POSTCOLONIAL READINGS IN LUSOPHONE FILM 1937-1985

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Signed Declaration

I, Irineu Rocha da Cruz, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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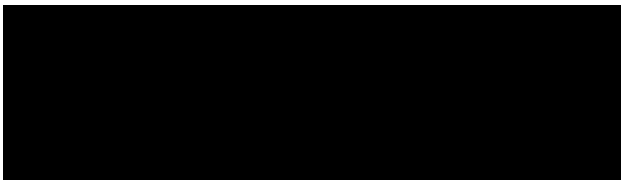

Abstract

This thesis explores the concept of Lusophone identity in colonialist and anti-colonial films produced and/or sanctioned by Portugal's Estado Novo and Mozambique's political and military movement Frelimo from 1937 to 1985. The scope of research is informed by Lusophone history, postcolonial theory and Lacanian-focussed film studies and this approach is used to interpret filmic representations of colonizer and colonized subjects in relation to intra- and inter-gender dynamics, rationality, race, language, and space. In tandem, I argue that the representation of Lusophone colonizer and colonized identities, which draw on role-model masculinities, is framed within historical traumas and subalternity.

To date only a few studies on the film representation of the Portuguese colonies have been published, and most of these have typically been historically based studies. In this thesis, Lusophone films are analysed through the lens provided by the postcolonial writings of Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon, and Homi K. Bhabha to argue that Lusophone colonialist and anti-colonial films are framed and betrayed by their implicit and direct responses to national and racial Othering. By comparing the representation of the dynamics of colonizer/colonized and white/black subjects in these Lusophone films with the portrayal of these themes in key colonialist Anglophone and anti-colonial Francophone films, as well as in U.S. silent films, I demonstrate that colonialist and anti-colonial Portuguese language films point to a unique colonizer/colonized psychodynamics.

The thesis is divided into three parts. The first chapter outlines the historical and theoretical foundations of this study. Chapter two analyses the ideological development of Portugal's Estado Novo and its dictatorship, as well as Mozambique's Marxist Frelimo movement, and argues that their leaders attempted to construct nationalist identities based on the exclusionary concept of a new man. In the third chapter I discuss the ways in which the Estado Novo and Frelimo, drawing on their objective of legitimising power, used film in such a way as to impose a normative national identity which portrayed 'otherness' in terms of gender, race, and language. The colonialist film *Chaimite* (1953) and the anti-colonial film *O Tempo dos Leopardos* (1985) are examples of the practice used by the Estado Novo and Frelimo respectively and are chosen as key film texts for the purpose of this study.

The interpretation of the contrasting representations of Portuguese colonialism in these two films suggests that whilst Portuguese masculinity is characterized by feelings of inferiority in relation to major European powers, the masculinity invoked in Frelimo's anti-colonial role model reflects the paradoxical process whereby colonialist doctrine had been internalized by Lusophone colonized subjects.

Impact Statement

In light of this study's interdisciplinary and inter-cultural approach to Lusophone identity – which acknowledges Frantz Fanon's insight that colonial societies are psychopathological constructions and draws on Foucault's assertion that the text always has a specific political function – this thesis has the potential to contribute to ongoing cultural discussions within and beyond the academic sphere. Framed within the academic field of Film Studies the comparative approach to filmic representations of colonial contexts used in this study has sought to demonstrate that it is necessary to examine Lusophone colonialism in relation to other Western colonialist enterprises in order to understand how inter-cultural articulations of violence, racism and exploitation interconnect *in order to* produce identity.

In Portugal in the last few years, although less poignantly than in the U.K. and in the U.S., a public debate has been developing about the legacies of colonialism and the cultural effects produced by structural racism. This thesis, precisely because of its postcolonial approach – which has revealed new dimensions within the legacy of late Portuguese colonialist discourse – has the potential to make a dynamic contribution to public conversations on representations of race, language, and colonialism in contemporary Lusophone media spaces and outlets.

Alongside the new insights achieved while completing this research project, I work as a visual artist under an alias, Irineu Destourelles, and my artistic practice – which is based on moving-image works, exhibitions, artist talks, art publications, and media interviews in Portugal and elsewhere – provides a platform from which I continue to reflect on and communicate the key suggestions from this study to audiences beyond academic contexts.

Acknowledgements

I feel privileged to have been given the opportunity to undertake a Ph. D project at UCL that has enabled me to explore questions central to my professional and personal experiences. In this regard, I have a debt of gratitude to Prof. Stephen M. Hart for his latitude, guidance, encouragement, and immense generosity. I am grateful to Dr. Isabelle Moreau for advice given during the early stages of this thesis. I am thankful to staff at CMII/UCL who were understanding throughout personal challenges.

I want to express my gratitude to the institutions and individuals who care for the preservation of many of the films addressed in this study and place them in the public domain. In particular, to staff at the National Archive of Moving Images (ANIM) in Lisbon.

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Chapter I

Introduction

How Should We Interpret the Lusophone Colonial Set Film?

1.1. Literature Review and Research Questions

Robert Stam and Louise Spence's essay 'Colonialism, Racism and Representation: An Introduction' (1983) has provided valuable insights into the cinematic mechanisms that construct colonizer/colonized representations in colonialist cinema, and leading scholars of African cinema and African filmmakers, namely Manthia Diawara (1992), Frank Ukadike (1994) and Osmane Sembène, have argued for the importance of a 'committed' approach, i.e. that African cinema should have the responsibility of addressing history, politics and nation building while questioning the legacies of colonialism.[1] For their part the editors of *Colonial Imaginaries: Propaganda, Militancy and 'Resistance'* (2016), a survey of academic work addressing the representation of Portuguese colonialism in cinema, claim that 'both in Portugal and in other European countries, there are few studies on how cinema has represented the

1 Robert Stam and Louise Spence, 'Colonialism, Racism and Representation, An Introduction', *Screen*, 24.2 (1983), 2-20 (pp. 3-4); Manthia Diawara, *African Cinema: Politics and Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); Nwachukwu Frank Ukadike, *Black African Cinema* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1994). Other authors have developed new readings of African cinema based on postcolonial theory. Ray Armes's *Postcolonial Images, Studies in North African Film* (2005) is an historical survey of cinema in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia from 1960s to early 2000s focussing on the development of the industry at the level of identity markers, and state censorship and financing. In a later text, *African Filmmaking: North and South of the Sahara* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), Arnes addresses the development of postcolonial African cinema. He identified this as having begun with a didactic approach that later led to a self-reflective approach. The text includes a chapter on Sembène, where he identifies the crux of his film-works to be the crisis of identity that is displayed on screen, by having oppositional social groups or forces sharing the frame; the African inauthentic and the neo-colonial are singled out for criticism. Kenneth W. Harrow, in *Postcolonial African Cinema: From Political Engagement to Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), for his part, has developed socio-political readings of postcolonial African cinema where films are interpreted as direct or allegorical critiques of colonial and neo-colonial discourses, and social inequality. David Murphy and Patrick Williams, *Postcolonial African Cinema: Ten Directors* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007). focusses on the development of the key film-makers' oeuvres, including Flora Gomes, by examining their films in relation to socio-political context, characterizing these as critiques of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and inequality. The above researchers – and in this they are similar to Diawara – in their quest to champion a politically engaged anti-colonial and neo-colonial African author-cinema have consistently neglected ambivalent relations with (autocratic) power and neo-colonialism. Haynes's essay 'African Film-making and the Postcolonial Predicament' (1999) addresses the fact that African cinema may be different from Western cinema. He believes this to be the case because African culture and society places greater emphasis on the oral tradition, and on the community above the individual. This leads him to assert that postcolonial African cinema, considering the African oral cultural tradition and\ the postcolonial context, has an 'urgency to tell' (i.e. to furnish the screen with first-person accounts by Africans).

former (Portuguese) colonies', while closer to our concerns, and although there is a dearth of studies on the representation of colonial identity in Lusophone films, there are a few in-depth studies on cinema made in Portugal during the Estado Novo (New State] regime (1926/1932-1974) and in Portuguese colonial and independent Mozambique until 1990.[2]

Two critics, however, do address this field; in particular, Patricia Vieira, in an article published in 2009, and Ros Gray, in a book published in 2020, focus on cinematic production under the auspices of the Estado Novo and Mozambique's Frelimo, respectively. Viera's analysis of *Chaimite: A Derrota do Império Vátua* (*Chaimite*; 1953), a Portuguese epic colonialist film, claims that the film simultaneously corroborates and betrays the Estado Novo Salazarist's colonial ideology opening the way for a systematic analysis of the levels within the film that contradict its explicit meaning.[3] Anti-colonial films made by Frelimo after the independence of Mozambique emphasize key aspects of its nationalistic and Marxist ideology; *O Tempo dos Leopardos* (1985), for example, which resulted from a Mozambican-Yugoslavian collaboration, is understood by Gray as an 'attempt by Mozambican filmmakers to be truthful to the lived experience of the (anti-colonial) struggle', thereby positioning the film between fact and fiction.[4]

To date *Gender, Empire and Postcolony*; *Luso-Afro-Brazilian Intersections*, ed. by Hilary Owen and Anna M. Klobucka (2014)[5] is a rare example of a body of work on gender in relation to the Lusophone cultural production; the present study seeks to draw upon and build on the novel insights of this work, while focussing specifically on the representation of colonial masculinities in films released during this period.[6] The representation of colonial

2 Maria de Carmo Piçarra, Maria do Carmo, Rosa Cabecinhas e Teresa Castro, 'Colonial imaginaries: Propaganda, Militancy and "Resistance"', *Comunicação e Sociedade*, 29 (2016), 17-25 (p. 17). The liberation wars in Portuguese-speaking Africa took place from 1961 until 1974. In 1974/75 after collapse of the Estado Novo the territories became independent countries under one party Marxist regimes that were until 1990 backed by the Soviet Union, Cuba and other communist regimes.

3 Patrícia Vieira, 'O Espírito do Império: as Grandes Certezas do Estado Novo em *Chaimite*', *Ellipsis*, 7 (2009), 71-107 (p. 88).

4 Ros Gray, *Cinemas of the Mozambican Revolution, Anti-Colonialism, Independence and Internationalism in Filmmaking, 1968–1991* (New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), p. 244.

5 Gender*, Empire, and Postcolony: Luso-Afro-Brazilian Intersections,* ed. by Hilary Owen and Anna M. Klobucka (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

6 The essays 'Filming Women in the Colonies: Gender Roles in New State Cinema about the Empire' by Patricia Vieira, and 'Colonial Masculinities under a Woman's Gaze in Margarida Cardoso's *A Costa dos Murmurios*' by Mark Sabine focus, primarily and respectively, on the representation of women and colonial memories from the woman's perspective.

masculinities is precisely the cultural vector that I intend to focus in this study because, although the representation of role-model and ideal masculinities is inherent to Lusophone colonialist and anti-colonialist discourse, including cinema, there has been no sustained attempt to analyse the balance between the implicit and explicit narratives that sustain those representations.

Despite standing at opposite ends of the 'colonial' ideological spectrum, both António Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970), the leader of the integralist, Catholic, corporatist, colonialist and authoritarian Estado Novo regime that ruled Portugal and its colonies for over 40 years from 1933 until 1974, and Samora Machel (1933-1986), the leader of Marxist, nationalist and anti-tribalist Frelimo party that ruled independent Mozambique as a one-party regime from 1975-1994, idealized the production of the *homem novo* (new man) tasked with rebuilding and building Lusophone nations.[7] As such the two regimes developed scopic strategies that instrumentalised cinema to represent ideal colonial masculinities. As I hope to show, a number of Lusophone films released in the period 1937-1985 used masculinity as a potent ideological tool with which to create a political message, and even those films that were directly opposite in terms of their political meanings, employed the notion of masculinity in order to buttress their appeal to the viewing publics of the day, revealing continuities between Lusophone colonialist and postcolonial ideology.

1.2. The Films, the History, and the Contexts

The dictatorship of the Portuguese Estado Novo led by Salazar, that succeeded the unstable secular and democratic parliamentarian, *Primeira República* (First Republic) had God-Nation-Family as a motto and vowed to reunite the nation with its glorious past, anchored in the Age of Discovery in the 1400s and 1500s. This would be achieved through the spiritual elevation of the Portuguese nation and the materialization of the imperial mission in the African colonies of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe as proverbial designs.[8] Under Salazar, in theory, the Estado Novo followed an assimilationist colonial project whereby marginally low numbers of Africans became classed as *assimilados* (assimilated subjects) by virtue of being white/black mixed race, and/or by embracing

7 The Estado Novo came into effect with the 1933 national plebiscite which legitimized the 1926 military coup. Frelimo was set up in 1962, and in 1977 two years after the independence of Mozambique it become a Marxist-Leninist party.

8 Salazar led the Estado Novo until 1968, two years prior to his death.

Portuguese culture and the Catholic religion. Frelimo was created in 1962 by the coming together of different ethnic-based groups of African Mozambicans with the common objective of creating an independent Mozambique. In 1968 Frelimo's assimilated founder, Eduardo Mondlane, was assassinated and the movement's leadership was eventually secured by another assimilated individual, Samora Machel. Machel led the movement through the liberation war against the Portuguese military to become, from 1975 until his death in 1986, the first President of post-colonial Mozambique. Frelimo elite's utopia of a prosperous Marxist nation-state began to collapse in earnest from 1977 as a result of the threat imposed by Renamo (National Resistance of Mozambique), an anti-communist and traditionalist guerrilla movement backed by Portuguese ex-colonizers and Rhodesia's and Apartheid South Africa's governments.

For the Estado Novo and Frelimo the production of the *novo homem* was seen as the elementary result of the successful implementation of their ideology that underlined scopic strategies that had the objective of 'reorganise[ing] [the] forms of knowledge and social practices' that shape 'the productive, cognitive, and desiring capacities of the human subject'.[9] The Lusophone films and documentaries studied in this thesis, along with the claim of depicting what colonialism was like at a given time, assert what a man should be. The definition of what a man should be is often constructed in opposition to what a woman is thought to be.[10] When considering racialised and colonial contexts, the definition of masculinity is also constructed in opposition to the racial other and the colonized other. In the films produced under the auspices of the Estado Novo and Frelimo, as we shall see, masculinities are directly and subliminally constructed in relation to gender, race, class, nationalism, language and the environment, traversing the regimes' ideological baselines.

Within the framework of this study, I focus primarily on some twenty Lusophone documentaries and feature films produced between 1937 to 1985, with *Chaimite: A Derrota do Império Vátua* (1953), and *O Tempo dos Leopardos* (1985) acting as two significant vectors on the axis of colony-focussed films of this period. I have also included the analysis of documentaries from this period in this study because of the direct relationship with ideology and masculinity and the tendency to tell '"history from above",

9 Jocelyn Mawdsley, Kyle Grayson, 'Scopic Regimes and the Visual Turn in International Relations: Seeing World Politics Through the Drone European', *Journal of International Relations*, 25.2 (2019), 431–457 (p.437).

10 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 256.

based on the deeds of leaders and the knowledge of experts'.[11] This stimulates and feeds the audience's desire to know (epistephilia) with the promise of truth whereby 'He-Who-Knows (the agent has traditionally been masculine) will share knowledge with those who wish to know'.[12] He-Who-Knows, who emerges through the 'Voice-of-God commentary' and who often begins with a proposition or problem and 'leads to a concluding recommendation or solution that the viewer is encouraged to endorse or adopt personally', was a key trope of documentary film-making prior to the 1960s and 1970s.[13] In terms of their insight we acknowledge that their He-Who-Knows-based propagandistic documentaries, namely the Estado Novo's 1940s *colonial* documentaries and Frelimo's early 1970s liberation war propaganda documentaries, for example *Gentes Que Nós Civilizámos* (1944) and *The Struggle Continues – A Luta Continua* (1971) respectively, provide realities that are easily contested by historical facts. Those Salazarist fictional films most engaged with ideology, including *A Revolução de Maio* (1937), A *Canção da Terra* (1938) and *Camões* (1946), attempt to appropriate the truth-like quality of the documentary through an omnipresent He-Who-Knows. The same can be said regarding Frelimo's feature film *O Tempo dos Leopardos*,[14] that attempts to re-tell history, the end of the Estado Novo's colonial regime in Mozambique. I devote special attention to Salazarist colonialist *Chaimite* and Frelimo's anti-colonial *O Tempo Leopardos* because they are structured as traditional war films, therefore relying heavily on representation in relation to ideology.[15]

As we shall see, the films studied in this thesis grew out of the soil of Portuguese colonialism. On the impact of Portuguese colonialism on Lusophone Africa, notably, Fernando Arenas has argued – and on this point he departs from Jacques Derrida's approach that language 'carries with it [...] considerable presuppositions of all types'[16] and epistemological breaks are not possible because 'breaks are always, and partially reinscribed in an old

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11 Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), p. 31.

12 Nichols, pp. 40-41.

13 Nichols, pp. 26-27.

14 Frelimo's only other and last feature fiction film made during revolutionary and Marxist phase is José Cardoso's *O Vento Sopra do Norte* (*The Wind Blows from the North*) from 1987.

15 David LaRocca, 'Introduction: War Films and the Ineffability of War', in *The Philosophy of War Films*, ed. David LaRocca (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2014), pp. 1-77 (p. 16).

16 Jacques Derrida, *Positions* [1972], trans. Alan Bass (London: Continuum, 2008), pp. 18-19.

cloth that must be continually, interminably be undone'[17] – that postcolonial Lusophone African cultural production is more a result of globalization and capitalism, than of the legacies of Portuguese colonialism.[18] Thus, in order to interpret the films as belonging to the same cultural tapestry, as culturally interlinked through more than a shared superstratum language, the Portuguese language, I suggest that the nationalist fervour of Salazar's and Frelimo's ideology emerged as a result of masculine humiliation.[19] In doing so, we move away from the traditional understanding of trauma in order to articulate the ideological specificities of Portuguese colonialism, which was manifestly different from other modern European colonialist projects, namely, British colonialism.

When a community is the victim of an atrocity, trauma remains embedded within the fabric of a group; it becomes a vehicle of identity-creation for the whole community and the shared event 'has mythic proportion and binds people together in the tragedy and in the germination of a seed of redemption' that can encourage the community to re-build its cultural memory.[20] Responses to the effects of trauma are conceived at many levels, including personal, communal and political, and one of the well-known strategies that builds up a community's resilience is to articulate its story in verbal terms and communicate it to others:

> Telling the story also involves bringing emotional responses together with the story, reactions of outrage, terror, rage and grief, reactions that had no time or space to unfold, but remained locked in the psyche and body.[21]

However, the above articulation offers a classic understanding of trauma reliant on 'a frightening event outside of ordinary experience' and this conceptualization 'marginalise[s] or ignore[s] traumatic experiences of non-Western or minority cultures'.[22] It does not account, for example, for the lingering effects of structural racism, because 'yet unlike historical trauma, it [racism] is not related to a particular event'.[23] Throughout its imperial history Portugal, suffered a series of historical catastrophes and humiliations,

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17 Derrida, pp. 22-23.

18 Fernando Arenas, *Lusophone Africa: Beyond Independence* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011) is a wide-scope lens that addresses literature, music, and cinema.

19 McClintock, p.353.

20 Audergon, pp. 16-31 (p. 23); see Audergon, pp. 16-31 (pp. 20 and 23).

21 Audergon, pp. 16-31 (p. 20).

22 Sonya Andermahr, 'Introduction', ed. by Sonya Andermahr, *Decolonizing Trauma Studies: Trauma and Postcolonialism* (Basel: MDPI, 2016), pp. 1-6 (pp. 2-3).

23 Quoted in Andermahr, pp. 1-6 (p. 3).

including annexation to Spain in 1580 following the disappearance of Portuguese King Sebastian in battle in North Africa, the 1755 Great Lisbon earthquake, the loss of colonial Brazil in 1822, the 1890 British ultimatum, successive financial bankruptcies of the Portuguese State during the nineteenth century and the advent of eugenics that threatened the European racial status of Portuguese masculinity. Considering the premise that nationalism emerged as a response to masculine humiliation,[24] I propose that the racism – the national and racial subalternity, the cultural marginalization, the stereotyping and arbitrary violence – inflicted by the European colonial powers such as Britain, France and Spain which, synthesised, I refer to as the Big Other, upon the Portuguese and by the Portuguese upon the colonized Mozambican, determines the implicit ideologies of the Lusophone films I analyse. These ideologies, as I hope to show, construct the explicit representation of what a man 'is' or, more importantly, 'should be'.

My analysis of representation of colonizer/colonized psychodynamics and masculinities in Lusophone colonialist and anti-colonial feature fiction films is interdisciplinary – anchored on three distinct vectors, Lusophone history, film studies and postcolonial studies – in order to ascertain the ways in which the films sustain intrinsic modes of colonial representation. In more specific terms I interweave (a) an extensive understanding of the specific nature of Portuguese colonialism, (b) an application of works by Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi and Homi K. Bhabha concerning colonizer/colonized psychodynamics to the interpretation of film texts; and (c) comparative readings of representation of white/black, African/European, colonizer/colonized and masculinities power dynamics in a number of U.S. silent, British and U.S. colonialist and Francophone anti-colonial fiction feature films.

1.3. The Estado Novo's Abnormal Colonialism

In his long essay, 'Cultures of Difference: Sequels of Portuguese and British Colonial Policies in Southern Africa' published in 2003, Brazil-based British anthropologist Peter Fry gives an account of the differences between British colonialism and Salazarist colonialism to argue that Frelimo's political project pursued the rationale of the latter. Remembering an overland trip he made in 1965 between Rhodesia and colonial Mozambique, he notes that, as he crossed into Mozambique, there were surprising differences regarding the

24 McClintock, p. 353.

landscape and how people of different races were organized spatially.[25] In Rhodesia there were clear differences between the road and its margins, and between European farms, Tribal Trust Lands and National Forests, whereas in Mozambique it was difficult to distinguish between European farms and native villages as wild forestation grew everywhere.[26] In Mozambique, in an urban environment he observed Africans, Europeans and mulattoes harmoniously mixing in a coffee shop and Africans spoke the superstratum language among themselves; in Rhodesia Africans reserved the superstratum for formal contexts. By contrast, outside of urban centres, beyond the lack of infrastructural development, only a small minority of natives spoke Portuguese and he had to rely on *chilapalapa*, a pidgin language, to communicate with both native and white locals.[27] Self-critically he claims that then, similarly to the general Anglophone colonialist and anti-colonialist, he was implicitly convinced of the superiority of British colonialism with its promotion of and belief in the 'intrinsic value of African "cultures"'.[28]

The journalist Perry Anderson's anti-Salazarist-colonialism was tainted by a hierarchical understanding of colonialisms. Writing as the editor of the London-based *New Left Review*, with an essay entitled 'Portugal and the End of Ultracolonialism' (1961), a scathing critique of Salazar's colonial praxis, he dismissed the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre's interpretation that in the Lusophone world 'race and culture never had an ideological link'.[29] He characterizes the Estado Novo's colonialism as 'primitive, pre-rational and pre-industrial', and he rejects the Salazarists' 'verbal luxury' as well as their 'ideology that betrays truth'.[30] Fry understands this as a mark of British snobbery and ethnocentrism; in his view, Anderson's arguments demonstrated the British tendency to view colonialism in purely economic and political terms. It bypassed the fact that the Portuguese mission was fundamentally based on an assimilationist project which 'was charismatic enough to light the imagination of some people and enrage the others'.[31] Anderson's bias was anchored on British colonial ideology that at the end of the nineteenth century adopted segregation as a dogma. During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, as a result of the increasing influence of

25 Peter Fry, 'Culturas da Diferença: Sequelas das Políticas Coloniais Portuguesas e Britânicas na África Austral', *Afro-Ásia*, 29/30 (2003), 271-316 (pp. 273-274).

26 Fry, p. 274.

27 Fry, p. 274.

28 Fry, pp. 274-275.

29 Fry, pp. 277-278.

30 Fry, p. 275.

31 Fry, p. 280.

racial science, assimilationist ideas which had been in vogue since the French Revolution, and had fuelled anti-slavery discourse, came under attack. By the late 1920s, influential British intellectuals and politicians argued that colonized subjects must, in their contact with the colonialism, preserve their cultural (and racial) authenticity in order not to become poor imitations of Europeans.[32] Fry argues that the racial segregationist white minority led regimes of Rhodesia (1965-1979) and South Africa (1948-1994), that criminalized racial miscegenation, were a logical consequence of British colonial ideology – rather than an abnormality.[33]

At the turn of the nineteenth century Portugal continued with a colonialist-assimilationist project whilst incorporating racist and segregationist measures into the legal framework. According to Fry:

> [T]he result of this rationale was that the Portuguese maintained the long-term objective of long term total 'spiritual assimilation' at the same time recognizing the necessity of not destroying all African 'traditions and customs'.[34]

Unlike neighbouring Anglophone territories, in colonial Mozambique the education of colonized subjects offered by the State and the Church was provided in the Portuguese superstratum language which attests to the fact that in colonial Mozambique the principle of assimilation, as a long-term project, was never questioned because Portugal did not demonstrate the 'visceral displeasure' that white British elites in Africa had shown towards African 'pseudo-Europeans'.[35]

1.4. Subaltern Colonizers and Double Colonized Subjects

The status of the Portuguese within the context of European geopolitics was central to the formation of the Estado Novo's and Frelimo's nationalist ideologies and constructions of masculinity. Salazar's reactionary nationalist project had three main aims: (a) based on exemplary historical Portuguese masculinities, it proposed to re-masculinise Portuguese men; (b) it instrumentalised the Portuguese language and designed it to structure metropolitan and colonial societies; and (c) it re-defined the structure of the *langue* of the Portuguese language by altering metonymic relations in order

32 Fry, pp. 285-286.
33 Fry, p. 284.
34 Fry, p. 288.
35 Fry, p.289.

to represent the Portuguese, the foreign and colonized others and define what belonged and was excluded from the nation. Frelimo's elite developed an ambiguous relationship with the Portuguese language, symptomatic of their strategy to overcome Salazarist 'deficient and excessive colonization',[36] through selective appropriation of the New State's colonialist ideology towards a Marxist Mozambican new man.

According to Boaventura Sousa Santos, the Iberians had been responsible for Europe's first modernity that led to the Golden Age of the Discoveries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; however, with the advent of central Europe's modernity the Portuguese were relegated to a political and cultural semi-peripheral position. Continuously hampered by a dire national set of economic circumstances during the nineteenth century and despite liberal changes made to civil law, the Portuguese were cumulatively constructed as an European outsider by central and north European powers and '[t]he division of Africa agreed upon at the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference was eloquent proof of the subalternization of Portugal in the European zone'.[37] Spurred by the fear of losing the entirety of the nation's African territorial possessions and the certainty 'that the [colonized] population [not yet] under submission did not possess humanity, was deprived of 'authentic' masculinity and was therefore considered feminized or infantile',[38] Portuguese politicians and intellectuals claimed that re-engaging with the colonial project would re-awaken the nation's men.[39] After the conference and in response to its demands a number of exemplary national male icons and *monstrengos* (big monsters) emerge from the process of consolidation of Portuguese colonial power. Some of these historical figures are represented in *Chaimite*, including, Portuguese colonial administrators and military men like António José Enes, Alfredo Augusto Caldas Xavier (1852-1896), Joaquim Augusto Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1855-1902), and Henrique Mitchell de Paiva Couceiro (1861-1944) and the insurgent native King Ngungunyane (1850-1906).

With the proclamation of the First Republic in 1910 Portugal entered an

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36 Boaventura de Sousa Santos, 'Portugal: Tales of Being and not Being Portuguese', *Literary & Cultural Studies* (2009), 1-46 (p. 10).

37 Santos, 'Portugal: Tales of Being and not Being Portuguese', pp. 10-11 and p. 13.

38 Mário César Lugarinho, Masculinidade e Colonialismo: Em Direção Ao "Homem Novo" (Subsídios para os Estudos de Gênero e para os Estudos Pós-Coloniais no Contexto de Língua Portuguesa), *Revista do Núcleo de Estudos de Literatura Portuguesa e Africana da UFF*, 5.10 (2013), 15-38 (p. 19).

39 Lugarinho, p. 18.

unparalleled period of political liberalism, alongside vibrant artistic experimentation which underpinned the promulgation of laws towards gender equality. The Estado Novo, supported by the conservative quarters of society, namely Lusitanian integralists and Catholics, reversed the First Republic's liberal project producing within a few years an authoritarian society anchored on the male *chefe de família* (pater families). In a widely quoted speech by Salazar, known as the Braga Speech, delivered during the commemorations of the 10th anniversary of the 1926 military coup that paved the way for the Estado Novo, he outlined what was then expected from the Portuguese new man his regime was producing – in sum, obedience to State authority and God (in that order).[40] Salazar's elite promoted the veneration of a carefully chosen list of historical exceptional individuals, overwhelmingly male, including, the explorers Vasco da Gama and Afonso de Albuquerque, the poet Luís de Camões and the army Major Mouzinho de Albuquerque, on whose feats the Estado Novo's new man ideal would be based; the colonized subject, by virtue of race (and language) was, in practice, excluded from this ideal.

During the Estado Novo's term of office, the ability to speak and write in the Portuguese language to an appropriate standard was a matter of social position for the Portuguese in the metropolis. The Estado Novo's leaders were generally chosen from academic and military echelons and their public speeches crafted a clear division between the elite and the popular classes, with unfamiliar vocabulary and dense grammatical constructions, in order to characterize the speaker as a member of the elite.[41] As a result, the regime often produced dense, metaphorical, and ambiguous texts that revealed epistemological incongruences and a reliance on simplistic binaries between good and evil. The way in which Salazar spoke in public, by reading his own written words, by playing a professorial persona, projected a binary understanding of reality. In the first years of his leadership he used evaluative adjectives such as 'honourable, exhaustive, possible, new, free, simple, ready, prioritise, fast, easy, cheap, protective, good, maximum, solid, balanced, healthy, active, prosperous, valuable, productive, amongst others' to characterize the Estado Novo and 'inferior, vicious, impotent, embarrassed, fatal, handicapped' in relation to the preceding First Republic.[42] In his

40 Fernando Rosas, 'O Salazarismo e o Homem Novo', *Análise Social*, 35 (2001), 1031-1054 (p. 1037), and Lugarinho, p. 24.

41 Portuguese writer José Cardoso Pires (1925-1998), active in the latter years of the Regime, was critical of the Estado Novo's elitist and metaphorical treatment of language that blurred fact with myth. See José Cardoso Pires, 'Técnica do Golpe de Censura', in *José Cardoso Pires, E agora, José* (Lisbon: Moraes, 1977), pp.199-243.

42 Alexandra Guedes Pinto, 'O Discurso da Ditadura: Ditadura, Ordem e Desordem em

speeches dictatorship = now = order = we versus republicanism = past = chaos = they, and these speeches also 'conjure[d] the voice of someone superior' to legitimize authority and new relations of meaning.[43]

The Estado Novo's dichotomous understanding of reality also characterized the representation of the colonized, in particular, in colonialist literature, promoted by António Ferro (1895-1956), the Estado Novo's chief publicist from 1932-1949, who exercised a commanding influence on production (and censorship) of Portuguese culture at large, according to an elitist and top-down understanding of cultural production. As Guedes Pinto pointed out:

> Colonial literature aims to, fundamentally, create a hymn of praise to the civilization of the colonizer, to the metropolis and the colonising nation, whose acts of heroism and exploration, of humanity and stoicism are, almost always, framed by a Manichaean vision of life and the surrounding world.[44]

The colonial literature produced from the mid-1930s to the early 1960s – defined as the ideological phase of Portuguese colonial literature – focuses on the colonizer's actions upon the colonized and in the colony.[45] As a rule the novels were written by a white Portuguese author who had lived in a colony, consumed by a white male audience in the mother country, and the protagonist was a white person in an inhospitable social and/or environmental context.[46] The general approach is exemplified by the following extract from the narrator of a successful colonial novel published in 1944:

> His [the white man's] connection with the indigenous will only harm him morally [...] The influence of that [of the black's] way of life will promote the moral and intellectual debasement of the settlers.[47]

The representation of the colonized subject in government documents was, particularly after the Second World War, tamer. In the early 1950s, facing critique from Western democracies and facing the ire of Marxist leaders worldwide because of its ultracolonialism, the Estado Novo welcomed Gilberto Freyre's Lusotropicalism. By virtue of the 1930 Colonial Act, which was in force until 1961, the colonized subject, if proficient in Portuguese language, reading and writing, a practicing Catholic and a resident of a

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António de Oliveira Salazar', *Microficcão,* 11 (2014), 313-343 (p. 316).

43 Pinto, p. 319.

44 Francisco Noa, 'Literatura Colonial em Moçambique: O Paradigma Submerso', *via atlântica*, 3 (1999), 58-68 (p.62).

45 Noa, p.64.

46 Noa, p.61.

47 Quoted in Noa, p. 65.

Portuguese colony, was eligible to apply to become an assimilated subject and, if successful, they would be allowed to live in urban areas and apply for public service jobs. This policy created a small elite of Portuguese-speaking educated creoles and blacks (and also Asians) who were integrated, often, into the lower tiers of the Portuguese colonial machinery. The indigenous were more vulnerable to the exploitative nature of Portuguese colonial praxis which deviated from the colonial norm in that it:

> Manifests itself through the apparently contradictory coexistence of a deficit and an excess of colonization. The deficit manifests itself in a contradictory way as well, whether being a burden resulting from being colonized by a backward country in the European context, or an opportunity for autonomous development, created precisely by the inefficiency of Portuguese colonialism. The excess resides in the fact that, given the near colonial subordination of Portugal to the central countries of Europe, England in particular, the colonies ended up suffering the impact of a double colonization, Portugal's and that of other European countries (again, England in particular).[48]

In 1968 Eduardo Mondlane wrote a piece critical of Portuguese colonialism that highlights the issues of double colonization with particular attention to the instrumentalization of language. He stated that the Portuguese had made use of language to make their colonialism palatable to the world using expressions such 'the dignity of labour', 'spiritual assimilation' and 'cultural evolution' in order to mask normative practices of exploitation of labour, including forced labour, described in law with words such as *voluntariado* (volunteering), *contratado* (contracted) and *liberto* (freed), whilst 'pretty much the same today as it has been for four hundred years: the indiscriminate use of the African for Portuguese profit', highlighting the glaring dissonance between the Estado Novo's rhetoric and its praxis.[49]

Many of the Africans who filled the ranks of the liberation movements of Angola, Guinea Bissau, and Mozambique, were classed as assimilated subjects. They were from the once powerful communities of mestizo*s*, born from 'moral deviance' and 'impurity'.[50] Historically, the power of the mestizos had emerged because the Portuguese State and the Church's institutions had lacked and/or declined to morally control its colonies. However, their economic power and political influence was curtailed by Salazar's increasingly centralized colonial state. Thus it was that, after independence, the Marxist leaders of newly independent Lusophone African countries, including Frelimo's second President and Mozambique's first

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48 Santos, 'Portugal: Tales of Being and not Being Portuguese', pp.10-11.

49 Quoted in Eduardo C. Mondlane, 'The Kitwe Papers: Race Relations and Portuguese Colonial Policy, with Special Reference to Mozambique', *Africa Today* (1968), pp. 13-18 (p. 16).

50 Lugarinho, p. 21.

President, Machel, a second-generation assimilated subject, perpetuated the superstratum Portuguese language as the only official language of the party; the irony was that the State thereby staged a tragic 're-appropriation of colonial rationality'.[51] This is exemplified by Machel's usage of signifiers that were over-saturated with colonialist meanings (transmitted via interpreters where necessary) in his speeches and addresses which were intended to coerce and injure those masculinities that differed from the socialist ideal. These were vital components of Frelimo's ideological toolbox, especially in the context of low levels of literacy among Portuguese-European as well as Portuguese-Mozambican speakers. The latter was a hybrid version of the Portuguese language spoken in urban centres by Africans and during the first years of independence Frelimo entertained the idea that within a few years a new Portuguese-Mozambican language would emerge and become the norm. However, this idea was short-lived because 'any substantive change in linguistic policy was thus seen as a real threat to their [assimilated class] social standing and authority'[52] and, by 'the early 1980s Portuguese-European had effectively re-established itself as the accepted normative standard'.[53] This ran counter to the argument used by Machel who believed that:

> Portuguese is a weak language; it doesn't burn with a bright light. Only the former colonies, in freeing themselves, are modifying the language, especially Mozambique and Angola. We are enriching Portuguese … Portuguese doesn't leave a student with a broad, clear view of life. Even today we are struggling against this inheritance.[54]

He justified the appropriation of the Portuguese language by arguing that under Frelimo the Portuguese language had already been transformed into something stronger than it ever had been because of Frelimo's clear, anti-metaphysical, scientific, and socialist rationality.

> We speak better Portuguese here. And why? Clear Portuguese, because of clear ideas, clear content, clear objectives. The language only gets richer in this way … and that's why we say that we speak better Portuguese here. We like it a lot, we're going to cultivate it. (Samora Machel laughs heartily].[55]

Following Soviet discourse, Frelimo's socialist new man, for whom 'the individual wellbeing of each member of society is inseparable from the

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51 Igreja, p. 793.

52 Colin Darch and David Hedges, 'Political Rhetoric in the Transition to Mozambican Independence: Samora Machel in Beira, June 1975', *Kronos*, 39 (2013), 32-65 (p. 51).

53 Darch and Hedges, p. 54.

54 Quoted in Darch and Hedges, p. 52.

55 Quoted in Darch and Hedges, p. 53.

general wellbeing of all',[56] exposed Stalin's belief that: 'a national community is inconceivable without a common language' and without a common 'psychological make-up manifested in a common culture', and that language, regardless of its intrinsic meanings, can be instrumentalised towards building a National Character – that is, 'the complex of physical and spiritual characteristics which distinguish one nation from another'.[57]

With Salazar's and Machel's new men projects, masculinity, language, and nation become the cornerstones of this new ideology. According to Louis Althusser ideology is needed to give social cohesion and to constitute (dominant and dominated) 'concrete individuals as subjects'; it therefore consists of the actions and behaviours of bodies governed by their disposition within material apparatuses.[58] Intrinsic to Estado Novo's and Frelimo's power was the fact that elites autocratically defined what was culturally valuable. Within this framework language became a powerful tool used to justify political legitimacy. The instrumentalisation of language via power is exemplified, for example, in colonial contexts where a superstratum language, the European language of the colonizer, is imposed through the law upon the colonized subject to the detriment of the latter's substratum native language.[59] According to Pierre Bourdieu utterances are 'also *signs of wealth*, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and *signs of authority* intended to be believed and obeyed' whereby 'the whole social structure is present in each interaction'.[60] Therefore when language is spoken by those in power, these acts reinforce social hierarchies contributing to create inclusion and exclusion of categories of individuals within a society. Beyond this, Judith Butler, argues that languages project power beyond social organization to enact a form of direct violence upon the body:

> Certain words or certain forms of address not only operate as threats to one's physical well-being, but there is a strong sense in which the body is alternately sustained and threatened through modes

56 Quoted in Lugarinho, pp. 28-29.

57 J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and The National Question* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Press, 1954), pp. 305, 308 and 310, and J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and Problems of Linguistics* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), p. 10.

58 See Louis Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (1970) in Marxists Online; https://www.Marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm [accessed 3 October 2020].

59 See Leo Spitzer, 'The Individual Factor in Linguistic Innovations (1956)', in *The Routledge Language and Cultural Theory Reader*, ed. by Lucy Burke, Tony Crowley and Alan Girvin (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 64-73.

60 Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. by John B. Thompson, trans. by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 67-68.

of address.[61]

Language's potential violence brings us to the issue of the intentionality of the text, in this case to the intentionality of the film as a linguistic construct. In light of this I will be interrogating the ways in which the Lusophone colonialist and anti-colonialist films, as products of nationalistic scopic strategies, are intertwined with the drive to overcome lingering national and communal traumas through the dispensation of a symbolic violence that seeks (moral) revenge for the masculine humiliations suffered by the Portuguese colonizer and their colonized subjects.

1.5. Colonialist Praxis, Language and Postcolonial Pitfalls

Key ideas that crafted the difference between the white self and the black other, and which have shaped the praxis of European colonialism, emerge in part from the treatises of John Locke, John Stuart Mill, Alexis de Tocqueville and Friedrich Nietzsche. Positions immanent within the discourse of colonialism exist in a continuum between John Stuart Mill's notion of 'colonial burden' and Alexis de Tocqueville's instrumentalisation of violence for political power. These two ideological polarities are, respectively, associated with the Nietzschean free-thinker and free-spirit that, I argue, stand as contrasting embodiments of colonizer-type masculinities. Prior to Stuart Mill's and Tocqueville's thoughts on colonialism, Locke's essay 'Theory of Value and Property' (1689) legitimises appropriation of colonial territories where he considers colonialism to be a beneficial 'practice that increases the "common stock of mankind" by developing and exploiting the productive capacity of the earth',[62] in that the colonizer has the right to appropriate and cultivate the land of the other which is not being used to its full potential: 'in places where people find themselves in a state they were, at first peopling of the world by the children of Adam, or Noah', the colonizer 'may be permitted to plough, sow, and reap, without being disturbed upon land he has no other title to, but only his making use of it'.[63] Locke is not advocating usurping the land leaving the other to starve, as he makes reference to biblical justice that 'Cain might take as much ground as he could till, and make it his own land and yet leave enough for Abel's sheep to feed

61 Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech - A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997), p.4.

62 Quoted in Howard Williams, 'Colonialism in Kant's Political Philosophy', Diâmetros, 39 (2014), 154-181 (p. 166).

63 Williams, p. 166.

on'.[64]

In political terms, Stuart Mill and Tocqueville, both abolitionists, articulated colonialism within the realm of political ethics (or ethics of process and public policy). Whilst Stuart Mill advocated the moral responsibilities of colonialism, Tocqueville laid-out in his 1840s political writings the understanding that colonialism is a violent practice designed for the political benefit of Western Nation States. For Stuart Mill, peoples are divided between savages, barbarians and the civilized, and the course of history is based on the evolution between these stages. The savage demonstrates personal independence, absence of developed social life and lack of discipline towards repetitive work, and barbarians lack a sense of nationhood.[65] The way in which the savage evolves is through slavery, and the barbarian is conditioned through a despotism exercised by the civilized nations. Writing in relation to French control of Algeria, Tocqueville claimed 'I believe that the right of war authorizes us to ravage the country',[66] and, while dismissing a civilizational mission for colonialism, he argued that the purpose of colonialism may not benefit the colonized subject. This suggests that the practice of colonialism is a way in which a country may gain international status and power whilst reducing national problems; from a strictly ideological viewpoint, it offers a vehicle to increase nationalist fervour and national unity in order to counter political dissent and minimize social unrest by offering re-settling solutions for the excess of population. Stuart Mill articulates an understanding of colonialism that sees the use of violence and domination for the higher moral purpose of civilizing the colonized subject whereas for Tocqueville colonization is a consequence of the manifestation of State power over the other, with little or no responsibilities to those being subjugated.

Nietzsche argued that, with *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1881) and *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886), he was making way for a new man – the free-spirit who is opposed to the free-thinker – who rejected accepted religious and philosophical truths and dogma, who 'is allowed to forget the rule of

64 Quoted in Williams, p. 167.

65 See Beate Jahn, 'Barbarian Thoughts: Imperialism in the Philosophy of John Stuart Mill', Review *of International Studies*, 31. 3 (2005), 599-618; Abram L. Harris, 'John Stuart Mill's Theory of Progress', *Ethics*, 66.3 (1956), 157-175.

66 Margaret Kohn, Empire's Law: Alexis de Tocqueville on Colonialism and the State of Exception, *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne de Science Politique*, 41.2 (2008), 255-278 (p. 260).

"humanity", being the exception to it'.[67] If '[a]nyone who interacts with other people without occasionally displaying all the colours of distress [...] is surely not a man of higher taste' then '[t]o hell with my good taste!'[68] he writes. The exception is more interesting than the standards of good taste carried through by the free-thinker who 'belong, short and sour, to the levellers, loquacious scribbling slaves of the democratic taste'.[69] What the free-thinker desires is:

> [T]o achieve is a common green pasture of happiness for the herd, with safety, security, comfort, ease of life for everyone; their two most often recited tunes and teachings are 'Equal rights' and 'Compassion for all suffering' – and they take suffering itself as something that must be eliminated.[70]

Nietzsche's free-spirit welcomes precisely the contrary:

> We are of the opinion that harshness, violence, enslavement, danger on the street and in the heart, seclusion, stoicism, the art of the tempter and every kind of devilry, that everything evil, frightful, tyrannical, predatory, and snake-like about humans serves to heighten the species 'human being' as much as does its opposite.[71]

Society is 'only as a foundation and scaffolding to enable a select kind of creature to ascend to its higher task and in general to its higher existence'.[72] Therefore Nietzsche advises against sentimentality as '[l]ife itself in its essence means appropriating, injuring, overpowering those who are foreign and weaker; oppression, harshness, forcing one's own forms on others, incorporation, and at the very least, at the very mildest, exploitation'.[73] The free-spirit knows that '[t]here is something cruel in the propensity of my [their] spirit',[74] that dispenses piety for the other 'which necessarily has to suffer and should suffer'.[75] Reading Nietzsche's free-spirit/ free-thinker in relation to Stuart Mill's and Tocqueville's colonizer the result is a Stuart Mill's free-thinker civilizing colonizer and a Tocqueville's free-spirit power seeking colonizer that underpin the heroic representations of the male protagonists of colonialist films.

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67 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to a Philosophy of The Future*, trans. and ed. by Marion Faber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 [1886]), p. 27.

68 Nietzsche, p. 26.

69 Nietzsche, p. 40.

70 Nietzsche, p. 41.

71 Nietzsche, p. 41.

72 Nietzsche, p. 158.

73 Nietzsche, p. 153.

74 Nietzsche, p. 122.

75 Nietzsche, p. 117.

Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon and Homi K. Bhabha have dwelled on the paradoxical colonizer/colonized psychodynamics produced by colonial societies that expediently balance between promoting Stuart Mill's colonialism and practicing Tocqueville colonialism. According to Fanon, who drew on Jacques Lacan's understanding of language as formative of subjecthood, the colonized subject's madness is the result of something done to him/her[76] through their absorption of language which 'injects the black with extremely dangerous foreign bodies',[77] because racism is structural to (colonial) culture.[78] The colonial Big Other constructs racism as a pre-rationality of the whites' 'collective unconscious (…) in which the negro occupies the position of the symbol of sin'.[79] Paving the way, on the one hand, for the black to become an object for the whites' collective catharsis 'as object of aggression and serves as a channel to release aggression',[80] and, on the other hand, forces the colonizer into a perpetual state of paranoia over the colonized subject's desire for revenge.[81] The colonial space is therefore, according to Fanon, a 'motionless' and 'Manichaeistic world' where all dichotomies, including good/evil and rich/poor collapse into a single dichotomy – the white/black dichotomy.

For Fanon the white/black dichotomy is unsettled when the black person gains command of the superstratum language because they 'will come closer to being a real human being - in direct ratio to his mastery of the French [superstratum] language'.[82] However, 'the one who expresses himself well, who has mastered the language, is inordinately feared' because they 'talk like a white man' demonstrating problematic cultural ambiguities: there are those who, flattered by the extent of their own assimilation, only speak the superstratum language, while pretending to forget that the substratum incarnates a 'new type of man that he imposes on his associates and his family'.[83] Indeed, there are those who see themselves forced into the use of the superstratum language, such the colonized writer, who writes for the

76 Derek Hook, 'Fanon/Lacan: Sites of Intersection', *Psychoanalysis and History*, 22.3 (2020), 291–316 (p. 308).

77 Azzedine Haddour, *Frantz Fanon, Postcolonialism and the Ethics of Difference* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), p. 96.

78 John Drabinski, 'Fanon' (2019) in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*; https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/frantz-fanon/ [accessed 3 October 2020]

79 FrancoiseVergès, 'Creole Skin, Black Mask: Fanon and Disavowal', *Critical Inquiry*, 23.3 (1997), 578-595 (p.583).

80 Vergès, pp. 583-584.

81 Hook, p. 296 and pp. 301-302; and Vergès, p.583.

82 See Fanon, *Black Skin, White Mask*, p. 18.

83 Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 36.

colonizer because the majority of the colonized are illiterate and poor. As Memmi explains, the latter find themselves confronted by a conundrum.[84] What will they – who are 'neither unconscious, nor ungrateful, nor insolent'– in understanding that they are borrowing a language, write about 'other than of their malaise and revolt?'[85] The colonized subject who wants to elevate the substratum into a lingua franca is perpetually reminded that:

> [I]ts vocabulary is limited, its syntax bastardized. It would be comical to hear a course in higher mathematics or philosophy in it. Even the left-wing colonizer is surprised by this unnecessary challenge which is more costly in the long run to the colonized than to the colonizer. Why not go on using Western languages to describe motors or teach abstract subjects?[86]

The elite colonized subject's priority is less in recovering the language, where tradition may be inscribed, than assuming the identity of the colonizer. 'Is it a coincidence that so many colonized leaders contracted mixed marriages?'[87] Memmi asks. Fanon replies that the reason why the assimilated subject desires to marry into whiteness while dreaming of being hierarchically superior to the white is also motivated by a desire for revenge because he remained the unacknowledged victim of the desire of the Big Other, that is, those colonial powers such as Britain, France and Spain that, in effect, still govern the assimilated subject.[88] The assimilated subject is imprisoned within his own imaginary, fearing simultaneously the white and the black, as he attempts to remove all traces of blackness from within.[89]

During the 1970s and 1980s the black African writers Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and Chinua Achebe were at the centre of a debate regarding the role of native African languages in the national culture postcolonial independent African nations, including literature and cinema. Achebe claimed that the substratum languages are localized constructs that can only be understood by a specific group and therefore these cannot assume the role of a national language and communicate across the nation. Achebe believed that the African can master the English language without mimicking the native speaker i.e., by 'fashion(ing) out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience' because '[t]he price a world language must be prepared

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84 See Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Howard Greenfeld (London: Earthscan, 2003 [1965]), pp. 152-153.

85 Memmi, p. 152.

86 Memmi, p.180.

87 Memmi, pp. 179-180.

88 Haddour, pp. 104, 101-102, and Vergès, p. 591.

89 Haddour, pp. 109-110 and Vergès, p. 588 and 594.

to pay is submission to many different kinds of use'.[90] Even if '[i]t looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a guilty feeling' he sees no choice but to write in English in order to say something new as well as different.[91] In response to Achebe's views wa Thiong'o claimed that foreign superstratum European languages do not allow the African subject to faithfully communicate experience because feelings and writing become divorced from speaking and conceptualization.[92] For him culture and language are 'almost' indistinguishable whereby 'language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history'.[93]

Based on a Marxist understanding of language wa Thiong'o asserts that colonialism employed language for the objective of controlling the material wealth of the colony through controlling culture.[94] Having taken the decision to write novels in his native language, wa Thiong'o was critical of African leaders, such as Senegal's Leopold Sedar Senghor and Malawi's Hastings Banda, for promoting French and English, respectively, as national languages. He asks: 'Can you get a more telling example of hatred of what is national, and a servile worship of what is foreign even though dead?'[95]

According to Fanon, who corroborates on this point wa Thiong'o's thesis, if we are to believe that language is synonymous with culture, then – if the assimilated colonized subjects do not reunite themselves with the substratum – 'there will be serious psycho-affective injuries and the result will be individuals without an anchor, without a horizon, colourless, stateless, rootless – a race of angels'.[96] Once the 'native' intellectual has done so 'the interest of one will be the interests of all'.[97] With the nascent decolonization there were those intellectuals who 'proclaim rejection [of Western culture] than actually to reject'[98] because they have become 'adopted children' of the West who struggle to find the grandiose references in their native history which has been written and evaluated by the colonizer. Therefore 'the

90 Chinua Achebe, 'The African Writer and the English Language (1975)', in *The Routledge Language and Cultural Theory Reader*, ed. by Lucy Burke, Tony Crowley and Alan Girvin (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 427-433 (p. 432).

91 Achebe, p. 433.

92 Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 'The Language of African Literature (1986)', in *The Routledge Language and Cultural Theory Reader*, ed. by Lucy Burke, Tony Crowley and Alan Girvin (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 434-442 (pp. 440-441).

93 See wa Thiong'o, pp. p. 435.

94 Wa Thiong'o, p. 440.

95 Wa Thiong'o, pp. 441-442.

96 Wa Thiong'o, pp. 441-442.

97 Fanon, pp. 36-37.

98 Fanon, p. 176.

intellectual is terrified by the void, the degradation and the savagery he sees there'.[99] As they create works that reference the new postcolonial nation, they fail to understand that they are using 'techniques and language which are borrowed from the stranger'.[100] What they create is 'reminiscent of exoticism' and in their anxiety to represent the nation and get near to the people, they explore ideas that do not address the situation and somehow they become estranged from their own people.[101] Soon '[w]e find intact in them [post-colonial elites] the manners and forms of thought picked up during their association with the colonialist bourgeois'.[102] In this way the violent order of colonialism migrates to the postcolonial where State violence, constructed as anti-colonialist, and anti-coloniality, anti-neocolonial, is projected as culturally constructive.

The experience of the postcolonial is, according to Bhabha, characterized by the uncanny, a term based on the problematic colonial psychic 'economy' produced by colonizer/colonized relations, and its manifestations can be found in the footnotes of history that reveal mechanisms that normative discourse would rather leave hidden. The uncanny is, therefore, that which is located in the past, but which comes to haunt.[103] Bhabha associates it with psychoanalytic repression – past traumas remain present in the subconscious but break out unexpectedly into language. Consequently, the post-colonial is a space disrupted by the colonial experience whereby the superstratum language is a permanent intrusion of colonialness. The postcolonial nation is, therefore, caught in a problematic temporality, between the past/future and certainty/anxiety,[104] underling the impossible epistemological cut between colonial and post-colonial societies. Moving away from Bhabha's literary oeuvre, which has been criticized as lacking history,[105] toward an engagement with the expanded socio-political conditions of the colonial system, we follow in Fanon's footsteps in demanding a simultaneously psychoanalytical and historical interpretation of the text, i.e. a psychoanalytic engagement with colonial and post-colonial texts that is invested with the 'historical, political and socio-symbolic'.[106] The text, in this context the Lusophone film, is 'permeated by forces' that are beyond the understanding and control of its

99 Fanon, p. 177.
100 Fanon, p. 180.
101 See Fanon, p. 180.
102 Fanon, p. 37.
103 See Huddart, pp. 52-54.
104 Quoted in Huddart, p. 73.
105 Haddour, p. 64 and p. 77.
106 Haddour, pp.75-76 and Hook, p. 297.

enabling system.[107]

1.6. Towards a Postcolonial and Psychoanalytical Interpretative Framework

The Birth of a Nation (1915) is a landmark in cinema aesthetics that fine-tuned ways in which representation of the white self can be constructed via the paradigm of the black other. The devices it pioneered were employed by those Hollywood films set in Africa and elsewhere that sought to deliver 'the desire for exotic and romantic escapism' and 'the commercial factor'.[108] Regarding U.S. and British colonialist films, with explicit imperial ideological content, including, *Sanders of the River*, *Four Feathers,* and *Simba*:

> [W]hat becomes immediately obvious when viewing these films is that, although they are made in the last decades of the Empire's existence, they do not reflect contemporary ideas about the Empire. The ideas they reflect are those of late nineteenth century. [109]

The colonialist film genre grew out of the symbiotic relationship between colonialist literature and the anthropological-based documentary reflecting late nineteenth and early twentieth-century scientific racism.[110] Unlike the colonialist novel and the documentary, with the genre fiction feature film 'the audience seeks the solid and familiar referents of that genre, expecting and usually receiving a large measure of the known'.[111] Within this the colonialist genre film is crafted as 'pure emotional articulation', as 'fictional constructs of the imagination, growing essentially out of group interests and values'.[112] The genre was reliant on a number of tropes to orchestrate emotional responses which encompass the representation of the African environment as replete with dangers from irrational sources and the representation of Africans as savage beings prone to violating civilization's tabus.

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107 Stephen Frosh, 'Psychoanalysis, Colonialism and Racism', *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*, 33 (2013), 141-154 (p. 145).

108 Richards, Jeffrey, *Visions of Yesterday* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 3; quoted in Femi Okiremuete Shaka, 'Colonial and Post-Colonial African Cinema: A Theoretical and Critical Analysis of Discursive Practices' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 1994).

109 Richards, p. 7 and quoted in quoted in Shaka, p. 168.

110 Shaka, pp. 169-170.

111 Sobchack, Thomas, 'Genre Film: A Classical Experience', in *Film Genre: Theory and Criticism*, ed. Barry K. Grant (Metuchen, New Jersey & London: The Scarecrow Press 1977), p. 52, and quoted in Shaka, p. 172.

112 Shaka, p. 172.

Beginning with the pioneer anti-colonial short documentary, *Afrique 50,* (1950) on the economic exploitation of the colonized subject in French colonial Africa, subsequent anti-colonial documentaries and feature films have focused on the violence of colonial society. The US race genre film, in its critique of an unequal society based on racial determinatives, is a precursor of anti-colonial cinema. *Within Our Gates* (1920) is an example of this genre of film that set forward terms for a critical response to hegemonic white/black representation in cinema. Sembène's landmark first feature film, *Black Girl* (1966), was released six years after the independence of Senegal from France and, throughout his long career, Sembène criticized the nature of French colonialism in his native Senegal and addressed the consciousness of the colonized subject and postcolonial African Senegalese man and woman as a location where the coexistence of different cultures creates moral challenges. French colonialism, which Sembène, Fanon and Memmi unmask, shared the assimilationist stance with Salazar's colonial project. This similarity is what makes Sembène's anti-colonial films relevant when considering Lusophone and Frelimo's anti-colonial films because of similar topics conjured by the ex-colonized individual's experience of assimilationist colonial systems. French colonial discourse articulated the notion that any colonized subject, regardless of race, could be made to think and act like a French citizen, while colonial policy sought to shape every aspect of the colonized individual's life in ways that underlined that French language and culture was superior.[113]

In his important study Kenneth W. Harrow (2007), following a Lacanian framework 'shows how Zizek's concept of "modalities of desire" can be applied across a range of films, no matter their geographic, ethnic, or ideological origins' to liberate the criticism of African from the notion that post-colonial African film must serve political functions and to expose the ways in which progressivist enlightenment thought permeates 'authentic African' cinema.[114] I find Harrow's understanding of the perpetuation of the ex-colonizer's discourse within Sembène's anti-colonialist cinematic works invaluable, for it has directed attention to the manifestation of coloniality within the Lusophone anti-colonial film — in essence towards the implicit level that contradicts explicit ideological messages. The objective of uncovering the subliminal within the text draws on Fanon's work of revealing

113 See Deming Martin Lewis, 'One Hundred Million Frenchmen: the "Assimilation" Theory in French Colonial Policy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 4.2 (1962), 129-153.

114 Keyan G. Tomaselli, 'Review: Postcolonial African Cinema: From Political Engagement to Post-Modernism by Ken Harrow', *African Studies Review*, 52.2 (2009), 228-229 (p. 229).

the colonial psychodynamics, which is itself in turn based on a re-engagement with mirror stage-based Lacanian film theory. We do so whilst also considering the characteristics of the war film genre and masculinities studies in order to address Lusophone films (a) in relation to the cinematic strategies of colonialist and anti-colonial cinema beyond the Lusophone context and (b) as simultaneously products of discourse and producers of discourse.

Todd McGowan and Sheila Kunkle, in 'Introduction: Lacanian Psychoanalysis in Film Theory', in *Lacan and Contemporary Film* (2004), argue three main points: (a) that early '[f]ilm theory's understanding of Lacan was largely mistaken', because it focussed solely on the registers of the imaginary and the symbolic and the complex of the *mirror stage* excluding the realm of the Real;[115] (b) that it led to the assumption that 'the reception of film was an imaginary experience that had the effect of blinding the subject to its interpellation into the symbolic order'[116] and to the position that 'film became an ideological weapon and Hollywood a factory for the interpellation of subjects into ideology';[117] and (c) that the film theorists' objective, drawing on Lacanian-Marxist Althusser who claimed that subjectivity is a deception produced by ideology, was to uncover how film contributed to the subjectification and subjection of individuals through the process of identification.[118] Essentially, they highlight that film theorists, such as Laura Mulvey, Mary Ann Doane and Steve Neale erroneously articulated film as an imaginary device that (simply) facilitates the subject's acceptance of their subjection.

Based on the shared idea that film enables different forms of spectator looking (at what unfolds on-screen) the earliest psychoanalytic film theory-based theorizations by Mulvey, Doane, Neale and Manthia Diawara interpreted spectator identification in relation to the representation of gender and race in film. They address the *look* of the male spectator as invested in the male and female characters, the *look* of the female spectator with regard to the male and female characters, and the *look* of the black other upon the on-screen black character and the white hegemonic male protagonist. Despite the criticisms, they illuminated the ways in which tropes and conventions of mainstream Hollywood cinema project ideology at large, namely patriarchy and white supremacism, thereby revealing strategies according to which

115 Todd McGowan and Sheila Kunkle, 'Introduction', in *Lacan and Contemporary Film*, ed. by Todd McGowan and Sheila Kunkle (New York: Other Press, 2004), pp. xi-xxix (p. xiii).

116 McGowan and Kunkle, p. xiii.

117 McGowan and Kunkle, p. xiv.

118 McGowan and Kunkle, p. xiv.

hegemonic social expectations and patriarchal subconscious fears – the social subconscious – and constructions of hegemonic masculinity are disseminated through cinematic language.

Some film genres, in particular the war genre, have traditionally been seen as patriarchal domains. If 'Hollywood champions proof of masculinity by violence',[119] the cornerstone of the war-film is the construct of masculinity, and the sub-gender of combat film chiefly revolves around the construction of hegemonic and ideal masculinities in relation to physical violence. 'Many find it difficult to accept that institutions are substantively, not just metaphorically, gendered',[120] and cinema in general, namely Hollywood, has to a great extent been a masculine institution in the same manner as the Western State is masculine, i.e., chiefly concerned with pursuing gender projects, whereby the definition of masculinity exists in opposition to femininity and the male other. Modern white Western hegemonic masculinity exists in contrast to femininity and also as an 'overreaction to femininity' which demands the 'subordination of women' who are allegedly lesser, incomplete and irrational as well as the subordination of men who may lack masculinity.[121] What emerges are fluid, real-life and imaginary contexts whereby hegemonic masculinity is constructed in relation to inter- and intra-gender dynamics and therefore in relation to patriarchally constructed types of woman and other masculinities that in the sociological field of masculinities studies are understood as complicit, subordinate, marginal and protest-based masculinities.

The current Western gender order started its process of stabilization in the eighteenth century with the construction of a Protestant, rational, entrepreneurial and militaristic-based masculinity, as a result of (a) strong centralized States concerned with the production of war and (b) the dissemination of hereditary landowners' codes of masculinity that intertwined family, honour and violence within the urban bourgeoisie and the State's institutions.[122] During the nineteenth century, the State's military apparatus was a successful example of the combination of gentry-violence with modern rationality, bureaucracy, science and technology, and the bourgeoise's compartmentalization of life into domestic, economic and political spheres, with women confined to the domestic sphere, illustrated the

119 R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 214-215.

120 Connell, p. 73.

121 Connell, p. 11.

122 Connell, p. 188 and pp. 189-190.

hegemonic nature of gentry codes.[123] According to Cornell and Messerschmidt:

> Hegemonic masculinities can be constructed that do not correspond closely to the lives of any actual men. Yet these models do, in various ways, express widespread ideals, fantasies, and desires.[124]

Often rooted in the assumption that certain types of male body confer masculinity, representations of self-legitimizing perfectly functional (and pain hungry) male bodies act in the world and upon others transforming them, whereby 'gender is vulnerable when bodily performance cannot be sustained'.[125] For example, war and the inhospitable colonial space, through referencing essentialist notions of masculinity through the agency of the male body, are contexts where exemplary masculinities are constructed.[126] John Wayne, Humphrey Bogart and Clark Gable were examples of actors whose personalities became intertwined with the exemplary and hegemonic masculinities they played out on screen, and even so they were not representative of the exact locus of power. That power lies elsewhere, more emphatically in the military realm, in finance and politics, i.e., held by men who may not necessarily embody hegemonic ideals. The construction of heroic masculinities in cinema is part of ideology's organization of gender according to symbolic practices legitimized by science rather than religion,[127] with the objective of creating masculinities that 'motivate men to work', procreate and kill.[128]

Cultural contexts and institutions can produce different masculinities, for example, those set up by fascist regimes modelled on the Nazi Party's Hitler's Youth, which aimed to homogenize the production of national masculinities. Nonetheless, hegemonic masculinity is neither cohesive nor stable as it is constantly challenged from the inside and the outside. Crisis-tendencies defines tensions that may emerge between different types of hegemonic masculinities as, for example, between the military and political class leading to discursive inflections. Inflections may be felt to the extent to which: (i) religion, science and/or exemplary masculinities legitimize power; (ii) the use of violence towards woman and non-hegemonic men is

123 Connell, p. 192 and p. 195.

124 R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender and Society*, 19.6 (2005), 829-859 (p. 846).

125 Connell, p. 54.

126 Connell, p. 36, p. 45 and p. 54.

127 Connell, pp. 72-73.

128 Cornell, p. 32.

authorized/condemned; (iii) deviant men (verbally and/or physically extreme violent masculinities) pursuing social restoration of masculinity projects are authorized/condemned by discourse; and (iv) homo-social institutions regulate same-sex intimacy. Violence is not marginal but structural regarding male intra gender dynamics. Hegemonic masculinities make use of the *apparatuses* through varying modes and levels of violence to sustain hegemony:

> Any strategy for the maintenance of power is likely to involve a dehumanizing of other groups and a corresponding withering of empathy and emotional relatedness within the self.[129]

However, in its dealings with non-hegemonic masculinities hegemonic masculinity appropriates from the other into itself sanctioned markers of the other's masculinity, constructing a dynamic which is both violent and mimetic, namely:

> Hegemony may be accomplished by the incorporation of such [protest] masculinities into a functioning gender order rather than by active oppression in the form of discredit or violence. In practice, both incorporation and oppression can occur together.[130]

The extent to which mainstream cinema's male hero's exemplary or anti-heroic masculinity is expressed through violence towards the male and female other is a reflection of the conflation between the representation of hegemonic masculinity, patriarchy and violence. The arguments by different authors that the unconscious of patriarchal society has structured mainstream cinema and that the war genre film genre is devoted to the construction of masculinity are interwoven and generally consider the often explicit political calls for re-masculinization of men and society in mainstream cinema.[131]

The call to masculinisation is effective because cinema weaves a synergy between ideology and scopophilia, which Mulvey defines as the pleasure that the spectator derives from the act of seeing, from taking others as objects.[132] The war-film plays on powerful representations of the warrior archetype that exists as an active being who commands the space of the screen and projects sexual competence.[133] This induces pleasure in the male viewer whose

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129 Quoted in Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, p. 852.

130 Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, p. 848.

131 Barry Langford, *Film Genre: Hollywood and Beyond* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), pp. 123-124 and Laura Mulvey, Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema, *Screen* (1975), pp. 6-18 (p. 6).

132 The Hollywood blockbuster *Top Gun* (Tony Scott 1986) is an example of this. Upon its release the film sparked a surge in applications to the US Navy.

133 McClintock, p. 274.

scopophilia develops into narcissism as he watches the male hero protagonist of the male genre, for example, a John Wayne character, exist according to extreme states that disregard social authority and produce actions with extreme consequences.[134] The narcissistic identification with a powerful masculinity with exemplary control over a 3D scopic space, according to Mulvey, evokes the Lacanian mirror stage.[135] In contrast, from within the confines of patriarchal culture, the woman is displayed as an erotic object that freezes action whilst being contemplated by on-screen male characters and spectators. She is reduced to the details of a body, written as an icon in a flat 2D space, that is, the on-screen, and is constructed as a male other who provokes action in the male protagonist.[136] Despite the patriarchal nature of film text the woman's on-screen objecthood, i.e. the presence of the female body on-screen, according to Mulvey, induces anxiety in the male spectator because it underlines a subconscious fear of castration.[137] The threat emanating from the female body is more real when she actively looks. This is signalled, for example, when a female character wears glasses which in the patriarchal script, according to Doane, symbolizes her sexual repression and knowledge. When she does wear them, she is diminished by a more knowledgeable male character and punished for the lack of conformity with the patriarchal order.[138] The patriarchal order demands that on-screen hints of homoerotic desire are repressed with violence upon the masculine body, often mutilation, i.e. the enactment of distance and sadism upon the male body.[139] According to Neale, the male spectator who identifies with the ideal ego on screen, for example, the superhero who is characterized by a 'reticence with language', unleashes within himself inadequacy and a subconscious fear of castration.[140] Male genre films subject the male audience who identifies with the on-screen ideal or exemplary masculinity to a wide range of psycho-

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134 John Garofolo, 'War Films in an Age of War and Cinema', in A *Companion to the War Film*, ed. by Douglas A. Cunningham and John C. Nelson (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 36-55 (p. 38); Mulvey, 6-18 (p. 11); Steve Neale, 'Masculinity As Spectacle: Reflections on Men and Mainstream Cinema', in *Screening the Male: Exploring Masculinities in the Hollywood Cinema*, ed. by Steve Cohan and Ina Rae Hark (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), pp. 9-20 (p. 13 and pp. 14-15); John Belton, *American Cinema-American Culture* (New York: MacGrawHill, 2012), pp. 195-196.

135 Mulvey, p. 10 and p. 12.

136 Mulvey, p. 6 and p. 11 and pp. 12-13.

137 Mulvey, p. 7 and p. 13.

138 Mary Ann Doane, 'Film and the masquerade: Theorising the female spectator', *Screen*, 23.3-4 (1982), 74-88 (p. 82, p. 83 and p. 84). As an example of the woman who is punished for breaking social norms, studies on *Psycho* (1960) have claimed the brutal death inflicted upon Marion Crane was linked to the fact that she was a morally flawed woman.

139 Neale, pp. 13-14.

140 Neale, pp. 12-13.

emotional responses, from narcissism to eroticism and inadequacy, allowing us to say that the patriarchal script simultaneously empowers and disavows its target masculine audience. By exploiting established sexual differences that condition our subliminal understanding of cultural content, patriarchy-based male genre cinema mirrors the subconscious obsessions of society, namely the hierarchy between male and female.[141]

In the debate known in the media as the Cambridge Race debate held in 1965 at Cambridge university between the black U.S. writer and civil rights activist James Baldwin and white American conservative public intellectual William F. Buckley Jr., the former confessed that when he was a 'kid' and watched westerns he cheered for the cowboys until he understood that 'I am the Indian'. Baldwin's realization clarifies the fact that identification is not straightforward across gender and ethnicity.[142] According to Diawara, in the generic Hollywood film featuring black characters, the black characters subvert the order of narrative, the mulatto is the incarnation of evil as an expression of the debasement that miscegenation produces, the white woman suspends the narrative, and the white male restores order. This leaves the black spectator uncomfortably caught between identifying with the white leading character and rejecting the ideology of the text.[143] The black spectator has difficulties in identifying with the black characters, mainly because they are constructed as non-plausible identities who are constantly kept in check; when the black male character shows characteristics of heroic masculinity he is 'mutilated' in order to reassert the white-black status-quo.[144] The problem of identification is not only restricted to the racial other who sees themselves debased on-screen. It is also problematic for the woman, whom – in order to identify with the male protagonist – has to place herself in a masochist position and accept her masculinization.[145]

In interpreting how film functions as an enabler of pleasure for those who seamlessly identify with the ideology of the text and a dispenser of pain for those who have to masochistically become an other in order to identify with its ideology, the 'mirror stage film theorists' reveal the language codes

141 Mulvey, p. 8 and pp. 11-12.

142 Neale, p. 11. Neale quotes John Ellis's book *Visible Fictions* to assert that the audience can identify in simultaneous with various characters.

143 Manthia Diawara, 'Black Spectatorship: Problems of Identification and Resistance', *Screen*, 29.4 (1988), 66–79 (pp. 66, 67, 68 and 72).

144 Diawara, pp. 71 and 72.

145 Doane, p. 76; Laura Mulvey, 'Afterthoughts on "Visual Pleasure And Narrative Cinema" Inspired by "Duel In the Sun" (King Vidor, 1946)', *The Journal of Cinema and Media*, 15/17 (1981), 12-15 (p. 12).

employed to represent on-screen patriarchal and racist gender and power dynamics, which, I suggest, contribute to the understanding of the tropes of colonialist and anti-colonial war films. Nonetheless, McGowan and Kunkle argue that:

> What was missing in this Lacanian film theory was any sense of the power of film to disrupt ideology and to challenge - or even expose - the process of interpellation. This was the result of its too narrow understanding of Lacan, an understanding that elided the role of the Real in Lacan's thought.[146]

Despite understanding that ideology is at work in every film text McGowan and Kunkle argue for a turn towards the realm of the Real to unpack the ways in which film disrupts and challenges ideology. But – in the context of the present enquiry – they raise the following question: how should we move towards an understanding of the Estado Novo's and Frelimo's cinemas simultaneously as a 'handmaiden of ideology' and ideologically self-contradictory constructs? The contradictions between ideology and history have to be extricated, i.e., the relationships between exemplary masculinities and stereotypes have to be confronted in order to 'analyse the way unconscious desires manifest themselves in the text, through language'.[147]

Fanon understood that the white-led field of psychoanalysis had ignored the colonial condition and as a response he reinterpreted the Lacanian oeuvre to shed light on the self-disavowing tragedy taking place within the mind and body of the (Francophone) colonized subject forced to speak the language of the colonizer. Given the specificities of Portuguese colonialism (the subaltern position of the Portuguese nation), and given the humiliations suffered by Portuguese elite masculinity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries during the construction of European Nation States and their imperial enterprises, these events led to three concrete scenarios, as follows: (a) the abnormal and ultracolonialist nature of the Estado Novo's colonial ideology; (b) the Lusophone colonized subject's double colonization; and (c) Frelimo's colonized ultra-assimilationist nation-building project. Since Fanon's Lacanian model cannot be applied seamlessly to the Lusophone colonial unconscious, I need to revisit Fanon, via Lacan, in order to shed light on the on-screen neurotic and psychotic masculinities that populate Lusophone Portuguese and African films (1937-1985).

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146 McGowan and Kunkle, pp. xi-xxix (p. xvi).

147 Sean Homer, *Jacques Lacan* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p. 2.

1.7. Summary of Findings

In this chapter I have provided an introduction to the themes and works which will be treated in this thesis, along with the methodology, including theoretical perspectives (particularly the work of Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, Homi K. Bhabha, Jacques Lacan, R. W. Connell, Laura Mulvey, Boaventura Sousa Santos, Patricia Vieira and Ros Gray) that will be used to interpret the historical context as well as the Lusophone films chosen for analysis. The research context of this project has also been adumbrated in chapter one, and a number of works that have been crucial for the research carried out in this project are mentioned in advance of their fuller discussion in chapters two and three.

Films, such as *Chaimite: A Derrota do Império Vátua* (1953), and *O Tempo dos Leopardos* (1985), that have tight links with the hegemonic ideologies that produced them and coded their meanings, essentially refer more to the time they were made than to the historical context in which they are set.[148] Foucault highlights the idea that the knowledge contained in the text is always produced by a discourse shared by those who form an entity in their desire to preserve, expand and display power; the text, the theory, then exists to serve a specific problem — it is a form of acting upon the social world and upon bodies. Foucault clarifies: 'Theory does not express, translate or serve to apply practice, it is practice. But it is local and regional... not totalizing... A theory is a regional system of a struggle for power.'[149] In light of this, chapter two traces the development of the Estado Novo's and Frelimo's nationalistic doctrines in relation to conceptualizations of masculinity in order to ascertain discrepancies between ideology, stereotypes and historical accounts.

In the opening section of chapter two, I focus on the representation of Portuguese masculinity as a lesser masculinity from the end of the Golden Age of Portuguese maritime exploration in the late 1500s up until the implementation of the Estado Novo that invested in Portugal's historical traumas. As a result of the loss of sovereignty to the Spanish Crown in 1580, Portuguese economic and imperial power declined. From the late 1800s until 1926 the Monarchy and First Republic democratic regime attempted to

148 See Jorge Seabra, 'Chaimite: A Queda do Império Vátua: Tempo da História e Tempo do Discurso', in *Cinemas em Português Moçambique | Auto e Heteroperceções*, ed. by Jorge Seabra (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2018), pp. 133-141 (pp. 139-140); and Raquel Schefer, 'Fictions of the Liberation Struggle: Ruy Guerra, José Cardoso, Zdravko Velimirovic', *Kronos*, 39 (2013), 298-315 (pp. 308-309).

149 Quoted in Sprinker, 75-98 (p. 87).

consolidate colonial power and rebuild its long-lost international prestige via a re-thinking of masculinity. In the second part of chapter two, I turn to a discussion of the ideological differences between what I identify as the two distinct phases of the Estado Novo. The first was the high-phase period which extended from the 1933 plebiscite, that consecrated the Estado Novo's authority into law, to 1957 with the State visit to Portugal by Britain's Queen Elizabeth II, during which time Salazar, as the undisputed *chefe da nação* (national leader), attempted to re-masculinize Portuguese men according to an authoritarian doctrine. The second was the low-phase period, which extended from the 1958 Presidential elections until the end of the regime in 1974; it was characterized by a growing opposition to Salazar's regime at home and internationally, and the liberation wars in Portuguese-speaking Africa. From the high- to the low-phase periods, Salazar's doctrine changed from a pro-fascist and openly white supremacist, nonetheless rhetorically assimilationist regime, to a benevolent authoritarian and rhetorically multiracialist doctrine. I highlight in this study that, in several aspects, this change was more apparent than real.

The third main part of chapter two addresses the development of the Lusophone African individual from assimilated colonized subject to nationalist Marxist leader tracing, as an example, the trajectory of Mozambique's Frelimo from its inception as a liberation movement to exercising power as a Marxist-Leninist one-party regime. This will enable us to articulate Frelimo elite's ideology and reveal the problematic power dynamics between different colonized masculinities. During the first years of the establishment of Frelimo, its assimilated class, including its top leaders Eduardo Mondlane, Samora Machel and Marcelino dos Santos, fought for the ideological control of the movement against a class of men known as the Big-Men, often Protestant religious figures and/or migrant workers in neighbouring Anglophone African countries. During the liberation war Frelimo relied on the support of traditional authorities, a class tainted with accusations of subservience and complicity with colonialism, to secure loyalty from the populations who looked up to their (legitimate) chiefs as moral guides. During the liberation war the uneasy relationship between Frelimo guerrillas and traditional chiefs was exploited by powerful colonizers. This eventually led to the incorporation of Africans in the Portuguese military. After the 1974 Carnation Revolution in Lisbon that overthrew the Estado Novo four years after Salazar's death, the Portuguese Left-leaning caretaker leaders transferred power in Mozambique solely to the Marxist Frelimo. Shortly after independence Frelimo's Marxist stance hardened fuelling the emergence and popular support for Renamo, a

traditionalist armed insurgency movement supported by Rhodesia as well as Apartheid South Africa.

In chapter three, I analyse how the Estado Novo's and Frelimo's ideologies and implicit beliefs anchored in the praxis of Portuguese colonialism determined the type of cinema they sanctioned and produced, and I then interpret the representations of gender and race in Lusophone cinema including with an emphasis on the representation of masculinities and race in the colonialist film *Chaimite: A Derrota do Império Vátua* (1953), and the anti-colonial film *O Tempo dos Leopardos* (1985). I highlight these two films, as mentioned above, because of the often close relationship between the war film genre and State ideology and the construction of hegemonic masculinities. The chapter is divided into two main parts with diverging themes but similar structures. The first part is devoted to the Estado Novo's cinema and the legacies of colonialist and white supremacist cinema and the second part to Lusophone African cinema and African anti-colonial cinema and U.S. race film genre. The objective is to situate an analysis of Lusophone colonialist and anti-colonial films in relation to postcolonial theory and an expanded framework of pivotal Anglophone and Francophone colonialist and anti-colonial films.

The first part of chapter three builds on an analysis of the white supremacist and colonialist British and U.S. films from 1916 to 1953 and moves from there to interpret the representation of colonial identity in Salazarist films. It is structured as follows: (a) analysis of the US white supremacist film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) to highlight the ways in which racial difference is constructed as the structural element of the text via tropes cultivated in colonialist cinema; (b) discussion of colonialist cinema referencing critical approaches, namely Stam and Spence's work, and British and US colonialist films, including *Sanders of the River* (1935) and *Simba* (1952), in order to analyse into the ways in which the British segregationist colonial mindset emerges through these films determining the representation of the colonizer and the colonized person; (c) referencing the work of Memmi, Fanon and Bhabha to reveal ways in which the colonized subject constructs a false colonial reality and an anxious and heroic sense of self in opposition to the colonized other in relation to Anglophone colonialist films; (d) analysis of the Estado Novo's concept of *política de espírito* and its myths of the nation followed by a discussion of films made during the regime which embody key aspects of Salazarist doctrine; (e) interpretation of the representation of race and masculinities in *Chaimite*, the *ne plus ultra* Salazarist film, considering the historical context of chapter two and preceding parts of chapter three.

The second part of the third chapter, considering the representation of colonialism and coloniality produced by the Lusophone African colonized and ex-colonized individual, focuses, firstly, on the emergence and practice of African anti-colonial cinema, and then moves on to an analysis of Frelimo's anti-colonial and anti-colonialist films. It is organized as follows: (a) an analysis of a response to *The Birth of a Nation*, the film *Within Our Gates* (1920), which is a U.S. silent race genre film, in order to underline ways in which its strategies attempt to counter racist ideology whilst constructing a diverse range of black characters' responses to white supremacy; (b) a section addressing the critical underpinnings of post-colonial African cinema in order to consider, for example, Diawara's and Harrow's positions on the responsibilities of African cinema and Sembène's practice of politically engaged cinema, with emphasis on his war-set films *Emitaï* (1971) and *Camp de Thiaroye* (1988), that reveal the extent to which post-colonial film can include implicit commitments with colonialist discourse; (c) a section addressing representation in the above films by Sembène and in *Within our Gates* in relation to Memmi's, Fanon's and Bhabha's understandings of ways in which black and colonized black individuals internalize and respond to racist and colonial discursive violence, including the imposition of the colonizer's superstratum language; (d) a section considering Frelimo's cinematic production and to a lesser extent Angola's MPLA production to subsequently discuss their films in relation to their assimilationist, nationalist and Marxist ideologies; and (e) an interpretation of the representation of space, race, masculinities and language in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* underlined by Frelimo's ultra-assimilationist rhetoric and also in relation to postcolonial theory and the anti-racist and anti-colonial strategies employed in *Within Our Gates* and Sembène's films.

The conclusion, chapter four, is divided into two main parts. Firstly, it is concerned with exploring further the nature of the Lusophone psychopathological colonial unconscious. The objective is to propose a topology of colonial characters represented in *Chaimite* and *O Tempo dos Leopardos* in order to substantiate the following: whilst these films appropriate modes of representation characteristic of colonialist and anti-colonialist films, Lusophone colonialist and anti-colonial films include modes of representation determined by Lusophone colonial history that expand the universe of colonizer/colonized psychodynamics. Firstly, I reveal how *The Birth of a Nation*, with a rich topology of white and black characters and relationships between white, black and mulatto characters, that were appropriated by the English speaking colonialist film, is 'appropriated' in

Chaimite in order to allow it to respond to Salazarist doctrine. Secondly, I address how *Within Our Gates* proposes an alternative topology of character to *The Birth of a Nation* and ways in which the African anti-colonial film employs similar cinematic strategies in order to reveal how *O Tempo dos Leopardos* makes use of these strategies to construct a colonial representation structured and determined by the desire of the Lusophone assimilated colonized individual. The conclusion also highlights further avenues of research.

Chapter II

Historical Context

Salazarist Colonialist
and Anti-Colonial Lusophone Masculinities

2.1. Introduction: Framing the Estado Novo

In this chapter it is my objective to provide an understanding of the nature of the national and group humiliations that haunted the Estado Novo's and Frelimo's male elites, and which determined the colonialist, anti-colonial and/or post-colonial superstructures they constructed. As I shall demonstrate in chapter three these incongruous ideological constructs, which were plagued by various historic humiliations, articulated their self-representation in film as (ideal)hegemonic masculinities versus lesser other masculinities. By suggesting that modern nationalisms are bound by a set of intrinsic features, including the development of scopic politics, in this chapter I deal at length with the Estado Novo and Frelimo's socio-political history whilst referencing relevant propaganda and newsreel films produced under their auspices in order to trace the development of their representations of colonizer, colonized and post-colonized subjects. The Estado Novo's institutions produced documentaries and newsreels that in every respect legitimized Salazar's authority and his policies. From the late 1950s until the early 1960s, as a result of the mounting national and anti-colonial opposition to the regime, the self-representation of the nation that mirrored Salazar's ascetic and asexual masculinity began to disintegrate. In the meantime, sporadic appearances of an unrepentant elderly-looking Salazar delivering solemn speeches in interior spaces crowded with the Estado Novo's elite men were broadcast on Portuguese TV sets. In the early 1970s, with the support of foreign filmmakers and TV stations, documentary footage of Frelimo's anti-colonial war campaign circulated the world. Before independence, they focused on the brutality of the Portuguese military and on the success achieved by Frelimo in the areas under its control known as *zonas libertadas* (liberated areas). From independence in 1975 and until the making of *O Tempo dos Leopardos* in 1985, Frelimo produced several documentaries, ostensibly as responses to internal and international threats. In this sense, Salazar's and Machel's regimes – which were not that dissimilar in this respect from other modern authoritarian regimes – sought to instrumentalise filmmaking to support their authoritarian national projects.[150]

The understanding that nationalism is an inventive process that creates the nation through 'systems of cultural representation' based on 'shared

150 See Eduardo Geada, *O Imperialismo e o Fascismo no Cinema* (Lisbon: Moraes Editores, 1976).

experience of identification with an extended community'[151] is substantiated by Fanon's claim of nationalism as scoptic politics since '[i]t is by their apparel that types of society first become known'.[152] Anne McClintock argues that whilst the modern nation state symbolizes rationality:

> [N]ationalism has been experienced and transmitted primarily through fetishism, – precisely the cultural form that the Enlightenment denigrated as the antithesis of Reason. More often than not, nationalism takes shape through the visible [...] the myriad forms of popular culture and so on. Far from being purely phallic icons, fetishes embody crises in social value, which are projected onto and embodied in, what can be called impassioned objects.[153]

The fetish can be based on the evocation of past images which are, somehow, connected to a myth of origin or to a glorious past. For the postcolonial nation that emerges from struggle – and which wishes to break away from colonialism and understands that to return to an authentic past is impossible – the fetish is akin to a neologism. The fetish, often a 'purely phallic icon', exposes the masculine nature of nationalism, and its revelation of 'crises in social value' that are associated with masculine humiliation at racial, ethnic, cultural levels, or socio-economic levels. This means that nationalist politics is, therefore, geared chiefly towards accomplishing masculinity via the assertion of male social dominance through the State's institutions, namely, through (unwittingly) highly sexualised military and cultural production that over-sexualises the enemy.[154] The consolidated State and the new post-colonial State construct women, upon whom the homogeneous drive of the nation and the movement or the party weighs the heaviest, as the 'symbolic bearers of the nation' and victims of the over-sexualised other, whilst often welcoming them into traditionally male domains as a matter of necessity.[155] This, however, does not translate into an egalitarian and gendered distribution of the State's resources; the distribution is justified by a patriarchal understanding of masculine as rational and feminine as irrational. This template is used by hegemonic masculinity to dominate and/or marginalize other masculinities that are attributed characteristics perceived as feminine. The oxymoron fetishism-rationality, articulated through scopic politics and associated with nationalist expressions of exemplary masculinity, is indicative of the fragility of nationalist narratives and points to the ways in which existential threats loomed over the Estado Novo's and Frelimo's national projects.

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151 McClintock, pp. 352-353.

152 Frantz Fanon quoted in McClintock, p. 365.

153 McClintock, p. 375.

154 McClintock, pp. 249, 251, 252, 256, 257, 252 and 353.

155 McClintock, pp. 254, 257 and 365.

2.2. Crisis of Portuguese Colonizer Masculinity

2.2.1. Sub-civilized Licentious Colonizers: 1500s-1884

From the 1500s until the end of the Second World War the Portuguese have been, at different times and because of economic and political decline and colonial practices, characterized in terms of 'underdevelopment and precarious life conditions, sloth and sensuality, violence and affability, poor hygiene and ignorance, superstition and irrationality'.[156] As I discuss (see 3.2.4.2 and 3.3.4.2) a structuring element of Salazarist films is their critique of stereotypical representations of the Portuguese colonizer, his masculinity, and his race. Here I outline the emergence of the notion of the inept Portuguese colonizer as a representation that the New State attempted to contradict and overthrow.

Lisbon in the 1530s was, according to some commentators, 'a cavern for Jews, a food board for a crowd of Indians, a dungeon for the children of Hagar'.[157] Two-hundred years latter written accounts by northern European visitors insisted that '[t]he Portuguese are lazy, do not take advantage of their country' riches, nor do they know how to sell their colonies' riches well'.[158] The fact that Portugal was the first European modern nation to make extensive and sustained contact with African natives contributed to the emergence of tales regarding the racial constitution and appearance of the Portuguese, namely the black 'black legend' whereby the Portuguese were described as 'tall, handsome, and generally dark-skinned as a result of their intermixing with blacks',[159] or as '[e]xtremely ugly, certainly not white'; they were 'said to combine the worst defects of blacks, Jews, Moors, and ... the French'[160] and consequently were seen as 'jealous, cruel, vindictive, sly, scornful, frivolous, and silly'.[161] The poets Lord Byron and Robert Southey visited Portugal in the late 1700s and early 1800s, and in their position as members of the British intellectual elite expressed similar opinions adding that the vice of sensuality made the Portuguese incapable of producing respectable (high)

156 Boaventura de Sousa Santos, 'Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-identity', *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 39.2 (2002), 9-43 (p. 21).

157 Quoted in Santos, p. 21.

158 Quoted in Santos, p. 21.

159 Quoted in Santos, p. 22.

160 Quoted in Santos, p. 29.

161 Quoted in Santos, pp. 22-23.

culture.[162]

Whilst their moral and intellectual reputation was being challenged by the emerging European powers during the 1800s, the Portuguese elites failed to protect the country during the Napoleonic invasions of the Iberian Peninsula. In 1808, during the invasions, the Portuguese court fled to Brazil leaving the country under hostile occupation. The military defence of the country fell largely to British and Portuguese soldiers trained and equipped by the British and commanded by a British, Sir Arthur Wellesley. After the retreat of the French army Portugal became, in effect, a protectorate of Britain and administered from 1808 to 1821 by a British subject, General William Beresford. Portugal's thereafter dire economy contributed further to the perception of the Portuguese as 'as a fallen, degenerate, and imbecile peoples' being placed,[163] as Sousa Santos suggests, on a borderland between Prospero and Caliban.

Portuguese colonial practices, generally characterized by a weak colonial State, also contributed to the negative representation of the Portuguese. A weak colonial State enabled the individual Portuguese colonizer to pursue his often mercantilist interests partially outside of the legal and moral boundaries of the Crown and the Church, particularly in relation to racial miscegenation. As Santos argues:

> The Portuguese, ever in transit between Prospero and Caliban (hence, frozen in such transit), were both racist - often violent and corrupt, more prone to pillage than to development - and born miscegenators, literally the forefathers of racial democracy, of what it reveals and conceals, and better than any other European people at adjusting to the tropics.[164]

This ambivalence resulted in '[t]he easy interaction between the Portuguese and the local populations and the ensuing hybrid cultural practices'.[165] Since the 1600s several accounts, often from Portuguese sources, attest to the Portuguese male colonizer's willingness to go native, known as cafrealization. In 1844 a Portuguese who was critical of his fellow cafrealized countrymen's behaviour in Sofala, Mozambique, wrote:

> They quickly familiarized themselves with the cafres (. . .) They wedded black women of the jungle in the cafre way and begot mulattoes, who were raised like cafres, and many to this day do not know how to read and write. (. ..) They are ignorant even of the rudiments of our Holy

162 Quoted in Santos, 'Between Prospero and Caliban', pp. 22-23.

163 Quoted in Santos, p. 22.

164 Quoted in Santos, p. 24.

165 Quoted in Santos, p. 25.

Religion, the Portuguese language, and the European manners.[166]

In Portuguese colonial Africa, according to Sousa Santos, the cafrealization practices that emerged were a-legal rather than illegal whereby colonizers adapted the Crown's laws to local conditions as a matter of strategic alliances and survival. By the time of the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference, the words of British Captain W. F. W. Owen that the 'decadence' that follows the Portuguese everywhere was the 'natural consequence of their narrow and miserable policy'[167] threatened Portugal's prospects of remaining a colonial power against British and German ambitions (and continued to tarnish the reputation of the Portuguese 'race').

2.2.2. Re-emergence of Exemplary Masculinities: 1884-1926

Salazar's nationalist new man ideal was heavily anchored in the regime's late nineteenth-century Portuguese colonial heroes who emerged in order to safeguard Portugal's colonialist ambitions, and particularly Mouzinho de Albuquerque, who is depicted as a hero in one of the films we will be looking at, *Chaimite*; as we shall see, the lives of individuals such as Mouzinho de Albuquerque were interpreted in and off screen in accordance with integralist, Catholic and corporatist doctrine. The following contextualization of the circumstances that led to the capture of insurgent native King Ngungunyane by Mouzinhnho de Albuquerque, and the discussion of their views on colonialism informs ways in which *Chaimite* (and other Salazarist films) were viewed as having expressed truthfully or having distorted the portrayal of the late nineteenth-century colonialist mind-set (see discussion in 3.2.4.2.1, 3.2.4.2.3 and 3.2.4.2.5).

During the Berlin Conference, despite being a geopolitically semi-marginal and impoverished country, Portugal was allowed to retain its African colonies provided that thereafter it implemented an effective colonial strategy. However, in 1890, a British Ultimatum claimed possession of territories situated between Angola and Mozambique, thereby ending the Portuguese Crown's *mapa cor-de-rosa* (pink map) project of a unified colony linking the southern western and southern eastern coasts of Africa. This fuelled nationalist narratives of the European foreign other's illegitimate desire for what legitimately belonged to Portugal,[168] producing a renewed drive for

166 Quoted in Santos, p. 25.

167 Quoted in Santos, p. 34.

168 See Valentim Alexandre, 'A África no Imaginário Político Português (Séculos XIX-

more effective colonization. Colonial decisions were centralized in Lisbon and based on British colonial policy and the emerging field of racial science, cafrealization and miscegenation were condemned and the colonized was (further) debased under the auspices of the law.[169]

This new colonialist stance increased anti-colonial resistance, particularly in southern colonial Mozambique led by native King Ngungunyane. Ngungunyane, who became the King of the Vátua people in brutal fashion by killing his elder brother, who threatened Portuguese ambitions in colonial Mozambique because, by and large, he ignored a vassalage agreement signed on his behalf with the Portuguese.[170] On 14 October 1894, mounting native anti-Portuguese fervour led to a lengthy siege of Lourenço Marques in Mozambique, a harbour city which was vital for the transit of raw materials extracted from nearby English-speaking territories. This exposed, nearly ten years after the Berlin Conference, how vulnerable Portuguese colonial possessions remained to native armies. Ngungunyane's externally backed insurgency began one of the most significant colonizer/colonized confrontations in Lusophone history, and it was fictionalised in *Chaimite* (see section 3.2.4.2.4 below).

Ngungunyane allegedly had had negotiations with the British South African Company and sent two envoys to London to meet with the Queen of England and, according to Dr. Schultz (who is portrayed in *Chaimite* an embodiment of the foreigner; see 3.2.4.2.6), a representative of the British South African Company, 'the King was a very suspicious and proud man', in essence a shrewd negotiator.[171] In conversations with Portuguese authorities, Ngungunyane denied having made formal agreements with the British, and he averred that any gifts received from them were simply gestures of friendship. Suggestive of his ambiguous relationship with the Portuguese, he could show signs of disdain for the Portuguese:

> O Portuguese there must be a day of reckoning. […] When I wish to hand over my people to the English I will do so in the daylight, with the sun shining […] I am afraid of the English only.[172]

But, on the other hand, we should note that there is a document written

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XX)', *Penélope: Revista de História e Ciências Sociais*, 15 (1995), 39-52 (p. 43).

169 Santos, p. 30.

170 See Douglas L. Wheeler, 'Ngungunyane the Negotiator: A Study in African Diplomacy', *The Journal of African History*, 9.4 (1968), 585-602.

171 Wheeler, 'Ngungunyane the Negotiator', p. 591.

172 Wheeler, 'Ngungunyane the Negotiator', p. 592.

directly in Portuguese by one of his sons, who had been brought up to write in Portuguese, that states, 'my father was of the Portuguese and I always must be Portuguese'.[173] His ambivalence towards the Portuguese is a precursor to the drama that unfolds within the mind of the assimilated characters in Frelimo's *O Tempo dos Leopardos* (see 3.3.4.2.5).

Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1855-1902), a military officer and a colonial administrator from the echelons of Portuguese landed gentry, whose memory was resurrected and celebrated as a hero by the Salazarist regime. By capturing Ngungunyane in 1895 for a time he brought respectability to Portuguese masculinity. Following the 1890 British Ultimatum, Mouzinho de Albuquerque was in that same year and for two years posted in Mozambique as the Governor of Lourenço Marques because he was considered to be an expert on British colonialism. Considering that he 'could be patriotic, arrogant, and egocentric but above all he was impetuous and had temerity' he alienated the colonized subject with violent methods.[174] Following the insurgence by Ngungunyane's vassals he was re-posted to Mozambique in 1895 to lead a Pacification Campaign. According to Douglas Wheeler, the Portuguese troops were victorious because of their technological superiority; the machine-gun, which the Portuguese military used indiscriminately, won them the war.[175] With the capture of Ngungunyane, Mouzinho de Albuquerque became an overnight hero in Portugal, a country that lacked living heroes. He toured Europe to receive honours from English, French and German authorities, returning to Lourenço Marques as General Commissar of Mozambique, the post once occupied by António Enes (represented in *Chaimite* as a prudent and patriotic colonial Administrator). Manifesting his approval of British colonial ideology, he argued for greater autonomy of the colonies led by white settlers, and in light of Social Darwinism he believed that Africans were an inferior species opposing assimilation policies. Eventually he clashed with the colonial authorities in Lisbon, that pursued centralized colonialism, resigning in 1898.[176]

The Pacification Campaign led by Mouzinho de Albuquerque opened the way for the effective control of territory; however colonial expansion and dominance did not contribute to the improvement of Portugal's finances and

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173 Wheeler, 'Ngungunyane the Negotiator', p. 593.

174 Douglas L. Wheeler, 'Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1855-1902) e a Política do Colonialismo', Análise *Social*, 16 (1980), 295-318 (p. 298).

175 Wheeler, 'Ngungunyane the Negotiator', p. 593.

176 See Wheeler, 'Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque', pp. 295-318, for a detailed outline of Mouzinho de Albuquerque.

geopolitical standing.[177] In 1902, the year that Mouzinho de Albuquerque allegedly committed suicide, the Portuguese State was once financially bankrupt for sixth time since the beginning of the century. British financial news publication, *The Economist,* reported on 6 February of that year, that bankruptcy had been inevitable because the country lived beyond its means and that for the benefit of the Portuguese people the Crown and State should be denied any further international loans. Eight-years later the monarchy was overthrown and succeeded by the First Republic (1905-1926), a secular and democratic parliamentarian regime that sought to consolidate colonial dominance.

During the First Republic, in particular prior to the First World War, Portuguese fears of losing colonial territories in Africa were heightened because of speculation about secret agreements between British and Germans authorities planning to divide amongst themselves the Portuguese colonies.[178] As a response Republican leaders attempted to emulate the tenets of British segregationist colonialism, once favoured by Mouzinho de Albuquerque. Republican leaders re-wrote colonial laws that mirrored the growing influence of Social Darwinism and eugenics in Portugal which seemed in symbioses with the need to quickly increase colonial revenue. Prominent Republicans argued against assimilation, believing that education of the native should be basic and only serve the needs of the colonial State; they also warned against religious missions that educated the native and encouraged in them the growth of 'feelings of self-dignity freedom of their body and spirit'.[179] Anti-assimilationist rhetoric came to dominate colonial policy. For example, the 1914 *Regulamento do Trabalho Indígena* (Regulation of Indigenous Labour) that stipulated the moral obligation of the natives to work in order to improve their condition included the statement that the natives:

> [A]re prone to drunkenness because of the atavism of many generations; they resist manual labour, to which they subject their women; they are cruel and bloodthirsty because they were thus brought up by their milieu; family love and the love of fellow-creatures is not deep set in their souls.[180]

The law was passed by Republican leaders with the understanding that:

> Of all the colonizers the Portuguese are the ones who may more easily rule the African because

177 Funada-Classen, p. 66.

178 Valentim Alexandre, 'Ideologia, Economia e Política: A Questão Colonial na Implantação do Estado Novo Social', *Análise Social*, 28 (1993), 1117-1136 (p. 1118).

179 Alexandre, p. 44. My translation of 'sentimentos de própria dignidade e da liberdade do seu corpo e do seu espírito'.

180 Santos, p. 31.

we do not have the exaggerated prejudice of racial segregation. [...] The truth is that we never reached the excesses that other countries have practiced and that perhaps still do […].[181]

In practical terms the new regulation responded to the business interests that, since the abolition of slavery, had been arguing on behalf of the integration of forced labour within a legal framework.[182]

By 1920, after receiving support from British and South African military to crush native insurgents (that had allied with German forces during the First World War), the Portuguese colonial authorities secured military control within Mozambique. The Republicans, on the one hand, made alliances with native chiefs who complied with colonial rule and, on the other, treated brutally those who sought to jeopardize economic agreements with British, South African and Rhodesian parties. It was then accepted by the colonial authorities that as a standard practice:

You must burn all the rebel villages destroying all the fields, confiscating all their cattle and take as many prisoners as possible including women and children … It is indispensable that these actions be carried out as rapidly and violently as possible in order to terrorise the local population and prevent further revolts.[183]

During the First Republic colonial 'human rights' abuses by Portuguese colonialists and their native *auxiliares* (auxiliaries, soldiers in the Portuguese colonial army) and native *cipaios* (rural colonial police) were a matter of international concern, and specific recommendations to the Portuguese authorities were expressed in an official report submitted in 1925 to the Society of Nations Temporary Commission on Slavery.[184]

2.3. Estado Novo and the Re-masculinization of Portuguese Masculinity

2.3.1. High Period and Undisputed Hegemonic Masculinity: 1926-1957

181 Quoted in Maria Paula G. Meneses, 'O Indígena' Africano e o Colono 'Europeu': a Construção da Diferença por Processos Legais', *Identidades, Cidadanias e Estado*, 7 (2010), 68-93 (pp. 76-77); https://journals.openedition.org/eces/403 [accessed 6 June 2017]. My translation of 'Os portugueses são, de todos os colonizadores, os que melhor e mais facilmente trazem ao seu domínio os povos africanos, pois que não temos o preconceito exagerado da separação de raças [...] a verdade é que nunca chegámos a excessos que noutros países se praticaram e se praticam talvez ainda'.

182 Funada-Classen, p. 67.

183 Quoted in Funada-Classen, p72.

184 See Edward Alsworth Ross, *Report on Employment of Native Labour in Portuguese Africa* (New York: Abbott Press, 1926).

Foreign criticism of Portugal's colonialism led to renewed nationalist and imperialist endeavours.[185] A group of Portuguese integralist and Catholic male personalities gathered around a special number of an influential magazine, S*eara Nova,* to make the case for the colonial mission of the nation, even whilst the high costs of such a mission were acknowledged. In one of the treatises, for example, it was argued that even if the administration of the colonies had depleted the finances of the country and prevented industrialization, the imperial mission was central to national identity, and it transcended economic imperatives.[186] The drive to fulfil the colonial mission led, first, to the 1926 military coup that installed a military dictatorship, and secondly, to the 1932 plebiscite that established the Estado Novo's authoritarian and 'ultracolonialist' regime. It was led by an unlikely dictator. António de Oliveira Salazar was:

> […] a cold, intellectual, and dedicated man of 'painful reserve: an almost Manichean fastidiousness, implying, perhaps a distaste for sex, and always a total involvement with his job'. He worked long hours, rising early and labouring until past midnight. Indifferent to physical rewards, Salazar expected the same frugality from his ministers, whose salaries he kept 'not ... far from the poverty line'.[187]

In a matter of a few years as a pragmatic minister of finance he stabilized the State's chaotic finances and paid off international debts, thereby rebuilding the country's financial credibility. With the support of the military establishment and the Catholic Church he successfully created a new brand of authoritarianism different from Mussolini and Hitler's 'pagan' Fascism. The new man that Salazar envisioned for the country embodied by the great male characters of Portuguese history, was rooted in Lusitanean Integralism's patriarchal, elitist, and reactionary politics.

From the onset, the Estado Novo's ideologues believed that 'spiritually the country lags behind the rhythm of the Estado Novo' implying that those within the inner circle of the Estado Novo were beyond 'the mindset deficit' and 'moral insufficiency'[188] of the masses. Therefore, they were empowered

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185 Alexandre, p. 1120.

186 Alexandre, p. 1119.

187 Paul H. Lewis, 'Salazar's Ministerial Elite, 1932-1968', *The Journal of Politics*, 40.3 (1978), 622-647 (p. 629).

188 Quoted in Fernando Rosas, 'O Salazarismo e o Homem Novo: Ensaio Sobre o Estado Novo e a Questão do Totalitarismo', *Análise Social*, 25 (2001), 1031-1054 (p. 1034). My translation of 'O País não acompanha espiritualmente o ritmo do Estado Novo."; "défice de mentalidade'; 'insuficiência moral'.

to rule over Portuguese metropolitan and colonial societies according to a blend of integralist, Catholic, Social Darwinist and eugenicist ideas that legitimized authoritarianism, patriarchy, corporatism, colonialism and mysticism.

Lusitanean Integralism, a foundational cornerstone of the Estado Novo's construction of masculinity in political, historical, and artistic spheres, including film, structured the narratives of, for example, *Ribatejo* and *Chaimite* (see discussion in 3.2.4.1). The movement began as an alliance between Catholics and monarchist groups and entered the public sphere during the First Republic in 1914 with the objective of reinstituting the monarchy or alternatively supporting a dictatorship that upheld traditionalism and nationalism, even if it was not legitimised by a royal blood-line and by tradition.[189] Supporters of this new movement rallied against liberalism, democracy and capitalism, and they argued that individuals exist primarily as members of families and communities, that hierarchy and the family are the basis of the State, and that political representation functions at the level of groups of individuals, organized around professional and communitarian interests. Integralists shared the conviction that democracy, 'a foreign fashion', atomized society, dragging everything in its path towards the tyranny of the majority and popular mediocrity. Society was best ruled by an elite, they argued, in order to fulfil Portugal's catholic *honra da raça* (the honour of one's race), reconciling past and present through tradition, that is, through 'permanence in development'.[190] Paraphrasing French Maurrassian integralism, Portuguese integralists claimed it was imperative to re-instate order and hierarchy so as to make Portugal once more Portuguese.

The Catholic Church welcomed the 1926 military coup with its call to a return to order and tradition, and it became a key ally of the Estado Novo whilst being vigorously opposed to those within the regime who saw the dictatorship as an opportunity to inculcate a new anti-Christian morality. During the 1930s, fuelled by the incompatibilities between the Italian fascist regime, the Vatican and Italy's Catholic Action, representatives of the Portuguese Catholic elite waged a negative campaign against internally 'grown' as well as foreign fascism via the Church's and the regime's *authorized* media. The most vehement criticisms of fascism focused on its innate violence, its intention to enslave religion for its own purposes, while underlining that in

189 Manuel Braga da Cruz, 'O Integralismo Lusitano nas Origens do Salazarismo', *Análise Social*, 8 (1982), 137-182 (p. 147).

190 Cruz, 'O Integralismo Lusitano nas Origens do Salazarismo', p. 156.

fascism authority and force derives from the State itself, whereas for Catholics, authority and power derive directly from God.[191] The Catholic elites were also critical of fascism's blasphemous and 'exaggerated nationalisms' that led to expansionist dreams that threatened international stability. They were particularly critical of the rise of Nazism and its Nietzschian, anti-Christian morality. In 1935 sections of the Catholic media argued that what was happening in Germany and in the Stalinist Soviet Union was equally *damaging* to the human condition.[192] With the rectification of the 1933 authoritarian constitution in 1937 Salazar's regime modelled State education in accordance with Christian and traditional values.[193] This translated into the regime's public acknowledgement of the authority of God, forging the institutional complicity Estado Novo/Catholic Church that is exploited in the regime's films to justify its legitimacy with narratives whereby God's will favours the designs of the Regime (see exposition in 3.2.4.1 and discussion in 3.2.4.2.2).

The Portuguese elite's desire to be seen in terms of a new man and no longer as a European racial other was prevalent among members of the Portuguese academic elite who, up until the end of the Second World War, held important political positions in the Estado Novo. The Conference of the Portuguese World, a eugenics conference, held under the auspices of the 1940 *Exposição do Mundo Português* (Portuguese World Exhibition) provided an opportunity to make the argument for inclusion within Europe's racial elite. Leading Portuguese scientists gave presentations that argued against claims that the Portuguese 'race'– by virtue of miscegenation – was no longer of pure European stock and was therefore intellectually inferior. Eusébio Tamagnini, a prominent eugenics scientist, and chief scientist at Coimbra University's Anthropology School, and Minister for Public Instruction from 1934 to 1936, believed that:

> Notwithstanding certain lapses, it is true that we have been able to retain the ethnic purity of the population, and if it is true that the origins of the Nordic type can be found in a set of mutations of a dark dolichocephalic ancestor, we the Portuguese, as representatives of this common ancestor, cannot be accused of having bastardized the [European] family.[194]

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191 Manuel Braga da Cruz, 'As Elites Católicas nos Primórdios do Salazarismo', *Análise Social*, 27 (1992), 547-574 (p. 552).

192 Cruz, 'As Elites Católicas nos Primórdios do Salazarismo', p. 556.

193 Cruz, 'As Elites Católicas nos Primórdios do Salazarismo', pp. 568-69.

194 Rosário et al., p. 44. My translation of 'Verifica-se que, não obstante certos desvairos, temos conseguido manter a pureza étnica relativa da massa populacional, e, se é certo que as origens do tipo nórdico se têm de rebuscar num conjunto de mutações dum antepassado dolicocéfalo moreno, nós portugueses, como representantes desse antepassado comum, não

The expression 'notwithstanding certain lapses' condemns racial miscegenation that characterized Portuguese colonies and infers that some Portuguese men (and women) were less Portuguese; thus corroborating the integralist understanding of a hierarchy of Portuguese masculinities (evident in, for example, *Chaimite*, see 3.2.4.2.3 and 3.2.4.2.6) and within Portuguese society as implemented through the Estado Novo's corporative system.

Salazar stated without ambiguity that public and private economic interests were established as a function of the Estado Novo's prerogatives; however, his regime served the interests of a small number of families who came to monopolize different sectors of the economy.[195] Economic sectors were represented at the regime's Corporative Chamber, a consultative body that advised government and the parliament, on how to control the excesses of capitalism, bringing moral guidelines into the economic sector. The objective was to avoid socialism, understood as a natural consequence arising from the anarchy of capitalism. The regime fomented a traditional vision of the quintessentially Portuguese way of life that perpetuated rural underdevelopment and heightening the social gap between elite masculinity and the stereotype of the impoverished, hard-working, obedient and simple-minded, rural male worker (represented in films of the regime; see 3.2.4.1).[196] As an ideological construct anchored on the heterosexual family headed by hard-working men, supported by subservient and morally pious women, corporatist discourse and Salazarist doctrine created an understanding of professions as gendered and imbued with different levels of social worth. This ranking of work was evident in the films sponsored and promoted by the regime (see discussion in 3.2.4.2.2).

Salazar's national regeneration project depended heavily on the success of the family as the structuring cell of society. In its ambition to achieve regeneration the Estado Novo attempted to control the family's private sphere, therefore merging education with the inculcation of ideology towards the construction of the Salazarist ideal Portuguese woman. The 1933 Constitution acknowledged the educated woman's right to vote and bound the concept of the women to the home, somehow creating complicity between the

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poderemos ser acusados de termos abastardado a família'.

195 See João Valente Aguiar, 'A Política de Classe na Economia do Estado Novo: A Burguesia Como Classe Beneficiária Sociologia', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto*, 25 (2013), 119-140.

196 See Joyce Firstenberg Riegelhaupt, 'Os Camponeses e a Política no Portugal de Salazar - O Estado Corporativo e o "Apoliticismo" nas Aldeias', *Análise Social*, 15.59 (1979), 505-523.

State and the home-maker.[197] The Estado Novo actively encouraged Portuguese women to focus on the ideals of patriotism and to return from the labour market back to the home, neutralized those women's organizations that had feminist views, and reduced the monopoly of the Church over female education.[198] *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina* (Portuguese Feminine Youth), established in 1937, had the responsibility of moulding the Regime's new woman's consciousness based on a balanced nationalism, devotion to Salazar and the celebration of the nation's heroines as models to follow. The objective was for the new woman to be an 'educator and social worker, a prolific mother and obedient wife' whilst honouring the patriarchal system.[199] The woman's subaltern nature was justified as a result of popular myths centred on gender and authority, and defined in article five of the 1933 constitution that differentiates between man and woman, while highlighting the woman's different physiology and responsibilities in the home and that these condition her aptitude for public office.[200] The Estado Novo's blueprint for the woman's role in society constructed an image of the woman that excluded the sensual from the feminine and from social relations - the ideal woman (i.e. the ideal wife and mother) was, in effect, a desexualised matron.[201] The films of the regime reworked Hollywood feminine tropes that drove action along patriarchal plot-lines in order to accommodate a Salazarist-inflected feminine idealism. A *Revolução de Maio*, *Feitiço do Império* and *Chaimite* are examples of films that mirror the Salazarist ideal of femininity (see discussion in 3.2.4.1and 3.2.4.2.4). Ana Paula Ferreira notes that the colonization of feminine is part of a widespread Salazarist practice of colonization of the whole in order to fabricate the unity of the nation and empire.[202]

Henrique Galvão's (1895-1970) *Em Terra de Pretos* (In the Land of Blacks) and *Relatório de Huila* (Huila Report), for example, both of which were published in 1929, are noteworthy in this context in that they reveal how the author criticises Portuguese colonial polices and represents the colonial stereotypes that nurtured the minds of elite Portuguese men like himself – a Portuguese army officer, colonial administrator and writer. In *In the Land of Blacks*, where he reminisces over his travels through Portuguese Africa,

197 Ana Paula Ferreira, 'Home Bound: The Construct of Femininity in the Estado Novo', *Portuguese Studies*, 12 (1996), 133-144 (pp. 134-135 and 136).

198 Irene Pimentel, 'Women's Organizations and Imperial Ideology under the Estado Novo', *Portuguese Studies*, 18 (2002), 121-131 (p. 124).

199 Pimentel, p. 124.

200 Ferreira, pp. 136-137.

201 Ferreira, p. 137.

202 Ferreira, p. 140.

Galvão characterizes in a stereotypical fashion the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized subject in Portuguese colonial Angola. He tells the story of a Portuguese lawyer who fell under the spell of a native black women. Suddenly the prosperous lawyer disappeared from his city only to be found years later by a settler who spotted him living in the wilderness amongst a tribe of natives, fully integrated, surrounded by mulatto children and co-habiting with a native woman, whom Galvão describes as a 'bicho hediondo' (hideous animal).[203] Galvão's words on the black native women echo the words of High Commissioner Enes, who in 1873 had written in a governmental report on colonial Mozambique that:

> Africa charged the black woman with the mission of taking revenge on the Europeans, and the hideous black woman - all black women are hideous - seduces the lofty conquerors of the black Continent reducing him to the sensuality of apes […].[204]

Recounting tales of Boer women who choose suicide when faced with sexual advances from native men, Galvão claims that South African white Boers were exemplary colonizers and settlers because they were unsentimental in their treatment of blacks and intransigent with regard to the idea of 'going native' and hostile to miscegenation.[205] As for Portuguese women in the colonies, he explains that, while those who made it to the colonies had been unsuitable for marriage in the metropolis, because of the lack of availability, these 'women without a future' were treasured and highly sought after.[206] As an example of the native male he describes the daily life of a middle-aged native black man who lived according to traditional customs as a 'beautiful animal in a state of decadence'.[207] Elaborating further, he suggested:

> Like all blacks from his condition, the nephew of a chief who owns large numbers of cattle and three wives, Mr. Goncho does not like to work. He would get up when the sun was already high, would eat greedily and would then go back to sleep and get drunk regularly with 'marufu' made for him by his wives.[208]

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203 Alberto Oliveira Pinto, Henrique Galvão, 'Em *Terra de Preto*s e em Conflito com so Brancos da Agência Geral das Colónias', *Revista Rascunhos Culturais*, 1.1 (2010), 123-144 (p. 131).

204 Quoted in Santos, 'Between Prospero and Caliban', p. 31.

205 Pinto, p. 136.

206 Pinto, pp. 127-128.

207 Quoted in Pinto, p. 138. My translation of 'um belo animal em decadência'.

208 Quoted in Pinto, p. 139. My translation of 'Como todos os pretos da sua categoria, sobrinho de soba, proprietário de boas manadas e de três mulheres, o senhor Goncho não gostava de trabalhar. Levantava-se quando o sol já ia alto, comia com apetite, tornava-se a deitar-se e embriagava-se regularmente com o marufo que as mulheres lhe preparavam'.

Galvão goes on to elucidate that the man was an irresponsible procreator and a simple-minded superstitious warmonger who resented and disrupted the peace between natives, such as it had been enforced by the colonial authorities. In the Huila Report he points out that, based on his experience as a colonial administrator in Angola, he was chiefly concerned with colonial policy, stating that 'we [Portuguese] do not have a colonial doctrine, nor a colonial spirit, nor a colonial method'.[209] His criticism of the colonial practices the Estado Novo had inherited included the recommendation that there should be a better selection of the men allowed to emigrate to the colonies,[210] and that the authorities should stop attempting to emulate British colonialism since the country lacked the financial means to do so.[211] His first-hand accounts on the colonizer and colonized subjects in the Portuguese colonies, on the one hand, demonstrate a new Salazarist impetus to cease emulating British colonialism, and, on the other hand, articulate the colonial stereotypes that Salazar's policies exploited for economic gain. Films of the regime pre- and post-Second World War regime reinforce Galvão's stereotypes of the colonized individual and render those of the colonizer invisible (see discussion in 3.2.4.1. and 3.2.4.2.4).

The 1930 Colonial Act, drafted when Salazar headed both the Ministry of the Finances and the Ministry of the Colonies, defined thereafter and for the duration of the Estado Novo, the nature of the relationships between State and Empire, between Metropolis and Colony, between colonizer and colonized, and between white, creole, mulatto, and black. In essence, despite the ambiguous content of the document, it was understood that the capital of the empire ruled over the colonies, dictating all political aspects in relation to policy, public administration, economy, education, and mobility in strict accordance with the greater good of the nation (and with little concern for philanthropy). The Colonial Act settled the minds of radical nationalists, Catholics, the military, and metropolitan economic elites who had been lobbying for a centralized government that guaranteed the stability of the status-quo above development. It reinforced the First Republic's colonialist laws by entirely replacing the logic that the State existed for the benefit of the colonized with the premise that the colonized subject existed for the benefit of the nation. In law the native who was unable to speak the Portuguese language was by default classified as an indigenous and, therefore in practice a non-citizen whose labour could be legally exploited by the colonial system.

209 Paulo Manuel Pulido Garcia Zilhão, 'Henrique Galvão: Pratica Política e Literatura Colonial, 1926-36' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2006), p. 57.

210 Zilhão, pp. 74 and 83-84.

211 Zilhão, p. 82.

Colonized subjects were defined as*:*

> [I]ndividuals of negro race or their descendants [...] who do not possess the individual modes and habits required for the full application of the public and private laws that govern Portuguese citizens.[212]

This was in line with eugenicist Tagmanini's claim that, although it may be difficult for liberals and internationalists to accept it, the inequality of men, peoples and nations is a fact of life,[213] and conveyed as such in the films of the regime (including the documentary *Gentes Que Nós Civilizámos*, translated as *People We have Civilized*, released in 1944; see 3.2.4).

After the Second World War Portugal was being courted by the West in the wake of a new geo-political order whilst Salazar's regime sought to make Portuguese colonialism palatable to the rest of the world. This meant the extrication of the eugenicist and Social-Darwinist subtexts from official colonial policy. The change of policy did not entail widespread change of colonial practices and attitudes towards and representation of the colonized subject during the 1950s and the films of the regime attest to this (see the representation of Africans in *Chaimite* 3.2.4.2.4). In 1949 Portugal became part of NATO and the Portuguese scientist, António Egas Moniz, was awarded the Nobel prize for medicine signalling, respectively, the recognition of Portugal's geopolitical importance and the official recognition of the *race*'s contribution to science. In 1951 the Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre, was invited by the Estado Novo to visit Portugal to promote his views on Portuguese colonialism. Gilberto Freyre's Luso-tropicalim, argued that historically the Portuguese mode of colonization had been more symbiotic, more 'fraternal', than northern European models, as the high racial miscegenation in an (apparently) harmonious Brazil attested to.[214]

The Portuguese success in Brazil and in the world in terms of creating bonds with other peoples was, according to Freyre, due to the fact that the Iberians cultivated an archaic sense of time, that preceded the industrial revolution, and demonstrated a disregard for 'chronometric time'. 'Chronometric time' is the basis of Northern European capitalism, equating time with wealth in

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212 Quoted in Rosário et al., p. 49. My translation of 'indivíduos de raça negra ou os seus descendentes que, tendo nascido ou vivendo habitualmente nelas, não possuam ainda a ilustração e os hábitos individuais e sociais pressupostos para a integral aplicação do direito público e privado dos cidadãos portugueses'.

213 Paraphrased from quoted in Rosário et al., p. 43.

214 See Gilberto Freyre, 'On the Iberian Concept of Time', *The American Scholar*, 32.3 (1963), 415-430 (p. 416).

such a way that it understands time in terms of quantitatively valuable actions.[215] Freyre asserted that the Iberian diverges from the northern European because of his heretical nature, i.e. there is something eastern about the Iberian's Christianity that allows for a poetic understanding of the other. The Portuguese, because they perceived themselves first and foremost as Christians, for example, understood the Amerindian as a Christian in waiting and not as an inferior being, as Northern Europeans did.[216] The success that the Iberian thereby achieved at the level of social relations and resulting hybridism in territories which they occupied was in contrast with the Northern European's ability to implement economic systems of production and exchange that guaranteed their superior wealth but which did not create such intricate and diverse social tapestries.[217] The basis for this, he argued, was the fact that Iberians, via their expansion across the globe, cultivated time understood qualitatively and in terms of mythical rituals that allowed them to escape from historical time, and exist within a mythical framework; this meant that were, therefore, closer to the peoples they encountered. In his earliest and most important book *Casa-Grande e Senzala* (The Masters and the Slaves; 1933) Freyre refuted the notion promoted by authorities on eugenics, such as the German Eugen Fischer and the North American Charles Davenport, that racial miscegenation produced a weaker type of man, arguing that it was precisely miscegenation that had contributed to the most positive aspects of Brazilian culture, particularly its synergy of spirituality and the body.

In 1951 whilst proclaiming its decision to embrace Luso-tropicalism the Estado Novo revised the 1933 constitution and repealed the 1930 Colonial Act. The colonies come to be designated as Overseas Provinces, apparently closing the conceptual gap between nation and colony, between Portuguese and African, but which in practice translated into an even greater economic and political centralization of power in Lisbon. In law these had become regions of Portugal rather than colonies. At around the same time the Estado Novo began a large-scale programme of economic investment, with foreign and national capital transferred to the overseas provinces. Perceiving that the potential for native armed insurgencies was real, and bearing in mind that the Soviet Union's and China's commitment to decolonization, this policy of overseas investment led to new priorities, such as: (i) the need to understand native culture and customs in detail; (ii) the decision to conduct, via the

215 Freyre, p. 416.

216 Freyre, pp. 425-426, 429.

217 Freyre, pp. 425-426, 429.

Ministry of Overseas Provinces which financed the Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais (Centre for Social and Political Studies) anthropological research on ethnic groups known to be critical of Portuguese colonialism; (iii) the desire to tackle dissent in the colonies; in this context it should be noted that in 1955 the CIA began training PIDE staff who operated in the overseas provinces persecuting white and black secessionists and anti-colonialists.[218] The 1957 state visit of the British monarch Queen Elizabeth II to Portugal marked the end of the political height of the dictatorship that for some years had been concealing internal crisis tendencies – aptly, one of Salazar most popularized quotes is, 'appearance is reality' (em política, o que parece, é). Several films of the regime made after 1951 struggle with the new doctrine and racial values being ambivalent regarding Lusotropicalim (see discussion on the representation of Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro in *Chaimite*, 3.2.4.2.4). Nonetheless Freyre's notion of an inherently spiritually prone Iberian reinforced the regime's narratives around the spirituality of the Portuguese and their superior morality (see discussion on religiosity in *Chaimite*, 3.2.4.2.2).

2.3.2. The Low Period and Competing Masculinities: 1957-1974

By 1953, the time when *Chaimite* was released, some criticism from inside and outside the regime against the Salazar's colonial policy had been voiced. Because of tight censorship, the criticisms hardly transpired within the remit of national cinema and had little impact on the films commissioned by the regime. However, as I discuss in the following chapter, in between the lines, films address the criticisms as well as foresee the dangers to Salazar's authoritarianism if these indications are ignored (see 3.2.4.2.2 and 3.2.4.2.6). Galvão's 1947 report on forced labour in the Portuguese colonies presented in the parliamentary assembly, following in the footsteps of his 1929 Huila report which was critical of Portuguese Republican colonial policies, was harshly critical of Salazarist colonial practices. He claimed that one of the hindrances to the development of an adequate colonial policy by Estado Novo was 'the last surviving influences' of 'the exterminating spirit' rooted in the pacification campaigns that occurred in the nineteenth century.[219] 'Only the dead are really exempt from compulsory labour', he stated, and this was in a context where '[t]he settler in Angola and Mozambique demands that the

218 Funada-Classen, p. 181.

219 Forced Labour in Portuguese Africa, p. 7.

government has to provide him with free labour'.[220] The forced work system, that secured rights to labour produced by indigenous bodies through coercing or co-opting chiefs and by indiscriminate roundups, was criticized by Galvão as counter-productive to the civilizing mission and economic development of the colony. Underlining Salazar's ongoing refusal to address colonial violence, in the last lines of the report Galvão states:

No one had denied that the problem was a very difficult one. But the fact is that we have known this for ten years and that in these ten years there has been not one single effective measure to solve the problem.[221]

In 1955 Portugal was accepted as a member of the United Nations and with this came a deeper scrutiny of Portugal's colonial practices. The report was disseminated during the 1950s and early 1960s in order to discredit Salazar's colonial dogma, which began to be questioned in earnest by Portuguese-speaking colonized subjects during the 1950s. The liberation movements MPLA (Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola), led by the assimilated Angolan medical doctor Agostinho Neto, and PAIGCV (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde), led by Guinean/Cape Verdean assimilated agronomist Amílcar Cabral, were founded in 1956. Echoing Galvão's words, ten years later in 1957, António Jorge Dias, a Portuguese social scientist who wrote a ground-breaking study on the Mozambican ethnic groups, Makonde, at the request of the colonial authorities, expressed his concern that:

Severe and rigid discipline can keep these people quiet for a while, but we cannot ensure their future loyalty. As a simple ethnologist, I cannot say how these problems can be resolved, but [their increasing dissatisfaction] is not just the consequence of ideologies spread by subversive propaganda.[222]

Despite the fact that:

[T]he 'organic democracy' of Salazar seemed stronger in the mid-1950s that any time before since the height of fascist power in Europe during the beginning of the Second World War.[223]

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220 Forced Labor in Portuguese Africa, p. 6.

221 Forced Labor in Portuguese Africa, p. 7.

222 Quoted in Funada-Classen, p. 185.

223 Quoted in David L. Raby, 'O Problema da Unidade Antifascista: O PCP e a Candidatura do General Humberto Delgado, em 1958', *Análise Social*, 18 (1982), 869-883 (p. 870). My translation of 'a "democracia orgânica" de Salazar parecia mais segura em meados dos anos 50 que em qualquer momento desde o apogeu do poder fascista na Europa, em princípios da segunda guerra mundial'.

Subversive propaganda available in the metropolis was also of concern to the Estado Novo, particularly those communist and democratic ideas which proved popular during the 1958 Presidential election, which at that time had produced the strongest challenge made to Salazar's power.

The run-up to the 1958 presidential elections demonstrated that vast sections of the Portuguese population desired political change i.e. 'the possibility of resolution to the Portuguese political problem by peaceful means'.[224] The opposition's charismatic candidate was General Humberto Delgado, who during the 1930s had been publicly supportive of Hitler's regime and had belonged to Salazar's elite circle.[225] However, after a short-term post at the Portuguese embassy in Washington in 1952 he came to favour political liberalism, and became critical of Salazar. His populist style appealed to the masses as well as a silenced liberal elite who still clung onto traditional republican secular ideals.[226]

General Delgado's candidacy addressed the common perception that the rich were getting richer and the poor getting poorer, and the profits of businesses were more dependent on exploitation of labour than efficiency.[227] He had come into the political arena to challenge the establishment and – highjacking their language – he promised to 'restore and unite the nation'. Despite lingering distrust of him because of his ideological volte-face, particularly from the underground Portuguese Communist Party, the national sentiment in metropolis and in the colonies was gradually edging towards a support of the change he represented.[228] His candidacy manifesto claims that only he:

> [A]t this moment, has the conditions to break with the deadlock in which we live, opening new ways to the national life and erasing the hesitations, the doubts and the fears of all kinds, that are common and frequent amongst us.[229]

General Delgado's public and prompt reply when asked what he would do in

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224 Quoted in Raby, p. 870. My translation of 'a possibilidade duma resolução do problema político português por meios pacíficos'.

225 See Humberto da Silva Delgado, *Da Pulhice do 'Homo Sapiens': Da Monarquia de Vigaristas pela República de Bandidos - à Ditadura de Papa* (Lisboa: Casa Ventura Abrantes, 1933)

226 Raby, p. 869.

227 During the regime's União Nacional party 1956 congress differences at the level of social and economic policies were uncommonly made public.

228 Raby, p. 874.

229 Quoted in Raby, p. 877. My translation of 'neste momento, reúne condições para romper o "beco sem saída" em que vivemos, abrindo novos rumos à vida nacional e fazendo desaparecer os receios, as dúvidas e os medos de toda a ordem, que são comuns e frequentes entre nós'.

relation to Salazar if he won the elections was '[o]bviously, I will fire him!',[230] revealing the extent to which men like him, who had once been close to Salazar's inner circle, were unaware of his desire for power. The elections were fraudulently won by Salazar's presidential candidate and as a consequence a spontaneous wave of strikes and protests, with support from some members of the clergy, took place across the country.[231]

A month after the election, following in the tradition of sections of Church's spokesmen who were critical of the excesses of foreign fascist and communist dictatorships, the Bishop of Oporto, Dom António Ferreira Gomes, took it upon himself to criticise Salazar directly. Ignoring the protocols established between Church and State, he wrote a political letter addressed to Salazar where he requested a meeting to discuss his objections to the Estado Novo's social policies. The letter, known as *pró memória*, was leaked and circulated from person to person. As an undeniably direct criticism of the Estado Novo's policies, it established an uncomfortable precedent for Salazar, namely, being publicly criticized by a prestigious member of clergy who saw it as his duty to ask uncomfortable questions and draw attention to his disagreement with the government.[232] The Bishop's criticism fed directly into Salazar's fears of widespread clergy dissent against the regime's social structure, and that the Vatican would support independence claims by Portuguese-speaking African liberation movements. The Catholic establishment's awareness of the anti-church sentiment that had not altogether vanished from sections of Portuguese society, and which had remained faithful to the Republican democratic cause, and of the growing influence of the underground Portuguese Communist Party – all of these factors sustained a (tenuous) pact between Church and State, between its leader, Cardinal Cerejeira, and Salazar (who had, in any case, been close friends since attending university).[233]

1961 was a watershed year for the Estado Novo because opposition to Salazar

230 Quoted in Raby, p. 879.

231 During the following years splits became apparent in the military with two failed military uprisings, the 'Conspiracão da Se' in 1959 and the revolt of Beja in 1961. Civil society became increasingly polarized. Short lived anti-regime armed groups, LUAR-Brigadas Revolucionarias and Frente de Acão Popular, were active in the early 1960s.

232 Luís Salgado de Matos, 'A Campanha de Imprensa Contra o Bispo do Porto como Instrumento Político do Governo Português (Setembro 1958-Outubro de 1959)', *Análise Social*, 34 (1999), 29-90.

233 Throughout the 1960s divisions within the Church's become pronounced, along traditionalist and liberal lines; the traditionalists looked backwards to Myth and Dogma whilst the liberals looked to Pope Pio X's attempts to forge a dialogue with the different democratic societies emerging in the post-Second World War context.

at home, in the colonies and internationally took on some twists and turns that damaged the regime's reputation across the world. In January, Galvão, by then an exiled opposition figure, led a group of exiles who hijacked a Portuguese luxury liner, the Santa Maria, which was ferrying passengers from several Western countries at the time; their objective was to sail to the overseas territory of Angola and declare the unilateral independence of the colony – it immediately became an international media sensation that generated high-profile media coverage. In the same month (January), the Baixa de Cassanje revolt in Angola, initiated by cotton workers employed by a Portuguese-Belgian plantation company, was crushed by aircraft bombing of native villages. In March the liberation movement UPA (Union of the Populations of Angola) staged a revolt in northern Angola, known as the event that marked the beginning of the colonial wars in Portuguese-speaking Africa, where native coffee-plantation workers and farmers killed circa 1,000 white settlers and 6,000 African contract workers – their aim had been to recover their ancestral lands. In June 1961, amid mounting international criticism of the regime, Salazar delivered a long TV broadcast speech critical of the UN's anti-colonialist position on Portugal's overseas territories.[234] His main contention was the UN's approval of the Report of the Six, an annex to the UN's Anti-Colonial Declaration, that includes two clauses that threatened Portuguese colonial rule; that members of the UN, including Portugal, were expected to supply regular governance information on their non-autonomous territories i.e. their colonies and that the UN's objective was for colonies to (progressively) become self-governing States. Refusing to supply information and to contemplate the independence of the colonies Salazar argued that the Portuguese colonies or overseas territories were provinces of Portugal. This led to an ongoing conflict between the Estado Novo and the UN.[235] And in December Salazar's regime was internationally humiliated when, after many years of tensions between Portugal and India over the Portuguese colony of Goa, and with no resistance from the Portuguese army, the Indian military seized the colony. Images of the Indian army entering Goa victorious while the Portuguese army were forced to destroy their military equipment before fleeing featured in international news bulletins – the regime's international policies were revealed as a failure, and this was confirmed by Anderson's 1962 lengthy *New Left Review Journal* piece on the nature of Salazar's dictatorship and colonialism; Anderson chastised Salazar's policies and governance with irrefutable facts.

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234 Paul H. Lewis, 'Salazar's Ministerial Elite, 1932-1968', *The Journal of Politics*, 40 (1978), 622-647 (p. 634).

235 See A. E. Duarte Silva, 'O Litígio entre Portugal e a ONU (1960-1974)', *Análise Social*, 30 (1995), 5-50.

The article sought to expose the Estado Novo as a draconian dictatorship whose colonialism was based on exploitative and inhuman practices defining it in terms of an ultracolonialism. The premise of the article was that the regime, that had kept Portugal in a chronic state of underdevelopment and social inequality, had exported its practices to colonial spaces where it had, in effect, amplified them. His general perception was that:

> Portugal, an imperial power, has the economy of an underdeveloped country. The corollary is a standard of living that is the lowest in Western Europe, and one of the lowest in the world: 210 dollars a year, less than Greece or Mexico.[236]

In relation to social development Portugal's '[s]ocial structures reflect and reinforce the retardation of the economy' with 'disproportions of wealth [that] have few comparisons anywhere in the world'.[237] Those who profited from this state of affairs were a '[t]iny, compact oligarchy of families which entirely dominate the economy through a set of complementary personal and institutional controls'.[238] This status-quo was also the praxis in the colonies where business conglomerates owned the colonies.[239] The political regime that enabled this scenario operated under:

> [T]he logic of economic archaism, brutal exploitation and omnipresent foreign capital is a political regime of permanent violence. Only a massive machinery of repression could keep the whole intolerable structure in place. The Salazar dictatorship is precisely this.[240]

For Anderson, as Fry mentioned, unable to see beyond the metrics of British colonialism, nothing could be salvaged from Portuguese colonialism because the Estado Novo was:

> [A] largely pre-industrial infra-structure, feudal ownership patterns, military paramountcy, a torpid fascism. This is the metropolitan complex which determines the specific system of Portuguese overseas domination: ultra-colonialism – that is, at once the most primitive and the most extreme modality of colonialism.[241]

With an 'extensive and "imperious" discourse' broadcast on national TV in August 1963 entitled *Overseas Politics*,[242] coinciding with the beginning of

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236 Anderson, p. 86.
237 Anderson, p. 86.
238 Anderson, p. 87.
239 Anderson, p. 87.
240 Anderson, p. 88.
241 Anderson, p. 99.
242 Silva, p. 18.

the liberation war in Guinea-Bissau and the growing international projection of newly founded Frelimo, Salazar reiterated – though with a slightly different turn of phrase – his old established view that:

> The moral unity between the Continent, the islands and the Overseas that is so clear would not be achieved if it were not guaranteed by a cohesive political unity […] The difficulties that face this trajectory, arising from our and foreign bad habits, and from many interests who have difficulty in understanding this, have to be peacefully won with tenacity and clairvoyance.[243]

Despite a changing world – characterized by high-profile defections from the Estado Novo, criticism from within the Church, waning public support in the metropolis, open conflict in the colonies and increasing international isolation – Salazar continued to display through his communications to the nation, aired on the county's only and state-controlled TV station, the inflexibility and lack of sentimentality that Galvão had once admired in the Boers settlers. Many of the criticisms directed at the Estado Novo during its low period would soon become commonplace as a result of the anti-colonial rhetorical discourse of Frelimo's films (see 3.3.4.1).

2.4. Frelimo: From Assimilated to Postcolonial Violent Masculinities: 1940s-1985

2.4.1. The Assimilated Colonized Individual's Alien World

The assimilated class held an unstable position in the urban white colonial society in which most of them of them lived and worked. It was an environment that was culturally and linguistically divorced from the indigenous rural and tribal peasant class. It was a distance that Frelimo's leadership tried to bridge through self-representing themselves, in Machel's valued medium of film, as: self-de-colonized assimilated guerrillas; masculinities intellectually and morally equipped to represent the will of the people towards independence, unity and prosperity; the hegemonic masculinity of the liberation struggle and of a utopic Mozambique. In doing so, and contrary to their intentions, they further widened the gap between the assimilated and the indigenous by articulating the popular utopia of liberty

243 Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos e Notas Políticas 1935-1937*, Volume 5 (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora), p. 95. My translation of 'Aquela unidade moral que por tão claras formas se afirma entre o Continente, as Ilhas e o Ultramar não assumiria todo o seu valor se não garantindo uma bem coesa unidade política […] As dificuldades que se deparam a este movimento, filhas de hábitos mentais nossos ou alheios, e de muitos interesses que terão dificuldade em compreender, têm de ser vencidas pacientemente, mas com tenacidade e clarividência'.

via unpopular assimilationist practices (see discussion in 3.3.4.1and 3.3.4.2.3)

During the Estado Novo period the assimilated class in Mozambique came together in cultural associations, forming a multiracial Europeanised petit bourgeois with professional and artistic aspirations that had its roots in the exclusive and only state secondary school in Mozambique, the Lyceum Salazar in Lourenço Marques.[244] In theory, from 1930 to 1961, whilst an individual's indigenous status was a description encapsulated in the law, any native person over 18 years of age could aspire to be successful in their application for assimilated status if he/she was able 'to speak the Portuguese language correctly', alongside other cultural, moral and professional stipulations.[245] Although it was essentially a melting pot, the assimilated class developed affinities between themselves because of the preferential treatment given to recent Portuguese immigrants, the hostility of long-term settlers and their close vigilance by the PIDE.[246] Influential assimilated subjects led publishing houses and associations, such as, *The African Cry* and *The African Guild*, which had recently lost their autonomy and were re-purposed in order to serve Salazar's colonial policies.[247] Based on census numbers from the 1960s, two years before the foundation of Frelimo, it is clear that the government's censorship laws annulled any possibility of communication between the eight million indigenous citizens and circa 5,000 assimilated individuals, who were mostly urban-based and lacking legitimate platforms to express, disseminate and communicate their political views. In Mozambique being assimilated meant for a given individual that, even despite racial discrimination, they were accorded legal equality to whites and jurisdiction under the law, permission to reside in urban areas and, most importantly, exemption from forced labour. On the one hand they were 'second-class citizens at best and were subjected to systematic discrimination and humiliation'[248] but, on the other hand, by virtue their education and urban environment, they were culturally divorced from the native indigenous rural peasantry.[249]

Eduardo Mondlane (1920-1969) was the President of the Mozambican

244 'They' is encapsulated by Domingos Arouca, the first black African lawyer from Mozambique. In his youth, after winning a lottery ticket prize, he went to Lisbon to complete secondary education and study law, before returning to Lourenço Marques (later Maputo).

245 See André Victorino Mindoso, 'Os Assimilados de Moçambique: Da Situação Colonial à Experiência Socialista' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidade Federal Do Paraná, 2017).

246 Derluguian, p. 87, and Cabaço, p. 391.

247 Funada-Classen, p. 151.

248 Sumich, p. 134.

249 Sumich, p. 99.

Liberation Front (FRELIMO) from 1962 when FRELIMO was founded, until his death in 1969. His trajectory from rural *indígena* – albeit his being a member of the rural nobility – living in the Mozambican countryside to being the first native Mozambican to hold a doctorate, to working at for Syracuse University and the United Nations in the U.S., to overcoming race and class taboos by marrying an upper middle-class white American woman, Janet Rae Johnson, was only made possible by early support given to him in Mozambique by foreign protestant missionaries. Even before the foundation of Frelimo, the Portuguese authorities feared what he might symbolize for the native population of Mozambique. During Mondlane's first visit to Mozambique as a UN representative he was followed by the PIDE. Nonetheless, accompanied by his wife, he held public meetings in packed churches where he galvanized young people, encouraging them to seek *liberdade* (freedom).

One of his converts was Samora Machel (1933-1986), who eventually became the first President of Mozambique when it became independent in 1975. From the moment he heard Mondlane speak, he became an ardent supporter of his ideas. Machel was himself also born to a family of indigenous, even if his father – who had links to South Africa and despite harsh conditions inflicted upon indigenous farmers – was able to become financially successful and secure assimilated status. With ancestry connections to Maguiguana, Ngungunyane's war chief, and after witnessing the exploitation of the indigenous and experiencing racism as an assimilated individual whilst working as a nurse in Lourenço Marques, he became involved in the anti-colonial movement. In 1963, one year after the establishment of Frelimo, and already on PIDE's wanted list, Machel escaped to Tanganyika (later Tanzania) to join Frelimo.

Machel's trajectory, which was, perhaps, less unique than Mondlane's, was in fact closer to that of the typical assimilated individual who, as an 'honorary white' was associated with the lower strata of the colonial apparatus, of mixed race, Asian or Portuguese from Goa, a product of the officially certified 'civilized' urban Africans whose parents had managed to escape their 'native' status.[250] Assimilation was made exclusive because the Estado Novo did not promote the education of Africans beyond the primary education sponsored by the Catholic Church. Some Africans, mostly from southern Mozambique,

250 Georgi Derluguian, 'The Social Origins of Good and Bad Governance: Re-Interpreting The 1968 Schism in Frelimo', in *Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique*, ed. by Eric Morier-Genoud (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 79-101 (p. 86).

enabled by Protestant missions and family networks, were able to gain access to secondary education in South Africa.[251] The Núcleo dos Estudantes Africanos Secundários de Moçambique (Nucleus of African Secondary Students of Mozambique – NESAM), a group of assimilated Africans, most of whom had been educated in neighbouring South Africa, was closed down by the PIDE and its members, Mondlane included, were persecuted. The organization, as well as other organizations run by assimilated individuals served as embryonic structures that feed into Frelimo's leadership.[252]

During its early stages Frelimo was composed of individuals whose common denominator was their experience of being denied identification with the Portuguese colonizer despite being assimilated, mulattoes or indigenous citizens. Their experience of marginalization and injustice brought them together and the process of sharing their pain was part of the initiation ritual into the movement and into becoming a new man. Standing before an assembly of members, new recruits often performed the ritual *narração de sofrimentos* (narration of sufferings), and told their life stories in detail, focusing on the ways in which injustices inflicted by the colonial system upon their communities had driven them to join the *luta* (struggle). This ritual enabled new recruits to identify shared values, understand how long-established patterns of colonial exploitation functioned across Mozambique and, thus, how important it was to build on their ethnic alliance, rejections tribalism and regionalism, and work together to create a Mozambican, anti-colonial new man.[253]

Mondlane and Machel publicly performed the *narration of sufferings*, stressing the evils of colonialism in order to gain support for the struggle. In an article published in 1968, Mondlane refuted Salazar's claim that Portuguese colonialism had 'a marked respect for the manners and customs of the peoples we encountered' and had 'never involved the slightest idea of superiority or racial discrimination'.[254] Mondlane asserted that the societies in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique were drawn along racial, religious and linguistics lines and that the factors which determined social relations were race, politics and economics. In Mozambique the population consisted of three district groups: 2.5% Europeans, Asians, mulattoes, and assimilated blacks; 3.5% mostly Africans

251 Funada-Classen, pp. 147-148.

252 Funada-Classen, p. 148.

253 José Luís de Oliveira Cabaço, 'Moçambique: Identidades, Colonialismo e Libertação' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2007), p. 403.

254 Quoted in Mondlane, p. 13.

who were an 'incipient proletariat'; and (c) 94%indigenous African peasants from the tribal regions whose lives were characterized by bare subsistence. This led Mondlane to conclude that, despite the revocation of the indigenous status in 1961, Luso-tropicalism in Mozambique was no more than a fiction. Mozambique was, in fact, a colony in a 'typically colonial situation' of exploitation by a minority over the majority.[255] Life had not changed for the African peasants:

> Whether the African has been an export commodity, a domestic slave, a *liberto*, *contratado*, or *voluntario*, his fundamental relationship with the Portuguese has remained the same – that of a servant.[256]

After Mondlane was assassinated, Machel, as Frelimo's leader, reiterated this assessment of the African's oppression at the hands of their colonial masters:

> Rooted in our common experiences of suffering, our unity is reinforced by the miserable salaries we receive; the hunger provoked by the forced harvest of our crops, the sale of workers to South African mines and to tobacco plantations in Rhodesia, the hate emerging from the usurpation of our land and our cattle, the experience of the whip and the ferule, the *machila,* and the humiliation caused by the *notebook*.[257]

At the onset of independence in 1975 Frelimo's followers believed that within ten years the territory they had liberated (which was in economic disarray because of the mass exodus of Portuguese settlers and capital) would be 'unrecognisable'. They believed they would achieve what the Portuguese colonial apparatus had refused to bring about since the late nineteenth century, that is, a prosperous and united nation.[258]

Many international observers were euphoric in their support of Frelimo's party believing that its vision of Mozambique represented the triumph of popular power over colonialism and neo-colonialism. For example, in 1978, James Mittleman wrote:

> Decolonization in Mozambique differs dramatically from the general pattern in the Third World

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255 Mondlane, p. 14.

256 Mondlane, p. 14. The words *liberto*, *contratado* and *voluntario* (lossely free-person, contracted and volunteer respectively) featured in colonialist discourse and are being used ironically to signal their double meanings.

257 Quoted in Cabaço, p. 406. My translation of 'Assim se reforça a nossa unidade, enraizada na experiência comum de sofrimento, na miséria dos salários, na fome criada pelas culturas forçadas, pela venda de trabalhadores às minas da África do Sul e às plantações de tabaco da Rodésia, no ódio suscitado pela rapina de terras, de gado, na experiência do chicote e palmatória, na machila, na humilhação da caderneta'.

258 Sumich, p. 136.

in terms of the autonomous nature of the struggle, its mass base, and the liberation movement's determination to fundamentally dismantle the colonial state. […] They aimed not merely at capturing state power but at reconstituting it.[259]

After independence, in order to overcome its distance from the people, Frelimo sought to give the new nation native-grown heroes and icons that would take root in the fabric of communities. For example, Frelimo relied on tribal mysticism where useful while encouraging a severance with traditionalism when this was deemed necessary. Thus, the promotion of Mondlane as the 'father' of the nation relied on traditional religious structures of feeling and was, in turn, balanced by the deployment of Josina Machel as the 'mother' of the nation; the latter gesture performed a radical break with tribal and colonialist patriarchal traditions.

A rather curious coincidence, Ngungunyane and Mondlane were born in the same province and Ngungunyane, when he was sent into exile in Portugal, remarked that one day a king would come from his people, the Mandlakazi, thereby 'foreseeing' his spiritual predecessor.[260] In order to present Mondlane as the fulfilment of Ngungunyane's mythic prophesy Frelimo (rather paradoxically) promoted the following narrative: ever since he was a young boy people from his community said to Mondlane: 'you are worth more than the other boys, you are our great Chitlango who ruled for many years over this country'.[261] In April 1979 – and this event was the subject of a documentary commissioned by Frelimo – the bodies of several of Frelimo's iconic leaders, including Mondlane who had died before the declaration of independence, were repatriated from Zimbabwe to Mozambique, to be laid to rest in a new purpose-built memorial for national heroes in the capital Maputo (previously Lourenço Marques; for an analysis of Frelimo's documentaries that constructed its heroic self-image, see 3.3.4.1).

Josina Machel is Frelimo's most iconic female figure. She embodies the notion of the *combatente* (fighter) who sacrificed her life for the struggle, becoming after independence an icon for Frelimo's mission of female emancipation. As a heroine of the liberation, she is a symbol of Frelimo's egalitarian stance that runs counter to Salazarism as well as the notion of

259 Mittleman, p. 10.

260 Fernando Bessa Ribeiro, 'A Invenção dos Heróis: Naçao, História e Discursos da Identidade em Moçambique', *Etnográfica*, 10.2 (2005), 257-275 (p. 261).

261 Quoted in *Moçambique Pátria de Heróis: Colectânea de Comunicações do Chefe de Estado 2005-2014*, ed. by Renato Matusse et al. (Maputo: Académica, 2014), p. 19. My translation of 'Ficas sabendo que tu não és igual aos outros rapazes, tu és o nosso Chitlango que reinou anos e anos sobre este país'.

indigenous patriarchy. From 1966 until her death in 1971, Josina Machel was active in Frelimo's *Destacamento Feminino* (Feminine Unit), that defended liberated areas, took part in ambushes for Portuguese armed forces and was vital for the recruitment of guerrillas as well as politicizing populations. In 1981 Frelimo marked the 10th anniversary of her death and the *Secretariado Nacional para a Organização da Mulher Moçambicana* (National Secretariat of the Organization for the Mozambican Woman) published a booklet dedicated to her. The cover reminds Mozambican women that to 'meet the production targets is to guarantee the success of the fight against underdevelopment' and to 'participate actively in the defence of our Socialist Nation'. Some of the sections of this document include tribute poems in which Josina Machel is represented as a national icon and a maternal, self-sacrificing figure.[262]

The representation of the native Frelimo woman in Frelimo's films follows Josina Machel's representation as heroically devoted to Frelimo's cause and loyal to Frelimo's notion of hegemonic masculinity. Mondlane and Machel rejected Freyre's belief that 'people of Lusitanian (Portuguese) background were preordained to lead the world towards racial harmony' because it contradicted their experience as privileged colonized individuals.[263] Reflecting Frelimo's stance on Luso-tropicalism, the representation in Frelimo's films of miscegenation, i.e., the contact between native females and colonizer males, is explored in dramatic fashion. As we shall see, the notion of colonial assimilation is contradictory and the distance between the assimilated and the indigenous or between Frelimo and the people is romanticized (for further analysis, see the discussion of representation of Frelimo's ideal feminine below in section 3.3.4.2.4).

2.4.2. Assimilated Marxists Versus 'Big-Men' Masculinities

The Big-Men, a by-product of the Portuguese colonialist exploitation of labour and under-investment in education of natives, by virtue of the political and economic aspirations they acquired in neighbouring Anglophone territories as migrant workers, fought against the assimilated class for the leadership of Frelimo. The assimilated individuals emerged victorious from this infighting, describing it as conflict between their anti-colonialist and

262 Booklet entitled '10 aniversario da Morte da Camarada Josina Machel, Símbolo da Mulher Moçambicana Combatente' and published on the 7/4/1981 by the Secretariado Nacional da OMM and Instituto Nacional do Livro e do Disco.

263 Mondlane, p. 13.

socialist principles versus the Big-Men's colonialist, capitalist, ethnocentric and racialist mindset. Despite their pivotal role in the early stages of anti-colonialism several prominent Big-Men were expelled from the Frelimo and eventually executed by the movement. Consequently, the representation of these Big-Men, whose role as the forefathers of Frelimo cannot be ignored, is riddled with subtexts. One of the sub-texts is their lesser ability to speak the superstratum Portuguese language and the implications of this deficiency. Another is the representation of the liberated areas as non-capitalist, non-ethnocentric and non-racialized spaces. (On Frelimo's representation of the Big-Men see discussion on *Mueda Memória e Massacre* in 3.3.4.1, and for a discussion on the representation of liberated areas, see 3.3.4.2.2.)

Frelimo's parent organizations were created in Mozambique's neighbouring Anglophone territories by Big-Men, including, Uria Simango and Lazaro Nkavandame. These ethno-political organizations were set up by migrant workers who often had little formal education, often Protestants with close kinship links to their ethnic communities within Mozambique; they were part of a long tradition of indigenous men escaping abroad from Portuguese colonial exploitation and violence. The experience of the different political realities in Rhodesia (later Zimbabwe), Nyasaland (later Malawi) and Tanganyika (later Tanzania), including the peaceful independence of Tanganyika allowed the Big-Men's predominately ethnic nationalistic organizations such as MANU (Mozambican African National Union, founded in 1960), UDENAMO (National Democratic Union of Mozambique, founded in 1960), and UNAMI (National African Union of Independent Mozambique, founded in 1961) to see themselves as highly instrumental in Mozambique's eventual peaceful independence process. According to Georgi Derluguian, they were mistaken, and this belief attested to their lack of political acumen.[264]

Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanganyika (later Tanzania), offered a safe haven in Tanganyika for Mozambican anti-colonialists, and provided the space for the three movements that existed at that time to merge into one organization under the leadership of Mondlane. On 25 June 1962 Frelimo emerged as an unstable cacophony of political aspirations, mindsets, and social classes. The new movement transformed itself, however, as a result of the influx of assimilated individuals predominately from southern Mozambique. Advocating armed struggle, they progressively excluded UDENAMO and MANU, which were run by Big-Men leaders who were pro-

264 Derluguian, p. 84.

negotiation. Armed struggle, as proposed by the better educated southerners, who saw Mondlane as one of their own, no longer seemed an impossible cause in light of the success of the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) which had singlehandedly forced the French military out of Algeria. Mondlane's position was safeguarded by Nyerere's loyalty (and in turn by Tanganyika's police force and the judiciary) and by the enthusiasm of African Mozambican students who had fled Mozambique in order to join the movement in Tanganyika.[265] The ideological split between the Big-Men and the assimilated group became irreconcilable once Frelimo began controlling areas, known as liberated areas.

In 1966, when Frelimo secured territorial gains in the province of Cabo Delgado, deep divisions emerged between Machel's Marxist hardliners and Big-Men such as Lazaro Nkavandame regarding the management of the liberated areas. For Frelimo's socialists and Marxists, the liberated areas were the test ground where they intended to test and implement their ideology, and thereby advance the war effort. Ideally, agricultural production would be collectivised under the control of Frelimo, which could then guarantee that it would meet the people's essential needs. In 1967 Mondlane assured his followers that:

> [Our struggle] is first and foremost aimed at building a new Mozambique, where there will be no hunger and where all men will be free and equal. We are fighting with weapons in our hands, because in order to build the Mozambique that we want we must first destroy the Portuguese colonial system...[266]

To this end Frelimo attempted to develop egalitarian structures within the liberated areas and refugee camps. Nkavandame, as the Head of Civil Administration was responsible for implementing a socialist-type system of administration. Instead, he made locals work for him, controlled the sale of locally produced agricultural goods, as well as importing goods from neighbouring countries to sell to locals at a profit. He made a small personal fortune that led to popular discontentment, including guerrillas who complained they were not fighting to enable single individuals to replicate the colonial system.[267] Nkavandame's ideological distance from Frelimo's mission was further highlighted by his ethnocentrism that propelled him to argue that liberated areas in northern Mozambique, mainly inhabited by his ethnic group, the Makondes, should be declared independent. This was

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265 See Funada-Classen, pp. 230-231.

266 Quoted in funada-Classen, pp. 252-253.

267 Funada-Classen, pp. 251.

counter to the Frelimo leadership's objective of securing the independence of all areas of Mozambique simultaneously.

In response to Nkavandame and his allies' positions and actions, Frelimo's committee issued a statement condemning their ethnic nationalism and their tribalism:

> [T]he tribalist or regional tendencies shown by certain comrades in the execution of their work, reaffirming solemnly that such attitudes are contrary to the interests of the Mozambican people and impede the successful development of the people's liberation struggle. It emphasizes that the battle against tribalism and regionalism is as important as the battle against colonialism, and that a battle of this kind is the safeguard of our national unity and our liberty.[268]

In a desperate bid to discredit Mondlane and another committee member, the mestizo Marcelino dos Santos, Nkavandame claimed that Mondlane and dos Santos were at the service of imperialism because they were married to white women. Nkavandame's Frelimo membership was suspended, and less that one month later – on 3 February 1969 – Mondlane was assassinated. Two months later Nkavandame was publicly outed by the Portuguese colonial authorities as a prominent Frelimo defector.[269] After Mondlane's death, Frelimo was temporally led by a triumvirate composed by the assimilated Machel and dos Santos and the Big-Man Uria Simango. They expelled from the movement anyone associated with Nkavandame and anyone who had clear ethnic and regionalist agendas.

A few months later Uria Simango – and a number of others who had opposed Machel's and dos Santos' Marxism and their rejection of the need for dialogue with the colonizer – were expelled from the movement, and the following justification was published:

> Those who had come to the revolution to become wealthy, motivated by their personal interest, wanted the system to remain the same … The revolutionary comrades … wanted a completely different system where all the vestiges of colonialist and capitalist influence would be eliminated … After this, the division became more acute.[270]

Machel, with the support of dos Santos, became the undisputed leader of Frelimo. As the war escalated, in order for Frelimo to respond in an appropriate manner at the military and political levels, pressure mounted to attract members with tertiary education, most of whom came from the centre

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268 Funada-Classen, p. 254.

269 Funada-Classen, pp. 258.

270 Quoted in Funada-Classen, p. 259.

and the south of Mozambique. The future of the Big-Men, who typically had little or no formal education (and therefore were unable to speak Portuguese fluently), inside Frelimo was blighted as a result.

Under Machel's leadership Frelimo managed to discredit the Portuguese military by, in the period July 1970–January 1971 successfully surviving the large Gordian Knot military operation designed to annihilate them. 1960s geopolitics, reinforced by the Frelimo's military success coupled with the humanist understanding that history had to run its course strengthened the recognition of Frelimo as the only legitimate government-in-waiting.[271] Three days after the Carnation Revolution in Lisbon, which occurred on 25 April 1974, Frelimo's Executive Committee, speaking as a regime-in-waiting eager to silence the Mozambican other with ethno-nationalist aspirations, released a statement with measured enthusiasm claiming their armed guerrilla 'contributed to the Portuguese people's struggle against fascism and to win their right to democracy'.[272] A significant feature of the statement was its emphasis on Frelimo's anti-regionalist, anti-ethnic and anti-tribalism credentials; it clarified that '[t]he enemy of the Mozambican people is not the Portuguese people, themselves victims of fascism, but the Portuguese colonial system', and that 'the definition of a Mozambican has nothing to do with skin colour or racial, ethnic, religious or any other origins'.[273]

Before the end of the year Frelimo saw its legitimacy recognized when the movement was propelled to a seat at the negotiation table in 1974 in Dar es Salam alongside a divided Portuguese political class in order to discuss the terms and conditions of the independence of Mozambique. The Carnation Revolution had been carried out by the MFA (Movement for the Armed Forces), a group of Marxist-leaning mid-ranking army officers. Immediately after the revolution the JSN (National Salvation Junta) an ideologically conservative movement led by high-ranking officers was setup to lead the transition period from revolution to democracy. The Portuguese negotiating team comprised individuals affiliated to both MFA and JSN with distinct positions on the future of the Portuguese colonies. After protracted negotiations, the MFA's position of total severance of Portuguese colonialism and full transference of power to Frelimo prevailed against the JSN's attempts to safeguard Portuguese business interests and multi-partism. The Portuguese representatives and Frelimo signed the Lusaka Accord on 7 September 1974

271 Derluguian, p. 82.

272 'Statement by Frelimo Executive Committee on the Events in Portugal', *Review of African Political Economy*, 1 (1974), 77-80 (pp. 78-79).

273 'Statement by Frelimo Executive Committee on the Events in Portugal', pp. 78-79.

which sanctioned the transfer of power solely to Frelimo. Frelimo could claim to have exhausted the colonizer on the battlefield and of having defeated them with their own language at the negotiation table by attesting to the superiority of the Frelimo's new man. Frelimo's self-projected intellectual and moral superiority is represented in a number of their films, including in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* (see discussion in 3.3.4.2.1)

2.4.3. The Assimilated Individual's New Man Versus the Tribal Chief

From the onset of the struggle Frelimo's leadership had an ambivalent relationship with the traditional leaders' class, the tribal chiefs who commanded great authority over their populations. Mozambique includes six major ethnic groups with distinct languages that comprise well over 95% of the population, including the Makonde and the Makhuwa who were perceived to be on opposite sides during the anti-colonial war. The Makondes had a history of anti-colonial resistance and were supportive of Frelimo to the extent that the Portuguese authorities branded Frelimo as a Makonde movement.[274] As Frelimo liberated territories, even Makonde tribe chiefs were reluctant to relinquish the belief systems that sustained their authority amongst the indigenous, including in particular indigenous religious practices. Uncompromising chiefs were accused of upholding ignorance, obscurantism and tribalism and therefore of perpetuating established ethnic divisions. Demeaning representations of the chief in Frelimo's films reflect the complex struggle that was taking place at this time between Frelimo's centralizing and homogenization impetus and local chiefs who were seeking to preserve their local power base via local beliefs and traditions.

Despite the fact that Frelimo's idea of the new man rejected Amílcar Cabral's 're-Africanization of the spirit' or Nyerere's African traditional socialism, the movement could not conduct the war without the support from chiefs from different ethnic communities who were expected to turn against the colonizer and think beyond the immediate wellbeing of their communities.[275] Attempting to forge links with the population Frelimo included in its ranks chiefs from lineages that were historically linked to the anti-colonial struggle stretching back to the nineteenth century. These chiefs had been forced to

274 Edward A. Alders, 'Ethnicity, Politics, and History in Mozambique', *Africa Today*, 21.4 (1974), 39-52 (p. 41).

275 Marçal de Menezes Paredes, 'A Construção da Identidade Nacional Moçambicana no Pós-independência: Sua Complexidade e Alguns Problemas de Pesquisa', *Anos 90*, 21.40 (2014), 131-161 (p. 135).

relinquish their lineage rights in order to assume leadership positions within the movement and liberated areas according to party procedures, either by nomination or elections. Control of the liberated areas initially went to trusted chiefs who occupied the position of chairmen but relations between them and young guerrillas were often problematic. Irreconcilable differences between the chairmen-chiefs and Frelimo's Marxists guerrillas emerged because for the former anti-colonialism signified simply the expulsion of the white man from their land and for the latter it meant the re-organization of society towards modernity. The chairmen-chiefs accused Frelimo of disrespecting traditions and the guerrillas accused the chairmen of wanting to simply take the place of the colonizer rather than being concerned with ending exploitation.[276]

From early on in the struggle, Frelimo's training camp in Nashingwea,[277] in Tanzania, was where the new man was being forged. Young volunteers, and those who had been coerced into the struggle were given military and ideological training at the camp. It focussed on interpersonal and environmental relations, with the objective of transforming them into the men and women who would build a new Mozambican society. These trained indigenous guerrillas, who were not necessarily aware of what socialism would be like, fought in multi-ethnic operative units, whilst building houses and trenches, working in the fields and raising animals.[278] Frelimo assumed that working and fighting side by side with the population would lead to the crystallization of a political consciousness united against the colonial oppressor, and that the process of armed struggle would be ideologically transformative and create both socialism and social progress. But the movement had to contend with chiefs who were resistant to Marxism as well as those who became progressively more disincentivised by the harshness of war.[279]

Frelimo's attempt to control the chiefs who lived in liberated areas, their refusal to concede them power within these liberated areas and their intolerance of local religion and inability to feed the indigenous communities prompted chiefs to run away with their communities from the liberated areas. It was not uncommon for the chiefs and their communities to surrender to the

276 Cabaço, pp. 387-389.

277 In 1974 there were approximately 5,000 young women and men from different ethnic groups receiving training at the camp.

278 See statement by fighter quoted in Funada-Classen, p. 319.

279 Cabaço, pp. 412-413.

Portuguese military and PIDE.[280] Because chiefs assumed various roles throughout the conflict – they ranged from hard-line Frelimo guerrillas to Portuguese colonial militia commanders to 'deserters' who ran off in order to starve to death in forests – many lived in limbo and were falsely accused of betrayal by both sides of the conflict and punished accordingly.[281] Mondlane's below statement demonstrates that Frelimo was emphatic regarding the treatment of non-loyal chiefs:

> What happens in the areas where we are involved in fighting any chief that is against the liberation struggle is excluded before the military action begins. But from the moment military action begins, either he goes to the enemy's side or he is eliminated.[282]

Aware of the obstacles faced by the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist based programme that emerged from the 1977 Third Congress that consolidated one-party-rule regime, and advocated a programme of rapid industrialization and rural collectivization (towards the new man), Machel, by then the president of the Popular Republic of Mozambique, would reiterate on many occasions that, in order to win the struggle, it was necessary to eradicate individualism and superstition. He also argued that in order '[t]o unite the Mozambican beyond the tradition and diverse languages, it is necessary that within our consciences the tribe dies so that the Nation may be born'.[283]

Frelimo believed tribalism contributed to a watering-down of the revolutionary message for a variety of reasons, including the following: (i) it created dissonance; (ii) it gave rise to subjectivism and superstition; (iii) it was a reflection of underdevelopment; (iv) the linguistic differences created disharmony; (v) its archaic traditions repressed a productive and creative potential; and (vi) it oppressed women and the youth.[284] In essence, 'traditional culture was not the base of local knowledge but the cause of the Nation's backwardness which resulted in defeat and humiliation during the

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280 Vitor Alexandre Lourenço, *Moçambique: Memórias Sociais de Ontem, Dilemas Políticos de Hoje* (Lisbon: Gespress/CEA-IUL, 2009), p. 87; and Funada-Classen, p. 327.

281 Funada-Classen, pp. 337 and 343.

282 Lourenço, p. 89. My translation of 'O que acontece nas regiões onde estamos envolvidos em combate é que qualquer chefe tradicional que seja contra a luta de libertação é excluído antes que a acção militar se inicie. Mas a partir do momento em que a acção militar está em curso, ou ele passa para o lado do inimigo, ou é eliminado'.

283 Quoted in Cabaço, p. 405. My translation of 'Unir os moçambicanos, para além das tradições e línguas diversas, requer que na nossa consciência morra a tribo para que nasça a Nação'.

284 Cabaço, p. 405.

colonial period'.[285] Frelimo put in place many measures to curtail the power of traditional chiefs over communities and end superstitious practices in an attempt to promote the advent of modernity rapidly. Despite the change of regime, Frelimo's rural administrators were often criticised for being as cruel as the Portuguese colonial administrators had been.[286] The post-independence popular support that allowed Frelimo to take over the State without native popular contestation soon dissipated and led to alienation:

> The rural population of the centre and parts of the north of the country, however, largely became alienated from the government due to the party's programme.[287]

For most of the indigenous groups the State seemed foreign because Frelimo's Marxism was so alien,[288] which was compounded by the fact that Frelimo followed a Soviet style re-organization of rural productivity and the language of State continued to be language of the colonizer, that is, Portuguese. The manner in which the indigenous responded to life in the liberated areas during the war, and their view of the early post-independence Marxist-style government, contributed to Frelimo's self-representation in the filmic media as a project that had been tragically sabotaged. (For Frelimo's representation of chiefs and their traditional mindsets and language see the analysis of *Mueda Memória e Massacre* in 3.3.4.1 and of *O Tempo dos Leopardos* in 3.3.4.2.2 and 3.3.4.2.5)

2.4.4. The Ultra-Colonizer and Portuguese Indigenous Masculinities

During the Liberation war Frelimo had to contend with the colonizer's success in attracting natives to their military ranks. A number of groups swelled the ranks of the Portuguese army, including the indigenous from ethnic groups who remained loyal to the Portuguese, those natives who sought to improve their career and social prospects, and Frelimo defectors. Frelimo's filmic representation of the relationship between the Portuguese colonizer and their native supporters echoes the intricate psychodynamics of the colonizer/colonized relationship that developed during the liberation war, and eventually led to the corrosion of Frelimo's utopia.

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285 Sumich, pp.135, 137.

286 Funada-Classen, p. 384.

287 Sumich, p. 137.

288 Michel Cahen, 'Anticolonialism & Nationalism: Deconstructing Synonymy, Investigating Historical Processes', in *Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique*, ed. by Eric Morier-Genoud (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 1-28 (p. 21).

From the mid-1960s onwards, and aware that ethic groups such as the Makhuwa, who were fiercely traditional and hierarchically rigid and thus highly averse to Frelimo's Marxism, Portuguese generals decided to base their military policy on insights derived from anthropology. They expressed the idea that the conquest of the soul should take precedence over the conquest of the physical space because wining a 'subversive war' relied first and foremost on bringing the native population over to one's side. To that effect the military developed psychosocial units tasked with bringing a humanitarian element to an otherwise vicious war by gaining the trust of native populations with concrete actions often involving gifts. In practical terms this meant that, instead of attacking populations suspected of supporting the guerrillas, the Portuguese military used other means to control the populations. As part of the wider psychosocial strategy native populations were taken from their villages to new purpose-build compounds called *aldeamentos* (villages) promoted in Portuguese media as new villages that brought modernity to the natives, i.e, sanitation, education and security. In point of fact, the primary purpose of these villages was to isolate Frelimo – politically and operationally.

In areas where psychosocial tactics were less successful and where Frelimo was most active, the Portuguese military uprooted entire native villages from their ancestral lands and moved them to large-scale village compounds, modelled on concentration camps.[289] The psychosocial strategy proved successful with the Makhuwa who occupied a territory of strategic importance, namely, the Niassa region that separated the north and centre of the territory from the south, making it impossible for Frelimo to carry out military operations in their territory and also to cross to southern territories; this strategy confined Frelimo's operations to the north and centre of the territory.[290] The Makhuwa rejected Frelimo's anti-colonialism because, according to Portuguese colonialists:

> The Makhuwa people are not receptive to new ideologies and they are submissive. They are traditionally loyal to our nation and consider themselves as 100 per cent Portuguese.[291]

The Portuguese military, the PIDE and colonialists, exploited the loyalty that specific ethnic groups had towards the Portuguese, and thereby actively incorporated them into the war effort against Frelimo. Jorge Jardim, a

289 Cabaço, p. 349.

290 Funada-Classen, pp. 320, 324.

291 Funada-Classen, p. 290.

powerful settler in Mozambique and once protégé of Salazar who recruited and trained Africans for his private army, successfully promoted the incorporation of native men into the Portuguese military apparatus, which was presented in terms of the 'Africanization' of the war. Jardim did so for his own political ends.

Jardim was, indeed, a key figure in post-Second World War colonial Mozambique, and aligned with powerful Portuguese business interests he flirted with the idea of assuming power in Mozambique in order to avert an independent Mozambique led by Frelimo's Marxism. Jardim began his political career as a staunch supporter of Salazar, but he was critical of the former's successor, Marcelo Caetano, and from the early 1970s he made plans for a white-led and independent Mozambique supported by a black African military force. He was for a brief period the State sub-secretary of commerce in Lisbon, but he left the government in 1952, after a disagreement with his immediate minister. He went on to hold the directorship of a factory in central Mozambique owned by one of the Salazar's small circle of business magnates who monopolized Portuguese economic sectors. His political links to Lisbon enabled him to quickly become the leader of the white settler community in the city of Beira, a key strategic economic point because its harbour was vital for Rhodesian exports.

For a while, though, Jardim's political nemesis in Beira was the progressive Catholic church Bishop Soares de Resende da Beira who owned and published the *Diário de Moçambique.* The Bishop of Beira assumed his position in 1943 and 'finding that almost everything in terms of evangelizing is yet to be done',[292] he worked to build new parishes and missions in order to Christianize natives. His work, however, was plagued by opposition because the colonial authorities, he claimed, 'want the savage black to continue to be a pack-animal. But the missions will go ahead whether they agree or not'.[293] Jardim began publishing *Notícias da Beira* to oppose the Bishop of Beira's progressive agenda and, after the bishop's death in 1967, he purchased *Diário de Moçambique* and closed it down. Later he acquired the weekly *Voz Africana*, which was aimed at the African population, as well as *Economia de Mocambique*, and he became the president of *Aeroclube da Beira* which allowed him to control the club's radio station. Working closely

292 Carlos A. Moreira Azevedo, 'Perfil Biográfico de D. Sebastião Soares de Resende', Lusitania Sacra, 5.6 (1994). 391-415 (p. 399). My translation of 'Vai encontrar quase tudo por fazer a nível da evangelização'.

293 Quoted in Azevedo, p. 400. My translation of 'querem o preto selvagem para continuar a ser animal de carga. Mas as missões hão-de ir quer queiram ou não'.

with the PIDE, he setup the SEII (Special Services of Information and Intervention), thereby forming a network of close political collaborators and he used his media outlets to dominate the political discourse of Mozambique's settler community and influence military strategy.

During the early stages of the war the Portuguese military were reluctant to recruit and integrate Africans into their army cohorts because of fear of infiltration. However, due to the lack of recruits and the development of internal surveillance mechanisms the FAP (Portuguese Armed Forces) began to do so. Many were from the African elite military forces recruited and trained by Jardim in his pursuit of the policy of 'Africanization' of the war. The Estado Novo justified the recruitment of Africans with the argument that military service was a vehicle for civilizing Africans.[294] Military service lured native men seeking a new life in the white-dominated urban centres whilst others joined the Portuguese army because it was promoted as a process that replaced or endorsed traditional initiation rituals; it would turn the young man into a warrior, connecting him to an ancient tradition, enhancing his status in the community, and thereby offering a similar outcome to the career of immigrant miner in the mines of South Africa.[295]

Africans for Jardin's private armies, GEs (Special Groups) and GEPs (Parachute Special Groups), were predominately recruited from communities living on the banks of the Zambezi River, that over time had had a high rate of miscegenation with *prazos da cora* (Portuguese traders). Importantly, these communities had developed patriarchal and feudal systems which were antagonistic to Frelimo's Marxism. In 1970 the first group of GEs began training in Jardim's estate in Dondo, and as a rule, after training within a battalion for a period of six weeks, troops returned to their localities to reinforce Portuguese operative forces, and they received equal pay as regular forces. The operative success of GEs trained to hunt and fight Frelimo guerrillas saved operational costs and decreased the number of white Portuguese soldiers who died in combat. This also prompted the military to actively promote the integration and promotion of Africans to command positions and also to welcome Frelimo's defectors who were monetarily rewarded (by the military and PIDE) for their services.[296] With Jardim's influence the rate of native soldiers fighting for the Portuguese military grew from 42% in 1965 to 53% in 1973.

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294 Cabaço, p. 359.

295 Cabaço, pp. 359-360.

296 Funada-Classen, p. 335.

Frustrated by Salazar's successor Jardim became increasingly attracted by the Rhodesian model as a solution for Mozambique's dilemma; the model involved a small white minority declaring unilateral independence from Great Britain.[297] In 1972 he told African GEs and the GEPs officers and sergeants loyal to him that by opposing Frelimo they were preparing the independence of Mozambique (as he envisaged it).[298] Drawing on the experience of the Portuguese colonial administration, that for centuries had been able to exploit historical differences among different ethnic groups in order to increase control, and with the support of the GEs and the GEPs, who were fiercely loyal to him, his actions caused concern among politicians in Lisbon, who feared that he would be promoting secession from the Portuguese State. Jardim also demonstrated the extent to which colonialism was either ingrained in sections of the native population and he argued that many native communities did not identify with Frelimo's Marxist project. He thereby heightened the structural divisions amongst African Mozambicans, divisions that Frelimo had shown itself ultimately unable to resolve. (On the representation of the colonizer and of colonizer/colonizer psychodynamics in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* see 3.3.4.2.3 and 3.3.4.2.6)

By the early 1980s it was clear that Frelimo had not been able to unite the nation. It was losing control of the State amongst its own cadres and losing support from peasant communities. In 1982 Frelimo hosted a meeting, called *Reunião com os Comprometidos* (Meeting with the Traitors), where the traitors – that is, black, white, and other Mozambicans who had sided with the colonizer during the war – were confronted with their colonialist past. During the week-long meeting (documented in a pro-Frelimo documentaries) Machel urged them to confess and 'decolonize their minds' since they were, in his words:

> [L]oaded with individualism... you are tribalists, racists, regionalists, elitists, but with a superficial elitism based on ignorance [...] only by having consciousness of this reality will you be able to liberate yourselves.[299]

However, in practical terms Machel aimed to lure the *comprometidos* into his project, rehabilitate and integrate those possessing useful skills into the apparatus of the State; he was particularly interested in the ex-soldiers of the Portuguese military as well as the members of Jardim's private army, and he

297 See Jardim quoted in Cabaço, p. 384 and p. 385.

298 Cabaço, p. 357.

299 Igreja, p. 794.

wanted them in Frelimo's military.[300]

In parallel to opposition to Marxism experienced by rural populations and their lack political alignment with the apparatus of the State, Frelimo had to contend with a reactionary armed insurgency movement, Renamo; '[w]hatever their unholy origins, the guerrilla [Renamo] did come to represent a groundswell of popular hostility to Frelimo rule'.[301] Formed between 1976-1977 by different sides with common invested interests in overthrowing Frelimo, they were mainly made up of Africans who had fought against Frelimo in the Portuguese military. Financed by the governments of Rhodesia and later by Apartheid South Africa, Renamo quickly plunged the country into civil war, dramatically derailing Frelimo's Marxist-Leninist project.

Frelimo's scientific socialism based on Marx's understanding that 'the human essence has no true reality' and that it is 'their social being that determines their consciousness' led its leadership to believe in an extreme materialistic determinism, whereby environmental conditions of production will alone construct the new man.[302] By 1983 the divide between party and state was, however, endemic, and by 1985, the year *O Tempo dos Leopardos* was released, it was clear that the revolution was losing momentum.[303]

2.5. Conclusion: Ultra-colonizers and Colonialist Anti-colonialists

In contrast to the capitalist West's view of hegemonic masculinity, Salazar's regime conceptualized a spiritual new man, who spoke the same language as God and sought exclusive domain over it in order to overcome the harm caused by racial impurity and a weak State that oversaw a dysfunctional colonial enterprise. After the Second World War, Social Darwinism and eugenics continued to influence the New State's policies because of its champions' closeness to power and their roles in academia. The influence of Nietzsche's thinking in Portugal's elite circles during the New State, namely during the 1950s and 1960s, when he was the most translated philosopher in the country has been overlooked because he was excluded from academia as a result of accusations that he was anti-Christian.[304] In retrospect it is clear

300 Igreja, pp. 788 and 798-799.

301 Quoted in Huffman, p. 22.

302 https://www.Marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro; and https://www.Marxists.org/archive/fromm/works/1961/man/ch03.htm, accessed 4/06/2020.

303 Bragança et Depelchin, p. 104

304 See António Marques, 'Observações Sobre a Recepção de Nietzsche em Portugal:

that Nietzsche's work did not exert a strong influence on Portuguese cultural production as sanctioned by the regime but in many ways '[p]oets like Camões and Bocage are presented in Salazarist films as heroes in the Hegelian or Carlylian sense, or as Nietzsche's Supermen'.[305] In addition to the discourse of Social Darwinism and eugenics, the Nietzschean dualism of free-thinker and free-spirit (that are played out in relation to Stuart Mill's and Tocqueville's colonialisms) produces, as I have elaborated above, the representation of Salazarist hegemonic masculinity in documentaries, live TV speeches, and fiction films as manifest and implicit responses to the status assigned in late modernity by Western hegemonic masculinity to the Portuguese an European other.

As a response to the New State's role-model masculinity Frelimo conceptualized an ultra-rational new man who appropriated the Portuguese language and sought to extract superstition from within the body. Frelimo assumed and took on board the assimilationist nature of the Portuguese colonial project and steered its course towards science, collective work, nationalism, as rooted within the Portuguese language.[306] Whereas Portuguese colonial assimilation was highly restricted, Frelimo created an assimilationist project based on the premise that the destruction of the colonial economic base would necessarily create the conditions for the emergence of the new man across Mozambique.[307] Despite the ferocious critique of Portuguese colonialism made by commentators such as Galvão, Anderson and others, what emerged in Mozambique under Frelimo resulted in a State with strong resemblance with the system that preceded it.[308] The celebrated Mozambican writer Mia Couto mentioned in 2011 that:

> Today Portuguese is spoken more widely in Mozambique that at the time of its independence. The government of Mozambique has done more for the Portuguese language that 500 years of colonization.[309]

Frelimo's post-independence language policy, which contradicted wa Thiong'o's views on the value of substratum African languages, established

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Passando por Pessoa até Finais da Década de Noventa do século XX', *Cadernos Nietzsche*, 31 (2012), 13-27.

305 Patricia Vieira, *Portuguese Film, 1930-1960*, trans. by Ashley Caja (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 65.

306 Fry, pp. 292-293.

307 Fry, pp. 294-295.

308 Fry, p. 294.

309 Quoted in Macaringue, p. 93. My translation of 'Fala-se hoje mais Português em Moçambique que se falava na altura da independência. O governo moçambicano fez mais pela língua portuguesa que os quinhentos anos de colonização'.

the Portuguese language as the Language of the State, thereby delegitimizing widely spoken ethnic languages, perpetuating the colonialist assimilationist prerogative, whereby the will to power continued to exist in a disturbing tension with the desire for justice.[310] Frelimo's assimilated leadership, in order to represent themselves as ultra-rational inheritors of the colonizer's better qualities, in fact represented themselves in contrast to the colonizer and their Mozambican native others. Frelimo assimilation of Portuguese colonial ideology and its relationship with their Mozambican rivals produced complexities that, as I subsequently explore, lay hidden within their films.

310 Victor Igreja, 'Frelimo's Political Ruling through Violence and Memory in Postcolonial Mozambique', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36.4 (2010), 781-799 (p.783).

Chapter III

Colonialist Versus Anti-Colonial Lusophone Cinema: The Representation of Colonial Masculinities

3.1. Introduction

Stam and Spence (1983) have pointed to the principal mechanisms that are at play in Anglophone colonialist cinema, including narrative structure, genre conventions and cinematic language. Together these elements construct the colonizer/colonizer representation dynamics and reflect the fact that 'Europe constructed its self-image on the backs of its equally constructed Other - the "savage", the "cannibal" – much as phallocentrism sees its self-flattering image in the mirror of woman defined as lack'.[311] During the eighteenth and early nineteen centuries Europe's most powerful imperial nations, namely Britain, constructed their white and non-white others, and for a time, as noted in chapter two, the Portuguese were simultaneously an European other and a colonial master in Africa. In this chapter I explore how the colonialist and anti-colonial films made respectively by the Lusophone colonizer and colonized contested their othering.

The first test-case studied in this chapter is that of the new man ideology espoused by Salazarism as expressed in a set of twentieth-century Lusophone documentaries and feature films. As we shall see, the apex of Salazarism was achieved in *Chaimite: A Derrota do Império Vátua* (1953), but what my research on this film and other Salazarist films of this period has pointed to is the highly functional role played by film language in the creation of that ideological masterpiece. For it is not the case that the film language used – i.e. consisting of the combination of the script-writing, the acting, the camerawork, and the editing – was simply a transparent vehicle through which the ideology of Salazarism could be perceived and experienced by the viewer. Rather, it became clear that the film language used by Jorge Brum do Canto in his creation of *Chaimite* in 1953 had already, in some real and concrete ways, already been written by Hollywood and, more specifically, in terms of the expression of ideology and the use of filmic techniques, by D.W. Griffith. The techniques and ideology of the colonialist film genre used by Brum do Canto to express the efficacy of Salazarism had in some senses already been written 38 years earlier by Griffith in his classic film, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). In order to distil those elements that were intrinsic ingredients of Brum do Canto's vision of Salazarism – in terms of technique and ideology – rather than re-modellings of Griffith's original, it proved

311 Robert Stam and Louise Spence, 'Colonialism, Racism and Representation, An Introduction', *Screen*, 24.2 (1983), 2-20 (pp. 3-4).

necessary to trace the history of the colonial film genre back to its origins in Griffith's work in order to be able to identify and extract those components where Brum do Canto went beyond the Hollywood model and expressed Salazarism *tout court*.

The complexities involved in analysing the transfer of ideology to the filmic medium is suggested by a brief analysis of two test-cases which demonstrate how the 'reality' of Portugal was often enveloped, covered and distorted by the Hollywood machine. Because of the imperatives of U.S. diplomacy during the cold war, for example, Hollywood films set or partially set in Portugal during the Estado Novo 'reinforced cultural pillars of the regime', which projected a benign, bucolic, traditional and religious society.[312] The most successful of these films was the epic, *The Miracle of Our Lady of Fatima* (1952), which was part of Hollywood's religious drama genre conceived specifically as an anti-communist films.[313] The film is an historical re-enactment of the apparitions of the Virgin Mary in 1917 in a small town called Fatima 139km north of Lisbon and was well received by the Estado Novo establishment because it promoted to international audiences the notion of the benevolence of Salazarism.[314] But, ultimately, the film is less interested in creating a 'true' vision of Portugal than in promoting a vivid sense of the dangers presented by communism in post-Second-World-War Europe. A different type of occlusion of Lusophone reality in the interests of a broader Hollywood dynamic is also evident in Gillo Pontecorvo's feature film, *Burn!* (1969). Ostensibly this film is an exposé of the material greed that lay at the heart of British colonialism. Set in the 1850s, this film shows us the antics of a British subject, Sir William Walker (Marlon Brando), who is sent to a Caribbean Island called Queimada which was governed at that time by the Portuguese. His objective is to fuel a slave insurgency against the Portuguese so that British economic interests may take control the island. The ideology of the film is ambiguous. While it shows the failure of British treachery – Walker gets his just deserts at the end of the film when he is murdered as a result of his foul play – and might be thought at first flush to possess a pro-Portugal ideological perspective, on further reflection it is clear that the film also critiques Portuguese colonialism which is shown to operate according to a barbaric and inefficient code.

In what follows I will be comparing and contrasting the ways in which the

312 Rui Lopes, 'Fado and Fatima: Salazar's Portugal in US Film Fiction', *Film History*, 29.3 (2017), 52–75 (pp. 1, 3).

313 Lopes, p. 17.

314 Lopes, p. 21.

respective ideologies of colonialism and anti-colonialism are expressed. The two limit-points along the axis of Lusophone colonialism, as we shall see, are *Chaimite: A Derrota do Império Vátua*, as expressive of colonialism, and *O Tempo dos Leopardos* (1985), as expressive of anti-colonialism. In order to fully understand the context of the corpus of Lusophone films studied in this chapter it was necessary to compare the films pioneered by the Estado Novo and by Frelimo with a number of colonial films such as *The Birth of the Nation* and *Within Our Gates*, as well as several of Sembène's anti-colonial films. Drawing on the work of Memmi and Fanon, I explore how the narrative of national identity is endlessly displaced by narratives or processes that contest rigid concepts of national identity, with particular reference to how exemplary masculinities are constructed.

3.2. Representation in Salazarist Cinema

3.2.1. *The Birth of a Nation* – a Precursor of Colonialist Films

According to Stam and Spence's study, the colonialist film skilfully blends narrative and apparatus in order to simultaneously exploit and fix stereotypes, constructing cinematic ethnic *other*s for audiences who have come to understand film-plot dynamics structured around a conflict between heroes and villains, order against chaos, and good versus evil. *The Birth of a Nation,* which may be considered the most emphatic early example of this formula, promotes the premise that the disharmony that led to the American Civil War (1861-1865) was a consequence of the presence of the black body, in its evil incarnation, on American soil, and thus proposes the eradication of the other. Stam and Spence refer to the fact that, for example, in hundreds of westerns the non-white other 'is premised on exteriority' and therefore the 'spectator is unwittingly sutured into a colonialist perspective' of a paradoxical nature whereby the other is the usurper of what is rightfully theirs.[315] The function of the colonized subject's body is determined by the colonial apparatus that aims to dislodge the colonized subject from his own body, which according to a colonialist perspective they cannot master. The representation of the colonized subject as an entity characterised by lack justifies the unattainability of self-ownership.

Colonialism takes place on-screen most emphatically when the colonized

315 Stam and Spence, p. 12.

subject does not speak in cinematic terms. In order to understand who speaks and who does not speak, Stam and Spence propose that a:

> [C]omprehensive methodology must pay attention to the mediations which intervene between 'reality' and representation, emphasis should be on narrative structure, genre conventions, and cinematic style rather than truth.[316]

A frequent trope of the colonialist film is the absence of the cinematic construction of the language of the colonized individual in order to represent them as irrational beings.[317] The ways in which language is spoken is one of the key devices that ensures the on-screen colonizer's mastery over the often infantile-like colonized subject. For example, in films with a colonial framework, the languages spoken by 'Third World peoples are often reduced to an incomprehensible jumble of background murmurs'.[318] An emphatic example of the relationship between (spoken) language and rationality is provided in the Hollywood film *The King and I* (1956) where the character 'Anna teaches the Siamese natives "civilised" manners along with English'.[319] The strategy of using language as a means to confer and withdraw reason was already present in the silent film through the use of written language in intertitles. In *The Birth of a Nation*, for example, the intertitles with words attributed to blacks are written with vocabulary and grammatical constructions markedly different from the norm, stereotypically associated with the way a black person ought to speak. Considering Schopenhauer's paraphrasing of Plato to the effect that language is 'the necessary instrument of reason',[320] then, the colonialist film's representation of the colonized subject as an individual who does not have the command of the language (of the colonizer) equates them with barbarity and savagery; pointing in a similar direction, it is implied that when native language is spoken a profound lack of rationality emerges.

The representation of the other in colonialist cinema is the result of an extreme imbalance of power. The process highlights who has the power to represent and construct stereotypes within a given context, and who has control over the production and distribution of educational and cultural content. The stereotype plays on a radicalisation of signifying processes according to

316 Stam and Spence, p. 11.

317 Stam and Spence, p. 7.

318 Stam and Spence, p. 7.

319 Stam and Spence, p. 7.

320 João Constâncio, 'Instinct and Language in Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil*', in *Nietzsche on Instinct and Language*, ed. by João Constâncio and Maria João Mayer Branco (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011) pp. 80-116 (p. 80).

which meaning is established through crude binary oppositions, whereby any conceivable opposition, for example black/white, good/bad, etc., always has a dominant element. Stereotypes are defined overwhelmingly by the negative signifiers of binary oppositions to the extent they 'reduce everything about the person to those traits, exaggerate and simplify them, and fix them without change or development to eternity'.[321] The stereotype is included in the metric used to ascertain social inclusion and exclusion, and it shows how social hegemony is woven enabling those considered 'normal' to establish links of solidarity. In mainstream media, for example, the common stereotypes of black masculinity and femininity can be traced back to the stereotypes of *The Birth of a Nation.* As Stuart Hall has observed in relation to stereotypes of blacks, the male black is either an infantile body or a sexually aggressive predator and the black female is sexually promiscuous woman; both articulations pose threats to white womanhood and to racial purity. The director of *The Birth of a Nation.*, D. W. Griffith, ingeniously combined American mastery of technology with 'America the traditional, the patriarchal, the provincial'[322] to create a new 'style of filmmaking [that] is still dominant today',[323] establishing an enduring template for colonialist cinema's binary colonizer/colonized modes of representation.

Fig. 1. Whites, blacks and mulattos in *The Birth of a Nation*. From left to wright: (1) Ben and his pet sister Flora with (blackface) black Mammy in the background; (2) Mulattos Sylas Lynch and Lydia Brown; (3) (Blackface) Gus at the hands of the KKK after attempting to rape Flora.

The Birth of a Nation is, indeed, the foremost example of a Hollywood ideological film that, true to the war genre, obscures the line between reality and fiction in order to re-write collective memory. The ideology of the film is the 'natural-divine-right of white rule into the future',[324] and its message is the apology of racial segregation, anti-miscegenation and the political and

321 Stuart Hall, 'The Spectacle of the "Other"', in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. by Stuart Hall (London: Sage, [1997] 2009), 223-290 (p. 258).

322 Paraphrased from and quoted in Michael Rogin, 'The Sword Became a Flashing Vision: D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation*', *Representations*, 9 (1985), 150-195 (p. 153).

323 Bernardi, p. 83.

324 Bernardi, p. 84.

economic disenfranchisement of blacks. Griffith based his screenplay on *The Clansman*, a novel by the influential white supremacist Thomas Dixon (1864-1946), and on *History of the American People,* by the academic Thomas Woodrow Wilson and president of the U.S. at the time the film was released. Griffith's proposal of a united U.S. at the expense of the subjugation of blacks, at a time scored by imperialist fervour and the increasing scientific status of Social Darwinism and eugenics, resonated with the fact that powerful '[i]mperialists like Wilson and Dixon tied the racial question at home to America's world mission abroad'.[325] The narrative, which legitimised the emergence of the Klux Klux Klan and cast them as national heroes, follows an epic journey in two parts of two upper-class honourable white families, the southerner Camerons and the northern Stonemans, who begin as friends, are made into enemies by an entirely avoidable war because of misunderstandings over the true nature of blacks, and are finally reunited after towering injustices have been inflicted upon the Confederate southern states by the Union northern states. The first part takes place immediately before and during the civil war and the second part after the end of the war, during the Reconstruction Era, that imposed the end of slavery in southern states.

The racist content, whereby the black body is constantly thrown into a Manichaeistic struggle against white-goodness (often depicted by white bodies that have been painted black) and transformed into an object, imbued with Griffith's artistic innovation, was enthusiastically accepted by white cinemagoers. This reflects the fact that '[r]acism was an openly supported fact of American social life',[326] and was 'structural to culture' in the words of Fanon. The notion that racism constructs itself as a 'pre-rationality' can be seen in the way in which mainstream audiences seamlessly identified with the white protagonists to the point that, allegedly, a male white spectator, so enthralled by the drama unfolding on screen, took out his revolver and began shooting at a black character on screen portrayed by a white actor in blackface.[327] *The Birth of a Nation*, anticipating the modern war genre, plays on the pedagogy of the unseen in order to indoctrinate a national warrior culture; it acts as a school for soldiers and the public, teaching why war is carried out, why such extreme violence is endured by our bodies and unleashed upon the bodies of others.[328] '[A] dramatic rise in Klan membership, to lynchings, to riots, and to a vigorous national critique of

325 Rogin, p. 153.

326 Bernardi, p. 85.

327 David Rylance, 'Breech Birth: The Receptions to D.W. Griffith's *The Birth Of A Nation*', *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, 24. 2 (2005), 1-20 (p. 3).

328 LaRocca, pp. 28 36, 38, 39 and 41; and Belton, p. 208.

stereotypes' attests to the power of racial ideology in film for political ends.[329]

The first part of the film gives an account of the two families and their trajectory during the course of the civil war, as it rages between the slave-owning, agricultural and feudal Confederate southern states, and the capitalist and industrial Unionist northern states. The South, embodied by the Cameron family, is a reservoir of propriety and racial harmony until misguided northern men, embodied by the politician Austin Stoneman, who themselves lack true knowledge of the potential of the black and mulatto for evil (and therefore of the need for the perpetuation of slavery), and are implacable in their pursuit of penalties against the Confederate states that have broken away from the Unites States. The first scenes depict the Camerons living in Piedmont, a peaceful and quaint southern town like any other southern town. Ben Cameron, the Little Colonel, is the male protagonist and the primogenital son of Cameron family. His father, Dr Cameron, the head of the Cameron household, is a wise and compassionate man, his mother, Mrs. Cameron is a kind and loving wife and mother, his elder sister Margaret and 'pet sister' Flora are examples of southern feminine honour, his younger brothers Wade and Duke are happy-go-lucky southern young men, and his parent's black employees, the black-face Mammy as 'the faithful' servant, and an unnamed elderly black male, attest to harmonious white-black relations with their household, which is depicted as an exemplary southern household. Despite Austin Stoneman's anti-southern politics, Ben Cameron has a deep friendship with his two sons, Phil Stoneman, the elder son, and Tod Stoneman. The Stoneman brothers visit the Cameron brothers in Piedmont and their mutual affection is extended to their sisters as Phil Stoneman and Margaret Cameron are visibly attracted to one another and Ben Cameron upon seeing an image of Phil's sister Elise, the female protagonist, becomes infatuated, and takes the image and decides not to return it to Phil. With the onset of war, the families fight on opposing sides, and the war eventually claims the lives of Ben Cameron's two younger brothers and of the youngest of the Stoneman's brothers. The war leads the Cameroons to financial ruin and exposes them to the brutalities of war at the hands of black Union soldiers led by treacherous southern white officers, pejoratively named as *scallywags*. Austin Stoneman's hyper-sexualized and devious housekeeper, Lydia Brown, who lusts after him provides the first encounter with the degeneracy that characterizes the mulatto. Before the end of part one, Piedmont is attacked by a group of black Union solders led by a white officer. They invade the Cameroons' home causing panic among the family's women who take refuge

329 Bernardi, p. 94.

in the cellar whilst Dr. Cameron falls victim to the soldier's violence as a metaphor for the defeat of the south. The Confederate southern states surrender to the unionists and a new era begins for both families.

The second part stages another war, now between the blacks and their northern white friends against southern whites, in Piedmont, where Austin Stoneman's psychopathic mulatto protégé, Silas Lynch, with the support of black Union soldiers seeks to attain what the film presents as a delusion — total negro power in the south. It begins with an intertitle with a racist-based quote from President's Wilson's book, lending credibility to the harsh way in which mulattos and blacks are represented in this part of the film. Silas Lynch was sent to the south to impose a new political system that includes the blacks' right to vote and to be voted in. Through the suppression of the white vote and ballot-stuffing by blacks, Silas Lynch is elected governor and his despotism against whites begins in earnest with the support of the majority of the black population who oppress and ridicule the town's law abiding Christian white residents. The blacks preside in the magistrate and those elected to State House of Representatives are constructed as alienated buffoons, ecstatic at the fact that a law that allows interracial marriage has been passed. (Black) Mammy espousing her faithfulness to the values of the white south demonstrates antipathy and violence towards 'unfaithful' southern blacks and northern blacks in general. Northern blacks bring chaos and evil into the south and the most adamant example of this is Gus 'the renegade' who attempts to rape Flora, Ben Cameron's 'pet sister', driving her to commit suicide in order to avoid rape. Upon being caught, Gus undergoes 'Trial' by the KKK. Ben Cameron starts and leads the KKK in order to defend Piedmond's oppressed white citizens and impose justice. Gus is found 'Guilty', lynched and his body dumped by the KKK at the doorstep of Silas Lynch's office as an 'Answer to blacks and carpetbaggers' (white men from north who went to the southern states to impose the terms and conditions of the rendition). The mulatto Silas Lynch betrays his white master by kidnapping his daughter and Ben Cameron's love interest, white beauty Elise Stoneman whom he plans to marry, notwithstanding her desperate refusal as well as her father's disbelief. The KKK intervenes and restores order: Elisa is saved, Silas Lynch is stopped, the black soldiers are disarmed and run away from Piedmont, the local blacks are stopped from voting, and the whites return to ruling the State House of Representatives. After three hours of fast paced displays of white male heroism and blacks being represented as 'either "faithful souls" loyal to the belief in white superiority or overly sexualized

"brutes" out for revenge',[330] and mulattoes as 'intelligent, crafty, manipulative, and immoral',[331] the film ends with an emphatic return to white supremacy and unity consecrated with the Southerners Camerons and the Northerners Stonemans reconciliation with two marriages between their families.

In *The Birth of the Nation* when, for example, 'pet sister' Flora plunges to her death, when confronted with the certainty that black Gus desires to possess her virginal white body by force; the way in which the main black characters are represented by white actors in black face rather than by black actors reveals a positionality that goes beyond colour-coding, i.e. the black body as the opposite of the white body. It positions the black body within the sphere of the phobic, suggesting that, by virtue of the evil that potentially resides in their bodies, blacks should not even own their bodies. At a time when eugenics and race science were popular the black individual's identity as an inherently illegitimate proprietor of his body was a major structuring element of this film's ideology.

3.2.2. The Tropes and Legacy of Colonialist Films

The white/black insurmountable difference that characterizes the *The Birth of a Nation* is exploited tirelessly in colonialist films, including in *Sanders of the River*, *Four Feathers*, *Mogambo*, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Simba*, as we shall see.

330 Bernardi, p. 85.

331 Bernardi, p. 88.

Fig. 2. Colonizer hegemonic masculinities in Anglophone colonialist films. Left to right from top: (1) Commissioner Sanders, with Bosambo by his side, faces King Mofolaba and (2) Sanders flying an aeroplane in *Sanders of the River*; (3) General Faversham in *Four Feathers*; (4) Victor in his private zoo with Eloise in *Mogambo*; (5) Inspector Drummond briefs white settlers on ongoing attacks by the natives in *Simba*; (6) Friday bowing to Robinson in *Robinson Crusoe*.

In *Sanders of the River* (1936, UK), for example, the heroic colonizer figure is encapsulated by Commissioner R.G. Sanders (Leslie Banks), a contemporary colonial servant and a subject of the British Monarch who governs an area somewhere in western Africa with ten thousand Africans from different tribes 'with a firm but fair hand', thereby ensuring peace and economic prosperity. Native King Mofalaba's (Tony Wane) illegal slave trade raids, and alcohol and gun runners Farini (Marqués De Portago) and Smith's (Eric Maturin) illegal sale of alcohol to natives threatens the established colonial order. Bosambo (Paul Robeson), a mission-educated black man with a dubious urban past who has been appointed as a chief of a small local tribe without Sander's authorization. Sanders sanctions Bosambo's chieftainship provided he opposes cruel native King Mofolaba who plots against colonial authority and its reigning harmony. The colonial order, in Sander's universe and at his own personal sacrifice, is perpetuated solely to safeguard the colonized subject from their own lower nature and from unscrupulous Westerners.

In what might be described as a call-to-masculinity film, *Four Feathers* (1939, UK), the emasculated Harry Faversham (John Clements), after resigning from the military on the eve of his first commission as young military officer, who in his youth read romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley's work – much to his grandfather's disapproval, retired General Faversham (Allan Jeayes) – is deemed to be a coward by his fellow military officers and fiancée. Dismayed by the fact he has dishonoured his family tradition and anxious to regain his honour, in disguise Harry follows his colleagues on a perilous journey through the North African desert. The film, an adaptation of a novel of the same name published in 1902 by A.E.W. Mason, is set around the 1885 defeat of the British army in Khartoum and killing of the British commander, General Charles Gordon by the anti-colonial Mahdist movement fighters. Mason's work is an expression of the 'nineteenth-century renaissance of manliness' linked to the 'institutions and ideology of empire'[332] that claimed that overcoming the Khartoum national vexation required the masculinization of young British men. The inhospitable arid colonial environment and mendacious indigenous people in *Four Feathers*

332 Quoted in Kamran Rastegar, *Surviving Images: Cinema, War, and Cultural Memory in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 7.

provides the ideal environment where the young male protagonist is transformed, through his own will, into hegemonic masculinity in line with a colonialist understanding of history.

In the same year that *Chaimite* – which will be discussed below – was released Hollywood's highest income-generating film for that year was *Mogambo* (1953, U.S.), a romantic drama set in contemporary Africa and directed by John Ford. Victor Marswell (Clark Gable) a game hunter leads an expedition commissioned by Donald Nordley (Donald Sinden), a primatologist, and his wife Linda (Grace Kelly) through a hostile environment to capture images and sounds of gorillas and finds himself entangled in a love triangle. Eloise, a woman who had simply happened to arrive at his African 'farm' looking without success for a wealthy maharajah acquaintance falls in love with Victor who also becomes involved with Linda. Victor is a European virile man of the world, at home in the African environment and at ease with the hierarchical colonizer/native dynamics. He repeatedly proves his masculinity by overcoming obstacles posed by the environment and the substratum-local-language speaking natives and is rewarded with becoming the object of desire of the two female protagonists. Soundtrack, composed of music performed by native tribespeople, the representation of native tribes, and footage of local fauna and flora underline the ways in which Victor's is immersed within an African universe in which he has become an undisputed master and gatekeeper to other Westerners.

Luis Buñuel's *Robinson Crusoe* (1954, USA, Mexico) is a film adaptation of *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719) by the English novelist Daniel Defoe. It is set in the early eighteenth century and describes 28 years of the daily life of a male castaway from the time the character arrives and is rescued from an uninhabited island somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean. Robinson (Dan O'Herlihy) learns to accept his solitary life outside civilization and masters his generous new environment until the day he rescues an indigenous man (Jaime Fernández) from a group of cannibals that visit the island to feast on the victims they bring with them. He names the indigenous man Friday and teaches him to speak the English language and evangelizes him. From the outset Robinson creates a master/slave relationship with Friday but soon he acknowledges that the latter is loyal to him, and their relationship evolves into a benevolent master/servant relationship. Robinson and Friday help a captain regain control of a mutinied ship that had docked in the island and as reward Robinson is given free passage to England. When presented with the option to return to his people Friday chooses to follow his master to England. The development of the character Friday from indigenous

non-superstratum-language-speaking to superstratum-language-speaking and thinking subject illustrates the way in which language plays a dramatic role in cinematic subjectivation. Friday's elevation begins with a fortunate encounter with Robinson who saves him from being cannibalized, and thereby enables him to be reborn as an English-speaking Christian.

In *Simba* (1955, UK), Alan Howard (Dirk Bogarde), the white male protagonist, when returning to contemporary British colonial Kenya from London where he lives, is greeted at the airport by a previous love interest, the white female protagonist and settler Mary Crawford (Virginia McKenna), only to then find that his brother was murdered by an insurgent group of African natives known as the Mau Mau during an attack on his farm. Dr. Karanja (Earl Cameron), a black man and the son of a local native chief (Orlando Martins) is forced to choose between the colonial apparatus and protecting his father who has brought the colonial system into disarray by corrupting and forcing, otherwise peaceful natives, into the ranks of the Mau Mau's murderous campaign against white settlers. Similar in this respect to Bosambo in *Sanders of the River* and Friday in *Robinson Cursoe*, Dr. Karanja corroborates the status quo of the West vs. non-West paradigm; however, he is in a difficult position. He is caught between filial links and loyalty to the colonial system that has enabled him to become a medical doctor who works to help his own people. At the start of the film, the colonial order's acceptance of him is reinforced by his daily proximity to Mary, at the clinic where he works and where she volunteers as a nurse. Despite the murder of her father by the Mau Mau and the suspicions that are heaped on Dr Karanja by an efficient and pragmatic Inspector Drummond (Donald Sinden) Mary continues to volunteer at the clinic and remains undeterred in remaining in the colony. Her determination is the catalyst for the male protagonist's journey of change from being disinterested in colonial affairs to taking over his murdered brother's farm and settling in the colony with her. Throughout she believes that there is a way in which the colonizer/colonized status-quo can be peacefully perpetuated, nonetheless it becomes clear, through the deaths of the evil chief and Dr Karanja, that the only way order can be restored is by eliminating disloyal natives and recognizing the dangers posed by assimilated colonized individuals.

The above films – and in this they are similar to the *The Birth of a Nation* – follow the convention of a leading personality – who epitomises masculinity – and in relation to whom all characters are constructed. The identity we interpret as the hegemonic masculinity is, in fact, a small other, a perfect spectral image, who responds to the desire of the Big Other, who may not be

the protagonist. In *Sanders of the River*, *Mogambo*, and *Robinson Crusoe*, for example, hegemonic masculinity and the male protagonist coincide whereas in *Simba* and *Four Fathers* the male protagonist does not coincide seamlessly with the spectral other because they start off as emasculated men and have to undergo a process of masculinization in order to become versions of hegemonic masculinity. In *The Birth of a Nation*, those moments in which the male main character's masculinity is questioned are closely connected to the vulnerability of the women of his family. At no point throughout the narrative is the hero Ben Cameron emasculated. The secondary and supporting characters, General Faversham in *Four Feathers* and Inspector Drummond in *Simba*, are unwavering embodiments of the moral will and power of the Big Other, respectively. We witness in these films the presence of a protagonist or secondary character whose masculinity is evaluated against the metrics of the Big Other; this tension is inscribed in the fabric of the colonial social space and determined the colonizer's level of agency as represented in the film. In addition to the trope of construction of the colonizer in opposition to colonized individuals who are depicted as lacking reason, *Simba* presents us with a problem that plagues colonialism, that is, how to monitor and ensure the loyalty of the colonized person who inhabits the colonizer's house.

Mammy, the faithful black servant in *The Birth of the Nation*, in contrast to Dr. Karanja is unquestionably loyal to those whom she serves and the system that dictates her subaltern status. Dr. Karanja's social elevation – which occurs in a different way to that experienced by the mulatto Silas Lynch (*The Birth of a Nation*) – was carried out of good intentions so that he could serve the subaltern rather than oppress whites; however, his tragic flaw is that he fails to recognize that as a civilized, colonized subject he ought to be, above all, loyal to the colonial system. *Simba* is an obvious example of the contradiction between the normative colonial doctrine of civilizing the native and the colonial Big Other's fear of the assimilated colonized subject's betrayal. Inspector Drummond's suspicion of Dr. Karanja from the outset encapsulates this fear, and it underlines the British colonial message of civilizing the colonized subject insofar as it makes it possible to efficiently instrumentalise the native's body. As we have seen in this section, the representation of the colonizer is constructed 'on the back' of the other in colonialist film. Now we shall turn to the exploration of the ways in which the colonizer's pathological psyche determines the structuring of colonial life.

3.2.3. The Psyche of the Colonizer and His Representations

Memmi characterizes two types of colonizer, the left-wing colonizer and the

'fascist' colonized subject. Memmi suggests that the left-wing colonizer, who is an immigrant from the mother country and now lives in the colony, as soon as he discovers the 'economic, political and moral scandal' of colonization, is unable to accept is violence.[333] Rather naively, he voices his opposition to colonial violence but, when confronted with the opposition of other colonizers, the left-wing colonizer comes to understand that the colony does, indeed, represent the mother country. But he is doubly alienated. As soon as he realized that the colonized subject is someone 'with whom he does not feel a deep affinity',[334] because he understands that they are fundamentally different from him – '[h]ow can he deny that they [the colonized] are under-developed, that their customs are oddly changeable and their culture outdated?'[335] When the colonized subject asks for independence he understands that freedom and equality are legitimate demands, but for the sake of simplicity he comes to see that a left-wing liberal programme is divorced from anti-colonialism. His conscience takes solace in the fact that his arrival does not impact on colonial relations as he is simply an element within a construct that predates him, and he decides that the best course of action is to remain silent.[336] After he acknowledges that '[m]any traits of the colonized shock or irritate him, that [h]e is unable to conceal the revulsion he feels which manifest itself in remarks which strangely recall those of a colonialist', and that despite showing tolerance he is identified as an oppressor, he soon leaves the colony.[337] The colony fails to retain its brightest colonizers; 'the most generous ones, the most open ones',[338] those who, 'not being able to profit from daily injustice',[339] leave, thereby 'mocking the deception of the colony'.[340] The colonialist film seldom presents this type of colonizer masculinity. This type of identity, however, may be embodied by a feminine character, for example Mary (*Simba*), who swayed by emotion rather than rationality cannot perceive the colonized individual's natural propensity towards evil; indeed, she is proved wrong by the colonized other's actions.

Then there are those colonizers, Memmi states, whose principal objective,

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333 Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Howard Greenfeld (London: Earthscan, 2003 [1965]), p. 65.

334 Memmi, p. 68.

335 Memmi, p. 68.

336 See Memmi, pp. 83, 87 and 88.

337 Memmi, p. 69.

338 Memmi, p. 91.

339 Memmi, p. 92.

340 Memmi, p. 92.

second to the good life, is to legitimize colonization.[341] In the colonialist film narrative this translates into altruistic heroic masculinities; and examples of this are Harry Faversham (*Four Feathers*), who endures the harsh north African desert in order to save his fellow countrymen, and Commissioner Sanders (*Sanders of the River*), who is completely dedicated to peace and prosperity in the colony over and above his personal life. In reality the individuals who arrive in the colony in order to integrate the colonial machinery are 'generally young, prudent, and polished'; however because of their ambition they 'obstinately pretend to have seen nothing of poverty and injustice which are right under their nose'.[342] The mechanics of colonialism that promotes mediocrity quickly entraps the young immigrant with heightened social prestige and, in order to protect their 'good life', they 'end up believing it [colonialism] to be right'.[343] The colonial society is a space of appearances where the colonizers go to all efforts to showcase a well-managed society with pompous institutional rituals, which do not feature in the colonialist films we analyse; this suggests that the colonial film is incapable of expressing its own ideological excess. The dissonance between the State ritual and quotidian life is perhaps what the performers of the religious ritual in Jean Rouch's short documentary, *Mad Masters* (1953), are alluding to with their otherworldly possessed re-enactment of British colonial State rituals.

Usurpation, fascism, patriotism and colonialism, according to Memmi, are intertwined. The colonizer, as a result of the illegitimate nature of his privilege, becomes aware that he is a usurper; hence he endeavours to falsify history, he re-writes laws, he would extinguish memories – anything to succeed in transforming his usurpation into legitimacy' which is done through 'demonstrating the usurper's eminent merits, so eminently that they deserve compensation' and 'harp on the usurped subject's flaws, which are so ingrained that they cannot help but lead to misfortune'.[344] It is for this reason that the colonizer's

> [D]isquiet and resulting thirst for justification requires the usurper to extol himself to the skies and to drive the usurped below the ground at the same time. In effect, these two attempts at legitimacy are actually inseparable.[345]

341 Memmi, p. 88.
342 Memmi, p. 90.
343 Memmi, p.91.
344 Memmi, pp. 96-97.
345 Memmi, p. 97.

His self-representation is a portrait of what he fantasises being to the extent that he mistakes usurpation for charity. When the area under his control descends into chaos because the natives presume him dead, Commissioner Sanders (*Sander of the River*) emerges on screen flying a plane descending from the skies to restore order on earth, as if the supreme law was descending upon hell in order to redeem it. Ultimately, the colonizers, who may be generous to their own kind, are transformed into fascists in the colonial territory which is their turf – they accept they are the perpetrators of economic exploitation and favour the use of extreme physical and physiological violence to consolidate the colonial status-quo under the pretext of pursuing peace.[346] Sanders makes this clear when, standing up and with his army of native black soldiers behind him, he tells king Mofobala that 'My king is the greatest king of all and if ...'

Although they know that there are those in the mother country who see them as exploiters, and although they are aware of the real conditions and often harsh economic divisions in the mother country, the colonizers love their mother country, a place where logic, beauty and liberty are upheld. They keep the pretence of sameness between mother-country and colony by surrounding every national occasion with pomp and circumstance, overwhelming themselves and the colonized subject with displays of power whilst being fully aware that if it wasn't for the security forces their position in the colony would be in jeopardy and if they were to return to the mother-county their 'good life' would be over. The mother-country is therefore only a symbol that enables the colonialist to sustain power, hence the mother-country must remain politically stable in order to perpetuate the colonial situation otherwise they begin to utter threats of secession, spreading the fascism of the colony to the mother country. The colonizer lobbies for the triumph of conservatism in the mother country in order to keep from power those who may want to develop the colony because:

> [T]he colonialist never planned to transform the colony into the image of his homeland, nor to remake the colonized in his own image! He cannot allow such an equation – it would destroy the principle of his privileges.[347]

As an example, Memmi argues that, although he knows that the Church bestows immense privileges in the colony, the colonizer does not want a mass conversion of the colonized subject to take place because this would increase assimilation and threaten the colonial status-quo. The colonizer's objective,

346 Memmi, p. 99.

347 See Memmi, p. 113, which has been paraphrased at length in this paragraph.

which is echoed by the film, to consecrate colonizer/colonized differences as an absolute fact in order to calcify the social order.[348] The colonialist film expresses these differences directly, as we shall see when we come to analyse the representation of the African traditional authorities, and also implicitly in the ways in which the colonizer adapts to the colonial environment and constructs close relations with the colonized subject. For example, the hyper-masculine Victor in *Mogambo*, who is at ease in the African environment whilst remaining charming and seductive to cosmopolitan white women, he is a white man who is immune to the temptations of 'going native'. His fundamental difference from the African is that the colony will not condition his being, but he is able to transform the condition of the colony. His fundamental difference from the African is that the colony will not condition his being and the reverse is true. This point is developed further in *Robinson Crusoe*, where Robinson, after several years of living by himself on an island and then with a native Friday whom he civilizes, painstakingly remains civilized, thereby attesting to the colonizer's power to remain unchanged by his environment.

The stereotype is a powerful ideological resource in the process of constructing insurmountable difference: 'Through racist jokes, cinematic images, [...], the colonizer circulates stereotypes.'[349] These stereotypes achieve a central role in the colonial psychic economy that operates between colonizer and colonized and which legitimises colonialism. However, as a form of knowledge, it is a false and mythical knowledge that co-exists with the modern structures of colonial economy and military functionality.[350] In practical terms, Bhabha asserts that the colonialist stereotype is:

> [A]n apparatus that turns on the recognition and disavowal of racial/cultural/historical differences. Its predominant strategic function is the creation of a space for a 'subject people' through the production of knowledges in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited. It seeks authorization for its strategies by the production of knowledges of colonizer and colonized which are stereotypical but antithetically evaluated. The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction.[351]

In order for the stereotype to have psychological currency (i.e. so that the colonized subject and colonizer are cognitively trapped within it) colonial

348 Memmi, p. 115.

349 David Huddart, *Homi K. Bhabha* (London: Routledge Critical Thinkers, 2006), p. 24.

350 Quoted in Huddart, p. 25.

351 Quoted in Huddart, p. 26.

discourse is constructed as directly representing and encompassing reality, claiming to show the truth, fixing identity, so nothing may exist beyond or beneath the stereotype.[352] King Mofobala (*Sanders of the River*), a legitimate and powerful tribal King, who is responsible for slave trade raids in areas under Commissioner Sanders's control, is represented as a despotic irrational authority embodying the stereotype of African traditional authority that serves as the antithesis to Western rationality and morality.

Fig. 3. The native chief and king stereotype in *Sanders of the River* and *Simba*. From left to right: (1) Mofolaba in *Sanders of the River*; (2) Chief conducting a cannibalistic initiation ceremony into the Mau Mau and (3) Chief leading a murderous attack upon a settler's home in *Simba*.

According to Fanon, conscious and subconscious realms foment the stereotype, in particular, and thereby reveal the colonizer's state of anxiety, their paranoid ego, their need to use the black body for catharsis,[353] a discourse with structures that combine aggression with narcissism:

> The colonizer aggressively states his superiority to the colonized, but is always anxiously contemplating his own identity, which is never quite as stable as his aggression implies.[354]

In this relation between narcissism and aggression the colonial discourse displays its ambivalence and instability. The colonizer is caught between fear and delusion because 'there is no native who does not dream at least once a day of setting himself in the setter's place'.[355] King Mofobala (*Sanders of the River*) attempts to take the authoritative place of Commissioner Sanders; indeed, the notion that the native authority might attempt to destabilize and replace colonial power is a common leitmotif of the plot of decolonial films. In *Simba*, for example, the native chief who spurs the natives into rebellion is constructed as a Mofobala-like stereotypical traditional leader, an evil and irrational Silas Lynch (*The Birth of a Nation*), who oppresses and misguides

352 For Bhabha on colonial discourse as realism and truth see Homi K. Bhabha, 'The other question: Stereotype, discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism', *Location of Culture* (London: Routledge: 2012 [1994]).

353 Hook, p.296; and Vergès, pp. 583-584.

354 Huddart, p. 29.

355 Fanon, p. 30.

his people. Within the realm of the colonial unconscious this attests to Fanon's notion that blackness is equated to sin, as much as it did in *The Birth of a Nation,* and that the discursive and physical violence inflicted upon the black body is a reflection of the black body as an object of whites' collective catharsis, which explains why the traditional leaders in *Sanders of the River* and *Simba* are for a time allowed to brutalize the bodies of their own people until they are made to stop.[356]

Sanders of the River and *Simba* present the audience with traditional African authorities whose evil disposition is seen as an inherent trait, constitutive of their nature, rather than a result of particular events and circumstances. This position endorses the fact that from a distance the practice of colonialism's 'wretchedness' is abstract.[357] It struggles against pre-colonial evils, such as the madness that characterizes the colonial territory; indeed, it is a madness that contaminates the colonizer and justifies the colonizer's excesses.[358] Based on stereotypical representations, the colonizer says that ''they [colonized] are not capable of governing themselves,' and "that is why", he explains, "I don't let them and will never let them, enter the government"'.[359] Excluding the colonized subject from power structures leads to their loss of interest and inability to develop skills in government and their exclusion from full citizenship.[360] Exclusion and self-exclusion are justified by the facts that the colonized subject is lazy, bound to poverty, ungrateful, unpredictable. This allows for: the implementation of a repressive system to protect the colonized subjects from their 'somewhat sadistic instincts';[361] the implementation of governmental instances that release them from the burden of self-government; inadequate educational resources that reflect the colonized individual's 'lack of desires';[362] inadequate infrastructures justified by the fact that the colonized subject does not appreciate improvements and has an 'ineptitude for comfort'.[363] If *Sanders of the River* and *Simba* can be reduced to a single ideological message it is that the inadequacy of the insubordinate and irrational African ruler who refuses to embrace modernity is a given. An example of the 'stubborn effort to dehumanize him [the colonized]' that reduces the colonized subject to the stereotype that

356 Vergès, pp. 583-584.

357 Loomba, p. 161.

358 Lomba p. 137. The author discusses how Chinua Achebe' work draws attention to the fact that the colony is a metaphor for madness.

359 Memmi, p. 139.

360 Memmi, p. 140.

361 Memmi, p. 126.

362 Memmi, p. 126.

363 Memmi, p. 126.

delegitimises him is echoed when Commissioner Sanders gathers all traditional chiefs under his authority in order to announce his temporary absence to the mother country and introduces them to his temporary replacement.[364] The chiefs, as a group, are represented as childlike and mischievous, revealing the challenge the Commissioner faces as a master of inherently unfit leaders.

Having assessed the structures at play in white supremacist and colonialist films and the way in which postcolonial theory allows an understanding of these works as vehicles for colonizer's anxiety, I shall now turn in the following sections to an analysis of the ways in which this colonial legacy was articulated and expressed in the Lusophone world. As we shall see, this legacy took on a specific character as a result of the considerable influence exerted by the Estado Novo (Estado Novo) in Portugal during the period 1932-1974.

3.2.4. Salazar's Doctrine in Film

3.2.4.1. The Politics of the Spirit and the Myths of the Nation in Films

António Ferro, the Estado Novo's chief of propaganda and the *de facto* controller of cultural production in Portugal from 1933 to 1949 as the director of the SNP (National Office for Propaganda) rebranded to SNI (National Office for Information), coined the term *política do espírito* (politics of the spirit), a vague term that served to define what was desirable cultural production for much of the duration of Salazar's regime. This stipulated that the objective of creative endeavours was to: (a) oppose Satanism, a word Ferro employed to refer to materialisms, i.e., capitalism and communism; (b) provide a vehicle for the regime's universal truth narratives, and (c) to expose the untruths about the regime. Ferro's thinking carried out a travesty of the Kantian moral law, whereby the values of the Estado Novo equalled truth and when the citizen achieved such values, they would be free. This explains Ferro's role in the use of mass propaganda, namely, it was designed to help the individual achieve *truth*. The lack of enthusiasm in audiences at that time for historical cinema – this was a public that preferred comedies and romance to *serious* films – led Ferro, who promoted the educational role of cinema, in 1948 to setup the Fundo para o Cinema Nacional (Fund for National Cinema). The fund was set up to support the production films that were not deemed

364 Memmi, pp. 130-131.

commercially viable, but which were 'representative of the of the Portuguese spirit, that translate[d] the psychology, the customs, the traditions, the history, the collective soul of the people'.[365] As Vieira suggests, Ferro's SNP/SNI, with its censorship office that policed cultural content across the metropolis and in the colonies and support of selected number of producers and directors faithful to Salazar's doctrine, tightly controlled national film production.[366]

Fig. 4. Self-representation in Films of New State. Left to right from top: (1) Maria and Cesar in *A Revolução de Maio*; (2) Camões wounded in his eye whilst fighting in North Africa in *Camões*; (3) People from Colonial Mozambique in *Gentes Que Nós Civilizámos*;(4) Evil men, Feitor and Miguel, in *Ribatejo*; (5) Zé in educational film *Zé Analfabeto – Confissões de Um Analfabeto*; (6) Salazar speaking to the nation in live TV broadcast *O Ultramar Português e a ONU*.

Salazar's doctrine, according to Fernando Rosas, was constructed in relation to seven myths based on the concept of a unified culture and trans-temporal essence of the nation whose chief purposes was to ensure its legitimization, justify its policies and practices towards the imperial nation's providential destiny; indeed, the promotion of these myths became the structuring element of films made with financial support from the SNP/SNI.[367] Rosas suggests that the foundational myths that sustained the Regime were as follows:

(a) the myth of the Portuguese Renaissance – the Estado Novo brought an end to 100 years of national decadence ushered in by liberalism;

(b) The myth of the Regime's ontological essence – the Estado Novo promotes itself as a natural and necessary consequence of the history of the nation and therefore has the responsibility to continue the nation's mythical destiny;

365 António Ferro, *Teatro e Cinema 1936-1949* (Lisboa: SNI, 1950), p. 118.

366 Patrícia Vieira, 'O Espírito do Império: as Grandes Certezas do Estado Novo em *Chaimite*', *Ellipsis*, 7 (2009), 71-107 (p. 78).

367 Rosas, p. 1034.

(c) the imperial myth (and the dogma of a multi-continental and multi-racial and indivisible country) – the nation as a chosen entity by Providence to evangelize and colonize in the name of a higher duty;
(d) the myth of ruralism – working the land is the first and foremost means of wealth and the correct path towards social harmony and national virtue;
(e) the myth of the honourable poverty whereby every individual feels blessed with what s/he has got (and that hardship can be overcome with faith);
(f) the myth of corporatism as an organic system that responds to the Portuguese tradition and natural need for authority; and
(g) the myth of the Catholic essence of the nation that since its origin has harnessed and spread the message of Christianity.[368]

These myths can be understood as the framework according to which Salazarism determined the production of state space, while encompassing all productive areas of society, including the representation of national identity. The SNP/SNI focused on the representation of exemplary historical and contemporary masculine figures, whereby fiction and documentary films were instrumentalised.[369] Fiction film represented historical and fictional exemplary masculinities while the documentary and newsreels served as a vehicle for the regime's leaders to perform power in the nation and throughout the colonies.

Documentaries, short films, and newsreels made from the beginning of the Estado Novo until the late 1950s celebrated Salazar's successes, privileging the representation of dignitaries as well as the public demonstrating their appreciation for Salazar and his work. *18 Anos no Governo da Nação* (1950) and *O Jubileu de Salazar* (1953) provided concrete examples of the appreciation that the Portuguese people and foreigner dignitaries had for Salazar's selfless commitment to a nation which he was transforming. The strategy of producing *approval documentaries* was echoed by the representation of the approval of particular policies by pre-organized and/or spontaneous crowds of people showing support. For example, *Comícios Anti-Comunistas* (1936) showed the people's support of anti-communist measures, *A Manifestação da Acção Católica em Braga* (1937) showed support for the regime's Catholic stance, the news piece *Manifestation Against UN* (1961) approved of the Estado Novo's colonial policy, and the news piece *Manifestação pelos 31 anos de Governo de Salazar* (1959) emphasized

368 Rosas, pp. 1034-1036.

369 See Henri Lafebvre, *Selected Essays*, ed. By N. Brenner, and S. Elden, trans. G. Moore, N. Breener and S. Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), pp. 95-124.

Portuguese women's support for the regime with footage of a mass gathering of women organized by the Movimento Nacional Feminino (National Feminine Movement). This display of approval included the portrayal of the support of Salazar in the colonies; the focus was on the approval of the settler as well as the colonized subject; the presidential trips to the colonies that were carried out by largely ceremonial presidents (for Salazar never travelled to colonies) served this purpose. Footage of President (and Admiral) Américo Tomás's visit to Principe Island and Mozambique in *Viagem Presidencial a Moçambique* (1964) represents him as an angel-like figure in white uniform amongst enthusiastic whites and blacks. It was an example of the settler's and colonized individuals' approval during a trip that ended just over one month before the beginning of Frelimo's armed incursions into Mozambique. The Estado Novo's representation of its elite men was closely associated with the careful representation of selected Portuguese historical elite individuals who were used as exemplar masculinities in order to reinforce the regime's integralist views and social hierarchy. The newsreels *Homenagem a Mouzinho de Albuquerque* (1938) and *Inauguração do Monumento ao Rei D. Carlos* (1961) are examples of the Estado Novo's strategy of association with historical exemplary masculinities. This was in sharp contrast with the representation of working-class masculinities that lacked the required qualities in order to be elevated into worthy citizens; an example of this stereotype is the overweight and short height comical character, Zé Analfabeto, the protagonist of *Zé Analfabeto – Confissões de Um Analfabeto* (1953); the title itself – C*onfessions of an Illiterate* – speaks volumes. Pointing in a similar elitist direction, the educational fictional film used to promote literacy amongst adults equated illiteracy with low morals, thereby associating education with the written language and higher morality.

During the 1930s the regime was more concerned with exhibiting the indigenous and assimilated colonized subject in the metropolis. A village from Guinea Bissau was reconstructed in the metropolis and populated with natives and served as the basis for *Guiné - Aldeia Indígena em Lisboa* (1932) and *1ª Companhia de Infantaria Indígena de Angola em Lisbôa* (1933). The latter documentary documents native men incorporated into the Portuguese colonial military parading in Lisbon before the public; they were bare-breasted and bearing their weapons as if they had not entirely emerged from their savage stage, even if they had been 'domesticated'. From the 1940s onwards, the regime represented the colonial territory as progressing and in a state of perpetual socio-economic development and continued to do so until its demise. *Moçambique* (1941), for example, is a voyeuristic travel documentary which tours through colonial Mozambique, and predominantly

represents the colonized subject as untouched by civilization and in a deep state of cultural and material poverty. The documentary *Gentes Que Nós Civilizámos* (1944) can be interpreted as a sequel that demonstrates the successes of the Portuguese colonial project. These same successes are the topic of *Agricultura de Moçambique* (1949) where the colonial space is rationalised and the colonized is portrayed as a productive element of the infrastructure. *Chaimite* reflects Portuguese filmmakers' growing interest in filming in Portuguese colonies in alignment with the Estado Novo's post-Second World war need to legitimize its colonial enterprise.

The political significance for Salazar of the state visit of the Portuguese President to the UK and the reciprocal visit of Queen Elizabeth II of UK to Portugal in 1955 and 1957 respectively were the basis of documentaries produced by the regime. *A Viagem Presidencial à Grã-Bretanha* (1955) emphasises the ceremonial rigour of State occasions in the UK and the president's reception in apotheosis by the military and the general public upon his return to Lisbon. *A Rainha Isabel II em Portugal* (1957) represents a country where normality was suspended from 18th to 21st February during the British monarch's first visit to Portugal; the Estado Novo effused in their celebrations, revelling in their political and mediatic significance. One year later, during the 1958 presidential election, international news coverage began to feature negative representations of Salazar's regime. Images and footage of the repercussions of anti-colonialist attacks in Angola, the hijacking of the *Santa Maria* cruiseliner and the Indian military's invasion of Portuguese Goa made international news. As mentioned above, with TV addresses, including *O Ultramar Português e a ONU* (1961), *Política Ultramarina* (1963) and *Erros e Fracassos da Era Política* (1965) an elderly looking Salazar, in tones ranging from the solemn to the defiant and the scathing, read out his rebuffs to national and international opposition, steadfastly claiming the multiracial nature of the Portuguese nation.

Seeming to corroborate Salazar's views, in 1966 the biggest sensation of the football world cup tournament held in England was the mixed-raced Portuguese footballer Eusébio, who was born in Mozambique to a black mother and a white father, and in 1967 Portugal was represented at the Eurovision Song Contest by a black singer born in Angola, the second black person to perform in the contest. After the Portuguese team lost against England in the semi-finals, footage, and photographs of Eusébio wiping his tears with his Portuguese football shirt as he left the pitch elevated him to iconic status in Portuguese popular culture. The Angolan-born singer, Eduardo Nascimento, dressed in a tuxedo, in an all-white environment, sang

a love song in the Eurovision contest ironically entitled *The Winds Have Changed*. Nascimento and Eusébio were responses to those who had been critical of Salazar's colonial assimilation policy. Salazar died in 1970 and on 25 April 1974 images of jubilant Portuguese young military men and crowds of Portuguese people waving Portuguese and PCP (Portuguese Communist Party) flags in Lisbon made international headlines – a military coup quashed an increasing unpopular Estado Novo. Documentaries made by foreign media, for example, *The Carnation Revolution* (1974, UK) contained testimonies of Portuguese people which gave a glimpse into the real nature of the Estado Novo and justified why a young generation of outward looking left-leaning mid-rank military officers, who composed the MFA, carried out the revolution. Many of the reasons why this generation rejected the regime were, indeed, embedded in the ideological fabric of the films, the documentaries and the film-genres which became synonymous with Salazarism.

The first fiction feature film financed by the SNP, *A Revolução de Maio* (1937) included newsreel footage blending fact and fiction, a strategy adopted by feature films that depict what Rosas defines as the myths of the Portuguese nation, as epitomised by the so-called *politics of the spirit*. Alongside *Chaimite*, *A Canção da Terra* (1938), *Feitiço do Império* (1940), *Camões* (1946), and *Ribatejo* (1949) proved themselves to be examples of Portuguese commercial and historical genre films that transported the doctrine of the Estado Novo to the screen for the purposes of mass consumption; the aim was to impact all levels of state space with these films. These depict the nation's myths whereby the natural order is challenged by external elements and 'foreign vices' and the protagonists' transformative paths lead them closer towards the values of the doctrine and, ultimately, to the Salazarist 'truth'.[370]

Feitiço do Império (1940), produced by Agência Geral das Colónias (Colonial Administration Office), sprang from the Missão Cinematografica as Colónias (Cinematographic Mission to the Colonies), an expedition to Portuguese-speaking Africa in the late 1930s. The film included documentary footage of natives, fauna and flora made during the expedition, and it promoted the imperial national mission as well as the superiority of Portuguese religions and corporatist values in relation to capitalism. A Portuguese immigrant in the US, fearing that his son, the protagonist Luis Morais (Luís de Campos), who prizes American values above Portuguese

370 See Luís Reis Torgal, 'Propaganda, Ideologia e Cinema no Estado Novo: A "Conversão dos Descrentes"', *Revista de História das Ideias*, 18 (1996), 277-337.

ones, will lose any attachment to Portugal arranges for him to visit Portuguese Angola on a hunting trip. After a surprisingly positive stay in Angola, where he falls in love with a settler called Mariazinha (Isabel Tovar), a teacher in a school for native children, he travels to other Portuguese African colonies and then goes back to Portugal. Enlivened by his return to Portuguese Catholic values and the nation's imperial mission Luis turns his back on the American dream, breaks off the engagement with his wealthy American fiancée, and stays in Angola with Mariazinha to become a settler.

In *A Canção da Terra* (1938), directed by Jorge Brum do Canto, once more the capitalist U.S. is referenced as an emigration destination; the inhabitants of an island impoverished by the lack of rain runway to escape material poverty only to find that once in America they are worse off because they are afflicted by spiritual poverty. At face value the predominant message concerns the myth of honourable poverty and the necessity of the harmonious relationship between different social classes. The protagonist Gonçalves (Barreto Poeira), a farmer who, despite his love for a virtuous peasant woman, Bastiana (Elsa Rumina), is tempted to betray his Christian principles. Because of the drought that afflicts the island he steals water from an unscrupulous, wealthy landowner, João Venâncio (António Moita). Despite the temptation Gonçalves and the villagers remains faithful to the land and trust that God will respond to their prayers.

In *A Revolução de Maio* (1937) communism is presented as a foreign idea harboured by the protagonist, Cesar (António Martínez), and his accomplices who fail to understand the ways in which the country has developed for the better since the 1926 military coup. Communism becomes the enemy that plagues the country with misinformation, corrupting Portuguese traditional values. Recently returned to Portugal after 10 years of absence, Cesar follows a transformative path from underground communist to convert to the Estado Novo's doctrine. His love for the female protagonist Maria (Maria Clara), a nurse at a maternity hospital and an enthusiast of the Regime, propels his transformation. As the only feature film financed in its entirety by Ferro's SNP it seeks to persuade the spectator that the protagonist conquered humanity once he rejected communist ideology in favour of Salazarist doctrine.[371]

371 See Patricia I. Vieira, 'Truth as Ideology in *A Revolução de Maio*', *Comparative Literature and Culture*, 11.3 (2009); CLCWeb: <http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol11/iss3/3> [accessed 10 November 2019].

Camões (1946), a biography of the poet Luís Vaz de Camões (c.1524-1580), the author of the epic *The Lusiads* (1572) on the Portuguese discoveries who is often referred to as the father of the modern Portuguese language, is an example of Ferro's historical film with a national interest. Notwithstanding the iconic stature of Luís Vaz de Camões and the film's inclusion in the 1946 and first edition of the Cannes Film Festival it was a commercial flop in Portugal and elsewhere.[372] Despite the fact that Camões wrote *The Lusiads* whilst serving as a soldier in Portuguese India most of the film is an account of his life in Portugal. The film begins with a young Camões in the Portuguese court in Coimbra. Because of his romantic conquests and critique of the royal household, through intrigue the King is persuaded to banish Camões from the court. He exiles himself to Ceuta to fight against the Moors and loses his sight in one eye. Two years later, after returning to Lisbon, he injures a servant of the Royal Stables who had once treacherously tried to kill him. He is sentenced to three years military service in Portuguese India. He was absent from Portugal for a period of 15 years during which, based on his journeys and on the feats of Portuguese explorers, he wrote *The Lusiads*. Upon returning to Lisbon, Camões reads *The Lusiads* to a young and inexperienced King Sebastian who vows to perpetuate the heroism that the poet celebrates with the expansion of the Christian conquest of the Iberian Peninsula into North Africa.

Ribatejo (1949) is an example of the rural genre commercial drama that, in a way that is similar to *Chaimite*, celebrated Portuguese rural life and the 'straightforward, real and courageous' countryside masculinities, as expressed in the words of Belinha (Eunice Muñoz), the co-protagonist of the film. Belinha owns the rural estate Borda de Água that she inherited from her late father Sr. Dom Luis and following his wishes, on the day that the co-protagonist António (Virgilio Teixeira) turns twenty-one years old, she offers him Miguel's (Alves da Costa) position as head bulls' wrangler. Thereafter, a resentful Miguel and Feitor (the farm keeper played by José Gamboa), who is Belinha's fiancé and cousin, plot together to take control of the estate. Miguel and Feitor are men who are foreign to Borda de Água and to Ribatejo and, as outsiders, they lack personal qualities and love for the land. They poison the estate's workers against the patriarchal tradition that Belinha represents as a daughter but does not embody as a woman. Hence her position is tenuous and reliant on António's masculinity.

372 Carla Patrícia Silva Ribeiro, 'O "Heróico Cinema Português" 1930-1950', *História (Revista da FLUP)*, 4.1 (2011), 209-220 (p. 215).

The above films address to different degrees Ferro's 'politics of the spirit' and are centred around the myths of the nation. *Chaimite*, as we shall see, was the most successful of the Salazarist films, and, in its attempt to represent in idealistic terms all areas of the Estado Novo's private and public life, touched on all the myths of the nation that we encounter dispersed throughout the films discussed above.

3.2.4.2. The Regime's Film: *Chaimite*

3.2.4.2.1. Plot and Topics: The Colony as Replica of the Metropolis

Chaimite was made after Ferro had left the SNI and despite embracing simultaneously the *serious* historical and commercial genres the film was received as an apotheosis by the Estado Novo, and it became a regular fixture in the Portuguese state TV broadcaster's roster until the fall of the Regime in 1974. Three important essays in particular set the scene for my discussion of this film. In 'O Espírito do Império - As Grandes Certezas do Estado Novo em *Chaimite*' (2009), Vieira analyses *Chaimite* in relation to Salazar's public colonial rhetoric and also to Ferro's *politics of the spirit* whereby the author's leading question is if the film contributes to the imperialization of the nation and claims that aesthetic and narrative options contradict Salazar's claims of racial integration in the Portuguese empire. In a subsequent essay, 'O Império Como Fetiche no Estado Novo*: Feitiço do Império* e o Sortilégio Colonial' (2010), Vieira argues that for the Estado Novo the empire was the fetish of the nation that obscured a national sense of inferiority. Vieira's analysis of *Chaimite* fails to insert the film in the broader discussion surrounding colonialist cinema anchored on Manichaeistic colonizer/colonized cultural and moral dynamics. And whilst referring to a heighten concern within the plot towards the way in which Western foreigners view the Portuguese military, a structural element of the text is overlooked – the ways in which the Estado Novo's doctrine, nineteenth century colonialist ideology and the language of colonialist and war film genres are harnessed together in *Chaimite* to refute Portugal's peripheral political and cultural position within the Western world. Finally, with his essay, 'Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, Inter-identity' (2002), Boaventura Sousa Santos traces the discursive construction of Portuguese colonial ideology, including the process of othering the Portuguese by powerful European nations whereby national racial European status and colonizing competence were questioned. He argues that:

Portugal is and has been since the seventeenth century a semi-peripheral country in the modern capitalist world system. This condition best characterizes the modern long duration of Portuguese society.[373]

Fig. 5. Blurring between the metropolis and the colony in *Chaimite*. Settlers, dressed in different types of Portuguese rural traditional costumes, run away from murderous native insurgents.

The backdrop of *Chaimite* is, of course, the Portuguese Pacification campaign in southern Mozambique during the 1890s. The film fictionalizes the events that led to the capture of native King Ngungunyane and the end of a large native insurgency and intermingles these events with a love story between the settlers. On the one hand there are the fictional tribulations of a group of working-class white Portuguese colonizers and, on the other hand, the actions of the military men who led the Pacification Campaign against insurgent forces under native King Ngungunyane's vassalage. *Chaimite*'s characters are divided into several groups according to their social class (lower and elite), gender (male and female), and race (black and white), thereby mirroring the stratified nature of Portuguese society during Salazar's regime. The universe of the film is populated by a number of stock characters, including Portuguese settlers; Portuguese military officers; African tribespeople; and African domestic and rural workers. The main protagonists are the lower-class settler-colonizers: António, a middle-aged man who speaks the local African substratum language; Daniel, a man with some life experience behind him, who served as a soldier under the celebrated Captain Mouzinho in Portuguese India; João Macário, a soldier, who is Daniel's romantic rival; Aunt Rosa a no-nonsense industrious widow, her sweet young nice Maria, recently arrived from a Portuguese village and Daniel's love interest, and António's pleasant wife Mariana typify the lower-class Portuguese woman; the heroic military officers Captain Mouzinho, Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro and Major Caldas Xavier are the protagonist Portuguese elite male characters; Maria José, the wife of Captain Mouzinho,

373 Patricia Vieira, 'O Espírito do Império: as Grandes Certezas do Estado Novo em *Chaimite*', *Ellipsis*, 7 (2009), 71-107; Vieira, 'O Império Como Fetiche no Estado Novo*: Feitiço do Império* e o Sortilégio Colonial', *Portuguese Cultural Studies*, 3 (2010), 126-144; Sousa Santos, 'Between Prospero and Caliban', p. 9.

is a selfless elite colonizer woman and wife who does her utmost to support her husband's patriotic mission; Portuguese nuns as non-speaking characters. The colonized characters are: the evil native king Ngungunyane, Mambaza, a native spy who speaks the superstratum and substratum languages, Fixe, an assimilated African, Mauéué, a friendly native who does not speak the superstratum, Ngungunyane's mother, Buiace who is Aunt Rosa's female African servant, and the *auxiliares* (auxiliaries, African men serving in the Portuguese military) who are non-speaking characters.

Chaimite's narrative begins dramatically with the depiction of an attack by tribal warriors – they are the vassals of Ngungunyane – on defenceless rural communities of Portuguese settlers, immediately setting forward a Manichaeistic play between colonizer and colonized. Mauéué, a substratum speaker, is able to warn António, Aunt Rosa, Maria and Buiace, just in time for them to escape the insurgents. António in turn warns other settlers on his way to Lourenço Marques's military post to alert the army. By the time he arrives warriors can he heard advancing upon the city. They are defeated by the Portuguese military who had been caught off-guard, a fact that, according to Vieira, reveals the gulf between colonizers and colonized.[374] António persuades Daniel, who owns Chai Chai, a modest café, to house Rosa and Maria because their farm has been destroyed. Daniel becomes visibly attracted to Maria at first sight. Chai Chai is a meeting point for a group of lower type male colonizers who live in the city and are found there constructing a stereotypical representation of the insurgent ruler Nungunyane. Two foreign white Europeans, a woman and a man, arrive at Chai Chai after the spectator has been made aware of Ngungunyane's treacherous liaisons with immoral and greedy foreigners who are busy plotting against Portugal. The foreign woman is overtly flirtatious towards Daniel. Maria unable to control herself with jealousy, letting go of the discretion that would otherwise characterize a modest Portuguese countryside young woman, is reprimanded by Aunt Rosa, who also tells Daniel that Maria already has a fiancé, João Macário, thereby setting Maria up facing a challenge between love and honour. As Portuguese armed forces disembark in Lourenço Marques, the faithful Mauéué is killed by Mambaza, an African who spies for Ngungunyane. With the troops' arrival General Commissar Enes takes charge of directing the military operations. The script, truthful to the historical António Enes, represents him as an unwavering imperialist; in a meeting with the officers Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro and Major Caldas Xavier he refers to insurgents as savages and on another occasion, he states that only the

374 Vieira, pp. 103-104.

complete domination of the natives will suffice. António, who speaks the substratum language Landim, is invited by Major Xavier to be an interpreter in a military column preparing to go on campaign to fight the insurgents.

Captain Mouzinho, a confessed admirer of Major Caldas Xavier, and who often expresses during the narrative his wish to die for the nation, arrives in Lourenço Marques, as the commander of regiment one. João Macário, a young soldier and Maria's fiancé, arrives with this regiment. Daniel meets Captain Mouzinho and his wife Maria José, upon their arrival, recognizes him – which he is very happy about – but she shows her disapproval of the fact that Daniel has not been fulfilling his patriotic and patriarchal duties. António and Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro, whilst on a trip, find themselves caught between numerous indigenous natives and their auxiliary African soldiers and the Lieutenant's anxiety as a colonizer becomes evident. Later in the presence of António and Captain Mouzinho, Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro interrogates Mambaza, who is suspected of spying and killing Mauéué, and succeeds in subduing him. Capitan Mouzinho courageously captures Ngungunyane and the army returns to Lourenço Marques parading Ngungunyane in the streets of the colonial capital to the delight of a dying Major Caldas Xavier. After Daniel and João Macário return from capturing Ngungunyane, through the intervention of the Mouzinho couple who overrule Aunt Rosa's moral codes, Maria is set free and therefore able to choose between João Macário and Daniel. Following their marriage, Daniel and Maria move into the wilderness to start a new settler community. The couple have had a child and are prospering when tribal forces commanded by Matibujana, Ngungunyane's war-chief, in a campaign to avenge the latter's experience of incarceration, attacks their settlement, including their home. Daniel promptly volunteers to fight under Captain Mouzinho, who by then has been promoted to the rank of Major, for a final battle with the insurgents, after which the colonial order is restored.

In many ways the structure of *Chaimite*'s plot follows the conventions of the British and U.S. colonialist films studied above, in particular, the inclusion of the leitmotif of the inherently evil nature of the colonized individual as the narrative's starting point. However, there are differences, often subtle, and these point to the Salazarist colonizer's covert beliefs and anxieties based on his semi-marginal status, and I shall now examine these differences.

3.2.4.2.2. The State Above God and The Absence of the Male Clergy

In *Chaimite* religious faith, which Nietzsche holds is a neurosis that leads to self-denial,[375] is instrumentalised in order to legitimise colonization whilst religious morality is disavowed. This mirrors a complex scenario whereby throughout the duration of Salazar's regime the Church was a key institutional ally; in turn the Estado Novo protected the latter's social and economic interests, even if, on occasions distinguished members of the clergy, such as the Bishop of Porto, transgressed the protocol and criticized what they perceived to be the regime's socially unequal policies. In *Canção* da *Terra* – and several other Portuguese films set in small village contexts made during and after the regime, including *Frei Luís de Sousa* (1950) and *Nazaré* (1952) – the male priest exists alongside Catholicism in Portuguese traditional culture, and is portrayed as a secondary character who contributes to the delineation of the morality of the leading characters in the film. In *Chaimite,* however, despite the symbiotic relationship between religious faith and colonialism, the priest is unexpectedly absent. This point is brought home once we refer to a crucial scene from the British film *Sanders of the River*.

Father O'Leary (Allan Jeayes), a secondary character, in *Sanders of the River,* is an important dramatic prop in the space where the heroic nature of the colonialist protagonist is reinforced, and paternalistic colonialism sanctioned. Father O'Leary, a tall, slim, authoritative-looking man of senior age, hastily arrives and interrupts Lord Ferguson (Martin Walker) sitting alone at a small table with British subordinates standing by his side; Lord Ferguson is agonizing over the sound of the drums in the distance that clamour that 'Lord Sandy is dead there is no law'. As the man replacing Commissioner Sanders, who is on leave, Father O'Leary has come to tell him that the natives have burned his church and the settlers are running away. The two men stand facing one another, in close proximity, with a medium shot that then cuts to a close-up shot. Father O'Leary, holding on firmly to his walking stick, tells Lord Ferguson, who keeps his hands in his pockets, that: 'You must be quick and strong now, act like a father with his misguided children like Mr Sander's would have done, or else much blood will flow very soon'. The scene then cuts to a medium shot that shows Lord Ferguson lowering his face, bringing his hands to his forehead, and walking away followed by the camera as the drums continually sound in the distance. The encounter between Father O'Leary and Lord Ferguson is significant because it shows a member of the clergy endorsing the practice of colonialism whilst problematising the role of the clergy within the colonial setting. O'Leary is traditionally an Irish name and, as a member of the Protestant clergy, Father O'Leary is a successful

375 Nietzsche, p. 47.

product of British colonialism who takes part in the British enterprise whilst requesting and sanctioning the use of force in dealings with the colonized subject. His authority, although visually apparent, is ultimately delegitimized by his surname. (Lord Ferguson is a surname of Scottish origin whilst the etymology of the word 'Sanders' leads to the meaning 'defender of the people', which demonstrates that the naming of characters is purposeful.)

Simba offers a similar take on these political dynamics. Although it unravels within a settler community, *Simba* leaves the priest character out of the picture entirely. Even when the settlers meet in a public space where a picture of the British monarch hangs behind the police officer who briefs them on the activities of the villainous Mau Mau, the spiritual character around whom the traditional community gathers, and who portrayed as the voice of wisdom, is absent. Indeed, he is replaced by the portrait of a distant monarch who speaks through the voice of law and order.

Fig. 6. Marginalisation and absence of the male clergy in *A Canção da Terra* and *Chaimite*. Left to right: (1) Bastinana and Gonçalves (*A Canção da Terra*); (2) Colonel Galhardo stepping in as chaplain, and (3) Captain Mouzinho before setting off to Chaimite (*Chaimite*).

In similar fashion to *Simba*, in *Chaimite* the ascetic priest that Nietzsche blamed for alienating man from his natural will, and thereby perverting the nature of man, is absent from the screen. The priest who openly criticizes the Estado Novo in the Church's media is, in effect, silenced as a result of his absence from the screen. This decision opens up the way for the military officers to fill the void that exists between God and the lower colonizer. On their way to Majacase in pursuit of Ngungunyane, Portuguese troops are led by Coronel Galhardo into battle with the enemy native warriors, and several Portuguese soldiers die as a result. The troops dig graves and bury their dead, at which point the Colonel, with Captain Mouzinho standing behind him, assumes the role of chaplain making a patriotic speech that venerates those who have just died and whom by virtue of their death have become heroes; they 'regaram a terra com o seu sangue' (have shed their blood for the fatherland). If we compare this scene with a similar episode that occurs in A *Canção da Terra,* we find that, while religious references are structurally

significant throughout, the institution of the Church comes under increasing criticism. Gonçalves, an impoverished farmer who is in love with Bastiana and wishes to marry her goes to the local church to enquire how much would it cost to celebrate a marriage. Gonçalves waits outside the church whilst the parishioners exit the mass service, he glances at Bestiana who responds with a lingering smile. Gonçalves, with the camera solely focusing on his actions, turns around staring at her as she walks away. He enters the church and addresses a man dressed in religions robes colloquially as Mr. Julio and asks him how much it would cost to celebrate a weeding. Mr. Julio asks him who he intends to marry and makes him aware that a fee will have to be paid beforehand. In the exchange between both characters, because Gonçalves addresses Julio as Mr., we are left wondering if Mr. Julio is a lay person or a priest. However, the latter then addresses Gonçalves with the term *rapaz* (boy) that signals his higher social status. As a result of Mr. Julio's demeanour, whether he is a lay man or the actual priest, the impression given of the Church as an institution is that it is more concerned with money that with helping parishioners. This scene, when juxtaposed with the complex relationship between the Church and the Estado Novo during Salazar's regime, justifies why the male clergy are an expendable masculinity in *Chaimite*; the military thereby are the uncontested purveyors of God's word.

Even if the place of the male clergy is problematic in *Chaimite* the role of religious faith is inherent in the colonizer's consciousness, providing Portuguese colonialism with a legitimacy and conferring it with a sense of national purpose that is lacking from Father O'Leary flawed moral authority. During a Christmas dinner scene in which Maria and Daniel, António and Mariana and Aunt Rosa are interrupted by the sound of cannon-fire and gunshots, António, clearly distressed, comments: 'Nem mesmo hoje!' (Not even today). The ritualistic display of religiousness is used as a marker of Portuguese identity. António's angry remark at the sound of fighting, presumably meant as a dismissive gesture aimed at the native insurgents, underlines a major difference between the colonizers and the natives; they possess radically different moral guidelines. The absence of the clergy and insurmountable difference between colonizer and colonized opens the space, as suggested above, for an alternative construction of social morality.

It is important to draw attention to the point that the director of the film, Brum do Canto, had already flirted with the replacement of conventional morality in *A Canção da Terra* when, as a result of the revision of social norms, the protagonist couple carry out their own wedding with 'only God as witness'. Bastiana and Gonçalves, are portrayed as embracing among the trees and,

from afar, they gaze on the ruins of a large Church. When they reach the ruins, they kneel in front of a Christian stone cross while diegetic sound of a song intones the virtues of the Virgin Mary. Filmed from above, they look up to the cross, before the camera cuts to a close-up of Gonçalves' hand. Gonçalves is dressed in his working clothes and Bestiana wears a light-coloured summer dress. He takes a ring from his walking stick and places it on Bastiana's finger. The camera follows his actions as he makes his vow: 'Para a duração das nossas vidas' (For the duration of our lives). She places a ring on his finger and – smiling – utters the same words. Shot from below, with the sky as the backdrop, they then stand and embrace each other. Throughout this scene the camera takes on two functions, offering the POV of an omnipresent God, intercut with the POV of the audience, alternating between shots from above and from below, as the couple embrace. The shots use the sky as background to suggest to a possibly judgemental audience that the couple's union has – in effect – been sanctioned by God. In the next scene when Bastiana leaves home to go and live with Gonçalves, she tells her incredulous mother that she has become Gonçalves's wife: 'This morning in the face of God in the Church of Our Lady da Graça [..] It is true that there was no Priest. [...] I have not sinned! Our Lady da Graça is our witness'.[376] This suggests that for her and Gonçalves the vows they made within a Church even though no priest was present were nonetheless real; their actions thereby side-line the role of the priest as God's sole interlocutor and establish a new direct dialogue with God. The fact that the church in which they marry is in ruins symbolizes the spiritual decadence of members of the clergy; for a Salazarist audience the suggestion is obvious – the clergy have been failing the Estado Novo.

The portrayal of the Portuguese military in *Chaimite* subtly subverts the Salazarist motto 'God, Nation, Family' for 'State, God, Family'. At one point in the film when Captain Mouzinho is close on Ngungunyane's tail, he is informed by one of his troops as to the latter's possible whereabouts, and the Captain impetuously decides they will begin their hunt for Ngungunyane that very day, which happens to be Christmas Eve. One of his men reminds him: 'Mas amanhã é dia de Natal?' (But isn't it Christmas Day tomorrow?) to which he replies in close-up on his face that fills the screen with his determination: 'Todos os anos há um dia de natal, se houver paz e sossego para os dias de natal que estão para vir vale a pena sacrificar este natal' (Christmas Day happens every year, and if we have the chance to create peace and tranquillity for future Christmases, it's worth sacrificing this Christmas

376 My translation of 'Esta manhã a face de Deus na Igreja de Nossa Sra. da Graça […] É certo que não havia padre. [..] Eu não pequei! Nossa Sra. da Graça esta por testemunha'.

day). As a result of Captain Mouzinho's manly upper body commanding the space of the screen it is clear that the film is intimating that the immediate interests of the Crown, of power over the other, prevail over reverence for ecclesiastical tradition, a gesture which echoes the Nietzschean notion of free-spirit. Exacerbating the dissonance of priorities between Church and the Estado Novo since the early stages of the dictatorship, Captain Mouzinho's mission transcends conventional morality and truth, and is, indeed, at the heart of the ideological gesture that characterizes the colonialist film genre. In *Simba*, for example, after a settler, the male protagonist's brother, has been killed by natives, the armed settlers gather to discuss what course of action to take, and a heated debate emerges between those who argue for dialogue with the natives and those who argue for absolute domination – the latter are proven right. A new (repressive) morality is proposed as represented by the military officers in the colonial space, and it is represented as a continuum of God's will. This scene indicates a common trope in the colonialist war film; a parallel morality needs to be established in order for the protagonist of the colonialist war film to overcome adversity.

3.2.4.2.3. Hierarchy and the Masculinization of the Lower Man

In contrast to the duality between clergy and the military officer in *Chaimite,* that symbolizes the crisis that was present at that time in Salazarist society, the upper-class/ lower-class hierarchy of colonizer masculinities is openly played out on screen. Differently from *Sanders of the River,* where hierarchy amongst colonizer men is reliant on personal characteristics with ethnic and nationalist undertones, in *Chaimite* it is based on social class. *Chaimite* presents two groups of Portuguese colonizers, the military officers referred to as ideal versions of masculinity and the settlers, who are imbued with good morality and religious faith but who require appropriate guidance in order to understand their patriotic role towards the progressive erasure of substantive difference within groups. This is in reference to the notion of progressive homogenization of the race aimed at the ideal specimen of that race, that is, the colonizer/settler. Whilst not forgoing the Salazarist hierarchical mapping of society, *Chaimite* represents two ideal and symbiotic colonizer masculinities that pursue the homogenization of each class rather than the homogenization of gender. The military officers are constructed from the onset as equally patriotic and courageous and they, in accordance with the Social-Darwinist and eugenicist mindset are entrusted with the mission of leading the colonizing process on behalf of the nation and civilization. In the various scenes in which the military officers meet to discuss tactics they are

portrayed as an elite amongst the Portuguese who have the responsibility to elevate the lower types of their own race, while also eliminating the insurgent natives. After Captain Mouzinho has arrived in Lourenço Marques all the Portuguese military officers gather in the office of the colonial administrator to discuss military tactics and the way in which the scene is filmed, that way in which the officers are displayed in space and how they move gives an indication of the attempt to construct them as selfless men who have total control, and, indeed, are disciplined and under control. What takes places in this scene contrasts with the Father O'Leary/Lord Ferguson scene in *Sanders of the River* where Lord Ferguson loses authority. In contrast to Lord Ferguson in *Sanders of the River* the typical elite colonizer in *Chaimite* is flawless because of his investment in a colonial sphere where eugenicist concerns aligned with Lusitanean integralism's understanding of society suspend any criticism of Portuguese elite masculinity.

Fig. 7. Re-masculinization in *Chaimite*. From left to right: (1) First conversation between Daniel and Captain Mouzinho; (2) Daniel is being praised by Captain Mouzinho; (3) Daniel at his farm with his wife Maria, their son, and one of his farmworkers.

Chaimite's two-tier patriarchal and hierarchical colonizer structure is composed of military officers who enable peace by safeguarding the land and the soldier-farmers who make the land productive. This two-tier structure underlines the Regime's myth of rurality and its traditionalist social structure, as influenced by Lusitanean integralism's sense of the centrality of the land ('terra'). This is evident in the fact that other national types and stereotypes who – in empiric, historical terms – would be a component of the demographic of a colonial city are either not represented or are seen as peripheral to the plot. This serves to create only two narrow conceptions of masculinity – the military officer and the lower soldier-farmer who must prove his patriotism to the higher social classes. Captain Mouzinho's and Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro's selfless displays of courage – e.g., Captain Mouzinho's capture of Ngungunyane and Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro's upright and fearless conduct during battles – become on-screen expressions of the honour of the race as cultivated by the landed nobility. Their superior strength of character in relation to the lower types such as António and Daniel

legitimise their position as an enlightened elite whose flawless decision-making best caters for the wellbeing of all who inhabit the colonial space. Captain Mouzinho as a character, is one-dimensional, and he lacks the personality and complexity of political positions which characterised the empiric individual on whom he is based, that is, Mouzinho de Albuquerque, who was ostracised by the colonial authorities in Lisbon. It is clear from historic accounts that Mouzinho de Albuquerque had a domineering personality which was in some respects close to the ideal of the free-spirit suggested by his representation in *Chaimite*.[377] But his biography was more colourful than this, including as it did his privileged background, his ill temperament and alleged suicide. Ultimately his representation on screen has been airbrushed, so that all we are left with is his fierce desire to defeat the insurgents and fashion the colony in the image of the mother country. *Chaimite*'s version of him is a symbiotic juxtaposition between Lusitanian integralism, the Estado Novo's racial aspirations, and the free-spirit. He is simply an extension of the will of the State (which coincides with the will of God) and an exemplary masculinity.

Despite the fact that higher and lower types of Portuguese men lived according to the same doctrine, their position and practices in relation to that model varied, thereby creating a multi-layered colonial system split across elite higher morality and working-class morality. In *Four Feathers*, for example, it is the protagonist, an upper-class British man, who requires masculinization to elevate himself into his true nature whereas the military officers in *Chaimite* display a selfless patriotism that drives them proudly towards an instinctive self-sacrifice whilst the working-class men, with the examples of Daniel and António, are portrayed as needing to have their instinct for self-sacrifice awakened by their social superiors. Daniel is a charming man who, before his transformation, already represents foundational elements of the Salazarist doctrine. The extract provided below takes place during the breakfast scene where Maria and Daniel, who are recent emigrants to the colony, share their thoughts to one another for the first time; in the course of their conversation, they realise that they have similar values and ambitions:

Maria (laughingly): It is funny! Of course, I would like it. The farm and the wilderness all around. I was always raised in the countryside (…).
António: Well, Daniel is the one who wants to buy a house in the wilderness.
Maria: If it's true it proves that he has good taste.
Daniel: It is true, a house in the wilderness, a house next to a stream...

377 Seabra, pp. 139-140.

Maria (interjects compassionately): With land around to cultivate.
Daniel: Who told you that?
Maria: It is what I would like too, *maningue.*[378]

This conversation rationalises the attraction both characters feel for one another and aligns them with the Regime's myth of rurality. The insurgency and Maria's engagement to João Macário are obstacles to Daniel's goals – his love for Maria and having a farm in the wilderness - for which he will have to undergo change in order to achieve his dreams. António, his wife Mariana, Aunt Rosa, Maria and Daniel are having Christmas dinner, and Rosa says that 'there are military men arriving, sooner or later they will disembark, they are *maningue* officers, creatures of money, and proper', to which Daniel replies 'it would be good if my Captain Mouzinho would come, and if he did even I would then enlist as a volunteer'.[379] Throughout the dinner they speak of the military officers as if they had a completely different social standing from themselves. Daniel corroborates this by speaking about his former Captain in highly positive terms. António tells Daniel that even though he did not have a military profile he still volunteered, and he advises Daniel that he should enlist as well. Daniel claims that he has not enlisted because his life has suddenly become precious due to his feelings for Maria, which serves as a cover for the perpetuation of his emasculated state. When Daniel finally meets 'o meu capitão' (my captain) they reminisce about old times campaigning in India and also about Daniel's mother who is the longest-serving servant of Captain Mouzinho's parents. Captain Mouzinho jokingly comments on Daniel's weight gain. He assumes that Daniel had volunteered to fight in a previous battle, Marraquene. Daniel explains that he had not done so because he was expecting him. They are interrupted by the arrival of Captain Mouzinho's wife, Maria José, who (also) comments that Daniel has put on some weight. Captain Mouzinho then advises Daniel that he should stop being a vagabond and get married – this is a case of the hegemonic male demanding the masculinization of lower-class male, i.e., Daniel, and in particular that he should fulfil his patriotic duties and become an exemplary masculinity subordinate to hegemonic masculinity.

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378 My translation of 'Maria: Engraçado! Ora se gostava. A horta, depois o mato a volta. Fui sempre criada no campo (…)./ António: Ai, o Daniel é que tem a mania de arranjar uma casa no mato./ Maria: Se é verdade prova que tem bom gosto./ Daniel: É verdade, uma casa no mato, assim ao pé de um ribeiro.../ Maria: Com terrenos a roda para cultivar./ Daniel: Quem lhe disse?/ Maria: É o que eu também gostava *maninge*'.

379 My translation of 'estão tropas a chegar, mais dia menos dia desembarcam para ai, vêm maningue oficiais, criaturas de dinheiro e como deve de ser/ era bem bom que viesse o meu Capitão Mouzinho, até eu me alistava como voluntario para as operações'.

The relationship between Daniel and his Captain is a relationship that stretches back into a past characterised by social inequality – Daniel's mother was Captain Mouzinho's family oldest servant which reinforces his obligation live up to the masculinist ideas of the elite classes on whom they depend for their livelihood. Daniel does not question the status-quo and he idolizes 'his captain'.

But then he is galvanized by the arrival of his romantic rival, the soldier João Macário who is Maria's fiancé, and he volunteers for the military campaign. When his path of masculinisation begins, however, it is constricted somewhat by the Regime's corporatist rhetoric whereby he is expected to develop a subordinate and complicit masculinity. Daniel dreams of a quintessential rural life and this paradoxically creates a moral chasm between him and the selfless Captain Mouzinho. The military officers are eager to die as martyrs, as exemplified by Captain Mouzinho's vocalized wish to die fighting for the nation whereas Daniel and the settlers serve the nation simply in order to safeguard their property, livelihoods and women; they thereby benefit sexually and economically from their efforts. *Chaimite* underlines the presence of the inflexible corporatist social hierarchies legitimised by the fact that the military officers are selfless, racially fitter and aligned with the will of God, and therefore morally superior to Daniel. Like many of the same social rank, Daniel is perpetually locked into his subordinate position, as a member of a lower class.

As the narrative begins, we find Daniel as a contented bachelor who has secured a pleasant life as the owner of a modest café. This is a meeting point for the male settler community who do not display signs of poverty and alludes to the idea that the insurgency is a temporary interruption of an upwards state of development. For the majority of the Portuguese population in the 1950s, who were impoverished, a well-nourished Daniel, as the Mouzinho couple point out, has already been rewarded quite enough as a result of living in the colonies. *Chaimite* expresses the concerns raised by the likes of Thomas Robert Malthus, Locke, and Tocqueville as they relate to the idea that if a country is unable to provide for the wellbeing of its citizens it should see the colony as an answer to alleviate the poverty of the metropolis through emigration, usurpation of land, and exploitation of the colonized individual's labour. After returning from a military campaign Daniel says that he found the ideal spot to settle down and run a farm; this would enable him to become the ideal settler. After his marriage to Maria, he leaves Chai Chai – the lowly activity of commerce – in the care of Aunt Rosa, and the couple move to the wilderness to the spot he had fallen in love with, in order to begin

a new settler community. When they leave Captain Mouzinho makes a speech to congratulate a visibly touched Daniel on his new life path as the head of family and farmer who will, unlike the native, make the land productive. He refers to him as *rapaz* (boy), a term that is used between two Portuguese males denoting difference of social hierarchy and/or affection. Daniel's complicit masculinisation is proven to be complete when he places the nation above his family, Maria, and their son. After his farm, where he lives with Maria and their son, is burnt down by native insurgents who are intent of avenging Ngungunyane's capture, against Maria's supplications he volunteers again to fight the insurgents under Captain Mouzinho's command. Throughout Daniel's process of change the non-pacified colonial space is constructed as a site of madness and violence and the insurgent colonized individual as irrational, libidinous, savage. It is a site from which the feminine colonizer must be kept safe.

3.2.4.2.4. The Feminine as Perpetually Lacking

The (indigenous) native young black woman is represented in *Chaimite* as static; thus she is often seen standing or sitting and within distance from the colonizer, whereby the young native woman and the white military officers are at extreme opposite positions of the static/active gendered continuum that Mulvey has noted. This spatial dynamic refutes the Luso-tropicalist notion of close interracial contact reinforcing traditional male/female patriarchal cinematic codes to the extreme. This polarisation is explained given that, since its inception, the Estado Novo made God, the nation and the family its ideological pillars. The transgressive moral potential evoked by the representation of the substratum speaking non-Catholic black woman was problematic considering the Portuguese colonial history of cafrealization and miscegenation in Africa, including in the littoral and along the Zambezi River in Mozambique. Kept apart from the colonizers and in the background, the young native women are there only to be looked at, and to add authenticity to the narrative; they are spoken of as possessions by the native chiefs and referred to in quantitative terms in order to reinforce the practice of polygamy (the is referred to in *Mogambo* with a touch naïve humour). The representation of the black women in *Sanders of the River* is also constructed in this manner; their bodies become a spectacle through the display of fertility dances and their desire is hyper-sexualised. Commissioner Sanders goes to Bosambo's village, where ten young native women who were rescued from slavery are staying. When asked if they would like to go back to their families, they all reply that they wish to stay and marry Bosambo. It is inferred that

Bosambo has had sex with all of them, and that they enjoyed it, and are happy to share him as wives. Their enjoyment is conveyed at the start of the scene as they are heard giggling in relation to Bossamo as Lord Tibbets tells Sandy that 'I am sorry sir, I can't manage these girls. You should hear the things they say, especially about Bosambo'. Despite the fact that in the past Portuguese historical accounts and political positions rendered the native black woman as animal-like, and capable of bewitching the Portuguese colonizer, their sexualization in *Chaimite* is less explicit. It is constructed exclusively through the voice and eyes of others, mostly when they are spoken off in relation to their chiefs and in the few occasions when they are on-screen as extras. There is a reticence in allowing the half-naked body of the young indigenous woman to linger on-screen, perhaps as a result of the fear that the voyeuristic look of the male spectator may turn into eroticism. When Ngungunyane is being captured the camera pans over the natives who stand witness. Ngungunyane screams in his substratum language as the camera pans over young native women facing down, and then cuts to João Macário who struggles to stand up. The juxtaposition of Ngungunyane's words, that seem like the enunciation of a spell, the young natives' half-naked bodies, and João Macário's frailness suggest the colonizer's vulnerability in relation to the body of the native.

Fig. 8. Black, foreign white and Portuguese women in *Chaimite*. Left to right from top: (1) Indigenous women; (2) Foreign woman Lilly Martini; (3) Portuguese nuns; (4) Maria, Dona Rosa and Buiace; (5) Maria and Maria José; (6) Daniel and João Macário who contend for Maria.

In *Chaimite* the white colonizer never shares the screen with the young native woman but establishes an undercurrent dynamic with the elderly native woman who is represented as loyal to the Portuguese. Upon capturing Ngungunyane his mother pleads with Captain Mouzinho to spare her son.

Ngungunyane sits on the floor looking distraught after two of his chiefs have just been summarily killed. His elderly mother runs crying towards Major Mouzinho and as she gets closer, she crawls with her entire body. She reaches his feet; he holds her hand helping her stand upright whilst he is told by an interpreter that she is begging him not to kill her son and grandson. Captain Mouzinho replies saying that because she had always been friends of the Portuguese she could go in peace and that nothing would befall Ngungunyane. There is an attempt to deplete the scene of any erotic content. The cannibalized Prospero, historically a vassal to and sexually engaged with the natives, is offset, with the power chasm that exists between colonizer and colonized, i.e., an extreme polarization of male/female body play that totally subdues the black female body.

In Lusophone cinema and literature, the native women under the roof of the colonizer developed complex emotional attachments to the colonizer.[380] In *Chaimite*, Buiace, who is perhaps middle-aged, is a native woman who is represented as the version of a *desexualized* black-matron.[381] She is Aunt Rosa's silent maid who gets passed onto Maria when the couple move to the wilderness. Had she been made into a stereotypical subject, similar to the American black mammy (or Mauéué who is represented closer to the superstratum speaking benevolent Uncle Tom stereotype) this would have created affective relations, nonetheless maladaptive, between colonizer and colonized. Examples of this are the character Mammy in *The Birth of a Nation* who remains faithful to her white family despite all the contradictions that such might imply or Mammy in *Gone with the Wind* (1939), which was also set during the American Civil War. *Gone with the Wind*'s Mammy, a large, loud, and energetic black woman played by black actress Hattie McDaniel, belongs to a Southern family. Having nursed the white female protagonist from childhood and representing the social-economic entrapment of her stereotype, she renounces the possibility of freedom offered by the abolition of slavery in the early stages of the film to remain her faithful personal maid throughout a long-life journey of highs and lows. In *Chaimite*, preoccupied by living in Chai Chai at Daniel's expense, Aunt Rosa tells him that Maria, Buiace and herself cannot carry on living for free so she proposes to turn the café into a restaurant. This is the first time in *Chaimite* that Buiace is referred to, and by name. In another scene in Chai Chai when she is preparing the

380 The films *Ilhéu de Contenda* (1996), *O Gotejar da Luz* (200), and *Terra Sonâmbula* (2007). are contemporary Lusophone films that include complex colonizer/colonized emotional and sexual liaisons.

381 I define Buiace as assimilated simply because she ought to speak Portuguese to communicate with Rosa and Maria and she lives with them.

Christmas meal, she makes a semi-comical intervention signalling with a gesture that one of the dishes looks appetising shown with a fleeting camera close shot. This is the highest level of presence that her (assimilated?) character achieves. Buiace's lack of voice alongside her comical instant, i.e., her objectification and her de-sexualization, alongside the distant representation of the young indigenous native women is a somatic consequence of a history of cafrealization and miscegenation, which – once condemned as an example of an immoral and incompetent colonialism – is now being erased.

The representation of the nuns, dressed in full religious habit, devoutly at the side of a dying Major Xavier and working in a military hospital, are an expression of the colonizer's moral elevation – in terms of mythical time – in stark contract with the visual representation of the half-naked indigenous woman who have a history of sexual looseness; it is well known that during the early stages of colonization, that male convicted criminals, particularly those convicted of sexual offences, were deported to the colonies in an effort to rapidly increase the population growth rate.[382] The representation of the nuns by the side of ailing military men furnishes the colony with an element of chastity in opposition to the popular perception of the Portuguese colony as a den of vice and sin. The absence of the mixed-race colonized individual in the 1890s narrative portrayed in *Chaimite* in 1953, at a time when Salazar's regime had welcomed Luso-tropicalism does not go unnoticed as the regime struggled with embodying the new concept beyond words. Maria and Daniel, innocent Portuguese from the mother country, are the ideal romantic couple - two people with quintessential small village traditional values who have emigrated to the colony looking for a better life. Given Galvao's accounts of the scarcity of Portuguese white women in the colonies in the 1920s, more historically credible would have been for Daniel to father a number of children from different native women as he pursued his bachelor life, or to marry a black or mulatto woman.

The following dialogue from one of the film's initial scenes introduces António, Aunt Rosa, Maria and Buiace and it begins to expose the dangers that colonizer women face from the colonized subject. Mounting a horse António stops by Aunt Rosa's farm, where the three women are working and exchanges words with Aunt Rosa and Maria.

382 See, for example, Maristela Toma, 'A Pena de Degredo e a Construção do Império Colonial', *Revista de Humanidades UFRN*, 9.24 (2008), 437-443.

Rosa: Look here Mr. António, my late (husband) Apolinário always used to say that in this job of working the land every day is a holy day, and the bloody man was right. I work a lot from dawn to dusk, but it is a consolation to look around and see these cabbages that are a grace of God.
António: But poor Maria taking care of vegetables on Sundays...
(Maria laughs)
António: And considering that she is a beautiful vegetable.
Maria (jokingly): Naughty! Naughty! You're taking liberties, Mr. António.
António: Well, let me tell you that if I was a single man, you wouldn't escape me.
Maria (laughingly): You cheeky devil! (She throws him a bunch of flowers).[383]

With this exchange Maria's character as a hard-working, no-nonsense and charming woman is set whilst concurrently a (non-sexually motivated) *Gus Chase* (see *The Birth of a Nation*) of epic proportions is unfolding. Native insurgents chase and slaughter defenceless colonizers, including a defenceless mother and daughter, that their simultaneously father and husband witnesses running away wailing. This signals that Maria's and Aunt Rosa's escape is urgent.
Already taking refuge in Chai Chai with her aunt, Maria talks with Daniel regarding their shared dream of having a house in the wilderness by a river surrounded by farming land when Daniel acknowledges that, despite the fact that Maria has been living in Africa for already three months, Aunt Rosa has failed to teach her any works in the local substratum. He teaches her her first two words in Landim:

Daniel (looking at Maria): Are you *maninge* of your *machamba*?
Maria: *Machamba*, what is that?
Daniel: *Machamba* is farm (vegetable garden) in the blacks' language, didn't you know that?
Maria: No.
Daniel: You have been here for a few months and your aunt has never thought you?
Maria: Not really
Daniel (disapprovingly): Mind you...
Maria: And that other word, *maninho* (meaning little brother in Portuguese language) or whatever it is, what does it mean?
Daniel (amused because of the way in which Maria misunderstood the word, he repeats what she has said and then corrects her): Maninho! Maninho! Ma-nin-gue-gue!
Maria: Maningue!
Daniel (explaining): *Maningue* is also Landim, it means very much. Well if you liked *maningue* your *machamba*, is the same as asking if you liked your farm very much.[384]

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383 My translation of 'Rosa: Olhe Sr. António, o meu Apolinário, que Deus haja, dizia sempre que neste trabalho da terra todos os dias são dias santos. Nisso tinha toda a razão o raio do homem. Eu trabalho para aqui que me farte de manhã à noite, mas também é uma consolação olhar à roda e ver estas couves que são uma graça de Deus./ António: Mas agora a Maria coitada, estar ao domingo a cuidar da hortaliça.../ António: E ela então que é uma beleza... de hortaliça./ Maria: Mau! Mau! O Sr. António esta é a adiantar-se muito./ António: Pois sim, só te digo que se fosse solteiro não me escapavas./ Maria: Ai seu atrevido!'

384 My translation of 'Daniel: Está então *maningue* da sua *machamba*./ Maria: *Machamba*,

Maria's lack of knowledge of the substratum language implies that she has not been cafrealized. The madness inherent to the colonial world carried also via the substratum language as, Ngungunyane's behaviour evidenced during his capture, has not taken hold of her – she remains in a state of innocence and as she was when in her little village in the mother country. Considering Salazarist doctrine, Maria has the correct provenance, she has good moral standing and an excellent work ethic but in order to embody the Estado Novo's perfect feminine she has to learn what will make her into an exemplary wife of a patriotic man. Aunt Rosa is a desexualized matron type, and Maria José is the perfect wife of a patriotic man. Aunt Rosa is an example of proto-feminism within a Salazarist patriarchal universe, by being a straightforward and hard-working widow with business acumen who caters for the wellbeing and moral standing of her niece, with a 'constructive spirit'.[385] Maria José is a totally devout wife and companion of Captain Mouzinho who follows him into battle, working as a nurse in a field hospital. Aunt Rosa and Maria José ensure that Maria strengthens her moral position and acquires a patriotic consciousness that mirrors the regime's 'colonization of the feminine'.

Aunt Rosa is responsible for shaping Maria's moral and public conduct. Chai Chai receives two unexpected visitors, that is, two white foreigners (a woman and a man). The foreign woman, Lilly Martini, in contrast to the Portuguese women is brash and loud, smokes with expansive gestures, speaks Portuguese language with a heavy accent and openly flirts with Daniel. Maria, demonstrating that she has not yet acquired the feminine reserve preferred by the Portuguese, reacts jealously towards Daniel in front of Chai Chai's costumers. Aunt Rosa pulls her back into the cafe's kitchen area away from the customers and slaps her for her imprudence, reminding her that she is already engaged to another man. Aunt Rosa calls Daniel in and to his dismay tells him that Maria is already engaged to marry. The platonic relationship which had been blossoming is dramatically put on hold. Aunt Rosa is staunchly against Maria breaking off her engagement with João Macário, from a family 'with some means' and who will soon be arriving in the city

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o que é isso?/ Daniel: *Machamba* é horta na Língua dos pretos, não sabia?/ Maria: Não./ Daniel: Então há uns poucos meses cá e a sua tia nunca lhe ensinou?/ Maria: Pois não./ Daniel: Essa agora.../ Maria: Essa outra palavra, o maninho ou la o que é?/ Daniel: Maninho! Maninho! Ma-nin-gue-gue!/ Maria: *Maningue*!/ Daniel: Também é Landim. Quer dizer muito. Ora, se gostava *maningue* da sua machamba é a mesma coisa que perguntar se gostava muito da sua horta'.

385 Patricia Vieira, *Portuguese Film 1930-1960*, trans. by Ashley Caja (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 218.

with Captain Mouzinho's regiment. Maria is distraught at the fact that her aunt and moral guardian does not allow her to choose love according to her own principles of honour. However, the fact that the narrative takes places in the colony, when a war is taking place, where and when conventional morality does not apply, for she is able to harbour hopes of changing her man without putting her honour at risk.

The character development of the two rivals makes it clear why Maria fell in love for Daniel. He enlists in the campaign and coincidently becomes João Macário's Sergeant. Daniel's exasperation at João Macário's lack of experience and physical frailty reaches a breaking point when Captain Mouzinho intervenes and demands that the romantic rivals cease their dispute. Both men respect Captain Mouzinho's order and from then onwards Daniel helps João Macário with his continuing physical frailty. Despite being older Daniel proves to be physical and mentally stronger than João Macário. João Macário's feminization is emphasized when travelling on the same boat as captured Ngungunyane and his wives he wakes up lying on Daniel's arms with Captain Mouzinho standing over him. The latter, portrayed in a close-up, then tells him: 'Então, o que foi isso rapaz, desmaias-te com medo do Gungunhana, ou que? Não valia a pena. Ele já não faz mal a uma mosca' (What was that boy, did you faint with fear from Ngungunyane, or what? It wasn't worth it. Now he wouldn't hurt a fly), pointing to Ngungunyane surrounded by his wives. When both men arrive in the city, with the army being welcomed as heroes, Aunt Rosa continues to oppose Maria's wish to break off her engagement with João Macário. Maria José and Captain Mouzinho overrule Aunt Rosa and allow Maria to choose which one of the two men she wishes to marry. João Macário, who, unlike António and Daniel, is given a second name making clear that he is not representative of a preferred masculinity as the other main lower-class types are. Because of his successful masculinization over João Macário Daniel is rewarded. Maria has chosen the strongest of the two and she is herself rewarded with the idyllic rural life she wishes for. Suspicion against João Macário had been levelled earlier in the narrative when Aunt Rosa mentioned that his family has some financial means making him different from the mythical image of poor-hard-working peasant that the regime promoted as quintessentially Portuguese. The rivalry between an increasingly feminized João Macário and an increasingly masculinized Daniel, resolved with Maria's subversion of love over honour sanctioned by the elite Mouzinho couple, can only take place according to the moralistic and traditionalist framework of Salazarism because Social Darwinism, which was popular in Portugal amongst members of the political elite during the First Republic and early decades of the Estado Novo, beneath

the surface sanctions the suspension of morality.

Maria's freedom to choose based on a mindset that selects the strongest man, and the one apparently closest aligned to the Regime, denotes an explicit elevation of an ideal of settler masculinity embodied by Daniel which in turn aligns her with the regime. João Macário enlisted in the army as a way to get to the colony, and to be with Maria rather than attend to his patriotic duty. Whilst he is on military campaign his physical frailty becomes a metaphor for the fact that he is not fully committed to the patriotic cause - therefore he stands for those who are not in favour or against Estado Novo, who have yet to find truth and freedom because their natural instincts are not Salazarist. Maria's apparent choice was between a financially secure João Macário whose interior character is never fully developed and a physically stronger and older Daniel who offers her a clear life path as the wife of a farmer which coincidently is what she has always dreamt of. Her subliminal dilemma hovers between a man who becomes fully committed to the nation above his family and God and another who had not yet reached that same level selflessness.

Daniel and Maria become the expression of the ideal Portuguese family in the colony. They move out to the wilderness, build a house, setup a productive farm laboured by natives, have a child, and start a settler community. Whilst Maria is not yet the perfect preferred feminine Maria José will contribute to her elevation. To Maria's disbelief Daniel leaves her and their young child behind to volunteer once more to fight under Captain Mouzinho against the natives who continue to carry out insurgencies. Maria seeks Maria José pleading her to persuade Daniel not to volunteer, since he now has a family, but instead Maria José enlightens her as to the importance of her husband's patriotic duties, and her own duties to him as a result. She persuades Maria to follow her example and join her has a field nurse, because 'Porque haveriam os homens de correr todos os riscos e as mulheres nenhum?' ('Why should men face all the dangers and women none?). Whilst Maria is working in the field hospital, frightened by the sound from the battle unfolding nearby, irrationally she runs in the direction of the sounds, presumably towards Daniel. Despite her best efforts to follow in Maria José's footsteps Maria still lacks the inner-strength and clarity of mind that separates elite from lower class women, and older women from younger women.

In the colonialist film – and in this it takes a leaf out of the war-genre book – the colonizer woman is pure and fragile, an object to be protect at all costs from the predatory Gussian instincts of the black male, underlining an

inherent lack in the feminine. In *The Birth of a Nation* because the pet sister Flora ignores the fact that her eldest brother told her not to go alone to collect water she is punished twice, unmercifully, for disobeying the patriarchal order; with Gus's attempt to rape her because of her child-like innocence and with death because her innocence has been shattered. In *Sanders of the River* there is no visual representation on-screen of white female colonizers living in Commissar Sanders' colonial domain, inferring that the best way to protect the white woman from her own lack is to exclude her from the colony. This is exemplified by the fact that throughout the narrative Sanders is engaged to marry his fiancée who lives in the mother country where he goes on holiday for that purpose, and it is never mentioned if after the wedding she would return with him to the colony. Lack in the female protagonist of *Simba* is evident in the way in which her initial sentimentalism is demonstrated by her unquestioning affection for the natives that does not allow her to understand the need for violence against the rebellious colonized individuals. *Chaimite* places the colonizer women firmly in the colonial space and the threat posed by the colonized subject is purely existential, whereas sexual desire from the colonized male towards the white woman is not suggested underling an ideological taboo for the Estado Novo – miscegenation between the white Portuguese woman and the black native male. Similar in this to Maria, Maria José and Aunt Rosa who form her moral compass are lacking in some key respects, either ideologically or *functionally*, according to the Salazarist understanding of the feminine. Despite obvious differences in class the two women join hands in the displacement of their maternal instincts that Salazarism attributes to the Portuguese women as homemaker. Maria José de Albuquerque was a direct cousin of Mouzinho de Albuquerque and the couple never had children and the fictional Maria José thereby transfers her maternal instinct towards Captain Mouzinho and Maria – she sees Maria, indeed, as the source of her noble values. After the death of her husband, Aunt Rosa is joined by her niece, Maria; she is no longer alone in the African wilderness, and she is able to project her maternal instincts on Maria. Despite their devotion and industriousness, Maria José and Rosa are incomplete in the eyes of the Regime as they failed to have a family that includes their own children. Belinha (*Ribatejo*) is at first sight an example of an independent and intelligent woman who, at the start of the film, displays Maria's innocence, Aunt Rosa's proto-feminism, and Maria José's elite characteristics but is progressively shown to be tragically caught within a world outside of her control; a world ruled by the desire of her dead father and the egos and greed of the men who surround her. Her authority over the men she employs is dependent on their respect for the memory of her father, whom she has replaced. *Chaimite* proposes that Salazarist preferred femininity can be

understood as the sum of Maria's innocence and youth, Maria José's wisdom and patriotism and Aunt Rosa's industriousness, signalling that for a woman to embody ideal femininity is a process laden with lack and conflict between different exemplary femininities. Feminine lack is a necessity because hegemonic colonialist masculinity is constructed in opposition to femininity and to that which is monstrous within the colonized subject.

3.2.4.2.5. Withdrawing Language from Colonial Subjects

In Fernando Pessoa's 1934 poem, *O Mostrengo* (a superlative of the word monster), a sailor replies to a monster outraged that he is steering a caravel ship through his seas the sailor that, 'Aqui ao leme sou mais do que eu: Sou um Povo que quer o mar que é teu...' (Here at the steering wheel I more than myself: I am a nation who wants the sea that is yours). We (the Portuguese) are a people who want the land that is not yours is the reply that is given to the monster in *Chaimite*. The monster is the native King Ngungunyane who supports the insurgency against the Portuguese. Ngungunyane is an example of the evil native king and chief character cast in colonialist films as a demoniac force who legitimizes colonialist domination. Seven colonizers, António and Daniel included, gather around a table in Chai Chai discussing Ngungunyane whom they blame for the insurgency and breakdown of peace i.e., of colonial order. Ngungunyane is described as a despot, an alcoholic, and a murderer who, like Nero, killed his own brother, a rival for succession. He conspires with European interests against Portugal, is surrounded by bad advisors, commands immense power over his people through fear rather than respect or loyalty and has Portuguese speaking spies everywhere. *Chaimite* conceals historical complexities, flattens colonial relations, and constructs a stereotypical portrayal of Ngungunyane as part of a strategy to establish an insurmountable distance between colonizer and colonized and between white and black masculinities.

The historical links between Ngungunyane's regime and the British, more specifically with the British South Africa Company, i.e. the link between foreigner and native for strategic reasons, was a major threat to the Portuguese colonial dominance in the late 1800s as much as it was in the 1950s. One of the settlers claims to have seen Ngungunyane from a distance four times and in his words, 'Ele pareceu-me um pretalhaz grande balofo' (He seem to be a big fat black guy). *Pretalhaz* is a superlative of the word *preto* that, depending on the context and the way in which it is said, can be taken as a racial slur. The superlative word identifies Ngungunyane from the onset as a problematic

if not impossible individual to deal with. Throughout the narrative it is said that Ngungunyane has little regard for kinship and political loyalties. He hands over one of his sons and one of his trusted chiefs to the Portuguese in an attempt to stop them from advancing upon his land. When Captain Mouzinho and his men arrive at the compound in Chaimite, where he his hiding, they find sculls scattered around the ground alluding to cannibalism and sacrificial rituals in line with what is associated with the savage African ruler of the colonialist film, including King Mofobala (*Sanders of the River*) and the Chief (*Simba*). Before the spectator is able to see Ngungunyane on-screen, similarly, however less spectacularly than before he sees the infamous Colonel Kurtz in *Apocalypse Now* (1979), in one of iconic images from the film, they are imprisoned by their own depravity expressed by the distinct *blackness* that covers their faces. The spectator of *Chaimite* hopes that Ngungunyane will be captured, and thereby free an otherwise placid Portuguese colonial world of the savagery he embodies. As constructs of evil intertwined with insanity there are distinctions between the representations of white Colonel Kurtz and black Ngungunyane. The Colonel is a perverse example of cafrealization but which is contextualized so that the spectator may understand the transformation from conscious citizen into barbarian. Ngungunyane's betrayal is explained by the settlers as a result of inherent evil and referred to as incapable of remorse or redemption, thus perverting the complex nature of the historical relationship between Ngungunyane and the Portuguese colonial authorities. When the settlers talk amongst themselves in Chai Chai, despite the stereotype they construct, one of the settlers says, '[a] man who gets to where he has got is not that stupid', which is a puzzling statement that is only explained by the historical references (discussed in chapter two) which are excised from *Chaimite*'s biased narrative.

Captain Mouzinho, promoted to Major because of the military victories he achieved, is informed that Ngungunyane is hiding in his ancestral village, Chaimite, and he proceeds without hesitation to capture him. As the soldiers enter Ngungunyane's ancestral home, armed native warriors at the sight of Captain Mouzinho inexplicably offer no resistance and flee, demonstrating the acceptance of subalternity emerging from the love/fear dynamics the colonized subject invests towards the colonizer. Finally, two hours into the film Ngungunyane appears on screen for the first time; under the threat of being burnt alive inside a hut, he runs out and, standing up, faces Captain Mouzinho who immediately orders his arrest. Whilst being arrested, in a state of rage Ngungunyane shouts incomprehensible words as if the madness that in colonialist discourse characterizes the pre-colonial world has overwhelmed him. At Captain Mouzinho's request for translation, a black auxiliary says

that he is referring to his chiefs, to which Ngungunyane interjects in Portuguese with, 'Sou o chefe sim, ainda ei de cortar teu pescoço' (Yes, I am still the chief, I will eventually cut off your throat). After this, Captain Mouzinho and Ngungunyane stand looking at each other. Ngungunyane's hands are tied behind his back. Captain Mouzinho and Ngungunyane stare at each other, and the sequence is reinforced with close-ups, and although the latter is powerless a moral duel is unfolding. Captain Mouzinho addresses Ngungunyane with a command, 'Sit down!'. Ngungunyane replies, 'Where?'. Captain Mouzinho, 'On the floor'. Ngungunyane, 'It is dirty'. Eventually Ngungunyane lowers his face and sits down on the floor conceding the moral ground to Captain Mouzinho. During his capture Ngungunyane is transformed from a belligerent substratum speaker into a submissive superstratum speaker, from a marginalised, protesting, and regional masculinity into a subservient masculinity.

Captain Mouzinho specifically orders black auxiliary soldiers to tie Ngungunyane's hands. For the first time African colonial troops are acknowledged beyond their background and silent role, by being addressed even if indirectly. Indeed, their role in Ngungunyane's arrest and passive presence during Mambaza's interrogation scene underlines the coexistence of two distinct worlds, as viewed by the colonized individual. The black male characters Mauéué, Mambaza and Fixe reveal some of the complexities at play. At the very early stages of the film Mauéué runs across the wilderness to warn António of the ongoing insurgency. The two men speak to each other in the substratum language, without any translation being given. A solemn Mambaza is framed superlatively looking down at Mauéué. Both men are framed with generous medium shots in order to emphasize Mauéué's concern and Mambaza's stern position. As the first contingent of Portuguese troops disembark in Lourenço Marques Mambaza sees an opportunity to kill Mauéué whom he knows to be loyal to the colonizer. Mauéué is stabbed to death to the dismay of António who saw him as loyal native. Beyond their different loyalties the two natives differ in the fact that Mauéué is a substratum speaker and Mambaza, similarly to Ngungunyane speaks both the substratum and the superstratum languages, whereby the native's knowledge of the superstratum translates into lack of loyalty towards the colonizer. This proposes the British segregationist perspective that the colonized subject should not be entirely assimilated into the colonizer's culture. The representation of assimilated Fixe (*Chaimte*), which resonates with the portrayal of other similar assimilated Africans in Anglophone colonialist films, emphasizes the contradictions between the colonizer's anxiety and the civilizing mission of colonialism.

Fig. 9. Superstratum and non-superstratum speaking black males in *Chaimite*. Left to right from top: (1) Settlers discuss Ngungunyane; (2) Ngungunyane being arrested at Captain Mouzinho's orders by specifically black military *auxiliaries*; (3) Ngungunyane knelling in front of Captain Mouzinho; (4) Mauéué moments before being killed; (5) Fixe in his capacity as a colonial employee; (6) Mambaza spying on settlers.

Bosambo (*Sanders of the River*) and Dr. Karanja (*Simba)* are examples of the representation of assimilated colonized subjects in English-speaking colonialist films and what is expected from them in that universe: Bosambo, once an urban petty criminal, is allowed to become a tribal chief provided that he serves the colonialists' interests; Dr. Karanja who had been allowed access to world of the whites betrays the colonial status-quo because he protects his evil chief father from the authorities, and despite proving his loyalty to the colonizers by killing his own father he is punished with death. In different ways, both Bosambo and Dr. Karanja serve the colonial segregationist discourse whereby for Bosambo regeneration lies in his return to the tribe and Dr. Karanja, given his perversion by becoming a 'poor imitation' of the colonizer, was a man beyond redemption. This is most visible in the colonialist film *Men of Two Worlds* (1946) where Kisenga, an accomplished black African classical music student whose talents are accepted by London's high culture milieu, dramatically renounces his musical call and returns to his homeland and community in Africa to help a colonial administrator against an evil and superstitious tribal chief who hinders the colonizer's efforts to develop his people. *Chaimite*'s treatment of the assimilated African is markedly different since it reveals an incongruous relation between the civilizing mission of the Estado Novo's colonialism and the film's covert messages.

In *Chaimite* the black characters Fixe, a superstratum speaker and the colonial

governor's servant, and the spy Mambaza are outrightly constructed as threats to the colonial order. In a scene characterized by an eerie *mise-en-scène,* dressed in his colonial uniform Fixe announces himself at António's house to António's wife and without greeting and the warmness that exists naturally among colonizers he says 'Your excellency the Governor Campo e Castro wants to speak with Mr. António'.[386] The Governor requested António's presence in order to thank him in person in the presence of other military officers for alerting the military post regarding the insurgency. Whilst he is telling António confidential military information the Governor stops to look at the door. The mood of the *mise-en-scène* suddenly turns darker, the governor opens the door, sees Fixe off screen as he passes along the corridor, and then asks him, 'Did you want anything', to what Fixe replies, 'Your Excellency, I walked by, I saw the door open, I closed it. Would Your Excellency like anything else, Mr. Governor'.[387] Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro comments that he thought he had closed the door and a sense of suspicion towards Fixe is left lingering. Later we are made aware that Fixe was accused of spying for Ngungunyane and a white man is shown doing his job. Fixe's character makes the issue of assimilation more problematic than Mambaza because of his higher degree of assimilation. The African bilingual superstratum and substratum speaker is constructed as a traitor. Exemplified by Mauéué and Ngungunyanes's mother, the Africans who are loyal to the Portuguese colonizers do not speak the superstratum and this leads us to consider the New State's position on the education and assimilation of natives in order to make sense of *Chaimite*'s representation of the assimilated and superstratum-speaking natives.

Whilst *Simb*a, through Dr. Karanja, questions the faithfulness and gratitude of the assimilated towards the colonizer, *Chaimite* proposes that the education of the natives poses an immediate danger to the colonial establishment. All African characters who can speak the (superstratum) Portuguese language – Mambaza, Fixe and Ngungunyane – are represented as traitors whereas Mauéué, who cannot not speak the Portuguese language, an indigenous in Salazarist terms, is loyal to the colonialists. However, the apparent diametrical line between indigenous/good versus assimilated/bad is unsettled by a single shot. From when Mambaza begins to ease himself closer to Mauéué in order to kill him, as the Portuguese troops disembark in Lourenço Marques, different shots show natives standing and watching and all of them

386 My translation of 'Sua Excelência, o Governador Campo e Casto quer falar com o Sr. António'.

387 My translation of 'Querias alguma coisa?/ Vossa excelência, passei, vi a porta aberta, fechei-a. Vossa excelência quer mais alguma coisa Sr. Governador'.

are shirtless except for two Africans wearing white European shirts. As Mambaza goes past the two men for a fraction of second he turns to face them and one of them, showing his displeasure at his sudden presence, waves his arm at him signalling to him to move away. These men that exhibit something clearly European, that the other African extras included in this scene do not possess, are nonetheless placed among them. This on the one hand hints that assimilation can entail the acceptance of one's dominated condition and on the other hand it echoes Fanon's assertion that assimilation that does not entail acceptance leads to reverse racism. In *Chaimite* the more distant the native is from the language of the colonizer, as long as he is not perverted by foreign interests, the native will remain loyal. In explicit terms *Chaimite* develops a crude metonymic relation between assimilation and treason (that speaks to the Estado Novo's belief that formal education beyond a certain degree perverted the peasant class in Portugal) that translates into the punishment off all natives who speak the superstratum – effectively withdrawing the superstratum language from the universe of the colonized subject which, echoing Nietzsche who equated language with reason, comes with the consequential punishment of a withdrawal of rationality.

Whilst *Chaimite's* narrative punishes the assimilated and indigenous natives who contest colonialism it fails to offer real incentives to the indigenous natives who support colonialism, namely Mauéué who ironically dies instead of the colonizers who seek death towards honour. In *Sanders of the River* the African employees of colonial administration are portrayed as benign and faithful to Commissioner Sanders because, we assume, they are representative of a small number of chosen men whose qualities, by virtue of their successful submission, enable them to have the privilege to serve the colonial authorities whereas in *Chaimite* the colonizer is distrustful of the African serving them because the colonized subject, in the words of Fanon, thinks every day to take the colonizer's place.

3.2.4.2.6. Cafrealized and Anxious (and Hysteric) Colonizers

Salazarist doctrine professed the nation's privileged relationship with God when the Estado Novo required the political support of Western countries in the interests of gaining legitimacy. One of these countries was Great Britain, and this was ironic since, in Ferro's view, Great Britain had succumbed to capitalism which he saw as a form of Satanism that led to individualism, the breakdown of social harmony and the loss of spirituality. *Chaimite* reflects the problematic relations between the Estado Novo and Western countries

and refers in particular to British greed which had caused the British to use violence in order to destabilize the Portuguese colony. Arbitrariness intertwined with excess violence was in fact a structural component of domination in the colonial contexts, including the British colonies, as one commentator suggests:

> There is an element of arbitrariness (as unpredictability) in the decision to invade a certain territory at a certain moment in time, resulting in more arbitrariness (as unconstrained social power) in the relations that ensue between colonizers and colonized. That is why arbitrariness is not a contingent but an inherent feature of colonial domination. And in a colonial context, arbitrary violence was the preferred method of reinforcing and institutionalizing domination.[388]

This is reflected most emphatically in the diary of Thomas Thistlewood, a British plantation owner in Jamaica during the eighteen century, who recorded in detail the physical and sexual violence he exerted upon his slaves.

Thistlewood was the designer of a grotesque punishment which involved making one slave defecate in the mouth of another slave, who was then gagged for four to five hours. Known as 'Derby's dose,' after the name of a slave who had suffered the abuse, this was seen as a fitting punishment for having stolen food, or in the case of Derby, being caught eating young sugar cane stalks. Another punishment he conceived involved flogging a slave in stocks, rubbing molasses on the wounds, and letting insects swarm over him during the night.[389] This level of sadism was not uncommon amongst British slave owners in Jamaica who practiced 'unrestrained and guiltless dominance', including sexual abuse of slaves as a dominance strategy, to the point where a law was passed in 1675 to make slave owners accountable for slaves 'frivolously' killed. The only glimpse we have of a European male foreigner in *Chaimite* is when Dr. Schultz arrives with Lilly Martini in Chai Chai as a group of settlers around a table discuss Ngungunyane and mention that his court includes foreign 'unscrupulous adventurers who are exploiting the situation to load themselves with money'.[390] This early scene establishes the foreign male European other as immoral, deceptive and materialistic in contrast with Portuguese spiritual masculinity. Whilst Dr. Schultz's on-screen presence is brief, the military officers are often concerned with the European foreigner's off-screen gaze. With the British, in particular, who have a history of exploiting the Portuguese State's structural weakness in order to inflict

388 Vittorio Bufacchi, 'Colonialism, Injustice, and Arbitrariness', *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 48.2 (2017), 197–211 (pp. 207-208).

389 Bufacchi, p. 205.

390 My translation of 'aventureiros sem escrúpulos que o que querem é encher-se de dinheiro a custa da ocasião'.

moral humiliations upon Portuguese hegemonic masculinity, namely the 1890 British Ultimatum. The military officers in *Chaimite* as a collective are represented as exemplary of the best type of elite Portuguese masculinity which is more noble than the British version of hegemonic masculinity. Based on his appearance, conduct during battle, the way in which he masculinizes the lowest type of Portuguese masculinity, António, and dominates the colonized subject, including Mambaza, Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro is constructed as the epitome of Portuguese hegemonic masculinity; even so he is unable to transcend the paranoia that characterizes the colonizer in relation to the real intentions of the colonized subject under (compliant) domination.

Fig. 10. Anxious elite colonizer and substratum speaking settler masculinities in *Chaimite*. Left to right from top: (1) Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro; (2) Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro, with António by his side, leaving his black auxiliary troops behind; (3) Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro slaps Mambaza during interrogation (4) António speaking the substratum language; (5) António being forgiven by Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro for a past anti-patriotic action; (6) António before killing Mambaza.

In *Chaimite* the practice of colonization is performed chiefly for the benefit of the working-class colonizer, such as Daniel, who is given the opportunity to become a patriot, a family man and a productive agent. The wellbeing of the colonized individual who, at the beginning of the film, according to the settlers, find themselves oppressed by their own leaders is a direct consequence of the well-being of the colonizer, whereas in *Sanders of the River* British colonization is constructed solely for the prosperity of the colonized, i.e., in Stuart Mill's rather than Touqueville's terms, and therefore any of the violence inflicted upon the colonized is for their best long-term interest. Galvão's condemnation of Portuguese colonial practices solely for the benefit of the colonizer who prospered with the exploitation of the colonized subject in his 1947 report on forced labour in the Portuguese colonies exposed the Regime's free-spirit Nietzschean acceptance of the

suffering inflicted upon those deemed weaker. This is echoed in *Chaimite* on one occasion with a joke with racial undertones that disavows the suffering inflicted upon the colonized subject. The propensity of cruelty in the spirit of the officers and colonial administrators who laugh at the punch line of the joke told by a soldier – that natives warriors were so scared of the Portuguese army that they even turned white – is put at the service of patriotism whereby, in free-spirit Nietzschean terms, the colonizer is solely a creator and the colonized is simply a creature to be destroyed but never purified. None of colonized villains are given the chance of redemption in the eyes of the colonizer with the colonial status-quo framed as eternal, dismissing the volatile nature of social power dynamics.

Chaimite was a private venture that received support and resources from the Estado Novo, and it is significant that the historical perspective it reinforces in 1953 is a single-minded defence of colonialism. It crafts an insurmountable barrier between coloniser and colonized and refuses to explore conciliatory positions that might have resonated well with critics of Salazar's ultra-colonialism at home and abroad. The joke laughed at and the slap that Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro gives Mambaza is designed to masculinize the Salazarist male spectator. The latter, while he is kept at an appropriate distance from the colonized subject – who only sees the colonizer's power through the lens of terror – identifies with Lieutenant Couceiro's metaphorical response to those within the Portuguese national and colonial territory who claimed for an alteration of the national status-quo, including, communists, secessionists and anti-colonialists.

The duty and privilege of exercising violence upon others on behalf of the nation is accepted though with the risk of possible death which, in turn, is offset by national martyrdom i.e., the notion of the hero's self-sacrificial death is played out by Captain Mouzinho and Major Caldas Xavier. The camera pans along the backs of the troops as Colonel Galhardo plays the role of kindly chaplain while Captain Mouzinho utters his stoic words: 'We end up being jealous of the dead' (Acabamos por ter inveja dos mortos). When visiting a dying Major Xavier, with Lieutenant Couceiro, Captain Mouzinho demonstrates once more his wish to die for the nation with his jealousy of Major Xavier who is in his deathbed, emulating a King Sebastian-like self-sacrificial and impetuous drive towards death.[391] Hegemonic masculinity's

391 Another interpretation of Captain Mouzinho's reoccurring desire towards death is the necessity to dispel the eroticism, if any, unleashed on the male spectator which is perpetually averted through a masochistic process where he promises that his mutilation will take place in due course.

willing drive towards death had considerable moral and political meaning in 1953 considering the potential for anti-colonial rebellions in the colonies following from the decolonizations taking place in British and French African colonies after the Second World War. In 1953 the Cuban Revolution and Algerian War of Independence were imminent and the assimilated native elites from the colonized countries were courting and being courted by the communist block that aimed to destabilize Western powers via their colonial territories. Considering that Portugal had been neutral during the Second World War, it lacked the recent memory and experience of war that the French took to the liberation wars in Indochina and Algeria, and this makes it necessary to educate and masculinise the Portuguese man towards a potential colonial war. Captain Mouzinho and Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro who alternatively share the hero function – an impetuous but otherwise bland Captain Mouzinho and a courageous and a stylized Lieutenant Couceiro – that when read as the expression of a single character propose a military officer who fluctuates between the emotional extremes of the brute-gentleman free-spirit, a model for the military officers who will be the main drivers behind the imminent Portuguese colonial wars that would run their deadly course in the 1960s and 1970s.

Chaimite's military officers, through their faith in God and obedience to the will of the State, embody the new man that Salazar made reference to during the 1936 Braga Speech. The documentary *A Grande Exposição do Mundo Português* on the 1940 event of the same name highlights the Estado Novos's reading of history where it unfolded by virtue of the actions of a number of exceptional men with unwavering Catholic faith and colonization is understood as God's imperative. After capturing Ngungunyane, the Portuguese military entered Lourenço Marques parading him publicly, to the jubilation of the colonizers. Problematic foreign relations with Germany and Britain who coveted parts of Mozambique and contacts between the British colonial magnate Cecil Rhodes and Ngungunyane were pragmatic reasons behind the drive to secure military control of the colonial territory. Ngungunyane being displayed powerless to a dying Major Caldas Xavier, aided by two nuns, as Captain Mouzinho makes a speech honouring the Major's bravery and patriotism, is the sign that the last resistance to the evangelization of the colony had been removed, intertwining religion and economics. The relationship between the native and the European foreign other, represented in *Chaimite* as perverse, became a threat to Portuguese interests during the First World War when the Germans collaborated with rebel natives in northern Mozambique which forced the Portuguese to seek British military support revealing the insufficiencies of the Portuguese State.

Major Caldas Xavier's last wish to see Ngungunyane captured underlined his fear that the Portuguese military might be ridiculed by other Europeans for failing to dominate the colonized subject. Earlier, an on-screen pensive-looking Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro in typically masculinized fashion commands the space of the frame with banal actions whilst off-screen Major Caldas Xavier motivates his troops during a military campaign referencing his fear of ridicule from Western foreigners:

> Boys, as we see, the weather that we have is not the ideal to carry out a campaign of such importance as the one we are engaged with. However, I ask, how much would the foreigners make fun of us, and the insurgents would be joyful if our column stopped or went back.[392]

Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro, seductively at the mercy of the spectator's gaze, mimics Hollywood masculine etiquette of a Victor Marswell (*Mogambo*) played by Clark Gable in how he attempts to act graciously whilst harbouring the 'brute' within him. Nietzsche characterized the English as mediocre, the French as spiritual and refined and the Germans as drawn towards chaos.[393] With his careful mimicry of refinement Lieutenant Couceiro is tacitly addressing foreign accounts of inferiority of the Portuguese race that have historically plagued the standing of the Portuguese elite male in the European racial hierarchy since the 1500s, namely with accusations of blackness. Captain Mouzinho and Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro spend the same amount of time on-screen despite the fact that Captain Mouzinho had a more significant role in the historical events played out in *Chaimite.* The constant presence of a blond Lieutenant Couceiro unbalances the 'black legend' of Portuguese contact with southern natives and proposes a parity with northern Europeans races. Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro's blond hair fortuitously signals that Portugal is now led by a type of men that has not mixed with the native, characterized by their closeness to northern European racial standards. The Portuguese men, such as Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro, are above the 'lapses' that some compatriots are guilty off and which erroneously characterize the Portuguese, according to Eugenio Tagmatini. Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro further aligns himself with the European other when he proposes to apply the military square tactic used successfully by other colonizers against armies of natives (rather than devising their own military strategy) which is applied with a rate of prowess never matched by the others. Lieutenant Paiva

392 My translation of 'Rapazes, segundo se vê, o tempo que faz não é positivamente o ideal para levar a cabo uma campanha de tamanha importância como esta em que estamos empenhados. Mas eu pergunto, o que não zombariam os estrangeiros e pulgariam os rebeldes se a nossa coluna parasse ou voltasse para trás'.

393 Nietzsche, pp. 133, 144 and 145.

Couceiro leads a process of over-mimicry of the European other throughout *Chaimite* with the careful on-screen display of his body and his role in the army's successfully application of foreign military tactics beyond expectations. This process of over-mimicry within the Portuguese/British relationship – i.e. in terms of the subaltern-colonizer/master-colonizer dualism – is akin to the assimilated colonized individual's mimicry of the colonizer; it establishes a parallel with the way in which the Portuguese First Republic and the Estado Novo appropriated exploitative and violent colonial practices carried out by other European colonizers, particularly the British hut tax and the Belgian cash crop models.

This stance is voiced in *Chaimite* by Commissar Regent Enes who says, in line with the late 1800s colonialist mindset, that '[p]eace can only be considered under the total submission of the Vátua Kingdom to the Portuguese Crown'. *Chaimite* presents a narrative that safeguards the expedient of better peaceful Portuguese colonization by attributing the causes of war to foreigners and Ngungunyane's blood-thirsty war chief Maguiguana. The group of settlers gathering in Chai-Chai claim the insurgency has been caused by the greed of foreign European interests which have fuelled Ngungunyane's betrayal in order to destabilize an otherwise placid Portuguese administered colony, rather than by historically legitimate complaints about Portugal's colonial territorial control and economic exploitation. Despite the Portuguese military successes Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro witnesses that they, the Portuguese, continue to be ridiculed and slandered by the European other, mirroring an ongoing criticism of Portuguese colonial policy.

The Western male other in *Chaimite* represented on-screen by Dr. Schultz, whose association with the flamboyant Lilly Martini and despot Ngungunyane, establishes his lack of moral ground. During a dinner between Captain Mouzinho, Maria José, Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro and Major Caldas Xavier, the latter refers that the Lieutenant physically assaulted three foreign journalists for slandering the Portuguese military. Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro's off-screen aggression signals a rebuff to the international community for their criticism of Portuguese colonial affairs and international isolation, which did not translate into lack of financial and military support from Western countries during the 1950s and 1960s. Hence the aggression, which was included in the script as a scene and filmed, was censored. A parallel interpretation of Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro's aggression draws on the assimilated colonized who wants to be equal to and loved by the colonizer who, in turn, refuses him despite having proved his merit according to the

colonizer's rules; it is for this reason that he ultimately rebels and turns against those he once mimicked when practicing his own type of 'self-defence racism'. The Portuguese, a subaltern colonizer, after being asked to mimic the master-colonizer, the British, he believes he has done so successfully only to see his achievements devalued, and thereby placing himself in the schizophrenic terrain of the assimilated colonized and hence Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro's off-screen overflow of masculinity, and violence towards his spectral image.

Chaimite's António, a settler who speaks the substratum who has a dark secret that emasculates him is made undergo a process of masculinization at the side of Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro that metaphorically signals his trajectory from cafrealization, with ideas foreign to the doctrine, possibly Marxism or secession, to become complicit with hegemonic masculinity's colonial violence and a willing perpetrator of violence on the colonized subject. The regime placed men loyal to the doctrine and born in the mother country in the most important colonial administrative positions, and treated settlers born in the colonies as second-class citizens when it came to access to opportunities in the colony and in the mother country. The settler communities felt disempowered and as a result there were critical voices in Angola and Mozambique towards greater political and economic independence and even secession. When PIDE began operating in the African colonies their primary concern was to monitor secessionist settlers above native's anti-colonialism.[394] Considering that many settlers supported General Humberto Delgado's candidature to the presidency of the republic in 1958, António, a typical settler, must be made complicit with exemplary elite masculinity through by any emotional ties he may have had with the colonized subject and their language in order to signal support for Portuguese colonialism's ethics of process.

António is knowledgeable of the colonized subject and the colonial territory, and this is made clear from the onset of the film. After Mauéué has run diligently through the African wilderness to warn the colonizers of the insurgents revolt he finds António talking with Maria and Aunt Rosa at their farm and interrupts them abruptly speaking in the substratum Landim:

Rosa: What is he saying Mr António?

394 For an account of the Estado Novo's attitudes towards settlers, see Fernando Tavares Pimenta Angola, 'Euro-African Nationalism: The United Angolan Front', in *Sure Road? Nationalisms in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique*, ed. by Eric Morier-Genoud (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 178-197.

António (translating): It seems to be an insurgency.
Rosa: An insurgency!
(Mauéué speaks in Landim)
António (translating): Things are serious (…) they have rebelled and Ngungunyane is part of it.[395]

After being warned by Mauéué, António immediately takes charge of the situation; gives instructions to Mauéué, Aunt Rosa, Maria and Buiace, and rides to Lourenço Marques to warn the military officers. Mauéué and António speak in the local African language, Landim (XiRonga). The white lower-class male settler, unlike the elite colonizer, denotes the necessity of cafrealization because he learns to speak the substratum language – and António is an example of this. His fluency comes with something dark, a secret – some time ago he deserted from the army, rather than stand up for himself against being falsely accused of something left unsaid. This does not allow him to have a perfect moral position and consequently his wife Mariana and him live in perpetual fear of being uncovered and excluded from the community. António acts as a go-between Africans and elite colonizers because he has the loyalty of some natives who supply him with key information that benefits the settlers when passed onto elite colonizers. If with Maria her lack of knowledge of the substratum signals her innocence, with António his understanding of the substratum casts a shadow on his character because this knowledge implies a level of engagement with the African that diminishes his *Portugueseness*. We are unable to ascertain if António was born in the colony or in the mother country and this ambiguity makes him different and lesser than Daniel. António's low height is underlined by himself when he says: 'Even though I am the diminutive race I am volunteering for the military campaigns'. This sets him up as an exception to the normal masculine i.e., besides his acquired knowledge of the substratum there is something inherent in him that signals a lack that makes him vulnerable to the danger the sub-stratum represents.[396] António's shares the same body-type, short and overweight or obese, with other characters constructed as comical or lesser masculinities in films financed by the regime. Examples include Zé Analfabeto and the minor character Sr. Gaspar Borges, the Royal Stables employee in *Camões*, who treacherously tried to kill the protagonist. António allows a glimpse into the regime's discomfort with the nation's past of cafrealization in Africa and stands for a man that by virtue of his type and class he is vulnerable to contemporary forms of cafrealization.

395 My translation of 'Rosa: Que diz ele Sr. António?/ António: Parece que há uma revolta./ Rosa: Uma revolta!/ António: A coisa é seria tia Rosa […] revoltaram-se e o Gungunhana esta metido nisto'.

396 My translation of 'Embora eu seja da raça minorca eu ofereci-me como voluntario'.

In *Chaimite* cafrealization retains its pre-Lusotropicalism negative value but changes its meaning to new forms of ideological debasement – sympathies with Marxism, democracy, anti-colonialism and or colonial secession.

Given the scenario of the potential betrayal of António, because of his contact with the substratum and everything evil contained with it, he is made to undergo a process of masculinization with Lieutenant Paiva Paiva Couceiro as his mentor and judge. The films *A Revolucao de Maio* and *Feitico do Império* play on the corrupting power of communism and capitalism respectively whilst with António the nature of what corrupts him via the substratum is left open-ended. Unlike Daniel, António's process of being accepted by the dominant male order begins early on in the plot. After the first insurgency António is asked by Major Caldas Xavier to join an expedition column because of his knowledge of native people and language and territory. António refuses alluding to the fact that in the past he made a mistake, however the Major reassures him that the past stays in the past and from then onwards António's journey of transformation begins.

Mariana reads a letter from António, written whilst on campaign with Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro and where praises the Lieutenant's bravery and himself for how good he has become at killing 'pretos' (blacks), that communicates that his masculinization along non-moral and patriotic lines is under away. In the following scene as he rides on a horse across the wilderness side-by-side with Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro they are surprised to see in the distance what seems to be thousands of native warriors who are keeping track of their movements. In position of great numerical difference both men become anxious. Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro takes control of the situation and orders António to show no fear. If their African military auxiliaries sense any fear in them they will turn on them before the warriors do so. The Lieutenant's anxiety reflects the colonizer's belief that the (assimilated) loyal colonized subject will turn on him at the first sign of his weakens. Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro, waving a white flag to the insurgents, pretends that he has come looking for them in order to reinforce the colonial authorities demand for the handover of certain native chiefs under the threat of further military offensives by the Portuguese military. Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro and António leave their troops and auxiliaries behind and ride ahead to meet three chiefs who stand a few meters away. With António translating, Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro authoritatively reprimands the chiefs and the bluff works – the Lieutenant turned an unfavourable situation into a display of courage and of assumed moral superiority over the colonized subject. Both men leave the situation unscathed retuning back to their potentially

treacherous auxiliaries. As they ride back the Lieutenant makes it known that António has just completed his masculinisation process telling him that whatever he may have done in the past he has just proved himself to be a courageous man. This underlines the Lieutenant's own heroism and that António has been accepted by the dominant male order. Later, during a battle the Lieutenant is injured near one eye and António reaffirming his courage and devotion, confirming his new status as an exemplary subordinate masculinity, goes to his rescue.

After António had proved his loyalty to the colonial cause, off-screen with the letter to his wife and on-screen with his complicity with the elite colonizer's morality and actions, he finds himself indoors with Captain Mouzinho, Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro and Mambaza. Mambaza, captured for spying, is being interrogated by Lieutenant Couceiro, who, after being told that he speaks Portuguese, decides to address him directly: 'Stand closer, in the light, I want to see your face, you rascal. Aren't you listening? Do you want me to clean your ears? Look, I don't like waiting, and I'm a very rough'.[397] António then interrupts him by revealing that Mambaza killed Mauéué, the loyal native who warned António about the insurgency. Lieutenant Couceiro continues: 'Sit down!'. Since this implies sitting on the floor to which Mambaza replies defiantly that he does not belong to a tribe that would do such things. Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro's immediate reaction is to slap him on the face. The camera then moves back to show Mombaza's full body as he slowly sits down on the floor whilst two static auxiliary troops are made visible. Mambaza proceeds to tell the Lieutenant all he knows. During the encounter a calm and collected Lieutenant addresses Mambaza in an extreme unbalance of power, where cinematic choices contribute to deprive Mambaza of subjecthood - who is seen from the back, from a distance, caving in by sitting slowly on the floor whilst the Lieutenant controls the space. The camera's reinforcement of the unequal colonizer/colonized dynamic contributes to the legitimization of the colonizer's use of direct and arbitrary violence by one body upon another.

Excluding the above scene, the display of face-to-face colonizer violence upon the black body is not represented on screen in *Chaimite* in contrast to the widespread violence that was present at that time in the Portuguese colonies. The violence, physical and verbal that Lieutenant Paiva Couceiro

397 My translation of 'Chega-te cá, aqui para a luz, que eu quero te ver bem a cara meu patife. Não estas a ouvir? Vê la se queres que te esfregulhe os ouvidos? Olha, eu gosto pouco de esperar e sou muito bruto'.

dispenses upon Mambaza by his own accord is sanctioned by the aesthetic choices that subjectify Mambaza, underlining the colonizer's might in relation to the colonized subject (which can only be policed by the colonizer himself). The planned violence, shown through the battle scenes, with large numbers of native insurgents being killed, is less poignant than the random violence inflicted upon one specific body with a name that has nonetheless through the ideological framework of the film been warranted as expendable. António's killing of Mambaza when he tries to escape from the auxiliaries who take him away from the interrogation demonstrate that hegemonic masculinity has secured active complicity of even the lowest type of Portuguese masculinity, the cafrealized. The lingering threat of corruption of the Portuguese lower type and lower-class man came to fruition with the 1958 presidential election. The public appeal of the regime's defector General Delgado during his run for the presidency against Salazar's candidate revealed that *Chaimite*'s rhetoric of selfless patriotic military officers as an homogenous group, that obscured the historical disagreements or disaffections between officers and between officers and the colonial authorities in Lisbon, was flawed, assigning the potential for patriotic betrayal solely to the cafrealized substratum speaking settler and superstratum speaking native. *Chaimite*'s elite-male equals-good versus male-and-female-foreign-equals-bad plus superstratum-speaking-native-equals-bad crude formula that echoes Salazar's strategy of forming opposed clusters of words in order to solidify the meaning of every word, but it also fails to foresee the seductive power of foreign ideals upon the exemplary elite masculinity (i.e. the impeding tendency crisis mounting under Salazar's chair).

3.3. Representation in Lusophone Anti-Colonial Cinema

3.3.1. *Within Our Gates* – A Precursor to African Anti-Colonial Films

Within our Gates in its response to *The Birth of a Nation's* white supremacism, as mentioned above, weaves together a wide range of narrative strategies and formats that characterize the African anti-colonial film. The fact that its black director, Oscar Micheaux, harboured assimilationist and elitist beliefs makes the film pertinent when considering Salazar's assimilationist colonial doctrine. In the U.S. *The Birth of a Nation* drew strong opposition from organizations led by black people, particularly from the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). Micheaux, who was a member of the NAACP:

(U]sed his filmmaking to challenge openly the racial injustices that African Americans faced at the beginning of the twentieth century: lynching, job discrimination, interracial rape, mob violence, and economic exploitation.[398]

With *Within our Gates,* his second film, and the oldest surviving feature film by an African American director, he contested *The Birth of a Nation*'s discourse of white supremacy. The film depicts its contemporary racial social dynamics, including mass migration of southern blacks into the north and the development of a northern middle class of professional blacks. Drawing on a vast array of black masculinities existent and emerging in the south and in the north '[t]hroughout the silent era, Micheaux created cinematic portrayals of African American manhood that stood in sharp contrast to Hollywood's depictions'.[399] He constructed more complex masculinities than the standard types created by the Race genre film, a genre of cinema made mostly by white owned film studios aimed at black audiences. These studios made films that bypassed the socio-economic condition of the average African American depicting African American males as embodiments of good and evil whereby ideal masculinities were 'saint-like figures [that] proved to be impossible role models for urban or rural African Americans'.[400] Micheaux refused these binary portrayals and instead sought to reveal the complexity underpinning black masculinities:

All the dirty laundry of African American masculinity was aired in Micheaux's cinema: gambling, drugs, passing for white, conspiring with white men for selfish advancement, and criminality.[401]

If *The Birth of the Nation* was criticized by official censors for depicting a 'fabricated' version of history that romanticized pre-civil war southern way of life, *Within Our Gates* was censored because of its aspiration to resemble quotidian reality.

398 Gerald R. Butters, Jr., 'From Homestead to Lynch Mob: Portrayals of Black Masculinity in Oscar Micheaux's *Within Our Gates, Part 1*', *A Journal for MultiMedia History*, 3 (2000); https://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol3/micheaux/micheaux.html [Accessed 11 October 2020] (part 1).

399 Butters (part 1).

400 Butters (part 1).

401 Butters (part 1).

Fig. 11.Anti-racism and double-consciousness in *Within our Gates.* From left to right: (1) Sylvia and Dr. Vivian meet; (2) Preacher Ned reflects on his sinful actions; (3) Efrem and his white master.

Micheaux's willingness to explore the evil side of the black masculinity was to some extent justified by ideas he shared with other prominent new negro intellectuals associated with the Harlem Renaissance, such as W. G. Du Bois and Alain Locke, whose elitist views on society and race were influenced by eugenics. In 1903, Du Bois, one of the founders of the NAACP, wrote an essay entitled *Talented Tenth* where he argued that:'[t]he Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men';[402] that priority should be given for the construction of a black elite responsible for the elevation of the race and that lower blacks should be discouraged from reproducing;[403] and also that the best of the negro race were equal to the best of the white race and therefore able to intermarry with whites or with the best of any given race. In 1927, Locke, a professor of philosophy at Howard University, an historic black university, advocated the development of the 'black masses' under the leadership of a responsible black elite.[404]

> Members of the Talented Tenth' [like Du Bois and Locke] often had contempt for poorer African Americans […] They saw themselves as leaders of the New Negro movement.[405]

And Micheaux saw himself as a member of this elite group whose main responsibility was to lead by example. Micheaux's harsh views on some members of the black community, including '[s]ome of the race [African American] are very ignorant and vicious' could be explained as follows:[406] as a new negro he could distance himself from the old negro – corrupt and indolent blacks. Thus he accepted hegemonic ideology in part, and viewed the black community through the eyes of the white community, according to the perspective Du Bois describes as double-consciousness:

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402 W. E. Eurghardt DuBois, 'The Talented Tenth', in *The Negro Problem* (New York: James Pott & Company, 1903), pp. 31-75 (p. 33).

403 See Gregory Dorr and Angela Logan. 'Quality, not mere quantity counts: black eugenics and the NAACP baby contests', in *A Century of Eugenics in America: From the Indiana Experiment to the Human Genome Era*, ed. by Paul Lombardo (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), pp. 68–92.

404 Gerald R. Butters, Jr., 'From Homestead to Lynch Mob: Portrayals of Black Masculinity in Oscar Micheaux's *Within Our Gates, Part 2*', *A Journal for MultiMedia History*, 3 (2000); https://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol3/micheaux/micheaux2.html [accessed 11 October 2020].

405 Butters (part 2).

406 Butters (part 2).

It is really no wonder that the cultural products of an aspiring black intellectual [like Micheaux] in this period gave us black men as scoundrels, religious hypocrites, gamblers and sluggards, and black women as madames, seductresses, and cheats. For he was seeing culture through the eyes of the white culture, for which this vision of an irredeemable black underclass was faltering and entirely functional. [407]

Double-consciousness refers here to the internalization of false dominant social ideas regarding one's own race which then leads to one's inability to evaluate their qualities and achievements culmination in mental distress.[408] Despite the criticisms that have been levelled at Du Bois's concept of the black's double consciousness for failing to address the broadest possible scope of complexities of the African American experience, we find its basic premise relevant not least because it evokes the Lacanian split self that emerges during the Mirror Stage. Another of Du Bois's relevant insights was his understanding that in between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, whiteness or white supremacy achieved the status of a religion in the Western world. Based on the Hegelian master/slave dynamic, whereby the master is in an unstable position because he depends upon the slave, Du Bois claims that the oppressed, because of their double-consciousness, has a better understanding of the psychological condition of the oppressor. He states that 'they [whites] are deceived about themselves and act out a deception' that is itself visible to blacks.[409] Would the possible internalization of the white's view by someone like Micheaux, a new negro, whose work was often received with unfaltering reviews from the black press and whose writing was termed assimilationist,[410] be, in some ambiguous way, 'faltering and entirely functional' for himself as an example of the new negro?

Characteristic of Micheaux's films, *Within Our Gates*'s narrative is populated with an array of different types of black masculinities and femininities also of different types of whites with contrasting morality. The film tells the tale

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407 Charlene Regester, 'The Misreading and Rereading of African American Filmmaker Oscar Micheaux: A Critical Review of Micheaux Scholarship', *Film History*, 7.4 (1995), 426–449 (p. 446).

408 For an in-depth discussion of Du Bois's concept of double-consciousness see, for example, Dickson D. Bruce, 'W. E. B. Du Bois and the Idea of Double Consciousness', *American Literature*, 64.2 (1992), 299–309.

409 John P. Pittman, 'Double Consciousness', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. by N. Zalta (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016);
https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/double-consciousness/
[Accessed 5 November 2020].

410 Charlene Regester, 'The Misreading and Rereading of African American Filmmaker Oscar Micheaux: A Critical Review of Micheaux Scholarship', Film *History*, 7.4 (1995), 426–449 (p. 429).

of a black-white mixed-race woman who, for all intents and purposes, is a negro, Sylvia Landry. She is a 'typical of the intelligent negro of our times' according to an intertitle and who goes to great lengths to ensure that an overcrowded and underfunded school for negro children in Piney Woods, a hamlet in a southern state, is not closed down. The narrative begins with Sylvia staying in the north with her cousins: devious female cousin, Alma, who plots to end Sylvia's engagement with Conrad, a professional negro who is working abroad in Canada; and with Larry Prichard, who is a black male criminal monitored by black a detective, Philip Gentry, at the request of a chief of police. Upon Conrad's return Silvia's engagement collapses and she returns south to Pine Woods and understands that the school is in dire circumstances because the southern state's government underfunds education of black children. The school is led by Reverend Jacobs, an educated black man who is concerned with the betterment of the black race and who accepts any child who wants to attend the school. E.g., a black farmer, who works very hard to send his children to school but can no longer afford it, visits the Reverend to request that his two children can continue with their education for, and despite his lack of education which is visible though the words attributed to him in the intertitles, he understands the importance of education. As a last resort Sylvia travels to the liberal north to find a wealthy benefactor who may help the school. Upon arrival she is robbed by a smooth well-dressed black man and is helped by a black light-skinned doctor, Dr. Vivian. He is a cultured new negro gentleman, and they fall in love.

Due to unfortunate circumstances Sylvia meets Mrs Elena Warwick, a northern white philanthropist, who warms to Sylvia's cause and ponders with the idea of helping the school. Mrs Stratton, a white southerner with racist bias, attempts to discourage Mrs Warwick from donating money to Sylvia's school and makes reference to Ned, a black preacher who is paid money by whites to teach blacks to accept the unequal white-black status-quo. Ned is an unscrupulous man who understands that his stance is morally wrong and is paving his own way into hell. Defiant of Mrs Stratton's racism Mrs Warwick donates ten times more than Sylvia had requested and she returns south with her mission accomplished. Sylvia's cousin Larry Prichard, whilst on the run from the police, goes south and with an accomplice they plan to swindle what they perceive to be southern 'dumb niggashs'. Larry meets Sylvia and blackmails her that unless she steals from the school's safe the money she secured and gives it to him he will shame her by revealing her secret. In desperation Silvia runs away north whilst Dr. Vivian, now in love, searches in vain for her. In conversation with Dr. Vivian Sylvia's cousin Alma reveals Sylvia's secret, which takes place on screen in flash-back. She recounts that

Sylvia was an adopted child of a typical hard-working peasant black couple. Her father, Jasper Landry, was unfairly accused of killing the most powerful man in the area, the white landowner Phillip Gridlestone, by the latter's black domestic servant, Efrem. Efrem is represented as a black man who is a friend of the whites to detriment of his own race, because he craves the acceptance of whites. The whites take Efrem's words to be truthful, and the newspapers embellish them describing Sylvia's adopted father as a savage. As a consequence her adopted parents are lynched by a white mob and she is the victim of attempted rape by the brother of the murdered white landowner. He stops short of raping Sylvia because he acknowledges that he is her father through a mark in her body, however he does not reveal this to her. After learning about Sylvia's traumatic past Dr. Vivian seeks her and declares his love, she reciprocates and they form an exemplary new negro couple.

In this summary I have highlighted several modes of inter- and intra-racial relationships - notably between Sylvia and Mrs Warwick, Mrs Warwick and Mrs Stratton; Ned and his congregation; Efrem and the white man - that unleash complex and paradoxical psychodynamics and reveal in Micheaux's terms the varying extents to which double consciousness plagues the black individual.

3.3.2. Postcolonial Black African, Anti-Colonialist Cinema

Manthia Diawara and Nwachukwu Frank Ukadike, influenced by the Tunisian filmmaker Ferid Boughedir and theorist Teshome Gabriel's study of *Third Cinema* (1982), produced influential studies and manifestos on postcolonial African cinema that advocated a politically engaged anti-neo-colonial cinema that portrayed the African and black individual as central human subjects against oppression.[411] Akin to FESPACI, the African film association of film professionals, and Mozambique's Frelimo, Diawara and Ukadike proclaimed that African cinema's mission is to fight the legacies of colonialism and the advance of neo-colonialism in order to reverse the legacy of colonialist representation.

In response to the colonizer's scopic regimes and its legacy, the colonized,

411 See, in particular, Manthia Diawara, *African Cinema: Politics and Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); Teshome Gabriel, *Third Cinema in the Third World: The Aesthetics of Liberation* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982); and Nwachukwu Frank Ukadike, *Black African Cinema* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1994).

the anti-colonial fighter and the ex-colonized citizen 'counterpose the objectifying discourse of patriarchy and colonialism with a vision of themselves and their reality as seen from within'.[412] The ex-colonial subject tried to reverse the way in which the colonized subject had been represented on the screen i.e. based on exteriority and distance in order to change audiences' political engagement. In *African Cinema: Politics and Culture* (1992), Diawara argued that the 'authentic' black African post-colonial cinema had three distinctive themes: social-realist narrative, colonial confrontations, and a return to traditional pre-colonial African values. He referred to the work of Senegalese director Ousmane Sembène as central to this thesis. The belief in common denominators for African cinema drove him to counter the idea put forward by the Senegalese pioneer filmmaker Paulin Soumanou Vieyra, who affirmed that there are African filmmakers and African films, discarding the idea of a common denominators amongst African films that my warrant the concept an African cinema.

Diawara's championing of Sembène's politically engaged premise, was highly influential in shaping the development of the study of African cinema along Marxist lines however more recent approaches have followed other critical methods. Kenneth W. Harrow's previous work had consisted of Marxist-based readings, however, with *Postcolonial African Cinema, From Political Engagement to Postmodernism* (2007) he proposed a new psychoanalytical/Marxist approach to the critique of postcolonial African film, that rejects Diawara, Ukadike, and Sembène's notion of the political committed cinema principle. This is, in part, a return to Vieyra's idea that there is no such thing as an African cinema. His first step is to prove that Sembène's films are framed by Western concepts despite the latter's quest for African authenticity and the critique of Western values, to then claim that African cinema does not have the responsibilities that Sembène, Diawara and others inputted onto it, i.e., to respond to history, to the nation, and to Hollywood. Harrow's text offers: (a) a critique of the tradition that goes back to FESPACO and FEPACI doctrines; and (b) the attempt to prove the flow of enlightenment discourses in Sembène's film-works. Sembène, he argues, gives voice to a mindset that on the one hand attempts to stabilize African identity and on the other produces authoritarianism, omissions and exclusions by virtue of being confined to a 'phallocentric paradigm, a modernist paradigm, and especially a progressivist paradigm that fails to acknowledge the Enlightenment rationalism and historical basis on which that model depends', whereby his 'narrators assume the obvious nature of a normalized

412 Stam and Spence, p. 8.

order of reality and of self-evident truth'.[413] For Sembène, African film must: expose truth; correct history; challenge mainstream cinema's misrepresentations of Africa; represent African society, culture and people; be African, in order to root out vestiges of colonialism and fight neo-colonialisms in order to push for a Marxist vision of society, that for him, is congruent with the socio-economic structure of traditional African societies. Cinema ought to direct African societies to pursue, in their own terms and languages, the enlightenment's ideals, which Africa cannot afford to abandon, because of its underdevelopment.[414] His cinematic strategy, according to Harrow, follows Hollywood's model, which is aligned with classic realism, whereby films revolve around a character who has to overcome a challenge and in the process has to follow the path of a false resolution until, ultimately, they have to opt for an ethical solution.

Fig. 12. Re-writing history, anti-colonialism and anti-coloniality in films by Osmane Sembène. Left to right from top: (1) El Hadji and with his two wives before his marriage to his third wife in *Xala*; (2) Sergeant Diatta, speaking to his white superiors, with some of his men in the back in *Camp at Thiaroye*; (3) Village elders, (4) French colonial officers with village women under their detention behind them and (5) black colonial troops addressing a picture of France's new president in *Emitaï.*

In Sembène's films the solution is in line with a self-evident Marxist cosmology and invariably:

[E]ach film constructed according to this model must silence some figures, must occlude contrary or alternative perspectives that might have led somewhere other than where the director wishes to

413 Kenneth W. Harrow, *Postcolonial African Cinema: From Political Engagement to* Postmodernism (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), p. 5.

414 Harrow, pp. xii, 5, 11-12, 10 and 18.

lead us, and this is the lesser penalty to be paid for accepting the underlying system of values.[415]

The main protagonist, in Sembène's *Xala* is an African man 'at 50', El Hadji Abdou Kader Beye (Thierno Leye), who epitomizes the new post-colonial corrupt and Westernised bourgeois member of the elite who – despite his Western beliefs –practices polygamy. The film revolves around El Hadji's loss of virility made dramatic by his inability to consummate his third marriage to a young woman, whom he married with pomp and circumstance in such a way as to display his wealth to relatives and the community. It is implied that his complicity with neo-colonialism is responsible for his erectile dysfunction, and he eventually resorts to the services of a traditional healer to regain his manhood. The way in which he regains his virility is by subjecting himself to those who have been left at the margins of the postcolonial capitalist society, the beggars, lepers, and prostitutes, as if through a rite of passage that announces his return to 'African-ness'. According to Harrow, the way in which the narrative unfolds:

From the magisterial site of the film's message sender, the viewers are interpellated so as to be aligned with a historicist perspective on the sexual and political economies, the terms of which are set by a modernist paradigm of progress.[416]

This includes contradictions inherent to the modernist premise, for example: cultural traditionalism and female subjecthood are presented as irreconcilable; the second wife of the protagonist is a strong-willed woman who has reservations towards the patriarchal status-quo, and therefore (inadvertently) questions the traditional social order. It is perhaps for this very reason that the third young wife, who stands as a metaphor for the new post-colonial nation, that is, in relation to whom the protagonist must prove his virility and his manhood, is voiceless. This neo-colonialism, which is shown to be an unnatural situation that diminishes the African man's manhood, is in the end rejected by the protagonist. The film, thus, presents a solution to the problem 'neo-colonialism *unmans S*enegalese men' which is simplistic and presents a blurred resolution between Africanity and neo-colonialism.[417] Sembène's self-assigned authority comes from the fact that he sees himself as an African *griot* who voices the consciousness of the community, who tells the truth, who tells counter-narratives. This places him in the position of the one who sees all, and his omnipresence effectively curtails the audience's subjectivity because he imposes and enables a specific reading. Sembène, like

415 Harrow, p. 3.
416 Harrow, pp. 4-5.
417 Harrow, pp. 3-4.

Achebe who sees himself less like a griot and more like a teacher, in his defence of the pursuit of Enlightenment's goals, fails to question its problematic foundations, most particularly its binary structure of thought that forces the emergence of an other as well as the production of exclusion. The Enlightenment's and Humanism's ultimate goal is that of freedom, that for Hegel has its maximum expression in the perfect State, but structuralists and post-structuralists, like Foucault and Derrida, understood that narratives that underline humanism, when put under scrutiny, may reveal that these very notions can be instrumentalised to control and exclude. Harrow argues that Sembène has 'always assumed the power of ideological, and especially dogmatic Marxist, class-based truth to sway his audience' as he problematically negotiates 'two grand narratives of liberation, pan-Africanism and Marxism'.[418] Sembène does not address this incongruence, thereby exposing a binary mindset that simply pitches the African against the European as well as against capitalism.

With mainstream commercial cinematic plots, the natural order is broken and the protagonist(s) goes through a series of hurdles in order to attempt, in the end, to restore the natural order. This search for an original order is often the result of idealized notions of an authentic order, which for Sembène risks being flawed since it mingles Marxism with Africanism. Xala's flawed protagonist cherry-picks what neocolonialism, colonialism and African traditional culture have to offer (that is, consumer culture, polygamy, and sorcery, for lack of a better word), but in the end rejects his Western bourgeois side, partly because of his moral awakening, but more so to satisfy his own sense of manhood. The treatment of male sexuality in *Xala*, unwittingly plays into racist representations of the black man and the clear relationship between impotence and neo-colonialism camouflages this - manhood is reduced to the body, more specifically to its phallic function, which confers masculinity. The protagonist, indeed, attests to the black man's impossibility to transcend the body. His redemption – which is bestowed through the actions of the lowest members of his society who attack his body – dictates his imprisonment to the phallus, whether as a colonialist signifier of animalism or an Africanist signifier of masculinity.

After El Hadj's experience of a transformative ritual, in which a group of social outcasts from Dakar spit on his body, signifying the purging of the bourgeois from within him, the film ends with no indication as to how – after this transformation – he will be able to support his large family. In rejecting

418 Harrow, p. 60 and 49 respectively.

the neo-colonial flawed bourgeois order Sembène does not present a possible constructive vision of the future. For example, in *Borom Sarret* (1963), a poor Senegalese man who drives a horse cart for a living returns home and tells his wife that the cart was confiscated leaving him with no means of subsistence. Given that the short film ends with her venturing out to find work and bring money home, disrupting the patriarchal order, she may end up in France employed at by Madame and Monsieur, similarly to the main character in Sembène's first feature film, *Black Girl* (1966). A Senegalese black woman, Diouana (Mbissine Thérèse Diop) who is made desperate by her claustrophobic and subaltern situation working as a housemaid in France, and as a result commits suicide. As exemplified *Emitaï* and *Camp at Thiaroye*, in the absence of constructive solutions Sembène's cinematic cosmology proposes that the black individual must impose their subjecthood through the act of self-possession of their own bodies even if this entails self-annihilation.

Emitaï is set in a native village in colonial French Senegal besieged by two white French colonial military officers, with African soldiers under their command, because the villagers refuse to pay dues taxes to the colonial authorities. It explores the violence that afflicted the native colonized during the second world war and confronts traditional African cosmology against a brutal colonial apparatus. The film begins with the abduction of native men from a native village to serve in the French military in Europe and elsewhere by the French colonial police/army. The abductions are led by white French officers that command well-disciplined Africans soldiers (who are not all together engaged with the structures of power which they serve). Forced conscriptions and runaways created a shortage of manpower to harvest crops and in addition to this the colonial authorities increase taxation, in the form of rice upon which the village's subsistence depends. With no men in sight the women of the village have been left to fend for themselves. Their rice has been hidden and they refuse to tell the French officers where it is. The elders, away from the village, gather under a large dead tree with the objective of evoking the intervention of the god of thunder, Emitaï. They are confronted by the death of their chief who was killed during a surprise attack he led against the colonialists as they were approaching the village. They interpret their chief's death as punishment for losing faith in the power of the gods in the face of colonial oppression. Away from the village the elders are prevented from carrying out the chief's burial ceremony by one of the French officers who gives them an ultimatum; to go away and think and if they decide not to hand over the rice the village will be burned down, and the women imprisoned. Whilst the officers are impatiently waiting in the village for a reply from the elders, and facing the women gathered in the centre of the

village under the hot sun, they receive posters of General Charles de Gaulle to affix in the village with news that he has replaced Marshal Philippe Pétain as the President of the French Republic. The new posters spark a discussion between the African colonial soldiers regarding the veracity of the news revealing their disconnect from French politics. After the village elders have realized that the gods have not responded to their prayers, they surrender the rice to the authorities. As the men carry the rice whilst escorted by the soldiers, they listen to the women's celebratory mourning of their dead chief and a child who had been killed by the soldiers. Suddenly they stop, place the rice baskets on the ground and step away; as a result of this action they are killed at the orders of one of the white officers; the officer concerned is precisely the individual who throughout had been willing to inflict violence on the community, even against the better judgement of his more sympathetic white colleague. The village men choose death rather than the dishonour of exploitation imposed on them by foreigners, suggesting that the film operates on a rather simplistic opposition between an honourable death on the one hand and a negative collaboration with the colonial apparatus on the other. This Manicheism is reflected in the idea, expressed in the film, that belief in the gods, if it is not based on an unwavering faith, is seen as useless.

Camp at Thiaroye, based on a number of empiric events, is set in Dakar as the Second World War drew to a close and tells how a group of black African men who served in Europe in the French army were massacred shortly before being demobilized because they rebelled against their white superiors over due back-pay. The men are led by a cultured African, Sergeant Diatta (Sidiki Bakaba) who speaks French proficiently, is fluent in English, is married to a white French woman with whom he has a mixed race-child, and he plans to return to Paris to enrol at university. He presents a clear contrast with one of his African soldiers who, after his experience of imprisonment in a Nazi concentration camp, has lost the ability to speak and communicates through incomprehensible guttural sounds and gestures. Sergeant Diatta and his men, from across different French African colonies and with rudimentary knowledge of the French language, believe that their arguments will prevail against the hostility of their white superiors who refuse to pay them their back-pay in full. In private, to the consternation of the one white officer who fought in Europe with the African soldiers, Captain Raymond (Jean-Daniel Simon) and can attest to their commitment to France, the white officers discuss the matter from a racist perspective. Sergeant Diatta and his men are unwilling to accept only half of their back-pay and in retaliation take a French general hostage whom they release after being assured that their demands will be meet. They celebrate, oblivious to the fact that, that very same night, they

will be massacred by the French colonial army. In *Emitaï* colonial force is represented as uncompromising towards the irrational substratum-speaking African whereas in *Camp at Thiaroye* Sergeant Diatta's ability to reason in the language of the colonizer sees him branded a communist, a menace. With his men's rebellion, colonialism reveals its anxious side that, in turn, leads to illogical violence.

Sembène's radical call to self-ownership is marked by a narrow range of colonizer character types that also fails to construct the subjectivity of the collaborationist colonized individual. *Within Our Gates* presents the audience with a vast array of black characters, at service of, complicit with or opposed to white supremacy. In one instance the audience is given a rare insight in the tortured mind of a black man, Ned, when the character explains in monologue and facing the audience how his betrayal of his own people makes him feel. What Micheaux does is not only to humanize the lowest possible form of black masculinity, the traitor of the race who conspires with whites to weaken the consciousness of blacks, but to force the audience to identify with Ned's position, subtlety asking the audience to probe their own conscience in their relationship with the ideology of whiteness. The colonized subject in *Emitaï* and *Camp de Thiaroye* exists according to two moral spectrums, those who demand that their rights under the colonial system be respected and those who assist the colonizers in oppressing the earlier, with fleeting insights of the interiority of the latter in order to underline their alienation. Sembène constructs the self-image of the anti-colonialist African, simultaneously, on the back of the immoral colonizer and their lackeys, the African collaborationist. Thus, and similarly to the colonialist film, fragmenting blackness into binary opposites, whereby the all-powerful colonial state is enabled and legitimized by the fragmented consciousness of the native. Nonetheless, with *Emitaï* and *Camp at Thiaroye,* Sembène provided 'inverted imagery of encirclement and exploit[ing] the identificatory mechanisms of cinema on behalf of the colonised rather than the coloniser'[419] in order to construct the African, in filmic terms, as a speaking subject rather than as a spoken-to subject; the idea here was to contradict colonialist discourse's project of writing the 'colonised out of history',[420] whilst proposing his radical solution of self-annihilation as a response to colonialism. The black ex-colonized and colonized characters that Sembène gave life to, including El Hadji and Sergeant Diatta, reveal the paradoxical nature of the colonized individual's psyche as a consequence of the colonialism's discursive

419 Stam and Spence, p. 12.

420 Stam and Spence, pp. 12-13, 17.

violence. Next, we turn to Memmi, Fanon and Bhabha's understandings of the ways in which colonialism de-structures the self of the colonized subject creating individuals caught in between cultures and languages, individuals with a problematic double consciousness.

3.3.3. The Psyche of Colonized Individuals and their Representation

The colonized subject in whom everything 'is deficient, and everything contributes to this deficiency – even his body, which is poorly fed, puny and sick'[421] is a non-entity that is understood as existing only in relation to their masters who are what they are not.[422] Within the colonized subject, who is a 'product and victim of colonization',[423] a drama unfolds because in their struggle to mitigate their 'madness' they fluctuate between considering the colonized subject as a model and an antithesis, thus being torn between their ideal self and their emerging self.[424] The discourse of the colonizer elicits in the colonized, and more acutely in the assimilated colonized, who 'to some extent was invited to be mobile within the colonial system',[425] an internal split; and this weakens them because they are prisoners of the mirror image that translates them into alienated and neurotic subjects. For them the mirror state fictional unity is lacking as their small other, that which the Big Other desires, that which every subject desires in order to be desired by the Big Other, has a white body.[426] Tragically 'this mythical and degrading portrait ends up by being accepted and lived with to a certain extent by the colonized'.[427] The colonizer's representation of the colonized which pervades newspapers, literature, cinema ... emerges 'to a certain extent in the conduct and, thus, in the true manner and appearance of the colonized'.[428] This is important because for the colonizer to believe in his legitimacy, it is not enough for the colonized individual to be inferior – they must accept their subalternity, which is perceived as cowardice.[429] The sociological nature of the internalization of the colonized individual's inferiority emerges from their

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421 Memmi, p. 161.

422 Memmi, p. 149.

423 Loomba, p. 184.

424 Loomba, p 184.

425 Loomba, p. 147.

426 Fanon's thinking and its interpretation according to Vergès, pp. 580, 584 and 588; and Frosh, p. 15, is being explored at this point.

427 Memmi, pp. 131-132. Here the author is exploring Gramsci's notion of ideology in relation to the colonial context.

428 Memmi, p. 99.

429 Memmi, pp. 132-133.

lowest possible social position within the infrastructure and from colonialist discourse that constructs their positionality as ontological to their blackness – this is what Fanon defines as self-negation, the internalization or 'epidermialisation' of inferiority.[430] Dr. Karanja (*Simba*) after confessing that his father, a native chief, is responsible for a murderess campaign upon settlers, he attempts to redeem himself to the colonial order by killing his father and is in turn killed by his father's mob, for the colonial order is unforgiving of wavering loyalty - according to colonialist script, he recognizes his error and fulfils his subaltern status. Anti-colonial cinema revels in constructing characters who contradict the internalization of inferiority and *Emitaï* is an example of this at a communal level when the whole village opposes colonial exploitation to a bitter end.

According to Fanon, the God-like self-constructed in opposition to the black man has 'annihilated the black subject into nothingness'.[431] Thinking in practical terms, colonialism may drive the colonized individual to abscond into '[f]ormalism, of which religious formality is only one aspect' which 'is a spontaneous action of self-defence, a means of safeguarding the collective consciousness without which a people quickly cease to exist'.[432] It may also drive the colonized individual to seek assimilation - often the 'first ambition of the colonized is to become equal to that splendid model and to resemble him to the point of disappearing in him'[433] however,'[l]ove of the colonizer is subtended by a complex of feelings ranging from shame to self-hate'[434] that demands the understanding that freedom means to destroy themselves i.e. the colonized subject becomes a negrophobic.[435] The negrophobic colonized subject, for example, the 'negro women [who] torture[s] their skin to make it a little whiter'.[436] She may burden her black child with her desire that the child was white or reject any black man whilst she waits for a white prince saviour.[437] They reject their origins, with a mixed marriage being the ultimate way out of the colonized subject's world into the colonizer's world where they crave acceptance, revealing a 'perverse' identification with the white colonizer, their inferiority complex that equates salvation with becoming

430 Hook, p. 300; and Haddour, p. 98.

431 Loomba, p. 143. The author discusses that Fanon reworks the Lacanian framework of the 'mirror stage', whereby the subject learns to construct himself in imitation and opposition to an idealized image.

432 Memmi, pp. 145-146.

433 Memmi, p. 164.

434 Memmi, p. 165.

435 Loomba, p. 144.

436 Memmi, pp. 166-167.

437 Fanon's thinking according to Haddour, p. 101; and Vergès, p.582 and p. 584.

white.[438] This is the essence of 'the miserable schizophrenia of the colonised individual's identity',[439] which, according to Bhabha, is 'always oscillating, never perfectly achieved'.[440] The colonizer understands this and Dr. Karanja epitomizes the assimilated colonized's conundrum in colonialist cinema; loyalty the colonial system over loyalty to his kin, and his own body.[441] His death signals the eradication from the colonial sphere of the ambivalence he represents. With Bosambo (*Sanders of the River*) we are offered another colonialist resolution of the assimilation conundrum, a conciliatory one, whereby he is allowed to be an illegitimate chief as long has serves the colonialist system.

Fig. 13. The assimilated colonized subject in *Simba* and *The Camp at Thiaroye*. From left to right: (1) Dr. Karanja and Mary with Allan in the background and (2) Dr. Karanja facing his evil father, the Chief in *Simba*; (3) Sergeant Diatta and a picture of his white wife and mixed-race daughter besides some of his books in *The Camp at Thiaroye* (cropped still).

El Hadji (*Xala*) reflects the colonized individual's schizophrenia from the ex-colonized subject's point of view with a character who begins his journey seduced by the trappings that neocolonialism can offer to then find his true self in his 'authentic' African culture. With El Hadji Sembène proposes to address the notion that colonial identities are:

> A doubling, dissembling image of being in at least two places at once .... It is not the Colonialist Self or the Colonised Other, but the disturbing distance in between that constitutes the figure of colonial otherness - the white man's artifice inscribed on the black man's body. It is in relation to this impossible object that emerges the liminal problem of colonial identity and its vicissitudes.[442]

438 Haddour, p. 100.

439 Loomba, p. 145. The author is referring to the main message behind Fanon's *Black Skins, White Masks*; see also Memmi, p. 165.

440 Quoted in Loomba, p. 146.

441 In regard to the colonialist film the question that arises in relation to colonialist films, and other films that debase the black *other* is regarding what we may call an ethics of participation whereby black people/actors willingly playing themselves or those which they represent are endorsing negative stereotypes. In *Simba* Orlando Martins played the evil African chief stereotype, in *Sanders of the River* Paul Robeson played the pro-colonial go-happy assimilated traditional chief Bosambo. Later Robeson disowned this film.

442 Quoted in Loomba 146; see Bhabha, p. 117.

This process of doubling highlights the fact that the assimilated colonized learns to distance himself from the native, in order to reproduce the colonizer's gaze upon his own people; despite this mimicry, however, the assimilated subjects comes to realize that assimilation without difference is impossible.[443] El Hadji's path of change leads him to reject assimilation which has weakened his body and mind; instead he wants to get closer to the most marginalized of his people and submit himself to their will.

'Having penetrated the colonizer's experience to the highest limit, to the point of finding it unliveable'[444] because of 'having been rejected for so long by the colonizer'[445] the assimilated colonized 'retreats' and refuses the colonizer with the belief with that their salvation and that of their people are interlocked. Moved by madness, as the colonizer would have it, because resistance and rebellion are pathological signs that destabilize the dependency syndrome, eventually the colonized subject begins to fight after they have exhausted (pathological) subversive quotidian practices of resistance, such as, 'lethargy'.[446] Despite a 'certain defensive racism' '[t]he colonized fights in the name of the very [humanist] values of the colonizer, [and] uses his techniques of thought and his methods of combat'[447] with the most radical ones under the understanding that every colonizer in the colonial territory is an oppressor. Sergeant Diatta (*The Camp at Thiaroye*), a black man more cultured that his white superiors, is dismissed as communist when he argues for the rights of his African soldiers. In an early scene in the film, Sergeant Diatta wonders into a brothel with white and black prostitutes and managed by a white woman who excoriates him from the venue for being black. Later he leads the mutiny against his white superiors. Ali La Pointe (Brahim Haggiag) in *Battle of Algiers* after a life as a petty criminal, marginalised by white colonial society, he commits to the anti-colonial struggle whilst in prison. The colonized individual's rejection of the colonizer hardens colonial divisions calcifying in the consciousness of the colonized subject a Manichaeistic understanding of reality which is further compounded by a structural handicap. According to Fanon's thesis, '[l]ike it or not, the oedipus complex is far from coming into

443 See Memmi, p. 167.

444 Memmi, p. 180.

445 Memmi, p. 172.

446 See Loomba, p. 137. The author discusses Fanon's idea that the pathology of the colonizer may be viewed as a resistance mechanism that is interpreted by the colonizer as madness, i.e. any act of resistance is interpreted as madness.

447 Memmi, p. 173.

being among Negroes'[448] because the colonized subject's father figure rather than being an element of power he is subjected to the law of the foreign white man who is their role model and nemesis. Sergeant Diatta's father figure is his white superior, Captain Raymond, under whom he served in the war. He is the person to whom he goes for solace, who provides him with advice and help but who is powerless to save him from the anxiety of colonialist hegemonic masculinity.

A process of mimicry similar to the one carried out by Sergeant Diatta, who has assimilated elite Western culture, as Bhabha understands it, is an exaggerated copying by the colonized of the colonizer's dominant culture, that feeds the colonizer's anxiety over the ambivalence of colonial discourse. Mimicry by virtue of being an exaggeration is 'repetition with difference' that may add a comical dimension to colonial discourse that intends to be serious, truthful, and civilizing.

> [C]olonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference.[449]

The colonial apparatus included intermediaries, translators, and teachers who became an assimilated class that – paradoxically – attested to the success of colonialism while also hinting that the mimicry underpinning the creation of a subject who is 'almost like' the colonizer actually problematises the legitimacy of colonial domination. For this very reason a slight perpetual difference is maintained which is difficult to control and therefore offers a space for the colonized subject's agency. Mimicry reassures and terrifies the colonizer – for it 'is at once resemblance and menace'[450] because it 'conceals no presence or identity behind its mask'.[451]

The mimicry that most unsettles the colonizer is the colonized individual's mastery of the superstratum language and it is precisely this linguistic mastery that allows the colonized individual to delude himself into being accepted into white society. Characters such as the Maid (*Black Girl*), El Hadji (*Xala*) and Sergeant Diatta (*Camp at Thiaroye*) exemplify the fact that the superstratum/substratum dynamics is a structural element of power in the

448 Quoted in Loomba, p. 145.
449 Quoted in Huddart, p. 40.
450 Quoted in Huddart, p. 41.
451 Quoted in Huddart, p. 45.

colonial apparatus that performs equally dramatic contortions in the post-colonial setting. It provides the assimilated colonized subject, as well as the elite postcolonial subject, with a problematic sense of subjecthood because they 'suffer the tortures of colonial bilingualism'.[452] In effect both of these subjects simultaneously access two cultural realities that are locked in conflict. The Maid – when seen from camera angles provided by an African wooden mask she took with her to France – evokes her native culture, her native substratum 'which is neither written nor read, permitting only uncertain and poor oral development'[453] but 'which is sustained by his feelings, emotions and dreams, that in which his tenderness and wonder are expressed, thus that which holds the greatest emotional'[454] connection. In *Camp at Thiaroye* the colonized individual encounters the superstratum every time they come into contact with the colonizer's institutional and physical presence casting them as foreigners in their own land,[455] and Sergeant Diatta's embodies the wilful assimilated colonized subject whose social mobility is reliant on their enthusiasm to 'first bow to the language of his masters'.[456] Sergeant Diatta's contradicts the colonizer's assumption that the colonized can only speak a pidgin version of the superstratum. '[T]his lack of wish, this lack of good interest, this indifference, this automatic manner of classifying him, imprisoning him, primitivizing him, decivilizing him [...]',[457] the black man, was reflected in the ways in which they were made to speak in children's picture magazines and Hollywood films.[458] Therefore '[n]othing is more astonishing that to hear the black man express himself properly'[459] because, according to Fanon:

> To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or than language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization.[460]

Despite Sembène's championing of the substratum language, much in the same light as wa Thiong'o, he has chosen to tell the story emphasizing the role of Sergeant Diatta mastery of French Language and Western high culture in order to heighten his perceived extraordinary black humanity, because he

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452 Memmi, p. 150.

453 Memmi, p. 150.

454 Memmi, p. 151.

455 See Memmi, pp. 150-151.

456 Memmi, p. 151.

457 Frantz Fanon, B*lack Skin, White Masks*, trans. Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 1986 [1952]), p. 32.

458 See Fanon, B*lack Skin, White Masks*, p. 34

459 Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 36

460 Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, pp. 17-18.

is in every way better than his white superiors; this is, in effect, a fulfilment of 'true' Western humanist values.

As a consequence the colonizer reinforces a vicious circle that revolves around reassurance and anxiety – the stereotype is exaggerated and supplemented increasing anxiety and vice-versa, i.e. Sergeant Diatta's rationalism that leads him to question his white superior renders him dangerous, to which he responds by becoming authentically French through mimicry, for example, by pursuing more stringently the humanist concepts of justice and equality.[461] The better the colonized subject mimics the colonizer, which questions the colonizers' myth of intellectual superiority revealing colonial discourse as an incongruous discourse, the more the colonizer responds with the imposition of the 'slight' difference undermining colonialism as an expression of enlightenment ideals.[462] Fanon understands that the discursive violence of colonialism has left the colonized individual physiologically damaged to the extent that '[t]he native is an oppressed person whose permanent dream is to become the persecutor.'[463] In the colonialist film the persecutor is the African traditional authorities, who instrumentalize their own people against benign colonialism, whereas in the anti-colonial film the persecutor is the colonialist, who is only able to enforce power because African colonial soldiers, as exemplified in *Emitaï* and *Camp at Thiaroye*,unquestionably follow orders. In these films the black African colonial soldiers, if one is to bypass the intricacies of pre-colonial and colonial African history, embody colonialism's power through the lure of civilization, of being close to whiteness, to pervert the African into becoming a sanguinary being who is willing to fight against his own people. This psychological process of manipulation, according to wa Thiong'o, began in infancy childhood as soon as children entered formal education turning them into witch-hunters and it was structured relation to the usage of language; pupils who reported on others who spoke native languages within the school precinct were rewarded and the offenders were given corporal punishment.[464]

Having addressed the cinematic languages of US silent anti-racist film *Within Our Gates* and Sembène's anti-colonial films that allow an understanding of the black person and of the African colonized as fractured subjects caught between cultural worlds and languages, we now turn to an analysis of the ways in which postcolonial Lusophone African anti-colonial films represent

461 Quoted in Huddart, p. 45.
462 Quoted in Huddart, p. 41.
463 Fanon, p. 41.
464 Wa Thiong'o, p. 435.

colonialism and the colonized subject and how they idealized the nation.

3.3.4. Lusophone Liberation and Revolutionary Era Anti-Colonial Films

3.3.4.1. MPLA's and Frelimo's Anti-Colonialism Films

Third Cinema, FESPACO and FEPACI (Pan African Federation of Filmmakers) doctrines shaped the type of cinema made in postcolonial Africa, including Lusophone Africa. From the independences in 1974-1975 to in proximity to the time of the fall of the Berlin wall, during what we might call the revolutionary period, only a few national films were state-funded and a number of these were feature films. A reduced number of films were produced in Angola and Guinea Bissau because of social conflict and war, notably *Nelisita* (1982), and none in Cape Verde and São Tome e Principe. Independent Angola was plunged into civil war from the onset of independence and the MPLA, that led the country, did not develop a policy of cinema to extent that Frelimo did, nonetheless, films from its liberation period and post-independence period offer insights into the Lusophone colonial psychodynamics shared between the Angolan and Mozambican assimilated elites.

In relation to Angola's MPLA, Marissa Moorman made the following assessment:

> During the struggle, film was used as a means of propaganda, of mobilizing political support for an exiled nationalist leadership and the guerrilla war they were waging in the country. In the post independence period, film was taken up by the state as part of the project of forging the nation and national unity through documentation of local events endowed with national significance and diffused, primarily, through television.[465]

The anti-colonial and nation-building films, predominantly documentaries, were done initially by foreign directors who travelled to Angola to film the MPLA in action.[466] After independence, the period from 1977-78 was the most fruitful with the release of films by, for example, António Ole and Ruy

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465 Marissa Moorman, 'Of Westerns, Women, and War: Re-Situating Angolan Cinema and the Research in African Literatures', *Nationalism*, 32.3 (2001), 103-122 (p. 119).

466 For anti-colonial films made with support from and in support of Angola's anti-colonial movements during the Colonial/Liberation War, see Maria do Carmo Piçarra, 'Angola: (Re-) Imaginar o Nascimento de uma Nação no Cinema Militante', *Journal of Lusophone Studies*, (2018), 168-194.

Duarte de Carvalho, that focused on historical and social events and aimed at a local audience rather than international audiences.[467] After 1982, with the escalation of a civil war, the MPLA directed financial resources to the war effort and the production of films came to halt. *Sambizanga* (1972), a pre-independence anti-colonial film co-produced by MPLA and PAIGCV, 'is considered part of the Angolan national oeuvre' despite the fact that its director, Sarah Maldoror, claimed not make political and nationalist films.[468]

Fig. 14. Anti-colonialism and anti-*coloniality* in films for/by MPLA and Frelimo. Left to right from top: (1) Mulatto PIDE interrogator in *Sambizanga*; (2) Evil spirits in *Nelisita*; (3) Big-Man Faustino Vanomba recounting Frelimo's version of the Mueda massacre in *Mueda Memória e Massacre*; (4) Samora Machel in *Um Povo Nunca Morre*; (5) Picture of Mouzinho de Albuquerque in *Estas São As Armas*; (6) Committed man being questioned by Machel in *Mozambique or Treatment For Traitors.*

Sambizanga, an adaptation of *A Vida Verdadeira de Domingos Xavier*, was filmed in exile with a cast of MPLA and PAIGCV militants and builds on Maldoror's experience of directing the short film *Monangambé* (1968). The two films are adaptions of fictional works by José Luandino Vieira, a white Angolan MPLA member and writer of Portuguese origin who focused on the harsh realities of Portuguese colonialism. Maldoror, following in a similar quest as the landmark film *The Battle of Algiers*, in which she worked, contests the negative representation of the colonized other by offering a humanist representation of the colonized subject. Whilst she is faithful to aspects of the novel, she interprets others; she retains ambivalent issues of race by casting a white as an anti-colonial agent and a mulatto as a foe, and constructs the female protagonist Maria as psychological stronger. The film

467 Moorman, p. 114.

468 Sarah Maldoror, as quoted in Moorman, p. 111.

follows Maria's (Elisa Andrade) quest to find the whereabouts of her husband, a construction worker, Domingos (Domingos Oliveira), who was taken into custody without formalities by the PIDE. She leaves their baby-son in the care of the women of her community and makes a long and desperate journey, mostly by foot, to the territory's capital. In the novel her despair at times overwhelms her and she abandoned her search twice whereas in the film she remains undeterred throughout. In her portrait of Maria the director reveals an intricate network of men and women who, unspectacularly, carry out underground colonial activities whilst playing out accommodated subaltern colonial roles in the open quotidian; this strategy that the anti-colonialism struggle demands echoes the double-face that colonized men and women master in *Mad Masters* towards catharsis - at the end of the film we learn that the participants of a religious ritual based in otherworldly possession, that demanded the sacrifice of a dog and evokes colonial state's display of power rituals, hold respectable jobs in the capital of the colony. Eventually Maria tracks down her husband to a PIDE's prison in Luanda but finds he has died at the hands of his torturers led by a mulatto man, who speaks pristine metropolitan Portuguese. This man, representing more than an African accomplice of colonialism, is a PIDE employee superior in rank to a white Portuguese man who is in charge of torturing Domingos. In the universe of the film's narrative the mulatto embodies the PIDE and is responsible for the excess violence that causes the death of the protagonist's husband.

How are we to interpret Maldoror's choices regarding Maria's stronger psychological make up and a mulatto as a PIDE chief?[469] Moorman asserts that 'the film can be read as inflected with MPLA values and ideology, many of which echo Maldoror's more generic humanism'.[470] Moorman and Piçarra (2018), argue against Ukadike's criticism (made in the third person) that the film's feminist slant 'dilutes the impact of the film's concern with armed guerrilla struggle'.[471] Moorman asserts that Ukadike makes such a criticism because he understands the 'national subject as male and relegating the specificities of women's status and activities to a "dilution" or "distraction" from the real issues'.[472] As Maria's journey progresses she becomes increasingly aware of the anti-colonial endeavour that her husband was part of, hence she was perplexed as to why her illiterate husband had be taken

469 For simplicity of argument, I attribute the adaptation decisions to the director; however, the adaptation was made in collaboration with Mário Coelho Pinto de Andrade, at the time the MPLA's General Secretary, and Maurice Pons, a French writer.

470 Moorman, p. 111.

471 Frank Ukadike quoted in Moorman, p. 117.

472 Moorman, p. 118.

away by PIDE. Maldoror struggles against the characterization of Maria and her decision to furnish the character with unwavering determination, as someone who is not fazed by obstacles, compensates for her alienation from her husband's anti-colonial world, for the lack of political agency with which she starts her journey. What Maldoror proposes, and this diverges from the original novel's plotline, is that Maria does not achieve resilience by building her character as a result of embarking on a period of psychological change. Instead, we witness the story of how she enters into the anti-colonial world, which she is able to do because she is as mentally strong as her martyred husband. The film is in general terms faithful to the novel, and it casts a mulatto as a leading member of PIDE and the person responsible for the murder of Domingos; this was a contentious 'racial' choice for the identity of the killer, even if it is well known that many of the leaders of the MPLA were either assimilated subjects or mulattoes. Maldoror, nevertheless, mentioned that skin colour was of no relevance to her; in her own words 'What is important is what the person is doing', which was in synchrony with MPLA's Marxist-Leninism that privileged the class struggle as a mission that transcends race and gender; she expressed her view that the main idea behind the film is that it is a struggle against imperialism which, in her view, is the last stage of capitalist exploitation.[473] At the time when *Sambizanga* was made the anti-colonial war against the Portuguese was also being fought by FNLA (Front for the National Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (Union for the Total Independence of Angola), who drew their militants and supporters from across ethnic lines. By de-racialising anti-colonialism and stressing its class basis Maldoror was reiterating the MPLA's plea for the leadership of a national project across ethnic groups.

Alongside *Sambizanga*, which was a pivotal film made during the struggle, *Nelisita* (1980), because of its subject matter, language, and actors, also deserves to be mentioned given its importance as a film documenting Angola's early post-independence period. *Nelisita* was directed by Ruy Duarte de Carvalho, a white Angolan who, shortly after Angola's independence, directed ten anthropological ground-breaking documentaries for Angola's MPLA-run public television station. The documentaries were produced without off-camera narrative commentary, instead Duarte de Carvalho relied solely on direct sound because, in his own words given at a talk in 2000 at the Casa das Áfricas in São Paulo, Brazil, it was an 'attempt

473 Sarah Maldoror quoted in Moorman, p. 111. And for a summary of Lenin's interpretation of the causes of imperialism see Terrence McDonough, 'Lenin, Imperialism, and the Stages of Capitalist Development', *Science & Society*, 59.3 (1995), 339-367.

to contribute so that the system had the consciousness of the multiplicity of economic and cultural systems with which it had to deal with'. *Nelisita* is a fictional film, based on the Bantu peoples' oral tradition, entirely spoken in a substratum African language; it questioned whether the postcolonial project of redistribution and equality was being materialized in Angola. It was filmed in southwest Angola in 1981, 40km from the battlefield were the MPLA was fighting Apartheid South Africa's military incursions into Angola. The film's protagonists were tribespeople, who had participated in Carvalho's earlier documentaries. *Nelisita* tells the story of a tribal young man that through his power to communicate with nature expels the spirits, personified by black men dressed in urban clothes and dark sunglasses, who control the land whilst his fellow tribespeople starve. According to the director, he worked on the film under the understanding that it was the first fictional African film where all dialogue was spoken in an African language, launching a critique on the hegemonic force of the superstratum languages in the post-colonial space and cinema. His formal choices of 16mm black & white negative and direct-sound were a critique of anthropological based documentary-making, namely Rouch's 'school. The choice of film negative was an exploration of the idea of verisimilitude established by black & white visual anthropology documentation, and the choice of direct sound was a critique of the 'Voice of God' off-line commentary that typically accompanied and contextualized the anthropological documentary for Western audiences. Carvalho acknowledged that, even though *Nelisita* was wrongly interpreted as a critique of MPLA's adversaries in the civil war, his aim was to highlight the message that, seven years after independence, 'the time for redistribution had come'.[474] The film, which received twelve international film festival awards, had limited circulation in Angola and was screened only once on Angola's national television. The MPLA's reception of *Nelisita* attests to the MPLA's position towards the inclusion of new indigenous voices including the internal other's cultural values and language within Angola's national film project.

Frelimo's Machel understood cinema's potential for galvanizing and creating national unity and identity after as well as before independence, and even while the liberation war was raging, several Marxist-leaning directors made pro-Frelimo documentaries in Mozambique. After independence Machel – and here his point of view resonated with Sembène's since the latter believed that in underdeveloped nations the moving image had the potential for greater impact than the written word – argued that:

474 See *Comentários sobre o filme: "Nelisita" por Ruy Duarte de Carvalho* (Brazil: Casa das Áfricas, 2004); https://www.dailymotion.com/video/xf3kla [accessed 5 June 2014]

> In a country with 90% illiteracy and great linguistic diversity, cinema would soon be conceived by Frelimo as an instrument to decentralise the place of colonial history within postcolonial Mozambique: it was a way of legitimising not only the socialist state under construction, but also Mozambican identity and cultural specificity, establishing the idea of the nation beyond ethnic multiplicity.[475]

As we can see, Machel was instrumental in the creation the INC (National Institute of Cinema) and received support from foreign filmmakers who were invited to either settle in or make work in Mozambique, namely, Ruy Guerra, Jean-Luc Godard, and Jean Rouch. This made Mozambique, until the civil war took on dramatic proportions in the early 1980s, into the leader and most consistent producer of cinematic content, predominantly documentaries and newsreel, amongst the new African Lusophone countries.

The documentaries, *The Struggle Continues – A Luta Continua* (1971), and *Behind the Lines* (1971), filmed during the liberation war, are examples of propaganda films made by foreign directors who sought to inform international audiences about why Frelimo began the war, what the challenges of the *luta* were as well as what the movement's ideology involved. The documentaries highlight the determination of Frelimo's men and women in their struggle against the colonizer and how their actions were having a transformative effect in the lives of millions of colonized subjects. These two films provide visual evidence about the active role played by colonized women in the war effort and constructs the liberated area as a sanctuary, free of the injustices of colonialism, where the populations are able to choose their community leaders democratically, and children and adults are offered education and medical care. Ruy Guerra was born in Lourenço Marques, the capital of colonial Mozambique, to white Portuguese parents, he studied cinema in Paris, where he worked as assistant director to French directors, including Jean Rouch, during the 1960s. He emigrated to Brazil and became one of the most important directors of Cinema Novo, which was closely aligned with the Third Cinema movement, directing critically acclaimed fiction feature films, including his first feature film *Os Fuzis* (*The Guns*; 1961). He was invited by Frelimo to return to independent Mozambique to develop and lead the INC that shortly after independence began producing newsreels and documentaries. The INC's KUXA KANEMA's project newsreel films (1978 to 1979 and 1981 to 1985) distributed through 16mm format mobile units transported Frelimo's

475 Raquel Schefer, 'Fictions of the Liberation Struggle: Ruy Guerra, José Cardoso, Zdravko Velimirovic', *Kronos*, 39 (2013), 298-315 (p. 303)

nationalistic ideology to largely illiterate, multilingual and ethnically diverse populations with the aim of, in theory, 'delivering to the people an image of the people', in order to, in practice, replace Portuguese colonialist frameworks and African traditional mindsets with Frelimo's socialist ideology.

Made after independence and produced by the INC, *25 De Setembro* (1976), *Estas São As Armas* (1977), *Um Povo Nunca Morre* (1980), *Ofensiva* (1980) and *Mozambique or Treatment For Traitors* (1983) respond to specific challenges faced by Frelimo. *25 De Setembro* celebrates the (Marxist) communal farm, the value of agricultural labour and the appropriation of traditional culture for revolutionary ends with members of Frelimo's elite visiting a communal farm and Frelimo's soldiers partaking in traditional dances and music. *Estas São As Armas* (1977) established a continuum between Portuguese colonialism the threat posed by white minority ruled Rhodesia, whereby its leader, Ian Smith, is represented as the foremost enemy of the Mozambican nation. On the one hand there were films like *Um Povo Nunca Morre* (1980), which sought to document the return of Frelimo's fallen heroes who had died during the Liberation War, and were to be laid to rest in Maputo, including its first president, Eduardo Mondlane; these films were part of a strategy of furnishing the nation with concrete examples of masculinity and male icons to help with the building of the future nation. On the other hand, there were films like *Ofensiva* whose aim was to underline the marginal masculinities and femininities that existed within the nation, and which had attempted to sabotage the Marxist project. In *Ofensiva* Samora Machel travels around the country encountering varied situations that each attest to the existence of either incompetence or individualism, while scapegoating Frelimo's failures. *Mozambique or Treatment For Traitors* (1983), made for an international audience, documents Frelimo's performance as a decolonized movement willing to forgive the Mozambicans who had collaborated with colonialism and had confessed, repented and accepted the new Marxist values. Two years after *Ofensiva* was released, amid the civil war against Renamo, Frelimo co-produced *O Tempo dos Leopardos*, thereby returning directly to the topic of *Um Povo Nunca Morre* and indirectly to the issues that underline the other documentaries.

Often the anti-colonial films of this period drew inspiration from real-life events. *Mueda Memória e Massacre* (1979), credited to Guerra and ambiguously defined by Frelimo as Mozambique's first fiction feature film, is an anti-colonialist film based on a single highly polemical and traumatic event, that is, the Mueda Massacre that occurred in 1960. The film is an

attempt made by the leaders of the newly independent nation to control the narrative of Mozambique's colonial history to the extent that its account of the Mueda Massacre is disputed by academic sources and Guerra's original cut was censored. The film interweaves scenes from a public re-enactment performance of the massacre carried out by the Portuguese colonial authorities against local peasants in the town with the same name in northern Mozambique with interviews provided by witnesses and historical accounts by a Frelimo member and an actor. The massacre has been constructed by Frelimo as the defining event that crystallized in the consciousness of African Mozambicans for the inevitability of armed struggle for independence. According to Michel Cahen, an analysis of the circumstances leading up to the massacre and the manner in which Frelimo had constructed the memory of the event suggests that Frelimo had interpreted the event in order to place only itself at the centre stage of rational and systematic anti-colonial agency in Mozambique.[476] *Mueda Memória e Massacre*'s cinematic language exemplifies Guerra's methodology; it involves the suturing of fluid, tapered sequences of filmed subjects and objects. It is a 16mm B&W film that makes use of circular camera movements, has extensive close-ups of the performers and the audience, and is characterised by non-linear editing. This fluid pattern was disrupted, without Guerra's approval, by the inclusion of statically framed scenes of men addressing the audience in superstratum language from the *He-Who-Knows* point of view. Schefer justified the decision to censor the film by arguing that, at the time it was being made, Frelimo was undergoing an ideological turn towards authoritarian Marxism.[477]

Frelimo's representation of the Big-Men in *Mueda Memória e Massacre*, although sympathetic, reveals an intention to distance them from the struggle. The Big-Men meet the colonial Administrator on three different occasion to ask for independence and what unfolds reveals their inadequacy to counter the colonial system. The Big-Men negotiators who ask to speak with the colonial authorities are well dressed, with clothes that look new and fashionable if not overdressed for the hot weather, to whom the *cipaios* and the colonial authorities show no cordiality. Because the negotiators do not speak the superstratum language they speak with the colonizers via a native interpreter – the process of translating leaves what the negotiator says up to interpretation, and the negotiators were forced to place a blind faith in the interpreter's ability and willingness to convey the meaning of their words

476 See Michel Cahen, 'The Mueda Case and Maconde Political Ethnicity. Some Notes on a Work in Progress', *Africana Studia*, *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, 2 (1999), 29-46.

477 See Schefer, 'Fictions of the Liberation Struggle', p. 310.

accurately.

Interpreter: A person has arrived, he is black, and he wishes to speak with the Administrator?
Administrator: A black! A black! Is he black like you?
Interpreter: I'm white!
Administrator: White?[478]

The interpreter's refusal to accept his own blackness, his understanding that he can be white by virtue of his position within the colonial hierarchy point towards his partiality in the process of translating. During the dialogue between the three parties, the colonial administrator refers to his negotiators as 'they'. For example:

Administrator: Ask them what they want.
Interpreter: They want independence.
Administrator (exasperated): Do they (even] know what independence is?[479]

The negotiators are in this way de-individualized, spoken of rather than spoken to, as if they were not present during the conversation. Through the process of translation and interpretation, reliant on an extreme unbalance of power between the linguistic substratum and superstratum, the negotiators' illusion of presence gained by meeting with the administrator was eroded when the through the Administrator stated his belief about the difference between himself and the negotiators: 'Do they think that blacks like them can talk to a white like me?'[480]

Translation itself, and specifically the difference between the superstratum and the substratum languages, made it difficult for the objective observer to believe that the truth about the event could be extracted from the proceedings or that the Massacre could be subject to a meaningful treatment based on justice. How, for example, are the substratum speaking negotiators able to speak on behalf of the people when there are excesses and omissions between what they say and what the colonizer is told and vice versa, when the status

478 Extract from a dialogue during the performance in *Mueda Memória e Massacre*. My translation of 'Interprete: Chegou uma pessoa, é um preto, ele pretende falar com o Senhor Administrador?/ Administrador: Preto como você?/ Interprete: Eu sou branco!/ Administrador: Branco?'

479 Extract from a dialogue during the performance in *Mueda Memória e Massacre*. My translation of 'Administrador: Pergunta lá o que eles querem?/ Interprete: Chegou para pedir a independência./ Administrador: Eles sabem lá o que é a independência!'

480 Extract from a dialogue that occurs during the performance in *Mueda Memória e Massacre*.

of the interpreter is uncertain, when his mimicry renders identity unstable?[481] By not speaking the superstratum the negotiators were unable to prove that they were on an equal footing with the colonizers. The way in which negotiators and the peasant communities from around Mueda tried to pursue independence for the nation by peaceful means in a remote part of the territory by meeting with a regional colonial administrator, as depicted in *Mueda Memória e Massacre*, attests to the political alienation that the colonial apparatus can impose upon the colonized subject. If the meeting was scheduled to include the discussion of more mundane issues as well as the struggle for independence, this suggests that Frelimo's strategy was to propose that the negotiators were at best naïve, and thus attempt to disqualify them.

Mueda Memória e Massacre needs to be set in the context of other works that focussed on the struggle for independence in Mozambique at that time. In Felimo's documentary *Ofensiva* (1980), for example, in which Samora Machel rails against opportunism, individualism and incompetence it is assumed that the nationalist Marxist dream is being poisoned by those who harbour capitalist and parasitic bourgeois tendencies. He points the finger at the Big-Men and the old assimilated class that remain outside of the inner structures of party but within the structures of the State. During his stay in Mozambique in 1977 Jean Rouch, reflecting his concern with documenting ways in which humour and joy emerges from tragedy and hardship, made the short ethnographic film *Makelele.* It documented a group of Mozambican men in Maputo singing in substratum language about their experience of working in the mines in South Africa. It gives visibility to a type of masculinity that Frelimo excluded from power.[482]

The *cipaio*, a central figure in the massacre, is represented in two complementary ways in *Mueda Memória e Massacre*. Firstly, as an obedient child-like creature who obeys every order of the colonizer to the extent of punishing his own people rather than questioning the colonizer's decision. Secondly, as an evil creature whose moral character and empathy for their own people has been corrupted; this was demonstrated when, for example, after the massacre the *cipaios* went around taking the possessions of the villagers who lay dead on the ground. This was a representation of a colonialist stereotype within a postcolonial context to characterize an African

481 See Huddart, p. 45, on mimicry and identity.

482 See 'Jean Rouch Talks About his Films to John Marshall and John W. Adams', American *Anthropologist*, 80 (1978), 1006-1020.

other. *Mueda Memória e Massacre* portrays the colonizer as vain, constantly caressing his hair, greedy with an oversized stomach, liar with a prosthetic nose, racist when talking with the Big-Men and the chiefs, and highly exploitative in terms of their demands for goods made to traditional chiefs. The colonizer is also represented as cruel when he orders that the protestors should be shot. which exacerbates the moral wickedness of the *cipaio* who obeys. An ex-*cipaio*, with tribal scar patterns on his face, who was interviewed as a witness of the events, confessed to having been obliged to shoot at the crowd that day; he said that many people had died that day as a result of the orders they received. *Mueda Memória e Massacre* represented the *cipaios* as uneducated brutal lackeys, an inherently evil by-product of Portuguese colonialism.

The tribal chief (*régulo*) was also, represented in negative terms. Before the massacre takes place the chief, wearing a drab looking colonial attire (given to him by the colonialist), arrived for a meeting with the Administrator and he was cordially embraced by a *cipaio*. He is initially made to wait to be received and upon meeting the Administrator he reveals he has been unable to comply with his demands for chickens. As a consequence, he is physically punished and humiliated in the public square. A reminder, at a time of civil war when many traditional leaders opposed to Frelimo's Marxism were being lured by the enemy, that traditional power had been serviceable and powerless to the arbitrary will and violence of colonial authorities as it was now to the designs of internal colonialism.

Emitaï, similar in this to *Mueda Memória e Massacre*, also represents the colonial lackey as an evil individual, though the lackey's evil is but seamlessly blended with the ruthlessness of the colonial system. After it has been made explicit that native colonial soldiers are brutal towards local populations, a tragicomic scene where a soldier cannot recognize the president of France orders rendering him as an alienated product of the colonialism he serves – so he may carry out his orders unaffected. In a later scene the poster of the president of France is replaced with a new poster of the new president. As the native Sergeant replaces the poster one of the troops touching the poster asks him, 'Who is that?'. He responds, 'De Gaulle, a brigadier General! The new Chief of France'. A conversation ensues in which the question of whether De Gaulle could be the new chief of France if he only had two stars while the previous chief Marshal Petain had seven stars. The soldiers says, 'You are fooling us, Sergeant. Since when did two stars command over seven stars?' The discussion continues and unconvinced the soldier walks off. This scene proposes that the colonized subject under the

colonizer has achieved such a hierarchical and militaristic understanding of reality that he cannot think outside of that limited framework since colonial society, that requires the practice of violence by the colonized subject upon the colonized subject, was neatly compartmentalized into rigid hierarchies.

The informality and fluidity of *Mueda Memória e Massacre's* juxtaposition of cinematic codes and the element of community participation are betrayed by the representation of Frelimo's men (and women). Frelimo's military men and women, who observe the pantomimic performance where Portuguese colonial officials, *cipaios* and traditional authorities are ridiculed, only take an active role in the process when it comes to performing the signifiers of the nation, including, singing of the national anthem in superstratum language of Portuguese, which the majority of villagers would not have understood. Frelimo's men are not in opposition to the characters played but to the pantomimic structure of the re-enactment itself, that stands for the nature of the colonial apparatus. Their ascetic posture determines the beginning of a new era where reason prevails over irrationality. During the performance a performer reads in Portuguese language to the audience what would have been a list of demands for goods, such as chickens, made to traditional authorities in order to demonstrate the autocratic power of the colonial authorities. His control of the superstratum language is hesitant, heavy accented, as he makes several grammatical mistakes. 'The Chibalo (debt bondage) that is Mozambique'. [483] In the above quote, as one of the Frelimo's members, dressed in military uniform wearing (luxury-signifying) dark sunglasses recounts the horrors of the colonial past but makes a slip of the tongue, saying 'is' instead of 'was', making a grammatical error, which he does not even seem to notice and correct; the error is somewhat metonymic, and transparent upon Frelimo's growing authoritarianism, as propelled by the onset of civil war. The man recounts Frelimo's official version of the massacre while his eyes are concealed by his sunglasses, a visual metaphor of the deceptions of power. In *Nelisita*, at the end of the film the protagonist, in a scene intended to have a similar symbolic content, he holds and wears a pair of sunglasses mirroring the film's evil spirits who wore sunglasses.

The first shots of *Mueda Memória e Massacre* run a black strip with the vice a He-Who-Knows teacher telling historical facts concerning pre-colonial Mozambique that students repeat in unison, word by word until their voices subside and the start credits emerge. Images of a window filmed from the inside shows its wooden structures and the intense sunlight that comes from

483 Extract from a testimony by Frelimo personnel in *Mueda Memória e Massacre*.

the outside into what is a colonial building, a former administrative office where part of the re-enactment will take place i.e., light will shine upon the past and the truth will be revealed. An initial reading of *Mueda Memória e Massacre* would assume that its objective is to dispel the traumatic event; however a concurrent reading that responds to Sousa Santos's question regarding the impact of Portuguese deficient and excessive colonialism on Portuguese-speaking Africa, is that *Mueda Memória e Massacre* is structured by processes of exclusion of masculinities that mirrors its time. The temporary exclusion of different groups of native Mozambican masculinities, whose 'members' at one stage or another opposed Frelimo's Marxism and its version of nationalism, until they become 're-educated'.

3.3.4.2. *O Tempo dos Leopardos*, a Revolutionary Anti-Colonial Film

3.3.4.2.1. Plot and Topics: Our Images Tell the Truth

O Tempo dos Leopardos was a highly significant anti-colonial film within the context of Lusophone African cinema because its neorealist style not only demonstrated Frelimo's ideological turn from a revolutionary idiom to authoritarianism but also signalled the end of an era of national optimism for Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea Bissau. When *O Tempo dos Leopardos* was released in 1985 these countries were involved in protracted civil wars or deep political unrest.

The opening scenes of the film set out its anti-colonial position by establishing the anti-ethical nature of Portuguese colonial practice and colonialism practice *per se*. It begins with the camera from the point of view of Portuguese military commandos hiding in the bushes surveying the African landscape. As a group of African native women carrying water containers on their heads walk nearby, they surprise and intimidate them. After one of the women fails to respond as to where Frelimo's guerrillas are hiding, she and the baby she carries on her back are killed off-screen, starting the narrative with the killing of a defenceless native woman and child by the enemy. In constructing the dynamic between the soldiers and the native women from the time the camera pans over the landscape, to the women emerging on screen, to when the soldiers ambush them the audience is given the point of view of colonizer. As the soldiers interrogate them the camera elevates enabling a point of view from above – an omnipresent view. The scene lasts for over two minutes and finishes with a fleeting and only shot from one of the interrogated woman's point of view. She faces the Portuguese soldier who

questions her, followed by a black screen and the sound of a gunshot. The last shot of the scene is from the woman's point of view, and it signals her defiance. The dominance of the colonizer soldier's point of view, to the detriment of the colonized women's point of view, poses the following two questions – how is Frelimo looking at reality, and how is *O Tempo dos Leopardos* interpreting recent history? The second scene beguines with the enemy, a group of Portuguese military men, viewing Frelimo's propaganda films which attests to the significance Frelimo placed on its self-representation as truthful.

Co-produced by INC in partnership with Avala Film, a Yugoslavian film production company, *O Tempo dos Leopardos* reflects the institute's turn from experimentation to reactionary conventionalism. The INC's ideological turn takes place under new leadership at the helm of the Minister of Information, more favourable to a propagandistic anti-colonial message. This was in line with established conventions and successful cinematic strategies of the Yugoslavian partisan film tradition, that:

> [S]trove to emulate the Hollywood studio system in terms of professional directing and acting practices, technological effects, dramaturgy and the way in which they adapted the aesthetics of foreign genres such as the Western to their own cinematic myths about the birth of the nation.[484]

to influence the film revealing:

> [T]ensions between the desire for a war epic, drawing on the Yugoslav tradition of the Partisan film, and the attempt by Mozambican filmmakers to be truthful to the lived experience of the struggle.[485]

Directed by an established Yugoslavian director, *O Tempo dos Leopardos* unashamedly makes use of mainstream cinematic devices, namely, a Manichaeistic confrontation between good and evil. It is based on testimonies from Frelimo guerrilla fighters and set during the Liberation War reflecting the daily life of a Frelimo guerrilla detachment, that is being hunted down by Portuguese military commanders working in collaboration with the PIDE. The linear arch-plot of the social realism of *O Tempo dos Leopardos* was inscribed in a 'teleological model where there was no space for [the] cinematic experimentation' that permeated *Mueda Memória e Massacre.*[486] Schefer is critical of the way in which the film betrays the struggle –because it contradicts Guerra's vision of cinema whereby 'we cannot make political

484 Gray, p. 243.

485 Gray, p. 10.

486 Schefer, *Fictions of the Liberation Struggle*, p. 310.

films on the basis of political strategies or practices'.[487] Schefer affirms that:

> What is at stake here is not merely the Liberation Struggle, but rather primarily – and mostly – the so-called 'civil war', therefore, not a past tense, but a lived present and expectations of the future.[488]

Nonetheless, its Hollywood-like structure enabled the film to become a success with Mozambican audiences without deviating from a central mission of post-colonial African cinema – to represent examples of a decolonized colonial subject. The *O Vento Sopra do Norte* (1987) directed by the Mozambican José Cardoso was the last feature fiction film produced by the INC as the civil war raged through the country. Long before that Ruy Guerra, Jean-Luc Godard and Jean Rouch had abandoned Frelimo's cinema project.

Fig. 15. Constructing anti-colonial truth in *O Tempo dos Leopardos*; Portuguese military men looking at films made by Frelimo and a photograph of the film's hero, Pedro.

The script of *O Tempo dos Leopardos* emerged from an idea by Licinio de Azevedo based on accounts from Frelimo members regarding the ten years of the war and was developed by a joint Mozambican-Yugoslavian team. The film is set in the early 1970s during the liberation war, before independence, in the Mozambican 'countryside' where Frelimo guerrillas protect native villagers from attacks from the Portuguese military. The film follows a linear plot line that sets the heroes – who are Frelimo guerrillas who have speaking parts and are black – against the villains, who are white Portuguese soldiers, who carry out attacks upon defenceless rural Mozambican communities accused of supporting Frelimo. The first scene of the film, as we have noted and similarly to *Chaimite*, introduces the villains so that from the outset the objective of the hero is clear. In the second scene a group of Portuguese military men review footage of Frelimo's activities whilst they discuss Frelimo's operational objectives in their area of command which include attacks to isolated Portuguese military outposts. They also discuss the characteristics of the hero, Pedro, Frelimo guerrilla leader whose detachment

487 Schefer, *Fictions of the Liberation Struggle*, p. 312.

488 Schefer, *Fictions of the Liberation Struggle*, p. 310.

operates in their area of operations and whom they want to eliminate. The scene introduces two levels of conflict amongst the Portuguese colonizer masculinities; between Major Armando, a Portuguese Mozambican born and a member of military's psychosocial unit concerned with bringing the population to the colonialist's side through persuasion rather than force, and Captain Vasco, a brutal commando who is responsible for criminal military manoeuvres in the area where Pedro operates. In the following scene Captain Vasco and his men attack a village burning huts and killing every native on sight until Pedro, leading his detachment, that includes his loved one, Ana and his second in command, Januário, unexpectedly emerge to successfully fight off the Portuguese commandos who retreat. Bodies of women and children lie on the ground. Januário is stopped short of killing a black Portuguese commando nurse estranged from his platoon. His hastiness reveals that he harbours a deep hatred of the Portuguese and longs for revenge, at times acting irrationally and forgetting Frelimo's ethical principles. Later in conversation with Pedro he is reminded that Frelimo's war is a war against colonialism and not the white man.

After having confronted Januário's lack of alignment with Frelimo's (humanist) ideology, Pedro has to contend with the opposition of a village chief. Pedro and his detachment arrive at a village and are greeted enthusiastically by young people, but the elders are concerned because their presence may turn the village into a military target. Pedro agrees with the chief that on the next day he will leave with his comrades. During the night the detachment take time to relax dancing next to a fire as the village elders look on. Inside a hut, Ana and Pedro display their affection for one another - holding in her arms a black baby they saved along the way and she persuades Pedro to adopt him as their own.

After being followed by Captain Vasco who was ordered by Major Armando not to ambush them, the detachment reach their base where Pedro is to meet the leader of the central command. Januário is ordered to go and spy on the Portuguese barracks and report back on their movements. He is captured and under interrogation he reveals the location of Pedro's base. Upon knowing that Januário has been captured Pedro orders all to abandon the base. Upon leaving the base Pedro and Ana are captured by black men posing as Frelimo solders – a trap planned by Major Armando in order to capture Pedro alive and carried out by Frelimo defectors and ex-criminals working for PIDE. Ana and Pedro are tortured by Chico, an African under the orders of a white PIDE inspector, and Ana, injured during her capture, dies as a consequence. Januário fearing for his life pleads with a bed-ridden Pedro to disclose the

location of the central base so that both might be saved but Pedro refuses. Later Januário, no longer useful to Captain Vasco, is taken out to the bushes and killed.

Major Armando arrives at the Barracks by helicopter to interrogate Pedro and is told by Captain Vasco that if is not able to extract information Pedro will be executed. Major Armando requests to talk in private with Pedro inside the Captain's office. The conversation takes a friendly tone from the start as they acknowledge that they know each other from childhood. Captain Vasco and the PIDE inspector overhear the conversation and concerned by what they hear they put an end to the conversation. Major Armando has his gun taken away from him and is escorted back to his helicopter by the PIDE inspector. The helicopter flies away as Frelimo guerrillas advance upon the barracks for a surprise attack. After Frelimo has taken control of the military barracks with support from resident natives Pedro's crucified-like dead body is revealed.

Despite its questionable artistic merit, *O Tempo dos Leopardos* is a highly significant film within a wider context because it intermingles ideology with the conventions of anti-colonial film to reinforce gender and racial representation stabilized by scopic regimes. For example: the intellectual mastery of superstratum culture and language by the assimilated colonized and the brutal nature of the colonial apparatus in *Camp at Thiaroye*; the powerlessness of traditional cosmologies against colonialism and the alienation of the faithful colonized in *Emitaï*; the drive towards death of the anti-colonialist in *Battle of Algiers* and the moral elevation of the new negro in *Within Our Gates*, emerge together to legitimise the expression in this film of Frelimo's new national masculinity.

3.3.4.2.2. The African Space Made Sane

In *O Tempo dos Leopardos* the African's traditional environment and its cosmology are rendered vulnerable since they are depicted as incapable of opposing the colonizer's violence. 'Tear everything down. Tear everything down without pity', are the words of Captain Vasco to his men as they advance upon a native village. The camera shots at the early stage of the film where Captain Vasco's commandos burn a village and kill villagers, overwhelmingly women and children, are filmed mostly with long shots and sound of cries and screaming, thereby creating a visual and sonic impression of chaos. A few scenes later, Pedro's detachment arrives at a village where Pedro was once a teacher carrying the wounded from their most recent battle

with the commandos. At the request of the Village Chief, Pedro walks over to talk with him, who then sits down surrounded by the village elders:

Village Chief: I see that our children like you because you taught them how to write.
Pedro: And to think, and that is even more important.
Village Chief: Before you used to talk to elders about the kindness of God, and human kindness and peace. Now you return with wounded people. You bring death to our village. You come to unsettle us, to confuse and to worry us. This new God of yours, is he able to protect the poor youngsters that follow you?
Pedro: You have not understood, old man. You do not want to understand that we fight precisely for that. So that there will no more violence, no more humiliation upon our people. I said the same thing, the same words but they were camouflaged. I could have not said it in any other way. We picked up guns so that everything can be better for you, and you crossed your arms. You even criticise us![489]

During the scene there are many close shots of the Chief and the elders looking down as Pedro speaks, a filmic technique used to denote their discomfort and shame, while also revealing the disconnect between Pedro and his young recruits, and the elders who fail to welcome them with open arms. Later, after Pedro has been captured, as he is confronted with villagers arriving from a nearby village under attack and guerrillas arriving with wounded comrades, the Chief finally acknowledges that 'Pedro was right' after all. With Frelimo guerrillas siting around him, saddened by the fact that they fear Pedro to be dead, the Chief, entering into the metaphysical, reassures them that Pedro is not dead because in spite of what has or may happen to him he is alive. He further instigates them into the substratum when he begins to sing in native language and the guerrillas join him. This is the first and only occasion that a substratum language is spoken on screen. All the characters who, until that juncture in the film, had only spoken in the superstratum Portuguese language now sing in the substratum highlighting the coexistence of the two languages within the guerrilla. In absence of their leader, led by the Chief, they allow themselves to venture into the traditional metaphysical with no avail to Pedro. Similarly, to *Emitaï,* where the African traditional gods fail to respond to the pleas of the village elders for help in dealing with

489 My translation of 'Chefe da aldeia: Estou a ver que os nossos filhos gostam de ti porque ensinastes eles a escrever./ Pedro: E a pensar também, isto é ainda mais importante./ Chefe da aldeia: Antes falavas aos mais velhos da bondade de Deus, da bondade humana e de paz. Agora apareces com feridos. Trazes a morte para a nossa aldeia. Vens para nos sobressaltar, confundir-nos e preocupar. Este teu novo Deus será capaz de proteger estes pobres jovens que tu conduzes./ Pedro: Não compreendeste Velho. Tu não queres compreender que nós lutamos exatamente por isto. Para que não exista mais a violência, a fome e a humilhação do nosso povo. Eu falava a mesma coisa mas as palavras nessa altura eram camufladas. Eu não podia dizer de outro modo. Mas [estava] sempre a pensar o mesmo. Nos pegamos em armas para que tudo seja melhor para ti e tu cruzaste os braços. E ainda nos críticas!'.

the colonialists who oppress their village, old traditional beliefs (and methods) of *O Tempo dos Leopardo*s village elders are an inadequate defence against the colonizer's violence.

Fig. 16. African traditional and Frelimo spaces in *O Tempo dos Leopardos*; From left to right: (1) Portuguese military attacking a village; (2) Village chief surround by elder's addresses Pedro; (3) Pedro's view of his military base.

Throughout the film the detachment's base appears on screen only briefly – there is calm and order in contrast to the traditional African village and nonetheless all characters are engaged in some kind of activity. The camera from Ana and Pedro's point of view shows their comrades in a state of bliss as they smile; guerrillas swim in a lake and teach children to swim - a rare moment of happiness and contentment by the two protagonists that takes space in this secure setting where everyone displays agency and communication is conducted in the superstratum language. The images of happiness that Ana and Pedro witness are different from the uncertainty of the village led by the substratum speaking Chief. For Frelimo the substratum evokes tribalism and ignorance and the persona of the chief evokes colonialism. Chiefs across the colony cooperated with the colonial authorities towards the economic exploitation of the colonized subject whilst some tribal leaders, from the onset of the colonial war, rejected Frelimo's Marxist ideology. Following on from *Mueda Memória e Massacre, O Tempo dos Leopardos,* makes a direct critique of the entity of the chief. The complex relationship that Frelimo had with native traditional power structures is reflected in the relationship between Pedro and the Chief, as well as as the way in which the film shows how the village is as at the mercy of the random violence inflicted by the colonizer. In *Emitaï* shame and pride are the elements that lead the native men of the village under colonial oppression to die at the hands of the colonizers, an evil colonial Big Other with whom no dialogue is possible. The punishment of the *régulo* (chief) at the hands of a *cipaio* in *Mueda Memória e Massacre* is demonstrative not only of his lack of power within the colonial structure but also of his lack of shame and pride, the sign of a native authority created by the colonial apparatus that is by design emasculated and whose function is to emasculate other chiefs. With a

different structure, Pedro's detachment's base has no chiefs, only comrades, agency and the substratum prevail, therefore masculinity and rationality prevail in a space diametrically opposed to the irrational colonial space at the mercy of the colonizer, where violence is the only means of agency. *Nelisita*, making a different statement from *O Tempo dos Leopardos,* questions the superiority of Western cultural values versus African traditional cultures and cosmologies to propose that alien agents to the African environment pervert the symbiotic nature between man and nature and corrupt man. The detachment's base in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* is the closest environment to a liberated area and as such is the expression of an ideal independent Mozambican space constructed according to foreign Marxist ideology. It is a space in which the nineteenth-century anti-colonial writings of Edward Blyden and Africanus Horton – as well as the more recent post-colonial writings of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and Chinua Achebe relating to the Western vs African culture and Western versus African languages in relation to the post-colonial nation – are adroitly played out before the spectator's eyes.

3.3.4.2.3. The Production of the Ultra-Rational New Man

Pedro, the protagonist of *O Tempo dos Leopardos*, is the expression of the emergence of a new type of man, the embodiment of Frelimo's anti-colonialist (Marxist) new man, equipped to restore a new order to the colonial space through violence. In a non-independent Mozambique, where having been a *combatente* (guerrilla fighter) legitimises power, Pedro stands for the martyrs who fought alongside the Frelimo leaders who took control of the State after independence. Courage, responsibility, selflessness, humbleness, empathy, and fairness are some of the attributes that Pedro displays as a role model of masculinity. An example of Pedro's masculine courage is demonstrated in the third scene of the film when Pedro leads the fight to repel the commandos who have just destroyed a village. This establishes his credentials as a courageous fighter on behalf of defenceless populations. Pedro's action and the final scenes of film where disciplined Frelimo guerrillas take over the commando's barracks make reference to Frelimo's military credentials. During the unravelling of the large-scale, Gordian Knot Portuguese military operation designed to annihilate Frelimo, the latter outmanoeuvred the Portuguese army, thereby extending the war into economically vital areas; there is no doubt that Frelimo demonstrated military acumen. Nonetheless the qualities that turn him into a masculine figure who is unequivocally superior to the traditional native colonized (and the colonizer) masculinities are rationality and universality. These qualities that

emerge because he never speaks the substratum and the ways in which he speaks the superstratum, distance him from tribalism and take him closer to the colonizer. He rejects the 'irrationality of tribalism' (which is at times complicit with colonialism) and understands that if he wants to build a culturally homogeneous Marxist country, he will be forced to use the colonizer's language to do so.

Pedro, indeed, proves his mastery of the language of the colonizer when, after enduring physical torture and having been told of Ana's death, he is questioned by Major Armando whose objective is to persuade him to abandon the anti-colonial cause and join the colonialists. The Major Armando/Pedro interrogation sequence begins with Major Armando's arrival by helicopter, echoing Sander's (*Sanders of the River*) return by plane to reassert himself into the colony which has descended into chaos. As the helicopter lands, Pedro's torturer under the command of the PIDE inspector, a black man named Chico, looks on. Captain Vasco and the PIDE inspector meet the Major and tell him that they have not been able to extract any information from Pedro and if he is not more successful Pedro will be executed. Before he enters the room, where Pedro can be found siting down tied to a chair, Major Armando removes his gun and leaves it behind to look more informal, switches on his tape recorder and tells the captain and the inspector not to interfere. He enters the room, dismisses a soldier who stands guard over Pedro, and with a long shot that keeps Pedro inside the frame, he circles a desk placed in front of Pedro, and sits on a chair next to him. He wets his hand with water and splatters Pedro to wake him up. Gently with his hand he touches Pedro's chin lifting his face. The camera cuts to Major Armando's face who appears pleased. From the onset an emotional empathy between colonizer and colonized seems to be emerging.

Fig. 17. Frelimo's new man at work in *O Tempo dos Leopardos*; Left to right: Major Armando and Pedro; (2) Major Armando unties Pedro; (3) Pedro left dead by his *torturers*.

The dialogue is split into two scenes, which I quote in their entirety since they address tropes which are central to Frelimo's ideology, namely, language, tribalism, civilization, race, Marxism and the status of white Mozambicans:

Major Armando: You are Pedro, aren't you?
Pedro: Yes, you will hear nothing more from me than that. Don't waste your time.
Major Armando: You have your father's face, old N'Kuenda that twenty years ago worked in my father's *machamba* (farm).
Pedro: You are Arma...
Major Armando: I don't want to kill you!
Pedro(smiling): You are the one with the gun with a broken stock?
Major Armando: Yes, I am Armando.
Pedro: That's right, in my memory you surfaced with similar names.
Major Armando: Did you try to forget me, is that your ideology?
Pedro: And now, what are you doing around here?
Major Armando: I am a Major in the psychosocial branch.
Pedro: Ah! Now you want to oppress my spirit. To weaken me.
Major Armando: Believe it if you want. Say anything to save yourself.
Pedro: I know nothing.
Major Armando: I need to save you. I have a debt with you.
[…]
Major Armando: Do you know that that is enough for them to kill you immediately.
Pedro (smiling): Only because I said that you were a Mozambican?
Major Armando: You want to play dumb and believe in the fiction of an independent Mozambique
Pedro: Why fiction?
Major Armando: Mozambique is only a territory thanks to us [Portuguese]. How many languages? How many tribes? How would it be if it wasn't for our language?
Pedro: You are wrong. All slaves understand themselves perfectly.
Major Armando: It's not worth all this effort to save the life of a man, even if he is a childhood friend.
Pedro: Friend, now you admit the possibility of being friends with a black. What would yours say?
Major Armando: [You] All are poisoned by Marx.
Pedro: It not necessary to listen to Marx. I only have to listen to you, and I feel myself as tied as I am.
[The Major unties Pedro]
Major Armando: Does your Marx feel better? It not that the doctrine that we thought you. We offered real schools, hospitals... civilization. Do you understand?
Pedro: It is true, and we keep all of that. All that is useful and sensible. Our people have paid for all of that more than 100 times, and we no longer want your boots over our heads. The fascist boot, do you understand?
Major Armando: Have you asked the Portuguese people what do they think of all of this?
Pedro: No, no, no! Do not bring up the Portuguese people. No one asked the Portuguese people anything.
Major Armando: So, it that what your friends teach you. Those that give you the guns?
Pedro: Listen Armando, friends are friends [illegible]
Major Armando: After all, what's your politics?
Pedro: Our own.
Major Armando: Do you want to create a Mozambican state only for blacks?
Pedro: That's a lie. It is a lie that you made up and now you believe in it.
Major Armando: Who will guarantee that there will not be the massacre of millions of whites that have been living in Mozambique for centuries? No one.
Pedro: Do see that in you the true Mozambican emerges. You are not even conscious of it. For them [Portuguese] you are a second-class Portuguese man. You were born here. Your father too. We want a country of all Mozambicans, blacks, and whites. We need all of them.

[Major Armando visibly moved by Pedro's arguments sits downs closer to him.]
Pedro: Have you ever killed anyone?
Major Armando: No. My conscience is clear.
Pedro: We need you. We even need those who were forced to kill.[490]

The PIDE inspector asks Captain Vasco, who is visibly concerned by the development of the conversation which they have been overhearing, to interrupt the conversation and escort the Major back to his helicopter keeping his gun and voice-recorder. At the beginning of the conversation, it becomes clear that Major Armando had gone to great lengths to guarantee that Pedro had been captured alive because of a moral debt he has towards him. Pedro acknowledges the civilizing aspects of Portuguese colonialism and states that those will be carried forward, mirroring the belief that Frelimo leaders had of transforming Mozambique into a developed economy which camouflaged

490 My translation of 'Major Armando: Tu és o Pedro não é verdade?/ Pedro: Sim só ouvira isto de mim, não perca tempo./ Major Armando: Tu és a cara do teu pai, o velho N'Kuenda que há vinte anos trabalhava na machamba do meu pai./ Pedro: Tu és da arma.../ Major Armando: Não te quero matar!/ Pedro: Tu és da arma com a coronha partinhada./ Major Armando: Sim, sou o Armando./ Pedro: Isso mesmo, na minha memória surgem vários nomes parecidos./ Major Armando: Tentavas esquecer-me. É a tua ideologia?/ Pedro: E agora o que é que fazes por aqui./ Major Armando: Sou Major da ação psicológica./ Pedro: Ah. Agora também queres-me agredir o espírito. Enfraquecer-me./ Major Armando: Se quiseres acredita. Diz qualquer coisa para te salvar. Pedro: Não sei de nada./ Major Armando: Preciso de te salvar, tenho uma dívida para contigo […]/ Major Armando: Sabes que isso basta para que te fuzilem imediatamente./ Pedro: Só porque eu disse que tu também és Moçambicano./ Major Armando: Queres-te armar em parvo e acreditar nessa ficção de um Moçambique independente./ Pedro: Ficção porque? Major Armando: Moçambique só é território graças a nossa ação [Portugueses]. Quantas Línguas? Quantas tribos? Como seria se não fosse a nossa Língua?/ Pedro: Estás enganado. Todos os escravos se entendem perfeitamente./ Major Armando: Não vale a pena todo este esforço para salvar a vida de um homem, mesmo amigo de infância./ Pedro: Amigo, agora admites a possibilidade de seres amigo de um preto. O que dirão os teus?/ Major Armando: Todos envenenados por Marx./ Pedro: Não é preciso ouvir Marx, basta ouvir-te e sentir-me amarrado deste modo./ Major Armando: Já se sente melhor o teu Marx? Mas não foi essa a doutrina que vos ensinamos. Oferecemos verdadeiras escolas, hospitais... civilização. Compreendes?/ Pedro: É verdade e vamos ficar com tudo isso. Tudo o que é útil e sensato. O nosso povo já pagou tudo isto mais de 100 vezes, não queremos mais a vossa bota sobre as nossas cabeças. A bota fascista. Entende?/ Major Armando: E vocês perguntaram ao povo português o que pensa de tudo isto./ Pedro: Na, na, na! Não mete o povo português. Ninguém consultou o povo português sobre nada./ Major Armando: Então é isso que os teus amigos te ensinam? E esses que vos dão as armas?/ Pedro: Ouve Armando, amigos só amigos [inaudível]/ Major Armando: Afinal qual é a tua política?/ Pedro: A nossa própria./ Major Armando: Querem então criar um estado Moçambicano só para pretos?/ Pedro: É mentira. É uma mentira que vocês fabricaram e agora acreditam nela./ Major Armando: Quem garante que não haverá um massacre de milhares de brancos que há séculos vivem em Moçambique? Ninguém./ Pedro: Estás a ver como em ti surge o verdadeiro moçambicano e nem sequer tens consciência disso. Para eles tu és um Português de segunda. Nasceste aqui. Teu pai também. Queremos um país de todos os Moçambicanos pretos e brancos. Precisamos de todos./ Pedro: Tu já mataste alguém?/ Major Armando: Não. Tenho a consciência tranquila./ Pedro: Precisamos de ti. Mesmo daqueles que foram obrigados a matar'.

their ultra-assimilationist project. However, his answer to Major Armando's questions in relation to how they will ensure national unity in relation to tribalism and multilingualism is evasive. His response – 'all slaves understand one another' – rests, perhaps, on Mondlane's assumption that because the different tribes speak languages from the Bantu family their shared cultural heritage would facilitate a unified national project.

Regarding the issue of an independent Mozambique that includes Portuguese whites, ex-colonizers, Pedro's position is that the Portuguese have falsely racialized the conflict however, when he ironically questions Major Armando's admission that they were childhood friends he acknowledges the racialized nature of the reality in which they live. The objective of the conversation is not so much to demonstrate how Pedro responds to Major Armando; the main aim is to show that Pedro can question and change the Major's position. Pedro does this by using the colonizer's language – in effect he demonstrates that he is intellectually able, spirituality stronger, and, most importantly, that he has truth on his side.

To the outside world Frelimo's leaders proved their ability to negotiate with the colonizer when after collapse of the Portuguese dictatorship they were involved in lengthy negotiations with the Portuguese government and secured total transition of power solely to Frelimo. This ability to use the superstratum language for manipulating the colonizer and to speak with colonizer in behalf of the colonized subject is an element that confers legitimacy to power to the extent that Pedro demands the re-masculinization of Mozambican born Major Armando, who is not comfortable with his role as Portuguese army officer. In *Mueda Memória e Massacre* the mastery over the superstratum language is also constructed as an element that symbolizes power. In scenes intercut with the villagers' performance of the massacre two men, one of them a Frelimo member, speak to the camera recounting the events that led to the massacre. They construct history, and even if only a small minority of Mozambicans can understand them, they speak to and in behalf of the nation – their association with Frelimo and the superstratum language enables them to do so whereby, the language is in itself the content. The Estado Novo's documentaries *Gentes Que Nós Civilizámos* (1944) and *Agricultura de Moçambique* (1949), for example, assert through the authoritative voice of the narrator and the truth of footage the colonizer's power to transform the colony and the colonized subject. *O Tempo dos Leopardos*, in line with Frelimo's pre-independence propaganda documentaries, *The Struggle Continues* (1971) and *Behind the Lines* (1971), challenges the colonizer's historical representation of the (pacified) colonial space as civilized and

prosperous as false. The suspension of morality is justified in *Chaimite* by the colonized subject's irrationality, by lack in the other, whereas in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* is is justified by the colonized individual's newfound ultra-rationality that characterizes Pedro and the detachment's base i.e. if *Chaimite* responds to British systematization of colonial enterprise with a spiritual-rationalism, *O Tempo dos Leopardos* responds to Portuguese colonialism with an ultra-rationalism that disavows it.

3.3.4.2.4. Semi-Masculine Femininities

Ana, the female protagonist in *O Tempo dos Leopardos,* widely interpreted as referring to the mythical Josina Machel, the first wife of Samora Machel and Frelimo's role-model feminine, is a femininity that reaches alongside Pedro the zenith of what Major Mouzinho and his wife Maria José would have reached if she had been allowed to fight by his side. Ana is constructed as an entity emotionally dependent on Pedro and they are close and inseparable and although the word love is never mentioned, they battle, rest, and are tortured together, while dying for the struggle. In various occasion she tries to awake in him the possibility of a family which does not come naturally to him because he is single-mindedly devoted to the war effort. Through Ana's initiative they adopt a baby, Little Pedro, and take him back to their base. Upon understanding that the base will soon be attack it descends into an orderly frenzy as the guerrillas disband. Ana gives Little Pedro away to the black Portuguese commando nurse who had saved him. The commando has now defected and joined Frelimo and put in charge of taking the wounded to the next base. Ana is visibility upset to see Little Pedro go and an unemotional Pedro tells her, 'Do not worry about Little Pedro, he is being cared for by Eusébio's'. The camera with medium shots follows Pedro focused on the task at hand as he instructs the guerrillas, commands space, and displays his masculinity. Up until their joint experience of torture it would be easy to assume that Ana is a guerrilla who joined up because she wanted to be by Pedro's side rather than because of her anti-colonial views. During an interrogation scene Ana and Pedro are tied upright to wooden structures and the menacing PIDE inspector looking at Ana's injuries says, 'It would be such a shame if such a beautiful woman were to die here'. The reference to Ana's beauty is an acknowledgement by the colonizer of the sexually attractive potential of the colonized woman which was demonstrated with the first scene of the film when it is suggested that Portuguese soldiers raped the native women they stopped, thereby alluding by synecdoche to a colonial history of violent miscegenation. Pedro is told by the inspector that if he

discloses the localization of the central base Ana and he would thereafter have a comfortable life. With a close-up and the interrogator standing behind and close to him, looking down Pedro tells him that he is ready to talk and Ana's voice interrupts him shouting 'No Pedro, No!' proving that her loyalty to the political struggle is stronger than her love for Pedro.

Ana – and in this she is different from the female urban guerrilla fighters in films such as *The Battle of Algiers* who play to Western patriarchal stereotypes and social conventions of femininity, performing the role of assimilated colonized woman to carry out their activities – is for the most part portrayed in the film in the role of a desexualised Marxist revolutionary role. In this sense Ana eschews typical feminine roles such as we find in mainstream war and colonizer films; and she cannot be pigeon-holed in terms of traditional African femininity either. The most revealing way in she demonstrates the distinctiveness of her character is when Pedro is captured. She tries in vain to save him reversing standard the male/female roles of man as saviour and women as victim. Mulatto Miss Brown (*The Birth of a Nation*) is a highly libidinous woman who possibly desires to seduce her white master. Sylvia (*Within Our Gates*) is an exemplary negro woman yet within a patriarchal ordered framework and is reward with the love of an exemplary negro man. Similarly, being an exemplary femininity, evoking the mother of the nation Josina Machel, Ana is destined for an exemplary male, and hence her death signals Pedro's imminent death. To narrow the range of ideal femininities to the guerrilla fighter Ana, and considering that the objective of the vanguard party is homogenization, is to exclude from the nation the masculinities outside of the narrow code of struggle, because their values, dissimilar to Frelimo's, make of them unsuitable men. During the last scenes of *Mueda Memória e Massacre*, when the performance has finished and the community and Frelimo's personnel begin to leave the square, in the distance, a Frelimo woman dressed in uniform and a man dressed in civilian clothes walk side by side. She takes the initiative to hold his hand as they walk – within that moment she has taken control over the masculine and through her Frelimo's uniform she projects an outwardly traditionalist masculinity.

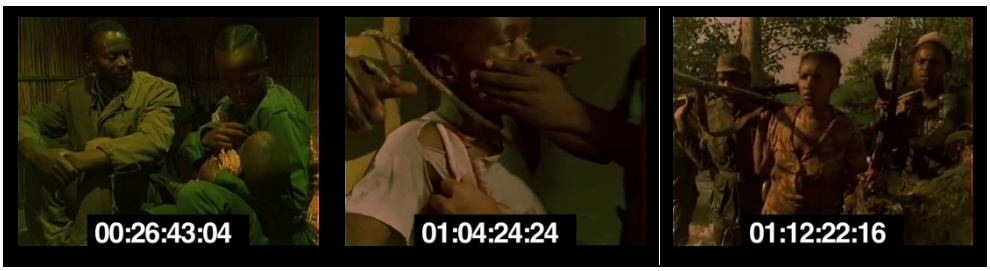

Fig. 18. Ideal Mozambican Femininity in *O Tempo dos Leopardos*; From left to right: (1) Ana holding Pedrinho with Pedro by her side; (2) Ana being tortured by white and black men; (3) Secondary character Maria, a Frelimo spy.

A secondary character in *O Tempo dos Leopardos*, the African woman Maria, who lives in the Portuguese military run village, who is young and attractive and sexualised by the Portuguese soldiers, acts as a spy for Frelimo and progressively assumes guerrilla functions toward the hegemonic masculinized-feminine, thereby reinforcing the notion that Ana is the ideal to be pursued by the Mozambican woman. Both Ana and Maria (*Chaimite*) have masculine and patriotic men as their love interest, but Ana's choice also implicitly involves rejecting those masculinities which exist off-screen. The Big-Men, responsible for the embryonic structures that culminated in Frelimo and whom from within the movement posed a serious threat to the Frelimo's survival and Marxist agenda are absent from the narrative, written off from the struggle. The strength of Ana's and Pedro's love and the extent of their sacrifice creates a chasm between the Big-Men and Frelimo's new women, symbolically barring the possibility of aspiring Big-Men to ascend into Frelimo's power circle through matrimony which echoes colonized subject's desire to marry a white colonizer in order to enter the colonizer's world.

Ana's visual feminine-masculinisation and blurring of conventional gender roles in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* is a twofold response to Maria's (*Chaimite*) Salazarist traditional gender role and the representation of the native women in *Chaimite.* Maria's love for Daniel in *Chaimite* is an irrational love driven and consolidated by Daniel's re-masculinization as a subordinate exemplary masculinity whereas Ana's love for Pedro is constructed rationally for, they are devoted to same causes, the struggle and the nation, attributing Ana with a degree of rationality and patriotism that Maria lacks. The Estado Novo's documentary *Moçambique* (1941), a travel essay though colonial Mozambique, includes a scene of a tribal dance performed by African men interspersed with several fleeting shots of bare-breasted African women accompanying the musical rhythm with their bodies filmed with full front medium shots. The shots infuse the screen with a level of sensuality repressed in *Chaimite* and refuted in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* as both films attempt to expel the issue of miscegenation from the screen, since it is precisely this miscegenation that would problematise their Manichaeistic colonizer/colonized representations.

3.3.4.2.5. The Assimilated Individual's Negrophobia

The characterizations in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* of Chico, the black torturer, the Africans working for PIDE and the traitor Januário flattens the complexities of native collaborator/colonizer relationships in the Lusophone context whilst not resorting to stereotypical representations of the black or African other to represent them. Paradoxically the Frelimo member Januário, because of his erratic emotions and behaviour, is the closest representation to the African stereotype who simultaneously embodies Preacher Ned's (*Within Our Gates*) conscious betrayal of the race and Efrem's (*Within Our Gates*) desire to accepted by the whites. A medium shot of a group of black men who work for PIDE exercising in army boots, trousers, and shirtless cuts to medium shot of the PIDE inspector and an army Colonel. The Colonel asks if the men, who are in the background exercising, are capable of executing the task of capturing Pedro and the PIDE inspector assures him that as Frelimo dissidents and ex-criminals they have their own reasons to succeed and are highly skilled. Later we understand that they are better remunerated than Portuguese military troops. In another scene, Chico, a well-built black man in army trousers and boots, drags Januário to a room where Captain Vasco and the PIDE inspector wait to continue to interrogate him. In the following shots, a light spot is being illuminated against Januário's face by Captain Vasco whilst Chico stands in the background. The PIDE inspector sits behind a desk holding a piece of rope with a knot on the end. Frustrated because Januário has not confessed Captain Vasco says 'get him up' directed at Chico. Chico pulls Januário up. Captain Vasco says 'easy, easy' and menacingly waking around Januário, as Chico stands to the background, 'It seems that you are a bit ill, what has happened to him. I have an idea, let's travel by plane, the two of us and will put you inside a bag and then where are about 1000 meters...pshiu... hum?' Captain Vasco exits the frame; a medium shot emphasizes Januário's fear whilst Chico remains obscured in the background. In the following scene, in another room, a close shot of Januário shows him after having succumbed to the fear of dying ready to point on a map the location of the Pedro's base. Once more Chico stands obscured in the background behind Januário. Later, whilst Ana and Pedro are being interrogated by the PIDE inspector Chico stands guard. After Ana and Pedro fail to cave in Chico, who understands what he has to do without being told, comes into the forefront of the frame and with close shots he walks towards Pedro and punches him in the stomach. Whilst the Africans working for PIDE echo those credited as deserting Frelimo because of because of their low moral fibre and their desire for personal gain, such as the high profile defector Lazaro Nkavandame (and also the lawyer Miguel Marupa), to bring Chico to the foreground of the screen with close shots highlights the role of thousands

of assimilated Africans who worked for or collaborated with PIDE and the Portuguese military rendering them through this character as hyperbolic representations of the friendly black i.e. alienated people reduced to the state of efficient machine-animal like beings. What Chico represents is the end result of the process of simultaneous masculinization and emasculation of the African colonized documented in the early stages of the Estado Novo in *1ªCompanhia de Infantaria Indígena de Angola em Lisbôa* (1933) with African forces of the Portuguese colonial army parading shirtless in the streets of Lisbon, as if domesticated beings.

The character performed by Pedro in *O Tempo dos Leopardos*– even despite his credentials as an assimilated subject – creates the illusion of a stable colonized anti-colonial identity because he has transcended from the discourse of colonialism into Frelimo's ultra-rationalism whereas Januário progressively reveals an unstable identity. Januário's psyche is more akin to the schizophrenia that characterizes the assimilated colonized, who simultaneously loves and hates the colonizer who has rejected him. Despite the Portuguese lower status amongst other European colonizers, Januário's spectral image is the white Portuguese man – the desire which he wishes to fulfil is that of the Estado Novo's colonial unconscious. The deep state of confusion that desolates the assimilated colonized is openly revealed in *Mueda Memória e Massacre* when the interpreter who translates between the Big-Men and the Administrator corrects that he is white after the administrator has called him black, denoting the way in which the Lusophone colonized could be lured into thinking that through distance from the native and proximity to the colonizer they could become white. In the same way Sergeant Diatta (*Camp at Thiaroye*) believed that by listening to classical music, reading modernist French literature, being married to a white French woman, aspiring to go to university in France, and speaking foreign languages would enable him to be treated with the respect reserved to a white French. The main character Pinky (Jeanne Crain) in *Pinky* (1949) set in the 1940s in U.S.'s segregated south tells the story of a light skinned black woman who has been living away from home passing as white in a more racially progressive northern state and returns home after a long time of absence to visit her illiterate black mother Dicey (Ethel Waters). Her mother is dismayed at the fact that Pinky is passing for white and plans to go back north where she can resume her life as a white woman and marry her white doctor fiancé. The failed 'de-epidermilization' and assimilation of the colonial interpreter through proximity – that is, of Pinky through camouflage, and of Sergeant Diatta through the consumption of high culture – reveals different levels of self-delusional drives which are designed to fulfil the white supremacist

colonial unconscious.

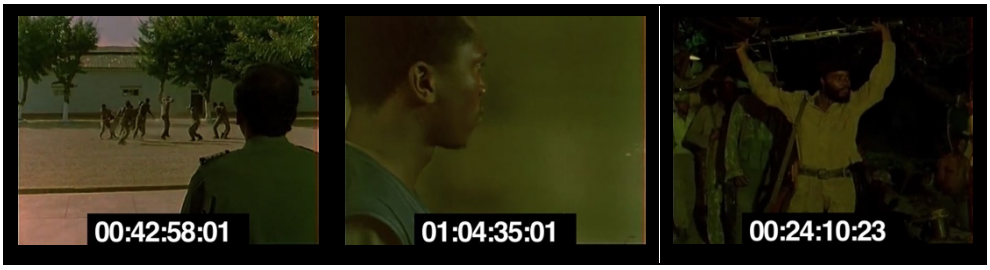

Fig. 19. Black Frelimo traitors in *O Tempo dos Leopardos*; From left to right: (1) Portuguese military officer looking at Frelimo defectors and black ex-criminals who work for PIDE; (2) PIDE torturer Chico before violently punching Pedro, with black Portuguese military man in the background; (3) Januário and his guns.

Januário's character – as the turncoat who moves to the other side – is a clear allusion to all those individuals who betrayed Frelimo, including Uria Simango, Nkavandame and Miguel Marupa discussed in chapter two. But Januário also refers to those individuals whose subjectivity has allegedly been enslaved by the colonial Big Other; from the inside of the movement, they created the chasm between the party and the State. Under Mondlane's leadership Frelimo began gaining support from the class of assimilated colonized subjects, who were predominately from the southern part the territory; they were good recruits because they felt rejected by the colonizer and they rebelled against colonialism, combining their defence-racism with humanist values. At face value Januário is the expression of the assimilated individual who has joined the struggle solely for revenge against the white colonizer and for his quest for power over others, but a more sinister reason moves him – negrophobia. This manifests itself in three different stages: the hate for blacks who serve under the whites; the disregard for the indigenous; and similarly to Pinky or Sergeant Diatta the desire for whiteness.

After losing his temper at the sight of a captured black Portuguese commando, during a lengthy scene Januário reveals the extent of his hatred for the white colonizers and for those blacks who serve under whites:

Pedro: What happened to you? You nearly killed the man.
Januário: I become beside myself when I see blacks in the ranks of the whites.
Pedro: The whites? You mean on the side of the Portuguese colonialists?
Januário: Whites or Portuguese it's all the same. I will fight them everywhere.
Pedro: Listen, Januário. Firstly, Frelimo does not kill prisoners, much less wounded ones. That you should know. As for whites, I want to remind you that this is not a war between whites and blacks.
Januário: For me it is. As long as I'm alive. While I can shoot.
Pedro: Only a man who is not in Frelimo ranks can say that.

Januário: […] In life I swallowed a lot of bitterness because of those damned whites.[491]

Towards the end of their dialogue the two men sit down, not facing each other. Pedro places his gun on the bench where they sit and Januário keeps hold of his. A medium shot that includes their upper bodies shows Pedro looking down and then facing Pedro who speaks in another direction. With a close shot from Pedro's point of view that reinforces their physical disconnect he responds looking at Januário, who does not look back at him. This point, early in the film, states their ideological difference. A resentful Januário, always keeping hold of his gun, echoes those within Frelimo, such as Nkavandame, who attempted openly to racialise the war and follow a tribalist agenda lacking the rational that only a unified nation-state could be understood as a natural consequence of the struggle.

Pedro and his detachment are passing through a village and he has been told by the village chief that when the night is over they must leave and during that night and solely through the camera's exclusive relationship with Januário he is constructed as somehow menacing which begins his second stage of negrophobia. The guerrillas begin to play percussion music. In the distance a man dressed in traditional costume dances by a fire whilst the guerrillas slowly begin to join in. Guerrillas and dancers (not clear if dancers are guerrillas) dance with their guns. The camera captures their movements with close, medium and long shots. Their movements, as they thrust their guns forwards and backwards, as they roll on the ground, as if in battle reinforce the guerrilla status to the villagers who look on. Januário and other guerrillas arrive from a patrol mission. Armed with two weapons, one strapped around his shoulder and a heavy one which he carries by hand, he walks towards the dancers and stops before reaching them, lifts the heavy weapon in the air with his two arms and secures it up in the air for an instant (like a weightlifter would hold up a barbell loaded with weight plates) and then drops it on the ground, and his comrades, less emphatically, drop their weapons in the same spot. There is a theatrical dimension to the way in which

491 My translation from: 'Pedro: O que aconteceu contigo há bocado. Quase mataste o homem./ Januário: Fico fora de mim quando vejo pretos nas fileiras dos brancos./ Pedro: Dos brancos? Quer dizer do lado dos colonialistas portugueses?/ Januário: Branco ou português é tudo igual. Vou lutar contra eles em todo o lado./ Pedro: Escuta Januário. Primeiro, a Frelimo não mata os prisioneiros e muito menos os feridos. Isso tu devias saber. Quanto ao branco quero fazer recordar que isto não é uma guerra entre brancos e pretos./ Januário: Para mim é. Enquanto estiver vivo. Enquanto puder disparar./ Pedro: Só um homem que não está na Frelimo é que pode dizer isso./ Januário: Eu estou com a Frelimo desde o primeiro dia. Tal como tu. Passei por todos os cursos políticos. Aprendi tudo o que é preciso. Também tenho as minhas contas a ajustar. Na vida engoli muita amargura por causa desses malditos brancos'.

Januário lifts and drops the weapon reinforced by a following long shot of him dancing alone with his lighter gun, showing him then to be an isolated individual lured by the power the gun bestows upon him. Teenagers from the village, which are new recruits, collect the guns that had just been placed on the ground as Januário dances behind them. With a medium shot the village chief looks on concerned, cutting to a long shot of Januário dancing with his gun as more teenagers go to collect guns, cutting again to the chief. The village chief initial disapproval of Frelimo is explained by the cuts between the chief, the youngsters and Januário. Through Januário's individualism, racial hatred and reliance on the gun as an end in itself, and despite his skills as a guerrilla, it is inferred that he has become a nuisance, perhaps narcissistic.

During the next sequences of scenes Januário reveals his lack of empathy towards the natives staging complex assimilated/native psychodynamics. The detachment walks back to the base and Januário tells Pedro that an enemy recognisance group is close, and he suggests a mission that will protect the detachment in case of an ambush. Pedro gives the go ahead and specifies that he should only take experienced guerrillas because it is a dangerous mission. After Januário leaves, Pedro tells Ana, after she had shown concern with the way in which Januário has been acting, that 'ambition to always be the first, to be the most important, something even worse is the hatred he carries with him'. Januário takes with him several new recruits who had joined the day before in the village and as they move through the bushes, he reprimands them on how to point the gun, on how to act in that context. Januário is ambushed by Captain Vasco's men. On his return to the base, he is demoted for failing to carry out Pedro's orders which resulted in the deaths of three of the new recruits and which place Pedro in a difficult position with the village chief. Januário's attempt to excuse himself from the deaths revealed a disconnect with the value of the life of the native. Fanon refers to distance that colonialism created between the assimilated colonized and the native colonized and the same phenomenon took place in Mozambique where an increasingly urban assimilated and mestizo class through their own cultural interests and through the interference of the Estado Novo became distant from native communities. Januário choose to take new recruits into the mission so he could lord over them, humiliate them, assert his superiority. In doing so he allowed them to be killed to then show no remorse, playing out in a covert way the assimilated/indigenous disconnect and mutual suspicion characteristic of Mozambican colonial society.

In the third stage of Januário's negrophobia he reveals his desire for the body of the white woman and the metropolis synonymous with one-another in the

patriarchal realm of the narrative. Januário on a recognition mission to the commando's barracks with two other guerrillas continues to demonstrate his need to be 'number one'. Sitting on top of a tree looking at enemy barracks with a pair of binoculars he reminds them constantly that he is the one in command of the mission. Januário tells them out loud what he sees through his binoculars which the others can also see with their naked eyes. They mock his tragicomic behaviour calling him 'the intelligent'. The conversation proceeds:

Januário: […] guards at the entrance, huts that belong to the population, reinforcements in the barracks, women ... besides black ones they don't even exist.
Guerilla: Women ... What women?
Januário: Have you ever seen a white woman in your life?
Guerilla: Never. Are they pretty?
Januário [visibly excited]: Oh! white women are like candy, like ripe mangoes. If they saw you they would jump on you.[492]

The three men laugh heartily as a result of Januário's quip, and – when their guard is down – they are ambushed by Portuguese commandos who capture Januário whilst the other two flee. After Januário has been interrogated by Captain Vasco and the PIDE inspector they understand that he is not valuable because he does not know the location of the guerrilla's base camp. Fearing for his life he can only reveal the location of Pedro's less important base. Januário is desperate and he is given permission to talk to Pedro, who is now dying, having been tortured, even though he never revealed where the guerrillas' hide-out is. Januário is by then clearly more concerned with his own life than with the struggle; Captain Vasco observes him secretly and he realizes this. An upside-down close-up of Januário's face looking down at Pedro lying in a bed shows how the earlier has become unstable, as well as a political double-crosser. After pleading with Pedro and failing to persuade him Januário launches himself onto Pedro's inert body, trying to strangle him. Captain Vasco asks a soldier to restrain Januário. The scene cuts to Captain Vasco's office in which Vasco is handing Januário a document and saying:

Captain Vasco: You are free. You can go.
Januário: But, Mr. Captain, you promised to send me to the metropolis.
Captain Vasco (mockingly): Ah! Mr Captain you promised to send me the metropolis. Hmm! You didn't forget that? Let me tell you this. I didn't think you were a collaborator at that level. That has a high price.

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492 My translation of 'Januário: […] sentinelas na entrada, palhotas da população, reforços no quartel, mulheres... além de pretas nem existem.../ Guerilla: Mulheres... Que mulheres?/ Januário: Tu já viste uma mulher branca na tua vida?/ Guerilla: Nunca. Elas são bonitas?/ Januário: Oh! As brancas são como doces, como mangas maduras. Se elas te vissem saltavam-te para cima'.

Januário: Mr. Captain?
Captain Vasco: Well, I'll give you one more chance.[493]

The two men stand as the conversation unfolds and in between them a wooden desk with a rope and affixed to the wall behind Captain Vasco is a Portuguese promotional poster with a white and black hand interlaced and the slogan 'Everything in Portuguese', meaning blacks and whites alike. The poster reflects Januário's spectral image because he is a colonized individual, a black man, who, despite having fought against the white colonialists, ultimately desires to be white. The hate that he demonstrated towards the black commando are displaced feelings of shame and self-hate that characterized the colonized subject who aspires to be free, not from the colonizer, but from the subalternity that colonizer imposes upon them. Januário wants to go to the metropolis, to Lisbon, where he could try once again to have a white woman; this leads him to accept a suicidal mission that Captain Vasco's proposes in exchange. Januário is left alone in the wilderness, and he begins screaming in the open countryside for his ex-comrades to surrender, the camera moves frenetically in circles, and he is killed by an off-screen enemy, by his own perverted desire to be white. This scene is reminiscent of the plight suffered by Efrem in *Within our Gates*, who, after showing his love for the whites, is killed by a white mob. The visual disorientation of the scene in which he is killed is a metaphor for the assimilated schizophrenic state, and the rope that stood on the desk, a crude metonymic reminder of their tragic imprisonment and entrapment within the discourse of assimilationist rhetoric.

Felimo's documentary *Treatment for Traitors* (1983) treats the large-scale meeting between the Frelimo's Leadership and (apparently only) Mozambican men accused of having served colonialism and led by Machel is motivated by the practical need to integrate man with skills, including military skills, into Frelimo's ranks to fight the war against Renamo.[494] Machel questions the men's association with colonialism by virtue of their colonial assimilated status constructing them as subservient and complicit masculinities with colonial exploitation. Let's imagine that the great mixed-race, but for all intents and purposes black legendary Portuguese-Mozambican football player Eusébio nicknamed the black panther, who

493 My translation of 'Captain Vasco: Estás livre, Podes ir./ Januário: Mas o Sr. Capitão prometeu enviar-me à metrópole./ Captain Vasco: Ah! Sr. Capitão prometeu enviar-me à metrópole. Hum! Não te esqueceste disso. Deixa-me dizer-te isto, não te achei um colaborador a altura. Isso paga-se caro./ Januário: Sr. Capitão?/ Captain Vasco: Bom, vou-te dar mais uma oportunidade'.

494 Igreja, p. 797.

played in a Portuguese club and for the Portuguese national and was considered national property by Salazar, would have been at that meeting. How would have Machel questioned him as a black Mozambican man who famously cried on-camera when the Portuguese team in which he played were defeated in the 1966 world cup? It is, of course, impossible to speculate, but, whether it is a coincidence or not, the black commando in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* who is captured by Frelimo is called Eusébio. From the onset he is constructed in positive terms, for 'he has never killed anyone' and moves to Frelimo's side. The iconic status achieved by the footballer Eusébio, or even the short-lived popularity of the Angolan born black singer Eduardo Nascimento who represented Portugal at the 1967 Eurovision Song Festival attested to the allure of the Portuguese assimilationist project. The treatment of black commando Eusébio in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* stages Frelimo's need to forgive those Mozambicans misguidedly lured by the temptations of colonialism, and also to forgive themselves as they fell under the spell of the white spectral image.

3.3.4.2.6. Free-Spirit and Free-Thinker Colonizers

O Tempo dos Leopardos explores the hierarchies amongst colonizer masculinities played out in *Chaimite* between settlers and metropolitans to construct two different types of colonizers; brutal and somewhat sympathetic staging to different extents Memmi's fascist and left-wing colonizers. This trope is explored in *Emitaï* with the Commander (Robert Fontaine) versus the Lieutenant (Michel Remaudeau) and in *The Camp at Thiaroye* with Captain Raymond (Jean-Daniel Simon) versus his military white colleagues. The tension between different colonizer mindsets is continuously present in *Emitaï*. The Lieutenant has been ordered to go to the countryside with a platoon of African soldiers headed by a highly competent African Sergeant to support a local Commander who is struggling with the inhabitants of a native village who refuse to pay taxes to the colonial authorities. With women are rounded up in the village's centre exposed to the hot sun, whilst their men are hiding away, the Commander explains to the Lieutenant the villagers' customs to help him understand more broadly what is taking place when the camera cuts to a child carrying a traditional umbrella and walking towards the sitting women. The child gives the umbrella to two women who hold small children and the Sergeant, who is from the village, immediately and angrily takes the umbrella away but the Commander gestures for him to give it back to the women. When the men from the village try to carry out the burial ceremony of their dead chief, killed whilst previously attacking the

Lieutenant's men, the Commander suddenly appears with the troops and stops it. Understanding their cultural codes he expresses his empathy for their pain but tells them that if they do not pay their taxes – which feeds their children who are fighting for the French in the Second World War – they will not be able to continue with the ceremony. When one of the elders responds provocatively, exasperated he threatens to burn the village and arrest all the women, but lets the men go away to ponder. The Commander returns agitated to the village and encounters the Lieutenant who tells him 'You have to be tough on niggers' to which he responds looking him in the eye: 'I have been with them since the war. I am beginning to get to know them'. The Lieutenant and the Commander hear the sound of drums from a distance and the Commander calls the Sergeant to translate the sounds. 'They have just chosen a new chief after sacrificing a goat', to which the Lieutenant retorts, 'They're savages!' The Lieutenant grows impatient at the fact that the men have not responded to the Commander demands and questions him:

Lieutenant: What's up? They have been quiet for two hours.
Commander: Why?
Lieutenant: In these areas we ought to kill them off. They won't give us the rice.
Commander: The women will be imprisoned for revolt, and we will burn the village. We have got a few hours yet.

The commander attempts to appease the Lieutenant's anger. During the last scene, after the men have momentarily caved into the colonial authorities they retract and are summarily killed at the orders of the Lieutenant; and die honourably. Despite the Commander's intentions to preserve life he is impotent to the Lieutenant's desire to display power which is ironic considering that he called them savages upon hearing that they had sacrificed a goat, thereby undermining the European civilized/African savage dynamic.

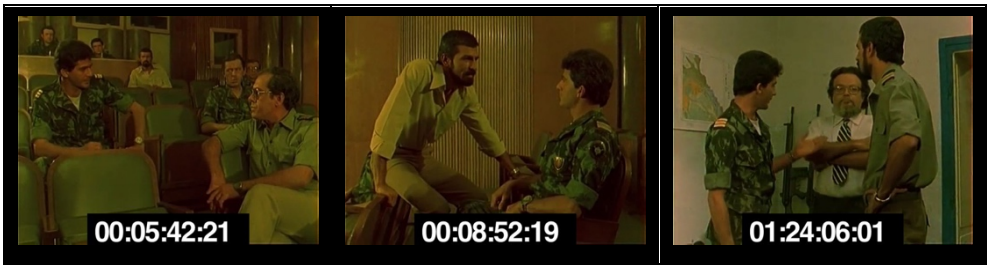

Fig. 20. Competing colonizer masculinities in *O Tempo dos Leopardos.* From left to right: (1) Portuguese Military men including Vasco and Armando; (2) Armando and Vasco voice different opinions on how to deal with the guerrillas and the natives who support them; (3) Vasco, PIDE interrogator and Armando.

In *Camp at Thiaroye* Sergeant Diatta's relationship with his white Captain,

sympathetic to his plight, enables a platform of mutual respect between colonizer and colonized. Captain Raymond is the embodiment of colonialism with good intentions if such a thing could exist for, he does not support Sergeant Diatta's opinions when these verge on anti-colonialism. In the anti-colonial universe of the film Captain Raymond's African soldiers are 'frivolously' killed as punishment for demanding what is rightfully theirs whereby once more in Sembène's cosmology the will of the unsympathetic colonizer prevails. This balanced is nuanced in *O Tempo do Leopardos* with the ongoing mutual suspicion between Major Armando and Captain Vasco. Similarly, to António (*Chaimite*) Major Armando is a lower type of Portuguese masculinity because he was born in colony and is the son of a settler who coincidently owned a farm where Pedro's father worked some 20 years ago. Armando's character trajectory highlights that *Chaimite's* masculinization of the settler was a pre-emptive necessity. At the very beginning of *O Tempo do Leopardos*, in conversation with other Portuguese military officers Major Armando is made aware that because he was born in the colonies he is closer to the mindset of the colonized. As the plot develops, we realize that he also possesses an emotional attachment to the colonized Pedro, who in childhood saved his life. Benefiting from the attachment, Pedro tries to persuade him that he is a second-class Portuguese citizen and he entices him with the prospect of a multiracial Mozambique where whites and blacks work together (as equals) to build a new nation. The emotional attachment led to Major Armando having his pistol confiscated by Captain Vasco and the PIDE inspector signalling his entry into marginalized masculinity and sealed Pedro's faith given his ability to also subvert lower colonialist masculinities. The relationships between cruel and sympathetic colonizer form tensions between different degrees of performativity of Memmi's concepts of left-wing colonizer and (agreed) colonizer whereby the sympathetic colonizer finds himself frustrated with the colonial apparatus. Their most significant function, however, occurs within the anti-colonial narrative of *Leopardos*, and it consists in allowing the assimilated colonized to rise above the colonizer's morally, politically and intellectually, and to substantiate their claim to being the interlocutors with the sympathetic white.

The trope explored in the film is that of a divided hegemonic masculinity evident in *The Birth of the Nation* and *Within Our Gates*. In *The Birth of a Nation,* that represents the whites as ideologically divided because of the sympathetic white's excessive benevolence which does not allow them to see the true nature of the black, the natural order is restored when benevolent whites come to their senses. In *Within Our Gates* we find that the will of the sympathetic white prevails over that of the ideologically irreconcilable

whites. Unlike *Sanders of the River*, which presents a group of morally righteous colonialists united by their undisputed leader Sanders who is the embodiment of a King of Kings, in *Chaimite* there is dissension that is sown by the suspicion that the cafrealized colonizer with emotional ties to the colonized subject might lack patriotism and masculinity. Captain Raymond (*Camp at Thiaroye*) demonstrates kindness towards Sergeant Diatta because of their shared experiences of war, but he is not indebted to the same degree that Major Armando (*O Tempo do Leopardos*) is to Pedro. Major Armando's debt to Pedro re-stages the central theme of the white Portuguese settler who has perhaps potential for redemption and may qualify for a place in the new nation; but, as *O Tempo dos Leopardos* indicates, the debt contracted as a colonizer as a result of the good life he had at the expense of the black body is impossible to settle, and this will never allow Major Armando to become fully Mozambican.

3.4. Conclusion

As we have seen, *Chaimite* and *O Tempo dos Leopardos* demonstrate via their explicit and implicit core narratives how humiliation related to masculinity is the secret closet of Lusophone films, whether expressed via colonialist or decolonial feature films, short films or documentaries. It is important to note that these films were received enthusiastically upon release by the political establishments in their respective countries, thereby attesting to the iterability of their sanctioned messages. Two scenes from the films epitomize their contradictions. During the first scenes of *Chaimite,* Mauéué, the faithful native Xironga, who only speaks in the substratum language, after being told that natives are planning an attack against the colonial capital Lourenço Marques, runs through the African wilderness to warn his colonizer friends. He meets along the way another native, Mambaza, a bilingual speaker who speaks Portuguese as well as Xironga. Mauéué starts the sequence with one necklace around his neck and by the time he meets Mambaza he has two necklaces around his neck – a visual continuity error at the very beginning of *Chaimite*. The error of the extra necklace, a *gift*, that compensates Mauéué for his lack of the superstratum for he is a loyal native, offers a tangential entry point into the issue of Portuguese colonial lack of competence, since it also display of cinematic incompetence; it is, after all, a B-movie continuity-type error. In *O Tempo dos Leopardos*, we noted that also during the first scenes there is a disregard for the point of view of the African Mozambican native woman that betrays the director's ambition to speak for the nation, even at the expense of creating a well-crafted film.

Chaimite, the most frequently broadcast film on state-controlled television from its release until the fall of the regime, populates the screen with hegemonic and lower class colonizer masculinities and several different types of women – young and old native women, assimilated natives, virtuous colonizers, matron colonizers, loose foreigners – characters that simultaneously pause and propel the male characters to act whilst *O Tempo dos Leopardos,* despite the attempt to give agency to the feminine also falls into generic cinematic male/female tropes. In both films the nation, following nationalist ideology, where 'women are thought by traditionalists to embody family and national honour' the nation assumes a feminine quality,[495] and in the Portuguese language this is accentuated because the Portuguese words *nação* (nation) and *patria* (homeland) create a mimetic relationship with the feminine, that enables the choices made by female characters to be understood in relation to established hierarchy (and exclusion) of masculinities in both colonial universes.

In this analysis of *O Tempo dos Leopardos* and *Chaimite* I have addressed key issues present in *The Birth of a Nation*, *Within Our Gates*, colonialist and anti-colonial films and also Estado Novo's and Frelimo's wider cinematic production. The religious and simple nature of the peasant class in *A Canção da Terra*, the threat posed by the outsider and the exercise of feminine agency within patriarchal boundaries in *Ribatejo*, the re-masculinisation of the lower type male motivated by a virtuous and selfless woman in *A Revolução de Maio* and *Feitiço do Império*, the heroic nature of the elite male in *Camões*, the non-solvable nature of the colonizer/colonized conflict in *Sanders of the River*, the problematic of the *assimilated* colonized for the enterprise of colonialism in *Simba*, and the natural superiority of whites over blacks in *The Birth of a Nation* are harnessed together in *Chaimite* to form an apology on behalf of Salazarist colonialism. One of *O Tempo dos Leopardos*'s most singular features in relation the colonial and the anti-colonial film is its relationship with African space. In *Within Our Gates* the new negro takes refuge in the North of the country, thereby creating a clear difference between the site of oppression and the site of liberty; *Emitaï* offers a vision of the rural colonial space inhabited by traditional beliefs and metaphysical beings where there is no escape from colonial domination. *Nelisita* privileges the substratum language of the natives' culture and their metaphysical cosmology whilst *O Tempo dos Leopardos* offers an alternative to the colonialist premise of colonial space inherently evil that does not question the alleged irrational-

495 McClintock, p. 254.

nature of the native's metaphysical attachments. *Chaimite* and *O Tempo dos Leopardos* share a linear structure that speaks from the position of He-Who-Knows, thereby blurring the space between fiction and reality. During the premiere of *O Tempo dos Leopardos* film in Maputo, Frelimo's leader, Machel, gave a present to the two hero protagonists and in a performative display, as if not able to make the distinction between actor and character, between fiction and reality, he scolded Simião Mazuze, the actor who played Januário, for being the anti-hero who betrays the struggle.[496] The extreme levels of ideological capital invested in production and reception reveal the need to have the colonialist and the anti-colonial film function entirely outside of the in-between, in a location where presence is assured and identity is stable.

496 Gray, p. 235.

IV
Conclusion

Topologies of Characters in Colonialist and Anti-Colonial Films

The objective of this project has been to propose that the cinematic representation of ideologically exemplary Lusophone colonialist and anti-colonial masculinities as stoically coherent and indivisible subjects is in fact riddled with paradox. We examined the socio-political contexts in which the ideologies of Estado Novo and Frelimo thrived and then struggled. Subsequently, this has enabled me to unpack the extent to which the representation of colonial masculinities in *Chaimite* and *O Tempo dos Leopardos* is predicated on a shared colonial unconscious determined by masculine humiliation, lingering community traumas and ruled by the desire of the Big Other.

Chaimite, despite its apology of a mystical or spiritual Portuguese colonialism, reflects the facts that Portuguese identity was overshadowed by a recent past of national humiliations and that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Portuguese colonialism was pressurized into embodying British colonialism. This essentially, forced the film into the terrain of displaced catharsis, whereby the violence that Portuguese elite masculinity could not afford to dispense on-screen upon the British Big Other was transferred onto the relationship with the colonized subject through the crafting of colonizer/colonized cinematic and linguistic distance. Its representation of exemplary elite masculinities has the objective of masculinising Portuguese men in order to safeguard Salazar's regime from the growing threat of post-Second World War anti-colonialism.

As Portuguese-speaking African countries become part of a globalised world it can be argued that the cultural legacy of Portuguese colonialism is waning; however, arguments by Fry, Derluguian, Igreja and Sumich, that underline Frelimo's postcolonial re-formulation and perpetuation of aspects of the Estado Novo's colonialist doctrine, propose a more complex framework. *O Tempo dos Leopardos* highlights the fact that the Estado Novo's assimilationist-cum-colonial rhetoric was appropriated and radicalised under Marxist ideology in order to produce a Mozambican new man. As a result, Frelimo's assimilated elite further divorced themselves from the native populations in ways that were subconsciously and structurally pervasive. Frelimo's elite identity, conscripted by the desire to embody an ultra-rationality that disavows Portuguese spirituality, is overshadowed by

negrephobia, i.e., their rejection of their own blackness. Negrephobia is embodied by their disavowal of the substratum languages which are marginal in *O Tempo dos Leopardos*. *O Tempo dos Leopardos*' exemplary superstratum speaking colonized masculinities have in apparent terms overcome the structures that the white supremacist colonial unconscious imposed upon the colonized subject's psyche but are in obscure ways imprisoned within it.

4.1. Lusophone Colonialist Film, a Topology of Characters

Hegemonic masculinities in *The Birth of a Nation*, *Sanders of the River*, *Simba* and *Chaimite* are white supremacist and colonizer masculinities constructed as (perfect) small others despite the fact of that there is an underlining anxiety, and at times fear, because of the threat posed by the madness inherent to the black body and the colonial environment. In the Anglophone films studied in this thesis, the black body has a phobic character which justifies the fact that the Name-Of-The-Father does not sanction the Nietzschean free-spirit (like) morality that drives the colonial enterprise. It is as if the colonizer, in order to progress into the symbolic, requires a phobic object that takes him back to his fragmented other of the Imaginary (or that which he was before being civilized).[497] In other words, the madness that constructs a war-like colonial universe legitimises the colonizer's disregard of Christian morality in order for him to overcome the challenges posed by the colonized subject. In light of this, whilst religion is instrumentalised, colonizer clerical masculinities are subrepetitiously disavowed (*Sanders of the River*) or absent (*Simba*, *Chaimite* and *The Birth of a Nation*).

In *Sanders of the River* and *Simba* the colonizer does not speak the substratum language of the colonized subject, thereby constructing a clear line between colonizer and colonized. This lack of engagement is a metaphoric manifestation of the phobic on-screen and mirrors the segregationist stance of British colonial rhetoric. *Chaimite*, reflecting Lusitanian integralist and corporatist elements of the Estado Novo's doctrine, is characterized by the presence of different social classes of colonizer masculinities, whereas *Sanders of the River* and *Four Feathers* stress the elite nature of the British colonizer whilst not asserting that all elite colonizers are role-model

497 See Edward Wilmot Blyden, *Liberia's Offering: Being Addresses, Sermons, etc* (New York: John A. Gray, 1862), p. 31, where the author, a black man making the case for racial equality between whites and blacks, quotes Cicero who referred to ancient Britons as uncivilized.

masculinities. Elite masculinities in *Chaimite* are represented as exemplary masculinities and are only betrayed by their poignant anxiety towards the colonized subject. Through words and actions, they mimic the Anglophone colonizer's phobic fear towards the black body through a total disengagement with the colonized subject's substratum language. This mimicry is destabilised by the fact that *Chaimite* presents two classes of male Lusophone colonizers with different attitudes towards the substratum language of the colonized, whereby the lower-class colonizer has a partial engagement with the lexicon or possesses complete fluency. *Chaimite* then presents us with a structural complexity that is not present in *Sanders of the River* and *Simba*; an ambivalent characterization of the substratum language as something which elite colonizer masculinity, haunted by the fear of being ridiculed by British hegemonic masculinity, rejects, and the lower type embraces in order to better serve elite colonizers. The lower-type colonizer masculinity who emigrated from Portugal and whose privileged life in the colony has emasculated him and he is therefore required to re-masculinise himself via the the adoption of an elite form of masculinity and, in Social Darwinist fashion, is compelled to compete against other men in order to be worthy of procreating with the white Portuguese ideal female and materializing his economic ambitions. Incidentally from the onset, the lower colonizer who speaks the substratum language is less physically able and lacks morality. As a result, his re-masculinisation needs to take place as a matter of urgency so that his knowledge is instrumentalised by the colonial apparatus and he may become complicit with and a perpetrator of the violence required to dominate the colonized subject. In a reversal of the colonial condition, the substratum language of the colonized 'injects the body' of the non-masculine colonizer with 'dangerous substances' i.e. increases the propensity towards cafrealization and reverse assimilationism, which in 1950s terms translates as antifascism, anti-colonialism, communism and/or colonial secession.

If in *The Birth of a Nation* the white woman is an innocent victim of the black man's desire for her body at any price, the negro woman a desexualised matron black mamma, and the mulatto woman a lascivious sexual predator. In *Sanders of the River* the white colonizer woman is absent from the colonial environment of the native, the black female, in general terms, is an inherently sexual entity who speaks through the voices of others and is viewed according to the perceptions of others. In *Chaimite* the representation of the black native woman is created from a safe distance in order to de-sensualize, desexualize and de-subjectify her with the aim of dispelling a Portuguese colonial past marred by accusations of cafrealization and miscegenation. The male mulatto who emerges from the liaison between the (by rule) white male colonizer and

the female colonized, given the segregationist nature of British colonialism, is also absent from *Sanders of the River* and *Simba*, being nonetheless a central character in *The Birth of a Nation*, where he is a cunning incarnation of evil. He desires to rise above whites in order to oppress them, reflecting well-established eugenic views during the beginning of the twentieth century on the moral degeneracy of the mixed-race individual. In *Chaimite,* the mulatto, a product of the Portuguese colonial enterprise is absent, this being either a refusal or censorship of the Luso-tropicalist nature of Portuguese colonialism towards British normative colonialism. In *Chaimite*, bypassing historical racist accusations against the black native woman for perverting the Portuguese colonizer, Portuguese colonizer femininity is constructed in contrast to white other European femininity. Mirroring the nationalistic impositions that Salazar's regime placed upon the Portuguese feminine, Portuguese women embody the virtues of the nation and serve as entities who are protected from the savage colonized and the unpredictable environment by colonizer masculinities. In turn they sanction the withdrawal of morality from the colonial space through supporting the actions of hegemonic masculinity and/or being object of possession by exemplary elite and lower masculinities (or alternatively offering themselves to God, for which they relinquish their ability to speak).

In *The Birth of a Nation* the black male subject is represented as either faithful to whites or inherently childlike and/or evil and *Sanders of River*, *Simba* and *Chaimite* reproduce this linear representational strategy in relation to the native or the indigenous subject whereas the assimilated colonized is represented in ways that relieve colonialism of its civilizing burden. Hegemonic masculinity in these films overcome the disruption inflicted upon the colonial space by monstrous native traditional leaders. The stereotypical representations of traditional authorities serve the function of de-legitimation of colonized subjects' self-ownership and self-rule. In *Simba* and *Chaimite* the assimilated male colonized is by virtue of the colour of their skin compromised with evil and are beyond redemption therefore removed from the world of the colonizer and even eliminated altogether from the colonial space. However, in *Sanders of the River* the assimilated subject, despite his lack of morals, is redeemed as long as he accepts his subaltern status and his instrumentalization by the colonial system. *Chaimite*'s narrative, betraying the Estado Novo's assimilationist rhetoric and Luso-tropicalism, withdraws the superstratum language from the realm of the colonized subject because it 'carries a poison' that corrupts the colonized and turns them into treacherous beings. The mental space of the colonized, similarly to the Portuguese working class, is kept tight according to the Estado Novo's myths of poverty

and rurality and strict social hierarchy. *Chaimite*'s representation of the indigenous traditional African leader and of the assimilated subjects are poignant considering that the film premiered three years before the formation of armed liberations movements in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

4.2. Lusophone Anti-colonial film, a Topology of Characters

The new negro (*Within Our Gates*) and the assimilated colonized subject (*Camp at Thiaroye*) propose an assimilationist stance whereby they demand acceptance from the Colonial Big Other on the basis of their over-mimicry, of being whiter than white, of refusing the 'epidermalization' of intellectual inferiority (thus displaying a neurotic structure with hysteric tendencies). The cultured and well-mannered professional assimilated black man in *Within Our Gates* and *Camp at Thiaroye*, although represented on the side of rationality and good, is not what the white supremacist or colonial Big Other desires. Colonial society requires that the black man who collides with racist whites against his race for his own profit understands this, and fulfils what the white social unconscious desires from blacks. He reveals to the audience that his self-betrayal and betrayal of his own race – which occurs as a result of his preaching of black subalternity – unleashes in him anxiety and neuroticism because he knows that for this he will burn in Hell (Preacher Ned in *Within Our Gates*). There is another type of black man who betrays his own race but lacks introspection and he does so because he has unwittingly internalized the inferiority prescribed by white supremacist discourse that manifests itself in his desire to be amongst whites. This leads him to deliver sacrificial black victims to satisfy the white supremacist's necessary practice of catharsis. He is the black enforcer of colonialism in *Sanders of the River*, *Simba*, *Camp at Thiaroye* and *Emitaï* whose acceptance of their subaltern position and acts of violence upon marginalized black native bodies reveals their psychotic delusion that they are not a black body that is 'violated ground'. In their illusory proximity to power, like the interpreter in *Mueda Memória e Massacre*, they believe that they are not black.

The representation of the exemplary assimilated black colonized consciousness in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* is constructed in opposition to the native leader, namely, the assimilated black subject who has internalized his inferiority, the black man who colludes with racist whites and the white colonizer. The exemplary assimilated subject in *O Tempo dos Leopardos* is not a black with elitist tendencies, such as the assimilated subject in *Camp at*

Thiaroye, for presumably they have erased all colonialist bourgeois tendencies from their mind and body. The only visible element that remains within themselves from colonialism is the Portuguese superstratum language which they have purified and infused with a new anti-colonial ultra-rationality. They are markedly different from the openly negrophobic assimilated subject whom, despite the colonizer's incarnation as a Nietzschean free-spirit, anti-ethical and inhumane being, in secret longs for recognition from the colonialist (Januário in *O Tempo dos Leopardos*). The anti-colonial exemplary assimilated colonized subject is a lonely figure because he does not understand the indigenous colonized leader who is either subservient to colonialism or fights it with ineffectual mindsets and practices (*Emitaï* and *O Tempo dos Leopardos*). The role-model anti-colonial colonized subject also has to contend with the colonized individualist subject, an engineered product of colonialist praxis. The colonized individualist subject is a subservient hyper-masculine masculinity, whose being borders on the threshold between a machine and the animal realm. He is designed by the colonizer to capture, torture and kill exemplary anti-colonial colonized subjects in order to satisfy the anti-ethical pleasure of the colonizer. In opposition to the neophobic assimilated, the machine-animal assimilated and the traditional leader, Frelimo's exemplary masculinity is constructed as the sole builder of the nation (which in part legitimises the post-independence power structure and marginalisation of other Portuguese speaking masculinities).

Camp at Thiaroye, *Emitaï*, and *O Tempo dos Leopardos*, as anti-colonial films, present radically different representations of black femininity in the ways these address the patriarchal discourse of the white supremacist and colonialist films. The mulatto woman (*The Birth of a Nation*), for all intents only half-black but exponentially perverse, is precisely what the white supremacist Big Other desires because through her deranged behaviour the anti-ethical nature of assimilationism and miscegenation is demonstrated. The new negro woman (*Within Out Gates*), a mulatto born out of sexual violence is a rejection of the stereotype, embodying propriety, intelligence, and duty. She is totally devoted to the cause of black people and is able to secure help for the betterment of her race because of a generous white woman who recognises in her a goodness that she cannot explain but which is rooted in her unknown whiteness. In *Camp at Thiaroye*, within the universe of the colony, the white and assimilated black women exist for the pleasure of the colonizer, a pleasure which is denied to the colonized subject even when he self-camouflages as a black other. The assimilated colonized rejects the native black woman that tradition had expected him to accept for a white woman

who waits for him in the metropolis. In this way, whiteness colludes with the corrupting power of the colony, whiteness is corruptible and corrupts the black male. The black woman, her blackness, has become and is unsuitable for the black assimilated man who aspires to be accepted within a white world. *Emitaï* reveals native black woman with extraordinary moral character who face the colonizer's violence. In a reversal of traditional patriarchal norms, they are propelled into action because of the ineffectual actions of their men. In *O Tempo dos Leopardos* the black assimilated woman who speaks the superstratum language is an active agent working against colonialism, and the indigenous woman is simultaneously a victim of and a passive element struggling against colonialism. Her agency and devotion to a communal cause above her own love and desire for a family challenge patriarchal codes that nonetheless bind her to the heterosexual romantic love with the exemplary assimilated male. As an exemplary femininity for the new African Lusophone postcolonial nation, her shunning of traditional patriarchal gender roles creates an ideological gulf between her and traditional and ethnic native masculinities. These men are in this way unsuitable for the role model feminine. The ultra-rational couple formed by exemplary assimilated masculinity and the ideal feminine assimilated femininity, who have sacrificed their lives in the anti-colonial struggle, are legitimized as the blueprint imposed upon the entire postcolonial society. *O Tempo dos Leopardos* mirrors an idealized homogenous new world where everyone has been re-educated into new men (and new women), where the mulatto is absent from the screen in rejection of the possibility of mutual desire between male colonizer and female colonized, between black and white, and of the heterogeneity it would signify.

4.3. Further Research Avenues

Mindful of the hypothesis that racism is a structural positionality of (white supremacist) colonial societies, and that subjecthood is fragmented, I suggest that the Portuguese colonizer is in a perpetual state of anxiety and paranoia and that the Lusophone colonized subject suffers from a perversion of identification, all of which invalidate any possibility of stable colonizer as well as stable colonized identities. Indeed, *Chaimite* and *O Tempo dos Leopardos* reveal colonizer and colonized characters to be psychopathological identities who are perhaps even more tragic than those Memmi and Fanon revealed in their writings. In *Aguirre*, *the Wrath of God* (1972) set in the 1570s in South America as the Spanish conquest unfolds during an expedition to find an *El Dourado*, Aguirre, a megalomaniac man

betrays the representatives of the Spanish crown he is supposed to serve, and he forces the expedition to follow him in his quest to find a mythical land and begin a new society where he would be king and his daughter his queen. Aguirre, is a rendition of the colonial dream at its most delusional and irrational whereby his desire to start a new society from the offspring he will produce with his daughter is a metaphor for the breakdown of boundaries between animal and human which we see playing out in *Chaimite* and *O Tempo dos Leopardos. Chaimite*'s construction of the substratum language as sinful reveals a neurotic hysteric structure, where the hysteric is plagued by a questioning what she/he is in gender terms and 'appropriates another's desire by identifying with them'. *Chaimite* presents several contradictions with Salazar's explicit doctrine to reveal an immanent desire for what the British desire. The colonial unconscious unleashed in *Chaimite* desires to transform the colonized subject into an entity in the threshold between an efficient machine and a faithful animal and this is manifested throughout in order to prove *that* Portuguese elite men are men. Fanon asserts that for the black colonized there is no Oedipus complex; nonetheless he claims that they are neurotic which in Lacanian terms is a contradiction because not completing the Oedipus complex leads to a psychotic structure whereas completing it leads to a neurotic structure. Perhaps Fanon is challenging Lacan by claiming that the colonized subject simultaneously has neurotic and psychotic structures. *O Tempo dos Leopardos'* ultra-assimilationist narrative attests to this. The strategy consists of performing an ultra-rational rhetoric that disavows all other forms of understanding reality. It reveals that the anti-colonial struggle unleashed the assimilated colonized subject's underlining psychotic structure into the delusion that they (too) could at will mould the (ex)colonized subject into new masculinities and new femininities.

Several feature films made after *Chaimite* and *O Tempo dos Leopardos* in Portugal, Mozambique, and elsewhere, have directly and indirectly been reflections and critiques on the definition and representation of masculinities by the Estado Novo and Frelimo and, offer new avenues for the process of situating meaning more in relation to relevant history and ideology, outside of the text, rather than to the analysis of structure of the text and its patterns. Since the late 1950s and late 1960s, with the emergence of Portuguese Neorealist cinema and Portuguese French New Wave inspired films respectively, the patriarchal and colonialist ideology that *Chaimite* fictionalized has come under criticism in Portuguese cinema, notably: *Uma Abelha na Chuva* (1971), *O Cerco* (1970); *Non', ou A Vã Glória de Mandar* (1990); *O Gotejar da Luz* (2002); and *A Costa dos Murmurios* (2004). These late and post Estado Novo films present reflections on the Estado Novo's

decadent mother country and/or brutal colonial spaces. Three films, *Virgem Margarida* (2012); *Terra Sonâmbula* (2007) and *Desobediência* (2003), made in Mozambique after the end of one party-regime and Marxism explore Frelimo's ideological mindset, the end of postcolonial utopia, and the strength of traditional beliefs; in every film the conceptual constructs that surrounded Frelimo's new man is either rejected, ineffectual or absent. With these later Portuguese and Mozambican films, we witness the willingness to make visible the violence that characterizes colonialism and nation building but which is concealed within *Chaimite* and *O Tempo dos Leopardos*. The nature of that violence has been brought to light and characterized throughout this study. Future steps, with the articulation of what is made visible with what was left concealed, will expand the inroads traced here into the psychopathological nature of Lusophone colonial society and its representations.

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5.2. Primary Feature Fiction Films

A Canção da Terra (1938: Portugal, dir. Jorge Brum do Canto)

A Revolução de Maio (1937: Portugal, dir. António Lopes Ribeiro)

The Birth of a Nation (1916: USA, dir. D. W. Griffith)

Black Girl (1966: France, dir. Ousmane Sembène)

Borom Sarret (1963: Senegal, dir. Ousmane Sembène)

Burn! (1969: Italy, dir. Gillo Pontecorvo)

Camões (1946: Portugal, dir. Leitão de Barros)

Camp at Thiaroye (1987: Senegal, dir. Ousmane Sembène and Thierno Faty Sow)

Chaimite - A Queda do Império Vátua (1953: Portugal, dir. Jorge Brum do Canto)

Emitaï (1971: Senegal, dir. Ousmane Sembène)

Feitiço do Império (1940: Portugal, dir. António Lopes Ribeiro)

Mogambo (1953: United States, dir. John Ford)

Mueda, Memória e Massacre (1979: Mozambique, dir. Ruy Guerra)

Nelisita (1982: Angola, dir. Ruy Duarte de Carvalho)

O Tempo dos Leopardos (1985: Mozambique and Yugoslavia, dir. Zdravko Velimirović),

Ribatejo (1949: Portugal, dir. Henrique Campos)

Robinson Crusoe (1954: USA Mexico, dir. Luis Buñuel)

Sanders of the River (1936: UK, dir. Zoltan Korda)

Simba (1955: UK, dir. Brian Desmond Hurston)

The Battle of Algiers (1966: Italy and Algeria, dir. Gillo Pontecorvo)

The Four Feathers (1939: UK, dir. Zoltan Korda)

Within Our Gates (1920: USA, dir. Oscar Micheaux)

Zé Analfabeto - Confissões de Um Analfabeto (1953: Portugal, Companhia Nacional de Educacao de Adultos)

5.3. Secondary Feature Fiction Films

A Costa dos Murmúrios (2004: Portugal, dir. Margarida Cardoso)

Aguirre the Warth of God (1972 Germany, Dir Werner Herzog)

Apocalypse Now (1979: USA, Dir. Francis Ford Coppola)

Desobediência (2003: Mozambique, dir. Licínio Azevedo)

Frei Luís de Sousa (1950: Portugal, dir. António Lopes Ribeiro)

Gone with the Wind (1939: USA, dir. Victor Fleming)

Ilhéu de Contenda (1999: Portugal, Belgium, France and Cape Verde, dir. Leão Lopes)

Men of Two Worlds (1946: UK, dir. Thorold Dickinson)

Mogambo (1953: United States, dir. John Ford)

Mortu Nega (1989: Guinea-Bissau, dir. Flora Gomes)

Nazaré (1952: Portugal, dir. Manuel Guimarães)

Non', ou A Vã Glória de Mandar (1990: Portugal, dir. Manoel de Oliveira)

O Cerco (1970: Portugal, dir. Cunha Teles)

O Delfim (2002: Portugal, dir. Fernando Lopes)

O Gotejar da Luz (2002: Portugal, dir. Fernando Vendrel)

Pinky (1949: USA, dir. Elia Kazan)

Terra Sonâmbula (2007: Mozambique/Germany, dir. Teresa Prata)

The King and I (1956, United States, Dir. Walter Lang)

5.4. Documentaries

25 De Setembro (1976) (1976: Mozambique, INC)

A Exposição do Mundo Português (1940: Portugal, dir. António Lopes Ribeiro)

A Rainha Isabel II em Portugal (1957, Portugal, dir. António Lopes Ribeiro)

Behind the Lines (1971: UK, dir. Margaret Dickinson)

Estas São As Armas (1977: Mozambique, dir. Murilo Salles)

Gentes Que Nós Civilizámos (1944: Portugal, dir. António Lopes Ribeiro)

Mad Masters (1953: France, dir. Jean Rouch)

Moçambique (1941: Portugal, dir. António Lopes Ribeiro)

Mozambique or Treatment For Traitors (1983: Mozambique, dir. Ike Bertels)

Ofensiva (1980: Mozambique, dir. Camilo de Sousa),

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5.5. Newsreels, Archives and Political Addresses

18 Anos no Governo da Nação (1950: SNPI: 39:22, 24 fps), Cinemateca Portuguese (online archive), <http://www.cinemateca.pt/Cinemateca-Digital/Ficha.aspx?obraid=1916&type=Video>

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