** unfurled the banner of protest against the “iniquitous laws of exception” and inscribed their action within the context of a greater Lusitanian fatherland. But, as blacks, it was their responsibility to defend, above all, the **race** from a counter-offensive position against the prevailing prejudice of the congenital inferiority of this human group.

For this reason, the foundation of the discourses rests essentially on two principal elements—the pride of belonging to the black world and the demand for the legal, social and political status of Portuguese Africans.

As often happens with political associations that form outside of the territory where their action is principally focused, the divisions that opposed the two African organizations in the **imperial** capital had a negative effect on the elaboration of their revendicatory project. However, the conflict between them, evident in the practical orientation of their programs, was not of a kind that would permanently divide the **Liga Africana** and the **Partido Nacional Africano** over the essential, which was their shared opposition to the colonial system.

The last attempt to overcome these divisions was the late merger of the two associations in 1931 with the **Movimento Nacionalista Africano**, at a time when the structure of the **Estado Novo** was taking shape in Portugal, but this would not produce anything of consequence.

The protagonists in this battle for unity were inspired by the ideas of their time. Though they transposed Monroe’s maxim to the situation in Africa (but only during the early phase with the appearance of the paper *O Negro*), they did not reach the point of truly assimilating Wilson’s precept and were even further from Lenin’s ideas about the free determination of peoples and nations.

The dynamics of the Pan-African and Pan-Negro movements, centered respectively on the figures of W.E.B. Du Bois and of Marcus Garvey, constituted the integrating ideological connection for the “Afro-Portuguese” movement. Participation in these liberating currents (undertaken, incidentally, separately by the two organizations) was accompanied by their fascination with the experience of black Americans—the stages of a history that went from the horrors of slavery to the heights of knowledge, science and technology, letters and arts, and sports. This was an important point of reference for the **rebirth of Africa**.

Staying attuned to what was happening with the peoples of the “black world,” the ideologues and journalists connected to these associations contributed to a universalization of the discourse on **race**. In this respect, they resembled their counterparts in France who participated in the “black movements” between the two World Wars.

Seen in its historical perspective, proto-nationalism was prisoner of a basic postulate that comprises the ideological matrix of its discourse: the demands of Portuguese Africans within a hypothetical space—**Greater Portugal**.

By taking Portugal’s side regarding the cacao-slavery issue, which was raised by British philanthropists and chocolatiers, and, more generally, the issue of working conditions in the colonies, authoritative voices from the proto-nationalism movement joined the deliriously patriotic chorus in praise of Lusitanian glory.

Nevertheless, it remains true that despite the ambivalent language of the discourses, the interventions denouncing the **momentous questions** and the manifestation of popular protests in the **congress**, within the legal parameters established by the Republic, found a favorable response among broad sectors of opinion of the colonized society and gave rise to hope among them.

Similarly, the socio-political practice of the movement of unity had significant repercussions on certain glaring aspects of the despotism of local rulers.

1. The First Order of Discourse

Let us look at how the first order of discourse of *Clamor Africano* was expressed within the context of colonial legality. It is through the ambivalence of the language employed, through the analysis of content, through the identification of addressees—interlocutors—and, finally, through the sociological composition of the **actors-leaders** that we will understand the project of proto-nationalism.

The ideology implicit in the discourse under discussion, and this can likewise be inferred from its political categories, produces a language characterized by ambivalence. This ambivalence can now be grasped through a fundamental thematic unity—the identity of the actors as revealed by variable terminologies. The linguistic indicators used (the order and choice of words, the qualifiers and recurrences) help to uncover the social representations of the ideologues.

This analysis of content leads to the manifestation of the individual constituent of the **ego** of the social discourse and of its addressees. An understanding of the sociological composition of the protagonists is thereby facilitated.

1.1. Content Analysis

Let us take the textual **corpus** of the movements of unity, the editorials and theoretical articles, which, from the preface to the action exemplified by the paper *O Negro*, comprise the ideological fabric of proto-nationalism.

The definition of the actors involved in the movements of unity responds to a double positioning: a political position—in the face of the First Republic and of the regime of the **Estado Novo**—and a socio-cultural position—in front of the popular masses deprived of the benefit of education and of the enlightenment of “civilization.”

The variables involved are the self-designations of **native, black, African, Portuguese** and associated qualifiers—**Portuguese African** or **Afro-Portuguese**.

Over the course of the brief preliminary phase of proto-nationalism (in 1911), the ideologues placed themselves in the terrain of the black.

Belonging to the “enslaved race par excellence,” they endeavored to rehabilitate the race and save it from its state of misfortune.

They affirmed defending the “black race” and simultaneously advocated the abolition of the hierarchy established between “aristocrats” and “plebeians.” The discourse on race adopted a prophetic style:

“Blessed shall be every torrent of tears, every bead of sweat, and every drop of blood that you will spill for the realization of this ideal that will deliver a new and more refulgent inspiration to human consciousness.”²

Using the terms **Blacks** and **Sons of Africa**, the editorialists of *O Negro* avoid explicit reference to the juridical category of **Portuguese**.

The period occupied by the **Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África** (J.D.D.A.), the **Partido Nacional Africano** (P.N.A.) and the **Liga Africana** (L.A.), from 1912 to the end of the 1920s, saw an evolution in the way they referred to themselves.

They considered themselves, in the discourse they produced, **Africans** pledged to the organization of their fellow countrymen of the same **race** for the improvement of the moral, civil and social destiny of **black Africans**.

There is a metaphorical recourse to the **dominated-race** “that awakens from a centuries-long sleep” and to **dominated African peoples** “that cannot continue to live outside of the political constitution of the republic.”

They clarify their existential situation in these terms:

“All of us, Africans, live in an oppressive and violent regime, crushed in our most legitimate aspirations, rejected from social contact, banished from civilization like ferocious animals.”³

They are separated from the “brothers of Europe” by the fact of submission “to the tyranny of iniquitous laws,” but at the same time they advocate the maintenance of the “integrity of the national soil” and fight against the existence of “two **castes** of Portuguese: the dominators and the dominated,” of two **countries** (victors/vanquished, free men/slaves, colonials/metropolitans).

Within the heart of the formations of unity themselves, semantic changes to their self-designation can be observed. Thus, the **Liga Africana** claims to be composed of “individuals of the **African race** and of adherent associations,” whereas the **Partido Nacional Africano** bases its legitimacy on the “organization of the **indigenous peoples** of the five provinces of Portuguese Africa into institutions of a civil, economic, social and political character.”

The declaration of identity follows the progression **men of the African race**, **Africans**, and **Portuguese Africans**, this last becoming the most common. The expression **Portuguese Blacks** seems to be used less often, though **Afro-Portuguese** is used with more frequency in order to distinguish themselves from other members of the **African family** composed of “Afro-French, Afro-Belgians, Afro-English, Afro-Americans...”

If, at the end of the 1920s, the mouthpiece of the P.N.A., *A Voz d’África*, underlines the dual primordial origin—of **race** and of **Africa**—and gives prominence to the term **Africans**, the **Movimento Nacionalista Africano**, in contrast, at the time of its inception, leaves no room for equivocation in its collective designation:

“...When we write **Africans**, we wish to refer principally to the group of Portuguese Africans, that is, to the populations of Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea, Cabo Verde and Mozambique.”⁴

1.2. The Interlocutors/Addressees

At the very beginning of the preliminary phase of the proto-nationalist battle, the role of “making the revendications of the enslaved race triumph” is assigned to the “most highly educated and cultured class of the black race” in association with the “least civilized.” The signifier of the **elite**, in comparison with the indigenous populations, derives from the cultural acquisition that was made possible

by colonial schooling, but it is necessary to resist the still dominant preconceptions regarding blacks, “the infamous stigma of the race”:

“Liberate in a word the black race from the shame of ignorant and slave, because it is known and demonstrated that it can elevate itself to the height of the white race through study, work and patriotism.”⁵

From the same perspective, the arguments of those who deny intelligence and energy to the “African people,” when success in elementary schools, secondary schools and universities as well as social organizations demonstrate the contrary, are refuted.

The ideologues who are the object of our study place themselves in an external relation to the indigenous peoples whom the Portuguese state should, in its role as guardian, instruct and civilize.

In the exposition of its objectives, the **Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África** declares its blind faith in the “new era, rent by iron and fire in the darkness of the monarchy and the October 4 Revolution.”

The statement continues:

“It remains to be seen how the State will understand its redemptive mission in the face of this unexpected influx of an entire race which has already bitten the apple of Civilization and now wants to collaborate with it in the reform of national life.”⁶

Juvenal Cabral, one of the protagonists of the period, is convinced of this “incontestable truth,” according to which “we can make savage blacks into honest men, men citizens and citizens men of the State. These are successive transformations that can be obtained easily by the powerful machinery of instruction.”⁷

The **Liga Africana**, for its part, emphasizes the “interest of the colonizing peoples” in producing “a sizeable intelligent, trained and professional black **elite**.”

Since the **indigenous** peoples are deprived of any civil existence, the **ego** of the social discourse and its addressees are conflated into a single entity: the **men of letters** [letrados], the “African intellectuals.” For this reason, one of the appeals made for electoral participation contains this injunction:

“Give the example of unity, and honor our Race by having our most eminent compatriots draft our laws.”⁸

1.3. The Sociological Composition

The social self-representation of the protagonists in the political discourse appeals to a “pleiad of our African **elite**” composed of students, school teachers, professors, journalists, publicists, lawyers, medical doctors, technicians, engineers, businessmen, industrialists, and property owners.

A significant portion of the “actors-leaders” who distinguish themselves in actions of unity, as we have mentioned, originally came from São Tomé. According to the analysis of Francisco José Tenreiro, “they are descendants of the relations between Europeans and black [female] slaves from the early period of sugar cane... It is they who constitute the social aristocracy of the *filhos da terra* [children of the land].”⁹

During the proto-nationalist period, this social group—“the Luso-descendants”—suffered the effects of the invasion of colonial capital with the irruption of new farmers supported by the Banco Ultramarino. But this group, the Luso-descendants, still included a sufficient number of “capitalists, industrialists, businessmen and farmers” to lead the executive committee of the “Sociedade Comercial Africana.”

Other indicators provide some evidence of social class origins:

In the list of twelve candidates for senators and members of the Portuguese parliament proposed by the **Liga Africana**, there appear four property owners, two superior officers of the armed forces, two medical doctors, two lawyers, a publicist and a journalist. All of the issues of the newspaper *Tribuna d'África* for the years 1931-1932 carry the following notations on the frontispiece:

- Artur de Castro (from the class of African intellectuals);
- Luiz da Cunha Lisboa (from the class of African employers);
- Joaquim Ramos (representing indigenous workers);

But if the leadership of the organizations of unity is sociologically identified in this way, the same did not occur with the militants based in Portugal. Sources containing information that could be qualitatively and quantitatively evaluated are lacking.

There are brief, sporadic allusions to the “African colony” of Lisbon in which reference is made to “hundreds of blacks” living there and to the misery of numerous indigents, “legions of famished compatriots who extend their hand to charity.”

Sometimes the socio-professional category of the adherents of the organizations is known. In the middle of 1922, the **Liga Africana** published a list with the

names of thirty-nine of their new members, consisting of eighteen public sector employees, nine property owners, three business sector employees, two farmers, two farm employees, one civil servant, one elementary school teacher, one bookkeeper, one carpenter and one goldsmith.

Obvious reasons, which are apparent from the socio-political statute imposed by colonialism on the great mass of indigenous people, caused local formations to recruit their members from the civil milieu that was labeled “civilized.” In this respect, the profession is a valuable indicator of colonial relations. We can take as an example the Grémio Africano de Lourenço Marques. Among its 150 associates registered in May 1921, one counts in order of frequency:

- business sector employees;
- public sector employees;
- salaried employees (mechanics and the press);
- office workers;
- junior-level workers of the railways;
- four property owners;
- three businessmen;
- three farmers;
- a journalist (the Chairman of the Board, João dos Santos Albasini);
- a single high-level civil servant, the top Treasury official, from Cabo Verde (Thomaz de Abreu Bastos).

One can raise the question of whether the proto-nationalists should be considered precursors of modern nationalism.

A response to this question comes from a global understanding of a movement of ideas and practices that it is useful to examine under the double perspective of continuity and rupture. The line of continuity is located on the level of the essential themes of the political discourse, considered in another context and invested with different meanings. In effect, the problematic inherent to the colonial system would be positioned for a long time in terms of the dichotomy indigenous/assimilated, the permanence of barely disguised obligatory work, the plundering of lands and access to education.

A recurring theme was the discourse of **race** recovered in the cultural context of the **Négritude** movement.

The sphere of practice offers a vast field to the enduring nature of the proto-nationalist message:

- At the **collective** level, future generations would retain the organizational will and the spirit of unity among the five countries under Portuguese domination, heralding further initiatives.
- At the **socio-political** level, the very survival of figures who were notable for the vertical coherence between their acts and nativist, emancipatory ideas would make the colonial powers designate them as potentially subversive elements. Such was the case with the agronomist engineer Salustino da Graça Espírito Santo who was implicated by the governor, Carlos Gorgulo, as a leader of the people of São Tomé in their resistance to recruitment for forced labor on plantations, a resistance that was crushed by the massacres of February 3 and 4, 1953.
- At the **familial and individual level**, oppositional socialization and conviviality would play a role in the options of certain singular figures who would mark the future course of history.

In short, the memory retained in this selective continuity of the determination of the proto-nationalists in elaborating a written protest against the collective fate of the indigenous populations contributed to the formation of new consciences of revolt.

But proto-nationalism, in its essence, produced a discourse with an illusory aim:

presenting themselves as **learned** blacks in the Western mold, **subjects** of the Portuguese nation and **legalists**, these ideologues had not, because of historical conditions leading to an immature analysis, reached the critical degree of understanding of the logic of the Portuguese colonial system.

And it is here, precisely on this point, that the rupture would be articulated by the generation that would make its entrance onto the stage of history in the years immediately following the Second World War.

2. Elaboration of the Discourse of Rupture

The gestation of nationalism originates from the colonial process of social restructuring of autochthonous communities and of urban proletarianization, from patterns of racial discrimination, as well as from the influence of inter-ethnic contact and inter-ethnic regroupings through forced labor and migrations.

Obviously, the elaboration of the discourse of rupture occurred during the “colonial time” when the African and international context was favorable to the affirmation of unitary nationalisms.

The sociological profile of the “actors-leaders,” the producers of the written project, can be schematically organized in the following way:

- individuals from subaltern, autochthonous classes, whose formation occurred under the control of the colonial political power through the apparatuses of cultural hegemony (school, church); these classes are not in general directly connected to the apparatus of production—which makes explicit their **elite** status. This is a social group that was capable of assimilating into the **petite bourgeoisie**.

By arriving at criticism of the contradictions engendered by the colonial situation, these representatives of an embryonic **intelligentsia** refute the dichotomy between indigenous and civilized—something that characterizes the collective projects that were developed from within the colonial space.

In the years following the Second World War, nationalist **praxis** is marked by three phases: the coming together of men, and their cultural and political apprenticeship; followed by an explosion of organizations; and, finally, the definitive moment of deciding for armed struggle.

Nationalist **praxis** is observed in the legal associations, churches and literary groups.

Each one of these fields would merit an extensive analysis, if this were our intention here. Instead, we will indicate only some points of reference.

Seen from the perspective of continuity of the organic manifestations created in the wake of proto-nationalism, organized (and officially authorized) political expression in the Portuguese colonies presents the following characteristics in the period under investigation:

- the slow death of the operative character of the **legalism** advocated by the **ligas** [leagues] and **grêmios** [clubs];
- the ambiguous position taken by the principal protagonists of these associations;
- the distortion of the message of the “African cause;”
- the use of certain African figures by the colonial power.

These traits stand out from among the ideas and practices that are particularly evident in Angola and Mozambique where one observes obvious analogies in the schisms and rivalries between associations: the **Liga Nacional Africana** (heir of the **Liga Angolana**) and the **Grémio Africano**, which gave way to the

Associação dos Naturais de Angola; the **Associação Africana da Colónia de Moçambique** (successor to the **Grémio Africano de Lourenço Marques**) and the **Instituto Negrófilo**, which would be called the **Centro Associativo dos Negros**.

By virtue of the racial and social composition of their members, there was a clear parallel between them: the **Liga Nacional Africana** in Angola corresponded to the **Centro Associativo dos Negros** in Mozambique, and the **Associação dos Naturais de Angola** maintained affinities with the **Associação Africana** (Mozambique).

The most visible break—the division between blacks and *mestiços*—reflected the socio-economic and cultural barriers upon which the colonial system based itself in order to prolong the “estatuto dos indígenas” [statute of indigenous peoples].

Within the ambiguity of the political position assumed by the social actors discussed above (that is, the leaders of associations), the kinds of behavior displayed vary: sometimes they take forms of dissimulation and at other times they reach the heights of compromise conveyed in the pro-colonial discourse.

The outcome of the confrontation provoked internally by elements of the new generation marks the division between the legalism then practiced and the nationalist dynamic.

The role of the “separatist” churches, as a movement of reaction against and rejection of the “established order,” needs to be reevaluated from the perspective of the currents of protest that constituted the awaking of nationalism.

Appearing in the southern part of the continent almost a century ago (precisely in 1892) and in Central Africa, particularly in the ethnic areas of the **munongo** after the First World War, the “black churches” embodied, according to Georges Balandier, the response of the group in the colonial situation “on the level on which they found themselves most threatened—on the level of fundamental beliefs and behaviors; on the only level on which emancipation was possible.”¹⁰

As is well known, the manifestation of this phenomenon in Mozambique was integrated into the typology already established by the Lutheran missionary B.G.M. Sundkler, the so-called “Ethiopian” and “Zionist” churches.

However, it seems to us that a global understanding of this material in socio-cultural and politic terms requires critical comparison with the sources produced by the colonial administration. Despite the fact that the nature of these sources belongs inherently to the **sociology of policing**, the numerous reports dedicated to the “gentile sects” and “natives” contain information that was gathered from a vast network of informants and obtained from long interrogations, and these are extremely useful for knowledge about:

- churches (their origins, doctrines, codes of discipline, cults and rites);
- their organizational structure (hierarchies, decision-making bodies);
- “Identification of part of the governing staff spread throughout innumerable locations in the Districts of Lourenço Marques, Gaza, and Inhambane, and, in one or two cases, Manica and Sofala;”
- the identification of locations of centers of activity and areas of influence;
- estimates of the number of faithful and followers;
- confirmed or presumed connections to the **ANC (African National Congress)** in South Africa and, within Mozambique, to the Núcleo Negrófilo de Manica e Sofala;
- finally, subversive involvement in certain incidents (such as the Machanga riots).

These sources provide important information for the reconstruction of the historical affiliation of Mozambican nationalist sentiment through the numerous documents written in **bantu** and also in English: hymns, canticles (its theological mediation), conference proceedings, correspondence exchanged between leaders of African churches...¹¹ Thus, the contours of religious figures of political importance, such as **Elias Saúte Mucambe** and **Kamba Simango**, emerge with more clarity.¹²

As far as the literary groups are concerned, the role and function of the poetry of rupture [poesia de ruptura] in heightening political “awareness” [“conscientização”] has already been sufficiently emphasized. A reading of the **corpus** of African writing in Portuguese, produced during the 1940s and 1950s, confirms this fact. At the head of this body of texts is the collection of poems published in 1942, entitled **Ilha de Nome Santo**, by the São Tomé author Francisco José Tenreiro whose singular and solitary *démarche* inaugurated the expression of **Négritude** within the context of Lusophone writing. After this came writings marked unequally by poetic inspiration and, concomitantly, critical writings (some of which remain unpublished).

These texts were written by authors living in urban centers (Luanda, Lourenço Marques) and also in Portugal, especially among university students in Coimbra and Lisbon. The first space, the urban centers, was the theater for attempts at organized literary movements (**Vamos descobrir Angola**, **Movimento dos Novos Intelectuais** and, less significantly, **Msaho**) and the launching of periodic publications dedicated to culture. The second space, in Portugal, was the home of

the Centro de Estudos Africanos [Center of African Studies], which will be discussed below. Through correspondence exchanged between those involved a comparison and circulation of themes and ideas was established between them. The existing **corpus** of documentation, which is noteworthy for its will to testify, is relatively restricted, but the density and social range resulted from its integration into a significant and broader group of texts and from a reading, simultaneously, of texts and their intertextuality.

Poetry—exemplified by the poems of Agostinho Neto, Noémia de Sousa, José Craveirinha, Viriato da Cruz, Marcelino dos Santos, Gabriel Mariano, Ovídio Martins, and António Jacinto, among others—is organized, in our opinion, according to three principal themes:

- a. the search for identity;
- b. the search for African cultural models;
- c. the expression of the social reality.

Some unpublished letters from this period reveal the premonitions of the poets—heralding the profound convulsion of the colonized society.

We can now return to what we had highlighted above—the phases that set the tempo of nationalist **praxis** during the years following the Second World War—but considered from the perspective of unity.

As had happened at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is in the capital of the “empire” that a group of Africans, which included university students and some mid-level civil servants of the state apparatus, engaged at the end of the 1940s in a peaceful battle for the revitalization of an association with the name of “Casa d’África Portuguesa” or, in the language of the period, for a society that would defend “the interests of the African masses.” Ultimately, this was an attempt to seize the leadership that had been illegally controlled by a formerly prominent figure of proto-nationalism, Artur de Castro.

The **Comissão Reorganizadora** [Reorganizing Commission]—which included some of the future actors-leaders of the wars of national liberation, such as Amílcar Cabral, António Vasco Cabral, Marcelino dos Santos, Alda do Espírito Santo, and Mário Pinto de Andrade—finally lost the battle for compliance with the commission’s statutory rules during the last, tumultuous meeting that took place on August 2, 1950.

A new field of activity then opened with the creation of the “Centro de Estudos Africanos” by a small group of young intellectuals in October 1951. The center

was the mainspring of education and cultural information, of the “re-Africanization of spirits,” where the denunciation of colonialism was forged. Parallel to this, the same nucleus of people developed initiatives with a nationalist character in the “class associations” and centers of cultural and political agitation—the **Clube Marítimo Africano** and the **Casa dos Estudantes do Império**.

It became increasingly necessary in the Portuguese political scene to act clandestinely.

The discourse of unity was formulated in step with the explosion of organizations that spread throughout the colonial space.

The originality of the phenomenon in relation to proto-nationalism can be seen on a number of different levels, such as:

- **concurrent leadership**, which is to say that the actors-leaders found themselves effectively in leadership positions of nationalist movements or in the process of assuming these roles;
- the multiplicity of external locations where the discourse was elaborated (expanding the spatial horizon) and, consequently, of the political praxis: Lisbon, Paris, Tunis, Conakry, Casablanca, Rabat;
- the appeal for a plurality of interlocutors-addressees:
 - Internally: manual laborers and intellectuals, from the countryside and from the cities, peasants, workers, students, soldiers obliged to serve in the colonial army;
 - Externally: colonial authorities, Portuguese and international public opinion, the United Nations.

3. The Second Order of Discourse

We are finally in a position to analyze the contents of the second order of discourse of *Clamor Africano*. We limit ourselves here to the period of its formulation, which occurred between the phase of organizational explosion and the constitutive meeting of C.O.N.C.P. [Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas], from 1957 to 1961. This corresponds to the emergence of the modern political process of unity in the historical context of the achievement of African independence and of **peaceful coexistence** and **positive neutrality**.

The theoretical **corpus** is composed of the following writings which would come to constitute the hegemonic statement:

1. The proceedings of the “consultation and study meeting for the development of the fight against Portuguese colonialism,” which took place in Paris from November 15-18, 1957.
2. The Manifesto of MAC (Movimento Anti-Colonialista) proclaimed on January 1, 1960, in Conakry.
3. The “Carta da F.R.A.I.N.” (Frente Revolucionária Africana para a Independência Nacional das Colónias Portuguesas) released on January 28, 1960, in Tunis.
4. The statement in the press conference—the “Comunicado da Conferência de Imprensa dos dirigentes nacionalistas das colónias portuguesas”—held in the House of Commons in London on December 6, 1960.
5. The resolutions of the “Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas” (C.O.N.C.P.) held in Casablanca from April 18-20, 1961.

We can identify the producers of these texts (those who were most involved): a restricted group of young intellectuals undergoing a **Jacobin** transformation into political professionalization.

How are the different political categories of the discourse presented through these texts?

Starting from the **unequivocal** affirmation of a cultural identity of **Africans** in the struggle for the advent of the nation, the nationalists express a line of thinking about the **enemy, violence, the organization and social base** that constitutes the chosen categories of our analysis.

3.1. The Enemy

In a concise formulation that leaves no margin for any doubt whatsoever, colonialism is defined as the **irreconcilable** enemy of the people of the Portuguese colonies in Africa. It is a system and an apparatus of oppression.

Guided by pedagogical purposes intended to clarify the notion of the enemy among the Africans and among the Portuguese, the MAC Manifesto refutes the juridical principles invoked by Portugal in defense of colonial domination—the **historical right, the effective occupation of territories, the need for progress and for the material and moral development of the colonies and their populations**; principles that were negated and destroyed, respectively, by the Berlin Conference, the League of Nations, and the United Nations.

In negative terms, “Salazarism,” the Portuguese version of fascism, is not the principal enemy: “it is the virulent, but by nature transitory, instrument of the old and hateful Portuguese colonialism.”

The reciprocity of the historical perspective, however, is affirmed:

“But by fighting against Portuguese colonialism, our people are giving to the Portuguese people the best contribution to their fight against fascism. Because as long as the Portuguese colonial structure endures, it is certain that the Portuguese people will run the risk of becoming victims of fascist dictatorships.”

Hence, the proposal for an **alliance** between the liberation movements and the Portuguese Opposition, for the formation of a **united front** against fascism and colonialism.

3.2. Violence

Even before Fanon’s theorization of the liberating function of violence, the core group of nationalists had characterized the colonial situation as a permanent act of violence.

And because violence is inherent to the system of domination, the Portuguese government placed itself in a dilemma: either maintain the regime or, threatened at the foundations of its supremacy, pursue the colonial war. Violence was thus situated in the enemy’s camp. The Portuguese government responded to the legitimate revolt of the people with bloody repression. Creator of a war psychosis, Portugal was accused of practicing genocide and of preparing the unleashing of a preventive war.

With its right to insurrection supported by international law, the nationalist movement establishes as an essential objective the response to violence, which, according to Fanon, is “a reality deriving from and mediated by the exploitative process of colonialism.”

Hence the necessity of destroying the structure and the forces of Portuguese colonialism. But this destruction can be realized by peaceful and by violent means. Both options are referred to in the MAC manifesto.

As a last resort:

“To unleash, under the most appropriate forms, the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, in a just war of national liberation, in response to the unjust colonial war imposed by the Portuguese colonialists.”

A variation on this, which was adapted at the site of the political discourse given in the House of Commons, “this august house of democracy,” on December 6, 1960, was the use of the expression—the only alternative of “direct action”—since the method was demanded by the peoples who “are now insisting with the maximum urgency for an organised plan of active self-defense.”

The dominant language in this atmosphere of revendication and the defining of political principles focused on the **immediate** achievement of national sovereignty, **actual** independence, and the **total** liquidation of colonialism and of imperialism on the African continent.

3.3. The Organization and Social Base

The texts make clear the need for organization, the condition **sine qua non** for the achievement of the objective of liberation.

During the early moments, the appeal to organizational participation aimed to bring together **patriots**, **honest Africans** (in the anticolonial fight), though, at the time, the leadership of the struggle was assigned—illusorily—to the **proletariat**.

The meeting in which the core of nationalist ideologues intended to proceed to a **class** analysis of each one of the colonized societies ended with a mimetic exercise.

Thus, the adoption of the following principle:

“The working classes of the Portuguese colonies of Africa are the most revolutionary. The role of mobilizing and organizing the masses and of the leadership of the struggle against colonialism belongs to the proletariat.”

In 1960, F.R.A.I.N. defined itself as the “**alliance** of political parties and mass organizations of African countries under Portuguese colonial domination.”

Finally, C.O.N.C.P. elevated the organizational quality of the movement by engaging “all of the patriots of the Portuguese colonies to mobilize themselves in their national organizations” and by inviting “the various nationalist movements to join forces in fighting fronts united around an immediate objective: the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism.”

4. Conclusion

We have briefly seen the unfolding of the **processus** of expression of the protest writings, of the manifestations of unitary proto-nationalism in Portugal, and how this leads to the rupture provoked by the group of modern nationalists.

At the end of this ideological narrative, it is useful to question the epistemological limits of our **own *démarche***.

1. The global understanding of the order of discourse of *Clamor Africano*, its nature, and the socio-cultural profile of its producers must proceed from a conception of history capable of capturing in the same movement the **social totality** of the African group under analysis—which explains the ideas and the formation of mentalities. Pierre Vilar encourages us “to think everything historically” as the essential line of Marxism. We took (***pro domo nostra***) social history as the guiding method of approach in the final writing of this research.

2. The nationalist political statement is not limited, obviously, to the “leadership cycle” of texts, but it is inter-related to the “popular cycle.” It is for this reason that the historiography of nationalisms must base its ideological affiliation on the multiform and unremitting resistances that for centuries set the tempo of battle against foreign occupation—something which confers on this historiography the temporal breadth of the **long duration**. And it would not be possible to understand in any other way how the set of ideas of the original nationalist nucleus, which evolved progressively into the **Marxian** or **Marxist** leadership core of the wars of national liberation, took root in broad sectors of the colonized society, materializing collective aspirations for social change.

The importance of the oral and written testimonies of the protagonists of the “popular cycle” cannot be overemphasized.

The initiative of “Oficina de História,” conceived and advanced by Aquino de Bragança, who remains present **here today** in our thoughts, should be seen as part of this attempt to understand the **lived experience** of the popular masses by the participants themselves.

We also wish to quote from the study undertaken by the historian Achille Mbembé on the nationalist discourse in Cameroon that takes the “Union of the Peoples of Cameroon” (UPC) as the paradigmatic example. The linguistic factor is relevant in all of this research on political expression. The author writes:

What does it mean to say “enunciate the political” when “subaltern actors” decide to re-appropriate in their own language and organize word practices through which they define their space and their own logics? The “passage” or “non-passage” to the political is unintelligible if the mental, cultural, social and political structures within which the actors move, the understanding they possess from them and the modes by which they name them, are not taken into consideration.

...the sung or written text in the **basaà** language obliges the analyst to grasp the way in which the political actors enunciate political time, divide into periods, and articulate the calendar and the seasons, organize memory and accumulate motivations that authorize the radicalization of the struggle or the expulsion of this last to a kind of messianic waiting time. The same written or sung text allows us, then, to perceive the manner how, within a nationalist discursive structure, the monolithic and uniform appearance of the enunciation in French is enriched in the national language.¹³

It is in this context that the return to oral and written texts opens new possibilities for investigation.

3. The scope of the subject under discussion requires, finally, the incorporation of the entire African socio-cultural context beyond the borders in which the Portuguese colonies were artificially inserted.

These seem to us to be the necessary formulations that should guide the direction of the historiography of nationalism.

Translated by Mario Pereira

NOTES

* Originally published as “As Ordens do Discurso do ‘Clamor Africano’: Continuidade e Ruptura na Ideologia do Nacionalismo Unitário” *Estudos Moçambicanos*, v. 7, 1990, pp. 9-27. This translation is published with the generous permission of the heirs of Mário Pinto de Andrade. The formatting, layout and typography of the original article have for the most part been retained in the translation. These strategic choices by the author do not conform to the recommendations of current style manuals, but they were intended to encourage a certain kind of critical reading experience. Section numbers have been added for clarity.

1. See, *Gazeta do Sul*, 1889-1892, weekly paper, Quelimane (Mozambique).

2. *O Negro*, n. 1, March 9, 1911.

3. *Tribuna d'África*, n. 7, v. 18, June 22, 1913.

4. “Para a união dos africanos de Lisboa e de toda a África! Para a união de todos os portugueses,” *África*, November 11, 1931.

5. *A Voz d'África*, n. 15, April 1, 1913.

6. *Ibid.*, n. 1, September 1, 1912.

7. *Correio de África*, n. 44, June 1, 1922.

8. *Ibid.*, n. 2, June 7, 1921.

9. Cf. Tenreiro, Francisco José, *A Ilha de São Tomé. Memórias da Junta de Investigação do Ultramar*, v. 24, 1961.

10. See, George Balandier, "Messianismes et Natioanlismes en Afrique Noire," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, v. 14, 1953, pp. 41-65.
11. Afonso Ivens Ferraz de Freitas, "Província de Moçambique: Seitas Religiosas Gentílicos (Confidencial)," *Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*, v. 4, 1957.
12. See, Mário Pinto de Andrade, "Proto-Nacionalismo em Moçambique: Kamba Simango," *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*, n. 6, 1989, pp. 127-148.
13. J. Achille Mbembé, "La palabre de l'indépendance: les ordres du discours nationaliste au Cameroun (1948-1958)," *Revue française de science politique*, n. 3, 1985, pp. 459-487.