International Shaping of a Nationalist Imagery? Robert van Lierop, Eduardo Mondlane and *A luta continua*[1]

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Introduction

In 1967, two opponents of United States foreign policy met by chance in Nairobi, at a dinner that an exiled African National Congress (ANC) activist couple was hosting in their flat: Robert van Lierop, a young African-American lawyer, anti-Vietnam campaigner, and active member of the radical strain of the US civil rights movement, and Eduardo Mondlane, President of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), the armed movement that was directly challenging colonial rule over Mozambique by one of the United States' NATO allies, Portugal's autocratic *Estado Novo* ('New State').[2] By the end of dinner, an enduring collaboration between these two strangers had been born. When van Lierop landed in Dar es Salaam two days later, Mondlane would introduce him to the inner workings of FRELIMO's Department of Information and Propaganda (DIP). The young lawyer would go on to become one of Mondlane's principal collaborators in the mobilization of American public opinion against the United States' backing of Portugal. Five years later, this transatlantic collaboration materialized in what would become one of FRELIMO's most famous propaganda films. The utopian representation of FRELIMO's

armed struggle in 1972's *A luta continua* ('The Struggle Continues') proved to be the most effective mean of winning the hearts and minds of American audiences.

A luta continua is the American version of the more than 10 propaganda films made behind the front lines of the war in Mozambique between 1967 and 1973. The films were produced by foreign sympathizers from Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, China, Great Britain, Soviet Union, Italy, Sweden, Algeria, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the United States.[3] By documenting the liberation movement's military strength inside Mozambique, depicting FRELIMO as the main provider of basic educational, health and agricultural facilities to local populations, or constructing more sophisticated visual allegories of the birth of new national communities inside the so-called 'liberated zones', these audiovisual representations of FRELIMO's struggle did not originally aim at mobilizing the support of the Mozambican 'national community'.[4] At the moment of their creation, a 'national community' was in fact no more than an aspiration of FRELIMO's political agenda.[5] The films aimed, instead, at mobilizing the support of the international community: this was crucial for guaranteeing the material, moral and diplomatic success that would decide who would play the role of Mozambican interlocutor in a post-colonial world order (Stephens 2011).

When, following the Carnation Revolution and the subsequent signing of the Lusaka Accords in 1974, FRELIMO received international recognition as the legitimate state authority over post-colonial Mozambique, the films that had once been intended for international audiences acquired a new role.[6] With the imperative of securing FRELIMO's hold on power and developing a new revolutionary identity for Mozambique, FRELIMO's former DIP, now the new Ministry of Information, found in this corpus of international films a powerful tool to be redirected towards the newly proclaimed 'national audiences'. Up to the time of independence, a large majority of Mozambicans knew very little about the armed struggle. Widely circulated in rural areas using mobile cinemas and projected on the screens of former colonial theatres in urban enclaves, these films proved useful in providing a visual testimony of the liberation movement's struggle to overthrow the colonial government.[7] Furthermore, presented by FRELIMO's leadership to the new generation of nationalist intellectuals and journalists as the "first examples of a truly Mozambican national cinema",[8] these films also proved instrumental in providing the nationalist intelligentsia with a roadmap for developing a new visual canon for Mozambique: one that, as scholars have argued, found its main trope in a particular account of a victorious struggle (Borges Coelho 2013).

The aim of this paper is to reassess the representation of 'the struggle' constructed by *A luta continua*, taking into account the perspective of its international crafters, the original context in which it was realized, as well as the audiences which it initially targeted. The post-colonial 'nationalization' of this pre-independence *corpus* of films partly explains why the as-yet sparse scholarship devoted to them has viewed the films through the lens of FRELIMO's state and nation-building activities, rather than from

the standpoint of FRELIMO's diplomatic agenda before independence.[9] As a result, even if the work of these scholars has broken new ground in bringing to the fore several continuities that linked pre-independence imageries and visual practices with those promoted as 'national' by FRELIMO after it gained state power, their work leaves a void. Almost no analysis has yet taken seriously the discontinuities arising from the fact that these films were originally made by a diverse group of people from around the world, each working in different cultural, audio-visual and political contexts. The films were also realized as part of differing diplomatic strategies, and therefore aimed at different audiences made up of very different social, political, and racial groups in their respective countries.[10] How did these 'international' particularities shape the ways FRELIMO and its collaborators represented 'the struggle'? Can we add something new to the study of the visual products of nationalist propaganda by taking a fresh look at them from the perspective of the international strategies and solidarities that fashioned them?

These are the main questions that I propose to explore in this paper, taking note of Aquino de Bragança and Jacques Depelchin's (1986: 173) well-known suggestion that FRELIMO's struggle should not be seen in terms of the definitive concept emerging after 1975, but as a concept that was continually reshaped, renegotiated and changed in the long process leading to the consolidation of state power. If we are to understand how established concepts such as 'the struggle,' or 'the liberated zones' – which the film I analyse seeks to represent – became crystallized as fully determined meanings in post-colonial times, we should try not only to return to the time of their construction – as some post-colonial researchers have already been doing with promising results – but also to bring to the forefront of our analyses what Frederick Cooper (2008) would call the *constraints* and *possibilities* that shaped them. Scholars of African-American internationalism have already begun assessing FRELIMO's relations with American networks of solidarity, perhaps one of the main constraints that shaped the version of 'the struggle' that this movie depicts.[11] What still remains almost unexplored are the *visual* strategies for FRELIMO's propaganda aimed at international audiences.[12] It is these strategies that I will try to reconstruct, making use of archival materials, interviews and secondary literature. Finally, my thinking in this paper has also been influenced by the critical scholarship on nationalism, which claims that in order to denaturalize what the nationalist myth has sought to convert into historical fact, we must start by focusing on the individuals who were behind the selection process of such constructions.[13]

This is why my discussion begins by foregrounding Robert van Lierop and Eduardo Mondlane, who I consider the main promoters of the movie. By highlighting the personal, media and political experiences that moved these strangers to establish a transnational collaboration for an audio-visual project, the first and second parts of the paper seek to locate the imaginary that informs *A luta continua* against the background

of van Lierop and Mondlane's interconnected biographies prior to their first meeting in 1967. Moving forward to 1968, the year in which the idea of making a movie was born, the third part of the paper relocates *A luta continua* within the context of the renewal of FRELIMO's visual strategies that was taking place at the same time. By focusing on some of these innovations, this third part of the paper aims to explore how van Lierop's representation of the struggle changed in accordance with the constraints and possibilities that emerged during the five long years spanning from the conception to the completion of the film. The last part of the paper builds on the preceding discussion to offer a new reading of the film, assessing it from the perspective of how van Lierop's team deployed sound and images in an attempt to mobilize support for FRELIMO's struggle from US audiences. Finally, my conclusions steer clear of definitive answers to our initial question. Instead, I close by suggesting that reassessing this early case study of nationalist propaganda from the perspective of its international crafters and the audiences for which it was originally intended might enrich our understanding of how FRELIMO began to craft its nationalist imagery for a post-colonial Mozambique, at a time when winning the hearts and minds of international allies was crucial for winning the war.

Robert van Lierop and FRELIMO

Before Robert van Lierop directed one of the most effective films for the mobilization of international solidarity with FRELIMO, he himself had been inspired by eclectic imagery of faraway rebellions to take an active role in what he perceived to be a world struggle for racial equality and social justice. Born into an interracial family in Harlem, New York, in 1939, van Lierop recalls the first stories that spurred his awareness of the worldwide interconnectedness of conflict and ethnic strife.[14] His father, a former merchant and native of Suriname, told his son stories of harsh physical punishment inflicted on 'people of colour' that he witnessed during his years working for a Dutch company in Africa and Asia. Van Lierop recounts how these stories mingled, in his childish imagination, with the fictional accounts of the adventurous feats of the comic strip heroes *Jungle Jim* and *The Phantom* in the faraway jungles of the Third World that his brother read and retold to the young Robert as if they were real.[15] In the mid-1950s, van Lierop's dreams of rebellions in colonial lands gain a real referent with the news and images from the Algerian revolution broadcast to American audiences in the mass media.[16] Inspired by the events in Algeria and accounts of the Greek civil war, he decided to enlist in the US army with the intention of seeing first-hand the evolution of another conflict in which United States had intervened: in 1956, van Lierop boarded a military ship headed to Korea.

As was the case for many other African-American recruits, his experience in Asia deepened van Lierop's still-maturing sense of pan-racial solidarity and black consciousness. While he remembers feeling himself an equal with the Asian people he

met, he experienced the worst racism and hostility from some of his comrades at US military bases. After serving three years in Korea and Japan, he was about to return home, when, visualizing victorious Fidel Castro entering Havana, he became convinced that a revolution for racial equality could also be possible in the United States.[17] It was this first-hand experience in Asia – combined with the example of revolutionary Cuba – that eventually led to his direct action activism in the United States. By then, struggling for racial equality and social justice was for van Lierop not only a matter of working closely with the black community, something that he had started to do with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Long Island during his university years,[18] but his activism also included campaigning against the American intervention in other lands inhabited by 'people of colour':[19] in 1960, van Lierop was among the first generation of African American activists who started to speak out against American interventionism in Vietnam.[20]

It was at that moment, when van Lierop's internationalist activism was facing the East, that a new media event redirected his attention to FRELIMO's struggle. In 1964, the unprecedented publicity that Malcolm X's second and third trips to Africa received from some independent media in the United States nourished the ideal of a transatlantic black community struggling as one against the yoke of racism, colonialism and imperialism. Proclaimed by the Muslim Students Association as *Omowale* ("the child has come home") (Rummel, Wagner 2004: 81), the image of Malcolm X, dressed in African garb and being hosted by the most prominent leaders of independent Africa, became the icon for a generation of African-American activists who followed in his footsteps by travelling to the motherland.[21] Spurred by this same media event, van Lierop started to plan his first trip to Africa in 1967. To do this, he relied on the assistance of Danny Schechter, a friend from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC),[22] who would put him in touch with an extended network of ANC exiles and African-American activists that would introduce him to the vibrant atmosphere of the capitals of independent Congo, Senegal, Ghana, Kenya and Tanzania. In the case of Dar es Salaam, the contact that Schechter provided van Lierop with was that of Eduardo Mondlane, the president of FRELIMO.

As van Lierop recalls, meeting Eduardo Mondlane was his introduction to FRELIMO's struggle. He was visiting Nairobi when Mondlane appeared, by coincidence, at the flat of common friends. Unlike the revolutionary movements that had inspired van Lierop's international activism to this point, by 1967, the struggle for liberation that Mondlane was leading in Mozambique had not yet made any headlines in the American media. A dinner with this "very captivating and larger than life personality" was enough to attract van Lierop's interest in this little-known movement.[23] Three years into its armed struggle, FRELIMO had proved successful in advancing militarily inside the territory it aimed at liberating – something that South Africa's ANC and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), two liberation movements that were more established and

better-known in the United States were still far from achieving. Furthermore, by 1967, FRELIMO was also the only national liberation movement of those operating from Dar es Salaam which, following the example of Algeria's FLN, had successfully established so-called 'liberated zones' inside the colonial territory. Within these zones, Mondlane used to say, the Mozambican people were starting to build a new life beyond any kind of exploitation of man by man.[24]

From the perspective of young African-American activists seeking new inspiration and allies in independent Africa to fight racial and social inequality in the United States, FRELIMO's example must have been quite impressive. It was proof of the possibility of success for a broad-based African movement in building a racially and economically just system, right in the heart of the last bastion of white imperialism that Southern Africa represented at the time. Furthermore, FRELIMO shared a common enemy in Mozambique with those struggling for civil rights in the United States. From 1963, Mondlane accused the US government of complicity in the continuation of Portuguese rule in Mozambique through the NATO alliance.[25]

Invited by Mondlane to visit FRELIMO's headquarters once in Dar es Salaam, when two days later van Lierop arrived in Africa's 'capital of liberation' – headquarters of the ANC, ZAPU, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) – his attention was already focused on the less well-known but highly promising FRELIMO.[26] And in the following weeks, spent in a flat FRELIMO maintained in the Tanzanian capital, close beside the offices of the movement's DIP, he would become closely acquainted with the production of information and propaganda materials by FRELIMO for English-speaking audiences. Returning home, he took the pan-African tradition of transatlantic solidarity that Malcolm X had fuelled one step further. With the aim of making the struggle that FRELIMO was leading in Mozambique more visible, he accepted a position on the Steering Committee of the American Committee on Africa (ACOA), the major non-governmental organisation working to mobilize support for African liberation struggles in the United States.[27] From this point on, van Lierop became one of the main connecting nodes between FRELIMO and the radical black movements and university groups to which he spoke directly. Through it all, he maintained as his first contact back in Africa his new friend and collaborator Eduardo Mondlane.

Eduardo Mondlane and the United States

Quite different reasons would make Eduardo Mondlane choose this young African-American activist as one of his closest collaborators for the mobilization of American public opinion against United States foreign policies. Born in 1922, in Gaza, Mozambique, Mondlane spent more than 10 years in the United States before taking over FRELIMO's leadership in 1962. While in van Lierop's case, his race identity had played a key role in mobilizing him to oppose the United States government both domestically and abroad,

for Mondlane racial discrimination had led him to identify with some of the policies the United States promoted in Africa. In 1951, helped by the Swiss Mission with which he had been connected since his childhood,[28] Mondlane managed to earn one of the various scholarships that white liberal groups in the United States had been offering to black Africans since 1945 – an effort both to step up the preparation of a future generation of African leaders on the eve of independence and to prevent the spread of communism in Africa (Stephens 2011: 134). Although Mondlane was fully aware of both sides of this strategy, he felt at ease with them. Back in Mozambique, under Portuguese rule, being a black Mozambican (*indígena* in Portuguese repertoire) was extensively the main reason for being deprived of any access to education, political rights and social mobility.[29] Mondlane pursued his Bachelor's and subsequent graduate degrees in the US, then worked as an international research officer in the Trusteeship Department of the United Nations in New York and finally as an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Syracuse. In this time, he developed a strong identification with American strains of liberal ideology, which he regarded as the principal means to achieve social progress and provide education for black people.[30]

Not surprisingly, when Mondlane assumed the presidency of FRELIMO in 1962, this liberal, Western-educated African represented the best possible interlocutor with the United States that FRELIMO could have. He needed to convince the US government to isolate its NATO ally, the Portuguese New State, and instead adopt a favourable position toward the anti-colonial movement contesting its ally's rule in Africa.[31] Respected for his moderate, liberal, and American-educated profile, assisted by his extensive network of contacts, and equipped with a proposal to build a secondary school for refugees in Tanzania, by the mid 1960s Mondlane had impressed everyone: he was the first leader of an armed anti-colonial movement to be welcomed into his office by 'Bobby' Kennedy, the attorney general of the United States.[32] And thanks to the Mozambique Institute project – a secondary school that Mondlane and his white American wife, Janet, planned along the model of the similar Kurasini International Educational Center (KIEC) in Dar es Salaam - he was also the first liberation leader able to secure the financial support of an American private organisation, the Ford Foundation, which was quite close to the state (Panzer 2009: 809).[33] Thus, in practical terms, United States was financing the 'humanitarian arm'[34] of a movement which was at the same time negotiating military training and the acquisition of weapons from the Soviet Union and China, Cold War rivals of the United States, in order to start a guerrilla war against a US ally in Mozambique.[35]

Despite this brilliant start, Mondlane's initial success using liberal circles to convince the United States to exert pressure on Portugal soon revealed its limits. For a start, the Portuguese New State quickly demonstrated how effectively it could use access to its strategic military bases in the Azores to secure the diplomatic backing of the Kennedy administration, also at the United Nations (Rodrigues 2013: 170).[36] Threatening a

boycott against the Ford Company, the New State also put an end to private support from liberal American businessmen to FRELIMO through the Mozambique Institute (Stephens 2011: 163). The loss of state-sponsored support was compounded by the swiftly waning support from liberal and church-linked groups which had been sending funds to FRELIMO's humanitarian arm through the ACOA. As other scholars have explained, this sudden decrease was due to the heightened perception of a communist threat that accompanied the Vietnam War (Stephens 2011: 225-226). Concerned by these new 'red emergencies' in the East in the mid-1960s, some of Mondlane's closest American collaborators left FRELIMO short of material support at a time when, due to the evolution of its armed struggle in Mozambique, it was needed more urgently than ever.

When Mondlane met van Lierop for the first time at that dinner in Nairobi in 1967, he seems to have been taking an increasing interest in broadening backing for FRELIMO beyond its politically liberal but socially conservative circles of support in the US. This appears to be the case, for example, when he stepped back from representing FRELIMO at the United Nations, a position which he had previously taken advantage of to communicate directly with American state officials.[37] Now he concentrated instead on accessing new channels and actors that could put him in direct contact with civil society, as when he attended the press-dinner on Black Leadership organised by a group of professors from Howard University in January 1967. Among the attendees were journalists from the New York Times, Los Angeles Times and Chicago Daily.[38] At this dinner Mondlane arranged his first TV interview, broadcast on a local TV channel in New York TV that same year.[39]

Interestingly enough, Mondlane's concern with audiovisual media arose hand in hand with a noticeable radicalization of his public discourse, in line with the anti-American imperialism that was gaining considerable weight in the radical and left-oriented sectors of American activism to which van Lierop belonged. Characteristic of this radicalization was his 1967 interview published in *Africa Today*. While Mondlane had been publicly critical of US foreign policy since the Ford Foundation abandoned its financial backing for the Mozambique Institute, in this interview he directed a fierce attack against American businessmen for contributing to the continuation of white minority rule in Southern Africa through their investments in private companies. Additionally, a clear intention to link FRELIMO's imaginary with the threatening vocabulary used by some radical anti-Vietnam campaigners in their public demonstrations against the United States' intervention in Indochina was also present in this interview. Coming from the 'moderate' Mondlane, the phrase "[i]f the Portuguese want a Dien Bien Phu, we are prepared to give it to them"[40] went beyond announcing the continuation of FRELIMO's military operations in Mozambique: it was also evidence of a radical change in FRELIMO's diplomatic and information dissemination activities abroad.

In fact, the sudden appearance of the young Robert van Lierop seems to have been

timely and strategic for FRELIMO, as it was seeking to increase its diplomatic and moral support in the United States. From the mid-1960s, both the more radical anti-Vietnam campaigners and the Black Power movement that van Lierop belonged to were gaining strength in the United States politics, building up an ability to apply pressure that Mondlane's traditional circles could no longer guarantee to FRELIMO. In this context, the appearance of this Third World traveller, African American student leader and pioneer of the anti-Vietnam campaign must have been very welcome to Mondlane, who never gave up his attempts to influence US foreign policy on Portugal and push through a diplomatic solution for the independence of Mozambique.

Van Lierop had two key advantages in taking up a role as the new connection between FRELIMO and American audiences. First, he and Mondlane shared common friends in the ANC and civil rights networks, a fact that must have set Mondlane's mind at ease about the identity of this 'revolutionary tourist'.[41] This was a time when, following the setting up of the Liberation Committee (LC) of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Dar es Salaam, the city was teeming with colonial spies, Cold War scandalmongers, and even gunmen.[42] Secondly, van Lierop's moderate position in terms of race would also have worked in his favour. Never opposed to the Black Power movement, Mondlane had nonetheless warned a FRELIMO representative in Sweden about the negatives of publicly aligning with some elements of Black Power whose speech "sometimes [...] smells racist".[43] Thus, van Lierop's multi-racial activism put him in a privileged position when translating FRELIMO's claims into appealing slogans to the young lefties, without compromising the anti-racist ideology that made FRELIMO so deeply appealing to white liberals in the United States. As a close collaborator of Mondlane recalls, his main diplomatic policy was always that of augmenting the number of FRELIMO allies, reducing progressively the number of enemies.[44]

A film for the West?

The first time Mondlane talked about the possibility of making a film for American audiences with van Lierop was in 1968, a year after they had met in Nairobi. After van Lierop left Dar es Salaam, he maintained a regular correspondence with Mondlane. In turn, Mondlane did his best to see van Lierop during the numerous visits he made to the United States as part of his ongoing efforts to bring FRELIMO's cause to the attention of influential opinion makers. Van Lierop recalls that it was during one of these visits, when they were discussing how "to increase people's knowledge and the awareness of FRELIMO" that "the idea of a complete media treatment came up". This would include "articles, photos, even a film documenting the struggle".[45] Van Lierop was a lawyer, not a filmmaker. However, he was well acquainted with some of the African American activists who were so innovatively experimenting with the use of moving images in their campaigns for mobilization, or 'education', as it used to be called.[46] From 1965, the commercialization of the Super8 film camera had revolutionized the

possibilities for mass mobilization, allowing activists to bring back not only first-hand audio records, but also visual testimony from the peoples in whose name they were fighting. Van Lierop's task for FRELIMO's film would thus be to put together and lead the right team to bring FRELIMO's cause to the eyes of American audiences.

In the context of the rise of what scholars have called the visual era and the consolidation of the American Empire of images (Kunkel 2015), the idea of using still and moving images for mobilizing US public opinion against their government's foreign policy did indeed not sound all that original. Algeria's National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN), from which FRELIMO had drawn its main inspiration,[47] had already demonstrated how useful the pictures taken by foreign reporters in FLN war zones could be in mobilizing support from international audiences against states that were still disputing even the existence of such wars, as was the case of France in Algeria, and then Portugal in Mozambique.[48] Following the FLN's example, the National Liberation Front of Angola (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola, FLNA) and the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, PAIGC) had promptly started to bring foreign sympathizers to their war zones to visually document their military strength, territorial control and broad-based support.[49] In addition to the already demonstrated mobilizing effect of this imagery, the moving images of the Vietnam War shot by NBC and beamed directly into American living rooms beginning in 1965, undoubtedly marked a milestone in the mobilization of public opinion against the United States foreign policy through media. By 1968, the impact of televised Vietnam was such that Mondlane was complaining of its eclipsing effect on FRELIMO's struggle. "[The] struggle in Vietnam", he argued, was "overshadow[ing] every struggle everywhere in the world", and drawing the focus of the "American press, radio and television" away from "covering us".[50]

As surprising as it might seem, despite Mondlane's keen awareness of the impact that visuals had in American politics, and his equally thorough knowledge of the visual practices deployed by other liberation movements fighting similar diplomatic struggles, when Mondlane and van Lierop talked in 1968 about photos and video for a film about FRELIMO's armed struggle, not so much as a single picture of the struggle in Mozambique had been made available to American audiences. Janet I. MacLaughlin, Executive Associate of ACOA and responsible for its Department of Communications, expressed as much to Sietse Bosgra, the head of the Angola Committee – the principal solidarity movement with the struggles of the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO in the Netherlands –. Bosgra had written to his counterparts in the United States asking for a picture to illustrate their new pamphlet on the liberation struggles in Portuguese Africa. Not only was MacLaughlin unable to find a picture of FRELIMO, which ACOA had been supporting since 1962, in its archives; she could neither think of a single visual reference to FRELIMO's armed struggle, except for a photograph she had recently seen in a clipping from a Tanzanian journal published that same month, October 1968.[51]

Of course, the fact that there were no pictures of FRELIMO's armed struggle available from its closest collaborators in the United States and Netherlands did not mean that those pictures did not exist at all. FRELIMO's image-making actually predates the outbreak of the war, with a series of portraits of leaders and political meetings in Dar es Salaam, as well as military trainings in South Tanzania.[52] In September 1965, one year after the outbreak of armed violence in Mozambique, the first delegation of FRELIMO's leaders had already gone into the Mozambican war zones accompanied by a photographer.[53] And from 1966, this practice became systematic when, following the example of the Algerian FLN, FRELIMO founded its own Photo and Film Section under the umbrella of its DIP (Schefer 2015: 208). Indeed, some of the pictures taken by DIP's Mozambican photographers had started to circulate among French-speaking audiences in North Africa and Southern Europe with connections to FRELIMO's representation in Algiers.[54] At the head of this other media landscape was Marcelino dos Santos, FRELIMO's Secretary for Foreign Affairs and the movement's main connection with French-speaking world and the Eastern bloc (Kaiser 2017: 41). However, a different visual aspect of FRELIMO's struggle seems to have been provided to the English-speaking world and western countries in which the moderate and liberal Mondlane acted as FRELIMO's main face, such as the Nordic countries, the Netherlands, or Switzerland. In these countries, just as in the United States, the main image circulated up to 1968 was that of Mondlane's self-fashioned image, – typically represented in FRELIMO's official portraits wearing a Western-style suit and bow tie. These countries had also usually received the many pictures of smiling students that Eduardo and Janet Mondlane used to send to their principal supporters in the West when reporting on FRELIMO's educational accomplishments in the Mozambique Institute.[55]

But on the verge of 1968, the sanitised imagery with which FRELIMO's struggle – and Mondlane's leadership – had been presented in this sphere of influence seems to have been in need of urgent transformation. It was certainly no longer effective in the context of waning conservative support for African independence, the growing impact of left-oriented youth in the NATO countries, and the aestheticization of guerrilla warfare that the Vietnam War and the Tricontinental momentum were powerfully animating in the minds of these groups. As the American historian of Portuguese decolonization Whitney Schneidman noted, even if on paper Mondlane was the leader of a revolutionary movement – inspired by the examples of the militarised struggles of Algeria, Vietnam and Cuba – he was "well aware" of his inability to be seen by younger and radicalized audiences as the head of a broader 'Third World leadership' that other nationalist leaders of Portuguese Africa, such as Amílcar Cabral, were so convincingly starting to embody at the time.[56] Indeed, Mondlane's fitness to lead a truly revolutionary movement was not only put in question internationally, when an influential Cuban press accused him of being a CIA agent – an 'armchair revolutionary,' in Guevara's words:[57] internally, the students of the Mozambique Institute in Dar es

Salaam also organised against Mondlane's leadership, criticising him for being too committed to his diplomatic agenda while they themselves were being forced to take an active part in the military struggle inside Mozambique (Roberts 2017: 10).

It was perhaps due to this internal criticism, perhaps due to the necessity of garnering the support of the new generation of radical and left-oriented activists who were becoming more actively involved in the mobilization of civil society against their governments, or some combination of both factors, that in 1968 Mondlane took an active role in the 'militarisation' of FRELIMO's visual identity. This seems to be the case when he took the unprecedented step of becoming personally involved in the translation to English and vetting of a movie that a Yugoslav reporter working for the emblematic Filmske Novosti in Dar es Salaam had recently filmed on the Cabo Delgado front.[58] "We have just made history [...]" Mondlane wrote to the President of ACOA expressing his enthusiasm for the completion of the first film made behind FRELIMO lines.[59] The militarisation of FRELIMO's imagery aimed at Western English-speaking audiences adopted rural Mozambique as the principal new setting for FRELIMO's struggle, replacing the urban Tanzanian space that the Mozambique Institute represented. This transformation also appears to hint at a transformation in Mondlane's self-image.

In 1968, the year when Mondlane and van Lierop first discussed filming inside Mozambican war zones, he was indeed undergoing a visual renovation of his self-image with the help of other Western volunteers. That January, Mondlane had organised his first trip into the Mozambican war zones, fully four years after the start of the war. To make a visual record of this historical moment, he invited Anders Johansson, a Swedish journalist from the influential left-leaning journal *Dagens Nyheter* who Mondlane had known since 1965. Johansson was one of the reporters who used to cover Mondlane's frequent encounters with the solidarity movements in Sweden.[60] This time, Anderson's report was to be different. In front of the lens of this young lefty journalist – the first Western visitor to be authorized access into the remote territory of FRELIMO's liberated zones – Mondlane's visual representation was reimagined as that of a revolutionary: dressed in a military uniform, posing next FRELIMO weaponry, surrounded by soldiers and military trainers, he assumed the visual codes of the new type of black Third World leader popularised by the Tricontinentalist imagination. This transformation was also apparent a few months later, in July 1968, when the British journalist and historian Basil Davidson became the second westerner to visit 'liberated Mozambique', also upon Mondlane's invitation (Monteiro 2012: 160). Davidson, perhaps the most renowned English-speaking Africanist writing on the liberation struggles of Southern Africa and one of the main sources of knowledge for the new radical youth, took the most widely circulated pictures of FRELIMO's Second Congress: the first and indeed the only time when Mondlane was photographed alongside almost all of FRELIMO's military leadership in Mozambique.

The first moving images of this new 'revolutionary' Mondlane would have presumably

been shot a few months later by van Lierop's team had Mondlane not been killed in February 1969 by one of those bombs that so shaped the future of independent Africa. Deprived of his main interlocutor within FRELIMO's leadership structure – and the likely protagonist for his film, van Lierop put aside his media project on Mozambique. He was to resume it only in the autumn of 1970.[61] Two reasons seem to have brought him back to the project that he first imagined with Mondlane in 1968. First, a split in van Lierop's last Pan-African project in the United States, the so-called Pan-African Solidarity Committee (PASC), in the spring of 1970, showed him how urgent it was to educate the African-American community to understand how the struggles in Africa applied to their lives, if Malcolm X's project was to be carried through (Parrott 2014: 41). Secondly, as Mondlane had previously foreseen, the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam – initiated by the Nixon administration in response to pressure from civil society – opened a media space for American public opinion to look at the other armed conflicts in which the United States was also involved, such as the conflicts in Portuguese Africa.

"Our work is to make sure that the Americans don't come", van Lierop affirmed in August 1971, upon returning from six weeks in Niassa Province alongside Bob Fletcher – the official photographer of the SNCC –, "That is a very important job that we have to do".[62] And he continued spelling out to his fellows what FRELIMO expected from United States' activists: "The comrades [...] don't want any rhetoric about people going over there to fight in Mozambique. They don't need fighters. They believe in people's war. They believe in doing it themselves. They don't want any rhetoric about people buying guns and sending them. They don't want any of that because they can't buy arms. They get their guns from the Socialist countries in the world. That's the only way that they can get their weapons. They can't buy weapons on the market. But what they want us to do is to organize politically. They want us to go out and to educate every single person in this country about what is happening in Southern Africa – that imperialism is not only American troops in Southeast Asia, but that imperialism is also American weapons in Southern Africa. Imperialism is the Cahora Bassa dam which has American, West German, British, French and South African capital in it [...] Our task is to mobilize the masses [...], to go out into the streets [...] We must help the people of Mozambique in that way because in that way we shall also be helping ourselves".[63]

In 1972, equipped with several hours of filmed footage and more than 4,000 slides, van Lierop was finally ready to fulfil the commitment made years before to his friend and idol Eduardo Mondlane. After ten years of armed struggle in Mozambique, FRELIMO's guns might still have been coming from the East; but some of its more impressive images were about to be fired from the United States.

Film analysis

The film *A luta continua* consists of an invitation to Black activists and anti-war

campaigners in the United States to reject the point of view of pro-Portuguese mass media, and instead to see the war that FRELIMO was waging in Mozambique as part of a common struggle.[64] This is apparent from its opening scene. A typical sunset in Mozambique, followed by a panoramic view over the jungle, is interrupted by the extra-diegetic sound of the South African Radio, which announces US President Nixon's unwillingness to accede to the political demands of the prisoners' uprising at the Attica.[65] The voiceover from the South African radio station continues, condemning the international financing of terrorism in Africa, until the appearance of a FRELIMO soldier provokes an abrupt change to a new radio station, broadcasting liberation movement's original declaration of the launch of the armed struggle. The camera then follows a line of marching FRELIMO soldiers until it reaches its object in the heart of the African bush. Inside this impenetrable territory, there is a mass of black women, men and children raising their fists to salute the guerrillas. For many contemporary American spectators, the scene must have brought to mind the many photographs of black inmates raising their fists during 1971's Attica prison riot, which had quickly become one of the iconic moments of the civil rights struggle. In this way, mixing sound and images from different struggles in the same audio-visual landscape, Richard Skinner, the African-American television commercial producer who edited the movie,[66] successfully creates a new alliance: one in which the fighter of FRELIMO and the activists of the United States become part of a common media space.

What follows this powerful introduction is a 35-minute documentary in which van Lierop attempts to make his conversations with Mondlane about the meaning of FRELIMO's struggle accessible to American audiences. This had been the main inspiration for *The Struggle for Mozambique* (1969), a book which London-based and radical left-oriented Penguin Books had recently published for English-speaking audiences. Marketed as a posthumous memoir by Mondlane, the book had in reality been ghost-written by a FRELIMO member working with another young Westerner recruited by Mondlane just as he was adopting a more radical tone in his public discourse.[67] Van Lierop quoted from *The Struggle for Mozambique* in a film proposal circulated among Mondlane's former friends from academic circles and Methodist churches which successfully raised sufficient funds to produce the movie.[68] Making use of the visual language of militant cinema pioneered by Cuban revolutionary filmmakers, van Lierop's film would be a kind of adaptation of Mondlane's thoughts and book to a new audio-visual language, this time specially tailored to American spectators.

This is what van Lierop sought to do when he started his narration by locating Mozambique, a country "the size of California", in a political map of Africa.[69] On his international trips, Óscar Monteiro, FRELIMO's representative in Algiers, used to unfold a map that he carried with him and introduce Mozambique to his francophone audiences "as that land that was in front of Madagascar" (Gray 2006: 309). In van Lierop's version of 'the struggle' for US audiences, the little-known anti-colonial

struggle in Mozambique is set in the context of the much better known (and already widely supported) struggles against white minority regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia. Supplementing Mondlane's arguments with a few photographs of ports and mining facilities recycled from the colonial archive, Skinner depicts Portuguese colonialism as a strategic source of forced labour, transportation and natural resources for the regimes of John Vorster and Ian Smith. And FRELIMO, visually represented as an organised and disciplined body of identically uniformed people marching under the liberation movement's flag, appears as the only possible starting point for putting an end to this triad of white oppressors in the region.

After situating FRELIMO's struggle in Northern Mozambique in the context of a common system of oppression – the institutionalized racism experienced in both the United States and Africa – the narration proceeds to present a portrait of their common enemy. The narrator describes Portugal as the "poorest and most backward country in Western Europe",[70] making clear that this feeble colonising power has so far managed to resist the heroic organised struggle led by FRELIMO only thanks to the backing of its NATO allies, represented in the film by a cartoon drawing of a jackboot kicking the body of a black man labelled Africa. In the FRELIMO propaganda materials van Lierop would have seen distributed to local populations when he visited Mozambique, the picture of the enemy was that of the Portuguese general Kaúlza de Arriaga, who commanded one of the largest counter-insurgency campaigns in the Mozambican war.[71] In the version of the struggle crafted for American audiences, the common enemy finds its emblematic illustration in a photograph of a smiling Nixon waving to the crowds standing next to an equally cheerful Marcelo Caetano, after the two countries renewed their Azores accord in 1971.[72] In this way, van Lierop's film attempts to mobilise its audiences against the American head of state, ultimately responsible for the US foreign policy, just as they had earlier mobilised to demand the end of the Vietnam War. Additionally, the film also points to the complicity of the many American multinational corporations who had invested heavily in the region – specially in the Cabora Bassa Dam case -, represented in the film by several logos of American companies identified as the 'enemies' of an unidentified guerrilla fighter in another cartoon image.[73]

If, up to this point in the film, Skinner relies mainly on the use of still images from the colonial archive and the American press to construct a portrait of a common enemy, in the following section he seeks to create a common dream by drawing upon the moving images that Fletcher and van Lierop filmed in the Niassa camps. This is what I call the 'utopian space of FRELIMO's liberated zones': an audiovisual construction made from the combination of shots of peasants displaced by the war, images of the military and ideological training of local populations and scenes of rural life in Northern Mozambique which, resignified by the voice of the narrator, seek to give visual testimony to the birth of a new and revolutionary post-colonial nation behind FRELIMO war lines. The voiceover narration explains the filmic depiction of a rural

school as evidence of "national institutions" being developed. A nurse providing basic health assistance becomes an indication of the "hospitals" to come; a peasant working the land anticipates the organisation of agricultural cooperatives; and in the image of women wearing a military uniform, the off-screen narrator sees proof of gender equality.[74]

Whereas in other films made behind FRELIMO's lines, such as the one made by the Dutch filmmaker Rob de Vries in 1969, military training is the main activity represented in the so-called 'liberated zones'; in van Lierop's representation of these utopian spaces the only activities depicted are those related to health, education and agriculture.[75] While films like the one made by Yugoslav filmmaker Popovik in 1968 represent 'the people of Mozambique' as the men, women and children who joined military training (including images of children being trained to be soldiers), in van Lierop's depiction of the liberated zones both rural people and FRELIMO guerrillas are portrayed in the exemplary roles of farmers, teachers, students and peasants.[76] And while films such as the one made by the Russian filmmaker Natiel Natiev in 1971 found their main protagonist in the military leadership of Samora Machel,[77] in van Lierop's representation of FRELIMO's struggle the leader remains the omnipresent Eduardo Mondlane, represented by an off-screen voice informing the audiences of the key role of education.[78] Whereas other films put their effort into showing the military strength of FRELIMO, van Lierop, by representing *only* the health, educational and agricultural programs that constituted the humanitarian arm of FRELIMO's activities inside Mozambique, put forward a utopian construction of FRELIMO's 'liberated zones' that not only aimed at mobilizing the moral support of American audiences, but also provided a much more functional dimension to this American representation of 'the struggle.' As van Lierop explained, these were the only activities of FRELIMO's struggle to which United States civil society could actually contribute with direct material support.

It is against precisely this humanitarian arm of FRELIMO's struggle that Portuguese colonial violence is directed in *A luta continua*. Using footage of Portuguese aerial attacks that van Lierop bought from the London-based international news agency Visnews in 1971,[79] the sense of calm that the piano in the soundtrack imparts to the peaceful atmosphere in the liberated zones is abruptly interrupted by the sound of helicopters and children crying as the bombs of the Western-backed Portuguese enemy land on the fields, schools and hospitals that the Mozambicans are constructing – van Lierop's team was the only group of foreigners to ever witness an air raid inside Mozambique (Gray 2006: 46).[80] To portray the full extent of the irrational violence with which Portugal attacked this communal dream, Skinner supplements the film that Fletcher captured in Mozambique with three black and white photographs of white soldiers decapitating black peasants. Two of these photos were published by the East German journal *Der Spiegel* in June 1970, and the third was widely circulated by the Angola Committee in its famous boycott campaign against the purchase of Angolan

coffee in the Netherlands.[81] Together, the three photos had gained renewed currency in the Western press at the time the film was being edited as an illustration of the reports of Portuguese massacres in Mozambique.[82]

It is after this cinematic representation of brutal violence by the Portuguese coloniser that the imprint of Eduardo Mondlane's theoretical co-authorship appears with the deployment of the motto '*a luta continua*' – *The struggle continues*.[83] These were the words, the narrator tells us, with which Mondlane used to end his letters. And, as though van Lierop wanted to turn this film into one of the letters he received from Mondlane during the period of their collaboration, the title is unusually displayed only at the end of the film. Thus, each spectator becomes the addressee of Mondlane's last (audiovisual) message. One in which he once again urged American audiences to continue supporting the Mozambican *humanitarian* struggle that was being waged also behind FRELIMO's military lines.[84]

Final notes

Over the years, much of the scholarship on post-colonial Africa has focused on nation-building and the formation of national identities. The tendency has been to decode nationalist productions such as van Lierop's film *A luta continua* from the perspective of the national communities that they aimed at creating, as if this community was always the final addressee. But scholars whose pioneering studies investigate the international dimension of liberation struggles are showing that in times of armed struggle, these rhetorical expressions were often addressed to the international actors on whose moral, material and diplomatic support liberation movements depended to win their wars. This paper has attempted to examine the context, international actors, and audiences that this nationalist propaganda originally aimed at. We started by asking how these international particularities could possibly have shaped the nationalist imaginaries that were then in the making. Without giving a definitive answer, three main ideas seem to surface from this preliminary case study.

First, in examining FRELIMO's selection of the images and sound with which it represented its struggle to international audiences, the nationalist lens can be widened. Thus, it can be argued that van Lierop and Mondlane's aim of creating a mobilizing image that would appeal to a broad audience explains the film's emphasis on the definition of deterritorialized global capitalism as FRELIMO's main enemy. In the same way, this also explains the visual insistence on FRELIMO's guerrillas as 'humanitarian' actors who, detached from previous cultural identities, turned into the figure of the global subaltern, appealing for international identification. From this perspective, the prevalence of signs taken from other international imageries (like the revolutionary ethos of Tricontinentalism or the Afro-American imaginary of the freedom fighter) imposed over previous ethnic, cultural, and religion identities, express not only a will to unite the nation, but also to find tropes that would appeal international interlocutors,

rather than other nationalist or precolonial symbols that would be impossible to decode in other cultural and political contexts.

Second, when we study the most emblematic propaganda materials by taking into account the members of FRELIMO and the solidarity actors who were behind these audiovisual projects, we move towards demystifying the supposed collective authorship of FRELIMO. Identifying the actual individuals who were behind the pens and cameras that produced FRELIMO's imagery allows us to contextualise the specificities of the various versions of 'the struggle' against a broader media landscape. For example, the fact that van Lierop's is the only film that attempted to reconstruct a Portuguese aerial attack in Mozambique probably tells us something about his own visual experience as a spectator of the Vietnam War as televised in the United States. Breaking down FRELIMO's imagery from the lens of their authors and collaborators also allows us to identify differences that existed in the ways in which FRELIMO's international leadership communicated 'the struggle' abroad. The film under consideration here represents the case of a more moderate humanitarian imagery that seems to correspond to the English-speaking and NATO countries to which Mondlane primarily directed his efforts.

Third, if we try to understand propaganda materials as part of different diplomatic strategies, we can start questioning the idea that 'the struggle' is a monolithic entity represented in a fixed way (namely, as a broad-based armed movement advancing inside Mozambique), and instead acknowledge the flexibility of the original intention as well as the contingencies that guide the selection of certain elements of the struggle over others for audio-visual representation. Historical intention seems to inform the sudden visual representation of FRELIMO's military front to Western audiences in the wake of the global upheavals of 1968. Contingency seems to be behind the sudden disappearance of Mondlane from the picture in 1969. Who knows whether Mondlane's death, that deprived van Lierop of a clear protagonist for his film, explains why *A luta continua* was – and still is – the film that FRELIMO's leadership most frequently refers to when seeking to explain to post-colonial audiences how 'the struggle' that led to its full control of the state unfolded. In the end, more than any other film, *A luta continua* represented FRELIMO as a truly broad-based and self-organised movement of 'people,' instead of a highly hierarchically organised party of guerrillas. For post-colonial audiences, this probably makes this American version of 'the struggle' one of the most convincing visual testimonies of the existence of a pre-independence revolutionary nation being born in FRELIMO's so-called 'liberated zones.'

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NOTES:

1 - I wish to thank Luís Madureira and Aurora Almada e Santos as well as two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments, contributions and encouragement. The ideas in this paper benefited from discussions at Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Universidade de Évora, Universidad de Barcelona and European University Institute. This research has been conducted within my PhD project, financed by the Salvador Madariaga's Program.

2 - FRELIMO was the major liberation movement in Mozambique. Founded in Dar es Salaam in 1962, it launched an armed struggle against the Portuguese New State in September 1964, mirroring similar armed conflicts already taking place in Portugal's Angolan and Guinean colonies in Africa.

3 - The list of movies is: Popovik D. (1967), *We Shall Win*, Filmske Novosti, Yugoslavia, 25 min; de Vries R. (1969), *Mozambique*, IKOR, Netherlands, 50 min; Unidentified author (1970), *O povo de Moçambique avança,* China; Dickinson M. (1971), *Behind the lines,* Great Britain; Natiev N., P. Leva (1971), *Buba FRELIMO,* Russia, 18 min; Van Lierop R. (1971), *A luta continua*, United States, 34 min; Unidentified author (1971), Algeria; Cigarini F. (1972), *Dieci giorni con i guerriglieri nel Mozambico libero*, Italy, 25 min; Malmer L., I. Romane (1972), *Dans notre pays les balles commencent à fleurir*, Swedish TV; Biermann R., U. Pauli (1973), Federal Republic of Germany. Please note that this list includes only films said to have been filmed inside Mozambique, behind FRELIMO lines. The list may be incomplete and contain some errors with regard to year of production.

4 - As it advanced southwards against the Portuguese New State, FRELIMO referred to the Northern territories that came under its administration as 'liberated zones'. The term originally appeared in Mao Tse Tung's writings during the Sino-Japanese war. It was later introduced to the vernacular of 'liberation movements' in Africa when the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) started to use it to designate the geographical areas that they controlled during the war. In FRELIMO's propaganda materials, the term 'liberated zones' is usually deployed to create the allegory of a new revolutionary society being born behind FRELIMO's lines.

5 - For an extended discussion on this topic, see Macamo (1996) and Cahen (2012).

6 - The Carnation Revolution was the military coup in Portugal that overthrew the authoritarian regime of the New State on 25 April 1974. The Lusaka Accords were the pact signed on 7 September 1974 between FRELIMO and the new Portuguese government which transferred state power to FRELIMO.

7 - See for example Convents (2011).

8 - *O brado africano* (3 November 1974: 4), as quoted in Power (2004:269).

9 - Among the works that have started to look at this filmography are Gray (2006), Schefer (2015), Power (2004), Convents (2011), and Diawara (1992).

10 - I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer who introduced me to the work of R. Joseph Parrott (2014, 2015). Parrott is a notable exception in that he puts the emphasis on analysis of the international dimension of *A luta continua.* Our takes on the film are, however, complementary. While he looks at it from the perspective of its distribution and reception, prioritizing the understanding of how African American communities received and decoded the film in the United States, I look at the movie from the perspective of its construction and idealization, incorporating the analysis of FRELIMO's leadership's own understanding of their self-image and the role that images should play in their international and diplomatic strategies.

11 - Joseph Parrott's Masters thesis (2014) deals with African American solidarity towards various national liberation movements of Portuguese Africa. Renee Stephens's 2011 doctoral thesis also focuses on US solidarity with FRELIMO, and I have used it extensively for this paper.

12 - Drew Thompson (2013) has done ground-breaking work in exploring FRELIMO's pre-independence visual strategies from the perspective of FRELIMO's nation-building activities. However, his focus has been on understanding how still images were used to mobilize the support of local population inside Mozambique, while I focus on the mobilization of international audiences.

13 - I am here referring to the work of scholars such as Umut Özkirimli (2003), Étienne Balibar (1990) or Rogers Brubaker (1996). Like them, I look at the nation as a particular form of social and cultural construction that can be broken down and analyzed.

14 - The personal story of how van Lierop got involved with FRELIMO is here reconstructed from his own testimony, published in a 2004 interview made by the civil rights activist William Minter: W. Minter, *Interview with Robert Van Lierop*, "No Easy Victories", 16 April 2004, New York: http://www.noeasyvictories.org/interviews/int07_vanlierop.php. For a complete analysis of the many networks that actually connected van Lierop and Mondlane through different strands of the American civil rights movement see Chapter 6 of Stephens' doctoral thesis (2011).

15 - *Jungle Jim* is the title of a very popular American comic strip of adventures based in Asia that first appeared in the 1930s. Also from the 1930s is *The Phantom*, whose main character, a crime fighter, operated from a fictional country in Africa.

16 - In 1954, the world was shocked by photographs of brutal violence committed by Algerian peasants against French colonialists. The images were rapidly countered by equally horrific visual testimonies of brutal violence committed by to the French against Algerians. For an in-depth analysis of this particular war of images see Chominot (2008).

17 - Despite the fact that Cuba was not an official part of United States, the Caribbean island was somehow part of the mental map of white American racial oppression for Black Americans who in the 1950s were well aware of US backing for the continuation of Batista's regime on the island. This was certainly the case for van Lierop, who, in characterising the existing links between Batista's Cuba and the situation of racial segregation that still prevailed in the South of United States, described "pre-Castro Cuba" as being "very much a Jim Crow country". W. Minter, *Interview with Robert Van Lierop*, cit. For a generation of civil rights fighters, the success of the revolution in Cuba was received as prologue for a definitive victory of racial equality also in the United States.

18 - According to van Lierop, his first participation in the US civil rights movement was through this emblematic group, the CORE. He would later become closer with the radical strand of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

19 - The term 'people of colour' was popularized as part of the vernacular of Third Worldism when used by President Sukarno in his opening speech at the first large-scale Afro-Asian Conference celebrated in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. Watch Timescape Indonesia, *President Sukarno Opening Speech at, the Bandung Conference, 1955, Indonesia*, "Youtube", 9 May 2013: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DRIch247vb8.

20 - W. Minter, *Interview with Robert Van Lierop*, cit.

21 - On this transatlantic migratory movement of African American activists to Africa, see for example Gaines (2012).

22 - See note 18.

23 - W. Minter, *Interview with Robert Van Lierop*, cit.

24 - An illustrative example of Mondlane's thinking on the fulfilment of human rights in the liberated zones can be seen in his article: Mondlane (1968).

25 - On North American foreign policy towards Portuguese presence in Africa, see Schneidman (2004).

26 - On Dar es Salaam through the 1960s, see Ivaska (2011).

27 - For an autobiographical account of ACOA see Houser (1989).

28 - On Mondlane's links with the Swiss Mission, see Faris (2015) and Chapter 6 and 7 in Cruz e Silva (2001).

29 - For an in-depth on the official ideology of the New State see Castelo (1998).

30 - For an analysis of Eduardo Mondlane's academic years, see Sansone (2013).

31 - Though an obviously difficult goal, this was not an impossible one. In 1961, in the wake of the Congo crisis, President John F. Kennedy's government was trying to regain leadership of a world anti-colonial movement that the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev was starting to capture (see Iandolo 2017). This Cold War rivalry for the sympathy of Afro-Asian forces had placed the United States in the unprecedented situation of becoming the only member of the NATO alliance to directly challenge the continued Portuguese presence in Africa when it voted in favour of approving Resolution 1603 (XV) (Andresen Guimaraes 1992: 373).

32 - Oberlin College Archives (OCA), Herbert Shore Collection in Honor of Eduardo C. Mondlane (HSCHEM). Subgroup II, Series 7, Subseries 1, Box 1, Whitney Schneidman, *Notes on Herb*, n.d.

33 - FRELIMO received 100,000 dollars from the Ford Foundation to finance the building of the Mozambique Institute (Panzer 2009: 809, note 24). However, ex-President Joaquim Alberto Chissano denies that this contribution had any connection with Kennedy administration (Kaiser 2017: 42)

34 - I am using the term humanitarian arm to refer to all those activities developed by FRELIMO dedicated to improve the leaving conditions of local populations. This includes education, health assistance and some economic and social programs for rural development. This was one of the two main arms of FRELIMO's struggle on the ground. The other one was military activity.

35 - On the origins of Soviet support for FRELIMO, see Shubin (2008) and Telepneva (2017). A broader, though superficial, perspective on FRELIMO's diplomacy can be found in Schneidman (1978).

36 - On the role of United Nations in the decolonization of Portuguese colonies, see Santos (2017).

37 - FRELIMO did not have an official representative to the United Nations prior to 1971. While various members of the movement appeared as petitioners at the General Assembly, in the years up to 1967 the most frequent spokesman was Eduardo Mondlane.

38 - Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (TT), PIDE, SC, SR 337/61, NT 3052, *Processo Eduardo Mondlane*, vol. 2. p. 145, February 1967

39 - TT, PIDE, SC, SR 337/61, NT 3052, *Processo Eduardo Mondlane*, vol. 2, p. 122, February 3 1967

40 - H. Kitchen, *Conversation with Eduardo Mondlane*, «Africa Report», November 1967.

41 - I thank Sabina Widmer for suggesting the term 'revolutionary tourist' to refer to the generation of young members of the Left who in the 1960s travelled to independent Africa as part of their political activity.

42 - See for example Roberts (2017).

43 - Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (AHM), Fundo FRELIMO, Departamento de Relações Exteriores (DRE), Box 29 I, *Correspondência: Eduardo Mondlane a Lourenço Mutaca*, June 15, 1968.

44 - Interview with Polly Gaster, 21 February 2018, Maputo.

45 - Minter, *Interview with Robert Van Lierop*, cit.

46 - Among the people that van Lierop initially invited to take part in the project were: Robert Fletcher, photographer at the SNCC and Director of the Southern Visual Education Service in Tougaloo, Mississippi; Charles Hightower, film writer for *L'Ete Noir* ('Black Summer', 1967); and Charles Hobson, producer at Chamba Productions, a film company specialized in low-budget documentary films on subjects relating to minority groups in the US. In Amistad Research Centre (ARC), American Committee on Africa records (ACOA), 1948-1987, box 92, folder 46. *Proposal: Independencia o Morte!*, October 1970.

47 - Interview with Joaquim Alberto Chissano, March 14, 2018, Maputo.

48 - For an in-depth analysis of FLN's imagery see Chominot (2008).

49 - The first of these audiovisual productions was the film *Angola, a Journey to War* (1961), made by Robert Young for NBC's American prime time program *White papers*. It shows FLNA's military camps inside Angola, as well as the FLNA headquarters in Congo, where Holden Roberto appears.

50 - H. Kitchen, *Conversation with Eduardo Mondlane*, «Africa Report», November 1967.

51 - ARC, ACOA 1948-1987. Box 157 - Folder 51. *Janet I. MacLaughlin to A. Dijk and S. Bosgra*, 1 October 1968.

52 - One of these images had been published in the Zambian journal "The Times", 21 January 1965.

53 - The author and exact location where these photos were taken are still unknown. They are identified only as having been taken 'in the interior' in December 1965. See AHM, Iconoteca, Fundo Luta de Libertação, Box 3, *Primeiras fotografias da FRELIMO em treinos militares e no interior de Moçambique 1964 – 1967*.

54 - The pictures, taken in Mozambique, in December 1965 and September 1966, were published in the Algerian journal Moudjahid in 3 March 1967 and 19 May same year. They got broader distribution among French-speaking audiences when they were published in the pamphlet *La Lutte de Libération Nationale Dans Les Colonies Portugaises: La Conference de Dar Es-Salaam* (CONCP 1967).

55 - See DM-Echange et Mission, PP 1002 C 1773 Boite no 207, *Photo Album sent by Eduardo Mondlane to Frederic Ouweland*.

56 - OCA, HSCHEM, Subgroup II, Series 7, Subseries 1, Box 1, Whitney Schneidman, *Notes on Herb*, n.d.

57 - OCA, HSCHEM, Subgroup II, Series 5, Box 1, *Notes on a Conversation with Margaret and Colin Legum*, November 2, 1979. I would like to thank the journal reviewer who noticed that this accusation came also from Ghana: see Tornimbeni (2018).

58 - AHM, DRE, Box 29 II, *Relatório Óscar Monteiro viagem a Belgrado*. n/d. See also Ros Gray, *Interview with Oscar Monteiro*, 13 August 2005, Maputo, Mozambique (Gray 2006: 308).

59 - AHM, Fundo sobre a vida e legado de Eduardo Mondlane, Correspondência 1963-1969. *Eduardo Mondlane a George Houser*, 4 August 1967.

60 - See T. Sellström, *Interview with Anders Johansson*, "Nordic Documentation of the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa", 19 November 1996: http://www.liberationafrica.se/intervstories/interviews/johansson_a/?by-name=1.

61 - W. Minter, *Interview with Robert Van Lierop*, cit.

62 - As van Lierop recalls it, his entry into Mozambique was made easier by his close relationship with FRELIMO's leadership. But even with this support, it took him more than half a year to finally reach his destination: see W. Minter, *Interview with Robert Van Lierop*, "cit. Most of the international journalists who

attempted to enter FRELIMO's 'liberated zones' were not so lucky. In many cases, the Tanzanian government rejected visa applications by foreign journalists to cross the Mozambican border. It was only a very selected group of sympathizers that finally made it into Mozambique, and always under the close supervision of FRELIMO's delegates. See for example AHM, Fundo sobre a vida e legado de Eduardo Mondlane, Box 63. *George Houser to Sven Skovman*, 1 May 1968.

63 - New York Public Library (NYPL), Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Robert Van Lierop papers 1968-1988 (RVLP), Box 19, Folder 1. *Notes* p. 17. n.d.

64 - The complete film can be watched in the following digital archive: http://africanactivist.msu.edu/video.php?objectid=32-12F-1D.

65 - The 1971 prison uprising became an emblematic symbol of political resistance in North America. The riot was organised to demand political rights and better living conditions for the mostly black inmates of Attica.

66 - NYPL, RVLP, Box 18, Folder 11. *CV Richard Skinner.*

67 - She was the British activist Margaret Dickinson, see Gray (2006: 277). FRELIMO member Sérgio Vieira was also in charge of the project (Vieira 2010: 294).

68 - ARC, ACOA 1948-1987. Box 92 - Folder 46. *Proposal: Independencia o Morte!*, October 1970.

69 - Robert van Lierop (1972) *A Luta Continua*, 00:03:18.

70 - Robert van Lierop (1972) *A Luta Continua*, 00:05:02.

71 - See AHM 277, Cat 71, Poster *Kaúlza de Arriaga pretendeu invader Moçambique*, Black-and-white offset print, FRELIMO, Dar es Salaam. This was the Operação No Górdio. On this military strategy see Souto (2007).

72 - Robert van Lierop (1972) *A Luta Continua*, 00:07:22.

73 - Robert van Lierop (1972) *A Luta Continua*, 00:08:07.

74 - Robert van Lierop (1972) *A Luta Continua*, 00:10:22 - 00:22:50.

75 - R. de Vries, R (1969) *Mozambique*, IKOR, Netherlands, 50 min.

76 - D. Popovik D (1967) *We Shall Win*, Filmske Novosti, Yugoslavia, 25 min.

77 - N. Natiev, P. Leva (1971) *Buba FRELIMO,* Russia, 18 min.

78 - The voice over was done by Filipe Nhancale, see *A Discussion Guide for the Film A Luta Continua*, Africa Information Service, 1973, Collection: Mozambique Film Project. Michigan State University Libraries Special Collections: http://africanactivist.msu.edu/document_metadata.php?objectid=32-130-22D.

79 - See NYPL, RVLP, Box 19, Folder 4 *A luta continua, Visnews.*

80 - Robert van Lierop (1972) *A Luta Continua*, 00:24:41.

81 - See AHM, Fundo FRELIMO, Departamento de Informação e Propaganda (DIP), Box 13 and 14, Panfletos, cartazes. s/n. *Pamphlet Evidence of Portuguese Colonial Administration.* I would like to thank Fernando Clara, Paulo Lara e Óscar Monteiro for helping me to identify these pictures.

82 - On the Wiriyamu massacres, see Dhada (2015).

83 - Robert van Lierop (1972) *A Luta Continua*, 00:25:46.

84 - During my research, I was unable to find a letter written by Eduardo Mondlane that closed with the motto 'A luta continua'. There was no such letter in the special collection on Eduardo Mondlane hosted in OCA, nor in Robert van Lierop's Papers hosted in NYPL, nor at the AHM. My guess is that this was an artistic invention to bring the movie to a close, reclaiming the memory of Mondlane.

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