

AFRICAN EDUCATION IN COLONIAL MOZAMBIQUE

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1. IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

As it is well known, the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre put forward the thesis according to which the Iberian peoples, in particular the Portuguese, represented something unique in modern colonial history¹. When coming into contact with overseas peoples they had, he suggested, the remarkable merit of taking with them the values of a globally defined society that, above all, was based on Christian ideals. Only Portugal in Europe has revealed herself in the Tropics more christocentric than ethnocentric. Nevertheless, the meaning of that Christocentrism was more a sociological trait of behaviour than a theological conceptual framework. This would explain the unique features of Portuguese expansion, in contrast with the ethnocentricity of other Europeans eager to preserve the pretended pureness of their blood. But, at the same time, the conversion of the indigenous inhabitants was considered the only and the best way to attain progress and moral improvement. Therefore, those who could not reach that perfection, would not be reckoned with the quality of human beings, in the true sense of the word, without plain conversion to militant Christianity².

Even during the last years of the Monarchy when liberal and republican ideals prevailed – and the separation of Church and State was naturally being defended – Sampaio e Mello, an expert on colonial studies, obsessed by the

¹ P. V. Show (1957)

² A de Azevedo (1963), p. 13

dangers presented by the expansion of Islam in Africa, wrote: "What at present exists in the colonies, save for some honourable exceptions, it must be said in the interest of all, is little and very deficient in the way of educating the natives... The principal aim of the missions is the moral improvement of the natives and to prepare them for work through technical education. In the meantime religious doctrine is an excellent preventive measure against the spread of Koranic law. The many tentacles of the huge Islamic octopus threatens to fence in an unbreakable embrace most of the African peoples... Religious and educational policy should be one of the main concerns of local administration and funds should be made available to them in order to attain the widest and most complete expansion of religious and moral propaganda in the bosom of African society, so as to illuminate as rapidly and efficiently as possible and with the most intense and lasting clarity, the baneful obscurity of Black ignorance..."³

These traditional ideals – reminiscent of efforts made during the 16th century to eradicate Islam from the Indian Ocean – undoubtedly aroused a great deal of opposition following the establishment of the Republic in 1910. Contrasting ideals based on atheism and anti-clericalism predominated during the fifteen chaotic years of the first Republic. The need to "civilize" the indigenous peoples led to the foundation of secular missions for the express purpose of running schools, hospitals and workshops.

Later on, after the military coup of 1926, the conservative Catholic and traditional forces took a long time to reimpose in practice their ancient ideals. To the atavistic hostility towards Islam was in time added the suspicion against the Protestant Missions considered to be promoting the "denationalization of the Portuguese African", all the more because meanwhile they had increased their implantation. The following passage from a lecture given in 1929 by Prof. L. W. Carisso, of Coimbra University, after a visit to Angola, is revealing:

"I think I am not betraying the truth when I say that we all became convinced of the need to give to Catholic missionary activity the highest degree of support and all the help it needs to expand. We need many Portuguese missionaries burning with Faith and full of Sacrifice. We cannot, nor should we, close the door to foreign missions, but we should give to those who represent the centuries old Portuguese tradition the necessary resources so that they can exercise their most noble function. Only thus can we avoid the heart-

³ L.V. de Sampayo e Mello (1910), p.86

breaking spectacle of seeing in foreign hands that have no affinity with our spirit or with our race, completely indifferent to our national aspirations, the most powerful instrument of civilization and moral perfection that is used by colonial powers".⁴

Alvaro da Fontoura was another ideologist who accused "that Angola and Mozambique were filled with foreign Missions subsidized by rich organizations guided by a spirit contrary to that of the Portuguese... Education should be given mainly by Catholic missionaries because Catholicism is the faith of the majority of Portuguese and it was in its shadow that the nation embarked on its colonizing exertions".⁵

Anyway, in 1926 the Dictatorship had already approved the statute of Catholic Missions, the year in which Col. José Cabral was appointed Governor General of Mozambique. But only three years later did he enforce the laws governing the activities of both the religious missions and the private primary schools (Dip. Leg. 167 and 168). Apart from setting down not only minimum qualifications for teachers and their registration but also the freedom to register pupils and the voluntary attendance, etc., they also introduced some rather unrealistic measures. For instance, the use of texts in African languages was forbidden, the enrolment was restricted to children between the ages of seven and fourteen notwithstanding the lack of official birth registrations. There was also the impracticable demand for brick buildings even in the most primitive outlying areas. Also impossible to fulfil was the requirement for exclusive medical assistance in rural boarding schools for arts-and-crafts whereas the few doctors existing in Mozambique were concentrated in the main urban centers.

The rules governing "rudimentary education" emphasized the concept of Empire: "... its aim (was) to lead the savage native gradually towards civilized life, to create in him the feeling of being a Portuguese citizen, to prepare him for the struggle of life, making him thus more useful to society and to himself..." (Dip. Leg. 238 of 1930). It was extended for three years and gave the pupil the right to enrol in the 3rd class of common primary school. The school year was from 1st February until 30th November. Utopian ideals again surfaced when it was decided that Bible and Catechism studies should be conducted solely in Portuguese. Interestingly the Colonial Act was published in Lisbon twelve days later. Its article 24 stated: "Religious missions overseas

⁴ L.W. Carriso (1934), pp.7-8.

⁵ A. de Fontoura (1934), p. 5, 42-43.

as instruments of civilization and national influence and the institutions that trained personnel to serve in them will have legal status and will be aided and protected by the state as educational institutions".

Between 1930 and the enforcement of the Missionary Agreement ten years later, there was a period of fervent nationalism during which the ideology underlying the organization and direction of education in Mozambique was expressed in speeches and writings overloaded with old fashioned forms of patriotism and even with romantic outpourings more appropriate to lyrical poets than to Statemen and Heads of Department who should have been better acquainted with the harsh African realities and therefore more inclined to adopt objective approaches to the problems they had to face in practice.

In Mozambique Dr. Braga Paixão was the most distinctive exponent of this kind of rhetoric and belief in the imperative reinforcement of the Portuguese imperial unity. It is enlightening to transcribe one of his opinions, before he was transferred to the Ministry for Colonies in Lisbon, after serving for three years as Head of the Department of Education. He wrote: "Our work with the natives has been one of civilization and nationalization. We did not cross the seas nor did we establish our sovereignty in distant lands because we desired filthy profits or material gains. We approached the natives because we wanted to make them into Portuguese... We have a way of life which is the emanation of a soul and the practice of a faith that we want to give to the people whom we wish to bring close to us... This transmission of our way of life is the most noble of the master-piece of love which we have tried to carry out. Therefore it cannot be contained within the simple teaching of knowledge sequences. And in this task of extenting the (common) sentiments education goes together with practical and useful goals".⁶

During the following years as a high-rank official in the Ministry for Colonies he continued to enforce his ideals and to apply his theory of centralization so clearly expressed when he invested the new Head of the Department of Education for Mozambique: "It would be absurd to place the solution of educational problems of this or that colony in the hands of its local government, for each one to decide how to educate its peoples and so to separate them from the Mother country".⁷

⁶ Braga Paixão (1948), p. 104.

⁷ Braga Paixão (1944), p. 13.

The first Catholic mission schools that were to be developed to indoctrinate the African youth in the religious and political ideology of the regime were only established after 1939, together with the "Mocidade Portuguesa" which was a much less rigid version of Fascist, Nazi and Communist youth organizations of that time. The pronounced exaltation that was made in schools regarding missionary martyrs like D. Gonalo da Silveira, daring navigators like Vasco da Gama, sacrificed explorers like Lacerda e Almeida, military heroes like Mouzinho de Albuquerque, date from this period.

Once the Vatican had given its 1941 blessing to Portugal's centuries old Catholic-centred ideology to colonial expansion, it was decided that the education of African children whose parents had the legal status of "indigene" should be place entirely in the hands of Catholic missionary schools and their helpers. This education was organized on the basis of the doctrine expressed in the Constitution and the syllabuses worked out by colonial governmants which had as their aim "the perfect nationalization and moral education of the natives and to inculcate in them the habits of and attitudes towards work... bearing in mind the social and psychological level of the peoples they were designed for". The teaching and use of Portuguese was compulsory; only during the study of Catechism could African languages be used. Recognizing implicitly the serious shortage of personnel that would affect Portuguese Catholic organizations, provision was made for the admission of foreign missionaries but under strigent conditions aimed at preventing them from becoming agents of "denationalization".

The first shock to this ideological framework occurred when one of the regime's own trusted servants, the Higher Inspector of Colonial Administration Henrique Galvo, denounced the wide gap between precept and practice. He was elected as a deputy to the House of Parliament in 1954 and most of his communiqus – "avisos prvios" – were presented two years afterwards although dealing mainly with the problems of compulsory labour. He dared to describe the administration of Angola as a "colossal lie".

Nevertheless, these communiqus had no visible effect on public opinion because the Parliament was strictly controlled by the government and, besides that, press censorship prevented any publicity being given to debates on controversial matters. In 1951, the very year that Henrique Galvo was summarily put under arrest, another Head of the Department of Education L. Moreira de Almeida, although emphasizing mainly the economic costs of education, wrote against the establishment of teacher-training colleges for primary school

in Mozambique and again availed himself of the ideological arguments that favoured a nationalistic and centralizing policy. He wrote:

"It is essential to establish contact between the non-native youth and the life and culture of the metropolis... You can only love truly what you know. After having been brought up in Africa, the boys and girls from Mozambique will benefit from spending part of their youth in an atmosphere of habits and sentiments that are purely Portuguese and from being in close contact with the youth of the Metropolis and with some of the best intellectual values of our country". And later he added: "Everything must be done so that the soul of Mozambique will in future as now vibrate in pure unison with that of Portugal". Strangely enough he did nothing to help the granting of bursaries to Mozambican students who wished to qualify as primary school teachers in Portugal.⁸

The Catholic-centred approach was strengthened in 1953 by the issuing of the Papal Encyclical "Evangeli Praecones" which, regarding education in Overseas Territories, recognized that: "In fact these educational centres contain the possibility of promoting fruitful relations between missionaries and heathens of all kinds and help mainly the youth who can be moulded like wax to become intimately acquainted with and to accept Catholic doctrine... Above all schools and colleges are most useful institutions to refute gross errors of all kinds that proliferate openly or in secret and insinuate themselves in young souls, due to the actions of non-Catholics and Communists...".⁹

Only twenty-four days elapsed between the publication of this Encyclical and the Organic Law for the Overseas Territories which replaced the Imperial Charter of 1933. It was conceived by Marcelo Caetano and other liberal ministers, such as Sarmiento Rodrigues, in a more decentralized way. But it repeated almost verbatim the decisions on African education included in the 1941 Missionary Statute. Having in mind mainly the Islamic menace and the mistrusted Protestant missions it decreed that "the education of Africans in private schools must obey the same directives as those laid down for State schools". The only major concession regarding African languages was the permission to use them but merely as a medium for the teaching of Portuguese.

As regards the Youth Movement it must be admitted that it did have many positive aspects. It provided sporting facilities and promoted leisure activities that satisfied the vitality and the gregarious tendencies of adolescents.

⁸ L. Moreira de Almeida (1951), p. 208.

⁹ A. de Azevedo (1963), p. 96.

It can even be said that its para-military activities enjoyed considerable popularity because the young army officers who organized them behaved more like comrades than commanders. Only later a kind of racial separation occurred in the movement. Non-African youths fixed either on the more alluring sporting activities that required higher levels of education and greater financial resources such as sailing, rowing, riding, camping, hunting, fishing, flying parachuting, etc..., or on several cultural initiatives such as editing newspapers, promoting conferences, organizing concerts and radio programs, etc. The African boys preferred activities that bored the non-Africans but which for them represented accrued prestige, such as uniforms, parades, drilling, shooting, military bands, commanding lower units, etc. The present prime-minister of Mozambique, Pascoal Mocumbi, made his university entrance examination as a "Mocidade Portuguesa" officer.

The "Mocidade Portuguesa" in the same way as the "União Nacional" and its successor "Acção Nacional" – the only political party allowed – gradually lost much of its ideological content. Nevertheless, the old patriotic ideals had some lasting effects and this is shown by the popular support given not only to the "Estado Novo" but also, in their initial period, to the colonial wars fought on three fronts and which mobilized nearly one million men, among them more Africans than is commonly recognized.

In truth, political ideologies have an almost unbelievable capacity for survival. In 1966, when the other colonial powers had practically completed their de-colonization process in Africa, M. Dias Belchior, former administrator who knew Mozambique and its African inhabitants quite well, candidly distorted the reality by assuring in an article included in a collectanea claiming scientific accuracy:

"Maintaining the uniformity of education with that given in Portugal is an old aspiration of our overseas populations which has received full attention of the central government and sometimes also that of the colonial governments"¹⁰

2. ORGANIZATION AND STATISTICS

According to Sampayo e Mello, in 1900 there were 1,215 African students distributed thus: 609 in missionary schools, 412 in municipal schools, 146 in "Royal" schools and 48 in private schools.¹¹

¹⁰ M. Dias Belchior (1966), p. 647.

¹¹ L. V. de Sampayo e Mello (1910), p. 120.

The already mentioned Lay Civilizing Missions brought into existence in 1913 were a true fiasco. The "African Education Commission" who visited Mozambique during 1924 found out that the facilities available to the natives were considerably inferior to those provided for in territories under the responsibility of other European powers. This and other criticisms explain perhaps the quick decision of the Dictatorship to abolish such strange secular structure. Basic education was again handed over to the Catholic Missions which were given various grants, land concessions and some buildings to be used for educational purposes. They also received proper legal status.

Nevertheless, both quantitatively and qualitatively they were really in a humiliating situation, poorly endowed by an underdeveloped country and undermined by the agnosticism, the anti-clericalism or at least the indifference of many republican leaders. Not supported by a national tradition of substantial private donations to missionary overseas work they had much difficulty in rewarding and recruiting suitable staff, and thence they were unable to compete in equal terms with Protestant Missions. Portuguese governments of the day were indeed not inclined to support missions, even in part, from their limited budgets.

No wonder that about 1930 in the Province of Inhambane alone there were no less than 75 mission stations belonging to, amongst others, the American Board Mission, the Salvation Army, the Anglican Mission and the American Free Methodist Mission. Far more foreign influence was to be found in the present Province of Maputo: Alongside with a few Portuguese Catholic schools there were the following number of alien mission stations: 163 Methodist Episcopal, 88 Anglican, 83 Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, 11 Suisse Romande Church.¹²

In 1918 the first high-school of the colony was established in the capital, open to those who finished primary education, but it only gave the full secondary course in 1926 when the proper subjects of Arts and Sciences (standards six/seven) were finally opened. In 1928 there were 132 pupils the majority Europeans and Goanese. Two years later it had 207 pupils, 78.8% were Europeans and 21.2% Asians and Coloureds. There were 73.5% males and 26.5% females.¹³

The African teacher-training college at Chobela (Manyissa district, near the mouth of the Nkomati river) was created in 1926, but only four years

¹² A. da Fontoura (1934), p. 22.

¹³ Mário Malheiros (1931), p. 13.

later became operative, including its hostel. The post-primary course lasted three years and besides Portuguese, arithmetic and geometry, drawing and handicraft, the pupils were taught teaching theory and practice.¹⁴

Various monographs were prepared for the International Colonial Exhibition that was held in Paris in 1931. The only ones worth mentioning were those dealing with education in the areas under the direct responsibility of the Portuguese government and in the territories administered by the Mozambique Chartered Company. In the first case Mario Malheiros overstated surely when he claimed that in 1929 there were 258 private and subsidized schools for Africans with no less than 30,613 pupils.¹⁵ The curriculum lasted three years but the author did not mention how many students passed each year or finished the course. The monograph of the Mozambique Company was even more obscure since it did not provide any statistical information and confined itself to referring vaguely the Arts-and-Crafts School at Beira and the Amatonga and Chupanga mission schools.¹⁶

As regards primary education for non-Africans both monographs provide more detailed information. At that time free and compulsory primary education was in force, divided into two stages: elementary and complementary for seven/eleven and eleven/thirteen years old. In State controlled territory there were 54 qualified teachers and 3,167 pupils. In the Mozambique Company territory 47 and 27 non-African students had completed in that order their elementary and complementary education in 1929. The curricula were identical to those in Portugal.

During the 1929/1930 school year radical changes were made in the educational system for Africans. The functioning and the curriculum for "rudimentary" education given by the Catholic and Protestant missions were regulated. There were three standards in which pupils were taught Portuguese, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, handiwork and agriculture, gymnastics and hygiene, moral and civic education. Apart from these rudimentary schools there were to be technical schools for male and female African youths.

One fact that seems to be generally ignored was that after this reorganization took place, a system existed whereby Africans could attend primary schools for non-Africans. In fact all those who managed to complete their "rudimentary" syllabus could enrol in the third standard of "elementary" classes

¹⁴ A P. da Cunha Jardim (1938), p. 72.

¹⁵ Mário Malheiros (1931), p. 9.

¹⁶ Instruction: Comp. Moçamb. (1931)

regardless of whether their parents had or not the "assimilado" status. But in practice very few African children could benefit from this opportunity because the vast majority was unable to pass their "rudimentary" exams within the seven/eleven age limit fixed to enrolment on the "elementary" grade.¹⁷

In 1932 the Department of Public Education was created. The competence to appoint its Director belonged exclusively to the Ministry of Colonies. It is significant that one of its first measures was to set out which nationalist names should be given to the existing establishments. Between 1933 and 1935 several regulations were published governing the curricula and conditions of service in professional and rudimentary schools. From a reliable study made by Carlos Moreira it is possible to supply the following statistical data for the years 1930 and 1935:¹⁸

Table 1

OWNERSHIP	YEARS	TYPES OF EDUCATION					
		For statutory "non-indigenes"		For statutory "indigenes"			
		Elementary		Rudimentary		Professional	
		Schools	Enrolm.	Schools	Enrolm.	Schools	Enrolm.
STATE	1930	27	3,405	65	8,795	1	—
	1935	41	3,426	171	10,883	4	279
MISSIONARY a)	1935	20	1,882	125	10,692	20	1,306
a) Mozambique Company Territory not included							

Cunha Jardim also provides some accurate information about the number of African teachers trained by the only school of the kind which existed at the time, then called "José Cabral", the name of the Governor-General. Between 1930 and 1937 – with an average annual enrolment of 70 – merely 138 teachers completed the course, 119 having come from the region South of the Sabi river and 19 from the whole of Zambezia. These numbers (appallingly small if one notices an average of 17 teachers a year) reflect in a way the privileged position that the Southern region already enjoyed.¹⁹

¹⁷ António Augusto (1957), p. 12

¹⁸ Carlos Moreira (1936), p. 53

¹⁹ A P. da Cunha Jardim (1938), p. 71 – 72.

Granjo Pires carried out the best study of the education problems at this time. From his data can be concluded that during the school year 1937/1938 of the 483 pupils enrolled in the secondary education only one was African.²⁰

Returning to primary education figures, these can only be interpreted in the light of the protest written by Moreira de Almeida in his study of the evolution from 1928 to 1951. He remarked that up to 1942 State primary schools "were full of Africans" who should by right have been in rudimentary schools.

And then he added: "This is an abuse by the teachers which is gradually disappearing". The results of the more rigorous enforcement of the law are evident in the following number of children both of "assimilado" and "indigena" origin in State primary schools: 1938 = 349 boys, 61 girls; 1942/3 = 52 boys, 24 girls; 1947/8 = 144 boys, 70 girls; 1950/1 = 149 boys, 80 girls.²¹ After the Missionary Statute was enacted (1941) the schools for indigenes were handed over to the Archdiocese of L. Marques and the three existing Dioceses. Only the three Arts and Crafts Schools remained under the direct control of the State. The enormous handicaps that the Catholic missions had to face can be imagined from the figures produced by António Augusto who carried out psycho-technical tests amongst African students. For instance, in 1942 the percentage of primary pupils who passed to the next class was 26% in Protestant schools, 21% in government schools and only 8% in Catholic schools. Twelve years later the same index was 34% for Protestant and 9% for Catholic schools.²² Father John Paul rightly accused the Portuguese government of making a "very grave mistake by closing nearly all the schools that were not run by the Catholic missions". The original sixty schools or more operated by the Anglicans throughout Mozambique were reduced by 1955 to merely two in the North and six in the South. But only half did provide the complete primary course. He added that from 1945 onwards admission to the only existing official teacher-training college for Africans was reserved to Roman Catholics.²³

Between 1956 and 1960 official statistics tended to exaggerate the number of pupils enrolled and to use vague expressions about "class passes" that did not show clearly the effective annual wastage. Only rarely more accurate

²⁰ J. Granjo Pires (1938/1939), p. 159. Table 1.

²¹ L. Moreira de Almeida (1954), p. 69.

²² António Augusto (1957), p. 12.

²³ John Paul (1979), p. 37.

information made it possible to arrive at humiliating conclusions such as that in 1956 only 16 Africans were enrolled in the State commercial schools. To enter these they had to finish the two forms that then made the "preparatory cycle" after passing the final Standard Four of common primary education. Reliable statistics worked out by the present author in 1960 produced the following depressing figures:

Table 2
Africans Who Completed Various Stages of Secondary Education

CYCLES	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
1st cycle high-schools (2 years)	14	16	22	35	18
2nd cycle high-schools (3 years)	2	3	3	4	4
Preparatory cycle for admission to commercial/industrial schools (2 years)	—	1	5	6	7

This is a clear indication of backwardness when compared, for instance, with Rhodesia whose total population was half of Mozambique's. There in 1960 no less than 4,139 Africans were enrolled in a secondary education of six forms after a primary education of seven standards.²⁴ Furthermore the "preparatory cycle" of the first column was not legally equivalent to the 1st cycle of high-schools (liceus) which was the minimum required to those wishing to join any public service. The Department of Education justified this on the grounds that the syllabus for the teaching of foreign languages was easier in that "preparatory cycle".

A short time before the "indigene" statute was abolished two legal provisions were published. The old "rudimentary" was transformed into a new and three grade "adaptation" teaching, considered as part of the common primary course but reserved to pupils without a sufficient knowledge of Portuguese (P.M. 17,883).

It was allowed also the enrolment in Standard Three to pupils less than thirteen years old approved on the final exam of their "adaptation" syllabus (Port. 14,744). In practise the primary schooling of most Africans was enlarged to five well marked standards.

Undoubtedly the Catholic missions made considerable efforts and sacrifices to improve African education between 1941 and 1961. One must always

²⁴ J. K. Buckley (1974), p. 22. Table 1.

bear in mind the incredible monthly allowances of eighty and forty U.S. dollars given by their superiors to each missionary and nun not only to maintain themselves BUT ALSO TO SUPPORT THE MISSIONS WHERE THEY WERE STATIONED. Unfortunately it is very difficult to reckon clearly the final result of these efforts: the official statistics did not distinguish precisely African and non-African students as far as enrolment and passing were concerned within each standard and type of school. The sad truth is that 80% of pupils enrolled in all schools in Mozambique were attending simply the pre-primary sort of kindergarten and the first two years of "rudimentary" education. They were the great mass of children who appeared at school outposts run mainly by Catholic missions and whose attendance was very uncertain. Finally, to assess the quantitative results of this educational network it would be better to indicate only the number of pupils who completed their courses. But the statistical shortcomings were such that one cannot even find out how many pupils each year completed the essential primary exam (Fourth Class = Standard Four). Honestly it cannot be accepted the figure of nearly 11,000 African inhabitants who declared, without proof, during the 1960 general census, that they had completed that much coveted and almost glorified standard. For this and other reasons I will present some more concrete comparative information that has been rather difficult to compile by the end of 1961. It is striking the enormous annual wastage of students of "assimilado" origin in the official primary education which included children between six and fourteen years old. It is more significant to compare the performance of Africans with that of Coloureds and Chinese because the other two groups may have had their numbers affected by children of recent emigrants and immigrants to and from Goa and Portugal:

Table 3

STANDARDS	RACIAL AND ETHNIC ORIGIN				
	Africans	Coloureds	Europeans	Indians	Chinese
I	2 093	1 740	2 265	718	36
II	960	1 188	1 726	588	32
III	757	965	1 728	548	25
IV	426	854	1 775	554	34

The authorities were somehow conscious that measures should be taken to combat the African handicap. This explains the creation of the Extra-School

Service for adults (Dip.Leg. 2,118, of 1961). The following year they also established, almost symbolically, fifty night courses for primary education.

During this period (surely because the old "preparatory cycle" was replaced by the new "elementary technical education" which was less demanding) African students began to show a marked preference for industrial and commercial schools. Already in 1962 they represented in that order between 20% and 25% of the total number enrolled in both of them, but these relatively high percentages must not be taken too seriously because the great majority consisted of the so called "professional improvement night courses" in theory reserved for wage labourers. Because they were shorter and easier and – most important of all – did not require entrance examinations they were preferred by African teenagers so much so that they easily obtained false statements from supposed employers. In fact in 1962 of the 318 Africans enrolled in commercial schools no less than 271 were "workers" attending these night courses. In industrial schools they represented 311 of the total number of 347 enrolled. In the three existing high-schools there were only 68 Africans of a total number of 2,203 pupils. In the Commercial Institute (which was an intermediate institution between the commercial school and the university) in 1964/65 only seven Africans were enrolled; and in the Industrial Institute, of identical level, there was none.

I have already mentioned that in 1961, after the abolition of the Indigene Statute, there was a considerable increase in the number of Africans enrolled in the common primary school system that had hitherto been reserved for non- Africans. Everybody knew that their qualitative level was much higher than that of the Catholic mission schools. The Africans themselves felt the need to obtain an education that would enable them to cope with a competitive modern society. Naturally this afflux also coincided with the irresistible migration of people from the rural to the urban areas. The urban centres in 1950 accommodated only 2% of the African population. But this percentage increased to 5% in 1960 and 10% in 1970.

In 1964 a new stage began with the reforms made in "elementary primary" education (decree 45,908). In the preamble to this decree it was stated that the traditional ideological orientation was kept aimed at maintaining the unity of the educational programmes which should be equivalent to all such programmes in the Empire. The cooperation of the Catholic missions was assured by making the system of "elementary primary" education official, by financing the training of teachers and their integration in the ranks of the State Education Service thus guaranteeing them a professional future and other privileges granted to all public servants. The

creation of new such posts paid by the State budget became the responsibility of the government. But the lack of financial resources due to the increased military expenditure only allowed 150 of such new posts to be legally created in 1968. Four more years were spent in providing the needed budget funds, in building and furnishing the new schools, in recruiting and admitting the teachers, etc.

Unbalanced regional development was steadily very sharp and the two largest cities continued to enjoy a privileged position. For example, during the school year of 1966/67 a total of 2,361 pupils completed Standard Four in the Province of L. Marques which had a population of 647,000. In the Province of Nampula, having 1,621,000 inhabitants, only 765 completed that grade.

The last statistics classifying students according to the two major race groups which I was able to work out using all sources then available refer to 1970. These only mention the number of students enrolled including adults:

Table 4

EDUCATION LEVELS	AFRICANS	NON-AFRICANS
Standards I, II and III	c. 270,000	21,657
Standard IV	18,000	6,835
1st cycle (high-school or equiv. - 2 years)	5,437	13,053
2nd cycle (high-school - 3 years)	570	5,180
3rd cycle (high-school - 2 years)	180	1,463
Technical schools (all levels)	1,517	9,700
Teacher-training (includ. missions)	1,265	80
Ecclesiastical colleg. (includ. Protest.)	3,300	50
University	100	1,852
Others (public departments, etc.)	500	935

As can be seen the efforts made during the preceding years to promote African education were bearing some fruit. But although Africans represented 97.5% of the total population they still formed a striking minority in secondary and higher grades except in teacher-training for mission schools and in seminaries preparing for a career in the priesthood.

Here are some final figures taken from the last Statistical Year-book published in 1977 which refer to 1972. I have selected some of the more concrete results which are reliable for the teaching year 1970/71. The following

number of students of all races completed the "1st preparatory cycle" which enabled them to enter both high-schools and technical schools:

Table 5

STATE SCHOOLS	PRIVATE		TOTAL
	SCHOOLS	DOMESTIC	
2,873	1,092	1,029	4,994

In what concerns practical training for professional careers the results were very meagre. In the three Arts and Crafts State Schools reserved for Africans whose courses occupied also six years, the following number of students finished their training as carpenters, typographers, electricians, tailors, mechanics, locksmiths, etc.: Moamba (L. Marques Province) 31; Inyamissa (Inyambane Province) 13; Mozambique Island 16. In the schools for agricultural demonstrators at Gaza and Inyambane only 12 students passed. In the schools run by the Health Department the following students of all races completed their training: general nursing, 22; nurse aids, 114; laboratory technicians, 9; pharmacology technicians, 13; radiographers, 3. It can also be referred the results obtained by the Commercial and Industrial Institutes, which were intermediary between secondary and university education and trained master-builders, chartered accountants, etc. They had 116 teachers and 1,100 students. In 1971 a total of 66 students completed commercial courses and only 21 industrial ones, the majority being of non-African origin.

Concerning the university it only began to produce its first graduates (in six year courses) after relatively exorbitant investments in personnel, equipment and buildings:

Table 6

COURSES	1970	1971	1972
Mechanical engineering	—	1	5
Chemical engineering	—	2	7
Electric engineering	2	11	11
Civil engineering	4	8	11
Medicine and surgery	1	8	11
Agronomy and forestry	4	9	4
Veterinary	6	7	5

Very few of them were Africans. The first bachelor degrees in History and Geography were given in 1972. Between 1964 and 1972 a total of 214 alumni graduated in pedagogical sciences in courses of one or two years which were designed especially for secondary school teachers. The great majority were non-Africans.

Before the 1974 military coup the Secretary for Education presented a memorandum to the 1st Congress organized by the National Action Party (the only one allowed) which took place in Tomar (Portugal) where for the last time the incurably cheerful official view was presented. From that document can be taken out the following data related to the school year 1972/73:

Table 7

LEVELS	SCHOOLS	TEACHERS	PUPILS
Primary	5,500	10,500	603,000
Secondary	160	2,838	45,693
Intermediate	8	167	1,498
University	1	no data	c. 2,500

According to the speaker, in Mozambique, the percentage of school going children, between six and twelve years of age, was about 40% i.e. much higher than in most other African countries.²⁵ In 1975 with the beginning of the mass exodus of teachers and civil servants and with the first signals of the collapse which I have defined elsewhere as an "anarchic interregnum" it became impossible to get accurate figures. The last published official data on education refer to 1968/69 and there the racial origin of pupils was left out. Between 1972 and 1977 no official educational statistics were published.

Undoubtedly it would be worth comparing the educational evolution from 1950 up to 1970 between Mozambique and the neighbouring English-speaking countries. Unfortunately I lack sufficient time, means and competence to deal with such difficult task. Thence I will present merely a few superficial remarks and figures to support part of my arguments.

The above mentioned countries have enormous differences among them and more so with Portuguese Africa. Even so to Mozambique it could be largely applied the following truthful remarks made by J. K. Buckley in his quantitative

²⁵ A A Marques de Almeida (1973), p. 22.

survey: "Between 1950 and 1969 populations have doubled or nearly doubled in all countries...None is as yet able to provide education for all their children...The majority of children do not complete primary schooling...There is a dramatic drop in the number of children at secondary education compared to the primary enrolment...One of the most difficult problems facing all these countries is the wastage that occurs throughout the education system...Lack of facilities, equipment and trained teachers is a major problem for primary education...Secondary education is very much more expensive than primary and these countries are short of skilled manpower...(in Malawi) the teacher shortage was in part due to the exodus of teachers into better-paid and more prestigious Government posts...(in Lesotho) the sole teaching aid in the vast majority of schools is the black-board. Equipment for science teaching, crafts and arts hardly exists".²⁶

However that may be the most I dare is to present some quantitative comparisons between Mozambique and Rhodesia. During that period both countries had a relatively large and affluent non-African population and thence the tendency to maintain dualistic structures. Both had dynamic, diversified economies and Mozambique was even the eighth industrial power in Africa.²⁷ Both suffered the harmful effects of international isolation and hostility. In what concerns total population Mozambique had 8 million and Rhodesia c. 5,3 million. But, although not wholly comparable, the following figures give a good idea of the large gap between the two countries regarding African education.

Since Rhodesia in 1968/9 had a primary course of seven standards, an acceptable quantitative comparison with similar level existing in Mozambique requires the statistical coupling of the traditional Portuguese "4th Class" with the two years "1st Cycle" or "Preparatory Cycle". This opportunist solution has the advantage of including Mozambique in the three main divisions proposed by J. K. Buckley to estimate "The Structure of Primary Education".²⁸ From the already mentioned quantification of African students I made for 1970 it may be obtained the following rounding-off percentages:

²⁶ J.K. Buckley (1974), pp.22-25, 27, 28.

²⁷ J.E. Torp (1979).

²⁸ J.K. Buckley (1974), p. 26. Table 2.

Table 8

COUNTRIES	ENROLMENT	LOWER PRIMARY	MIDDLE PRIMARY	UPPER PRIMARY
Mozambique	294,000	92% "Class 1, 2, 3"	6% "Class 4"	2% "Years 1, 2"
Rhodesia	680,000	35% "Stand 1, 2, 3"	44% "Stand 4, 5"	21% "Stand 6, 7"

It is no wonder that Rhodesia at that time had an enrolment of 18,546 secondary-school African students. A similar indicative figure for Mozambique could reach a maximum of 4,032 in 1970 provided that one would add to the two "Cycles" of High-School (750), the total enrolment of the Technical-Schools (1,517), of Teacher-Training Schools (1,265) and also that of the specialized schools maintained by Public Departments (500).

The 750 Africans belonging to the 2nd and 3rd "Cycles" are too small a base to obtain comparative meaningful rates. For instance, still according to J. K. Buckley, the upper group made by Forms 4, 5 and 6 represented some 12% of the whole Secondary level, i.e. 2,225 students. In Mozambique the two year 3rd "Cycle" gave a percentage of 24% but in absolute figures it had merely 180 students.

It was indeed appalling the wastage occurring among Africans in Mozambique schools. Particular grave was the 90% drop-out from the 1st to the 2nd "Cycles" of High-School.

3. THE CAUSES OF BACKWARDNESS

3.1. Structural low financial capacity

The main colonial powers were developed industrialized societies, with large financial resources as well as sufficient numbers of qualified personnel. They could, once effective occupation had been established, start fairly quickly to decrease the very old technological backwardness of African societies and to provide considerable sums of money both for this purpose and for the costly planning and construction of all kinds of modern infrastructures, sine qua non condition for the desirable economic take off. More over, in the burden of providing Africans with advanced forms of knowledge they could count upon rich missionary societies anxious to spread the Gospel and save the souls of the Heathen. For the illiterate gentiles to be converted to Truth they had to

be taught to read the Scriptures. Writing and counting went together with reading. Soon arts and crafts began to be taught in order to transform the more or less educated African into a wage labourer or a worker on his own account integrated in the money economy.

The same could not be said for Portugal. The country was economically underdeveloped, disabled by a very high illiteracy rate, undermined in its religious fervour by the republican ideals and, moreover, plunged into a grave and continuous political and financial crisis until the consolidation of the authoritarian new regime in 1933. It simply did not have either the means, nor the staff, nor even the firm will to undertake the education of its millions of subjects, inhabiting a vast Empire which, besides a majority of Africans, also included Indians, Indonesians and Chinese. But to emphasize these and many other handicaps would be to admit its incapacity as a "civilizing power", would be a heavy blow both to the national pride and the national interests. The Catholic Church was as ill supplied in money and personnel as the Nation and the State themselves. That is why the Protestant contribution given at that time to African education in Mozambique became so important.

In practice each colony was left to its own means and, starting from nothing, had to painfully squeeze from its meagre budgets some small amounts to be used to introduce millions of Africans to more advanced forms of technological knowledge. While the mainly subsistence economy of Portugal's African possessions did not and could not provide the colonial governments with much of an income, it happened that the natives themselves were very suspicious of and even hostile towards the samples of that "Catholic civilization" that had brought with it so many unhappy consequences: compulsory labour, corporal punishment, taxation on both sexes, the lasting semi-feudal *Prazo* system, poorly endowed Chartered Companies, recruitment of soldiers and porters to distant military operations during World War I, etc. The mass exodus to neighbouring countries slowly but firmly became a structural feature of the socio-economic situation, at least in Portuguese East Africa.

Since Mozambique lacked sufficient human and financial resources, the new political regime could have been expected to reconsider the situation inherited in 1926 and thence follow a different policy after the enforcement of internal political stability brought about by the presence and measures

taken by Salazar. But the sad truth is that the colony continued to receive little or nothing from its "metropolis".

Amazingly in a paper read about 1933 to an international conference the Minister of Colonies himself, Prof. Armindo Monteiro, considered this stinginess or lack of financial capacity as a motive of national pride: "I may assure you that Portuguese colonization has grown and prospered without burdening the State finances with exaggerated expenditure...Achieving much and asking little...It is in this marvelous spirit of adaptation that stands the great secret of our colonizing triumph...And to help it we should mention three more splendid factors: the spirit of initiative of the Portuguese settlers; their earnest and profound nationalism; their talent to deal with inferior races of mankind".²⁹

This self-help colonial policy was maintained during many decades, despite the fact that Portugal had heaped up considerable financial resources due to its neutrality during World War II.

Surprisingly, internal criticism was allowed to be published. For instance Avila de Azevedo in his 1958 comparative study regretted the fact that Portugal did not make even small symbolic contributions while other colonial powers set aside massive amounts for African education. He mentioned the fact that from 1946 to 1954 the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, in order to promote primary and secondary education, offered to fifteen territories of British Africa no less than £ 8,765,000.³⁰

3.2. Relative higher demands of education investment in Africa

In 1962 the Commission for the Study of Development Planning took the decision of forming, among others, a working-party to collect data and present proposals in order to speed up the social promotion of the Africans. Its members soon went through the fact that in Africa higher educational levels required much more investment than in Europe or the U.S.A., both in absolute and relative amounts. The two following tables, based on reliable research made by international experts, are significant.³¹

²⁹ Armindo Monteiro (1933), p. 19.

³⁰ A de Azevedo (1958), p. 83.

³¹ Economic aspects.... (1962), p. 740.

Table 9
Ratio Between the Average Monthly Salaries of State Teachers
and the Per Capita National Income

COUNTRIES	PRIMARY	SECONDARY
U.S.A.	1,5 times lower	2 times higher
Ghana	5 times higher	no available data
Nigeria	7 times higher	30 times higher
Mozambique	13 times higher	45 times higher

Table 10
Ratio Existing in State Educational Institutions between the Annual
Average Cost Per Secondary or University Student and the Same
Indicator on the Primary Level

Levels	Higher than primary		
	U.S.A.	African average	Mozambique
Secondary	2,5 times	10 times	20 times
University	6 times	50 times	60 times

In absolute amounts the annual cost per student in Mozambique was estimated as follows (stg. Pound = 80 Moz. Escud.):

Table 11

ESTABLISHMENTS	1950 ³²		1964 ³³	
	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
	£ sh.	£ sh.	£ sh.	£ sh.
Rudimentary/Adaptation (Catholic missions)	No data	No data	— 18	1 05
Primary schools	No data	No data	20 00	32 02
Secondary schools	55 00	67 10	81 05	95 00
Technical schools	42 10	45 00	No data	No data
Commercial/Industrial Institutes	—	500 00	No data	No data
University	—	—	—	1,500 00

³² L. Moreira de Almeida (1951), p. 208.

³³ Planificação do Ensino.... (1964).

Every student who passed on to a higher form or was successful in his high-school final exam cost the State on average of £ 109-14 sh. Moreira de Almeida also estimated that a high-school graduate could be enrolled at a Commercial or Industrial Institute in Portugal at a cost to the budget of a mere £ 150 annually besides the initial £ 83-15 sh. required for the ship passage.

In what concerns the building and equipment for education establishments the expenses were also exorbitant even if compared with the rest of Africa where similar investment could be fivefold the normal in Europe for the same level and capacity. For instance, a study published in 1962 on the economic aspects of education in Africa mentioned that a good secondary school could be built in Great-Britain at a cost of £ 50,000 when in Ghana a similar facility would cost about £ 250,000.³⁴

The 1964 report of the same working-party estimated the cost of three recently built high-schools at £ 312-10 sh., £ 225 and £ 150 per student to be enrolled. This favourable evolution was due to solutions each time more pragmatic when compared with the older "Liceu Salazar" – "one of the most luxurious of all Africa" according to Avila de Azevedo – which represented an investment of £ 625 per student, taking into account an enrolment double the initially planned.³⁵

Even at primary level the cost of a non-African school was threefold the normal in Portugal, where it was similar to the cost of a very modest missionary school made of brick and cement, that is, about £ 1,250. In case the former needed living quarters for the teacher – which was often the case – the above mentioned cost could increase sixfold.³⁶

In more exigent standards, the cost per student could be overwhelming. In 1971 the simple expropriation of private lands to build the new university required nearly £ 464,000, when the value of the stg. Pound was fixed at 69 Moz. Escudos. A hostel for 75 girls built the following year in the same neighbourhood cost £ 970 per capita.

Taking into consideration the above data it will become clear that, in the sharing out of financial resources, those educational institutions directly dependent on the State received a disproportionate share. In this way high

³⁴ Economic aspects.... (1962), p. 745.

³⁵ A de Azevedo (1958), p. 155.

³⁶ Planificação do Ensino... (1964).

quality standards could be maintained for reasons of national prestige as well as to meet the requirements of the leading minority composed by Europeans, Asians, Coloureds and statutory "assimilated" Africans.

On the other hand the Catholic missionaries depended merely on their own dedication, on eventual grants supplied by welfare departments and officially recognized charities, on some contributions given by individuals and private companies, on inadequate sums provided for in government budgets. The fees paid by the students' families were insignificant and very irregular. Once again Avila de Azevedo, in his 1958 study, discussed that discrimination in State budgets: "In truth, when the countless responsibilities for African education were invested into the Catholic missions...to them were not given automatically neither the funds previously spent by the State for the same purpose nor the larger sums which might result from the progressive enlargement of enrolment".³⁷ In a previous chapter he emphasized that in Southern Rhodesia – where both State and Municipalities were legally responsible for African education – the religious missions of different creeds received from the government budget during 1949/50 the amount of £ 403,772 for a total population slightly over two millions.³⁸ But in Mozambique – with almost three times more inhabitants – the Catholic missions got merely £ 289,000. This is confirmed by Eduardo dos Santos who supplied usefull data on the funds for the whole empire granted to the Catholic Church between 1940 and 1962 according to the official amounts inscribed in the budgets either of the Ministry of Overseas or of each colonial government, amounts confirmed by the published annual treasury accounts. From them it can be seen that in Mozambique, already with a population somewhere between six and a half and seven million inhabitants, the 1962 subsidy was increased barely to £ 754,500.³⁹

No wonder that the Catholic missionaries felt submerged every school year by unexpected waves of new pupils brought either by the increasing demographic growth or by the rising urbanization and integration of their parents in the modern economy. As the situation worsened so their recriminations increased. In May 1967 the missions representative in the Legislative Council pointed out that state finance provided near twenty three times more per pupil per year in official primary schools in comparision to what happened in

³⁷ A de Azevedo (1958), p. 169.

³⁸ A de Azevedo (1958), p. 65.

³⁹ Eduardo dos Santos (1964), p. 120.

missionary schools. During the early seventies the same representative denounced: "only approximately one third of the school going population can be served and rather poorly by the present network of schools". Even in the industrial areas surrounding the capital a Catholic priest dared to publish in 1972 his complaint about the meanness of the government towards his and other schools attended mainly by children of African wage labourers. He had "no benches, no desks, no shelves, no cupboards and not even a table for the teacher". And he accused: "there are official schools for rich children where everything is provided for and there are pauper schools like this one which only receive reports and statistical forms to be filled in. This is not the way to help poor children".

3.3. Shortage of qualified teachers

Another major problem was serious quantitative and qualitative shortage of teaching staff. Practically all teachers in state primary schools came from Portugal, although Portugal itself was also trying to reduce its high illiteracy rate. In 1950 the primary teacher's diploma obtained in Goa (Portuguese India) was given the same legal level as the one granted in Portugal but few Goanese teachers arrived in Mozambique. According to the 1960 population census a total of 944 non-African declared – without proof – to be qualified primary teachers although many of them were employed in other activities.

Only in 1962 the first teacher-training colleges for primary school were opened in Beira and L. Marques. But soon it was realized that few non-African youths were interested. During the school year 1970/71 when these two colleges had already 28 members on the staff the total enrolment attained merely 90 students, among them some African males but in the majority non-African young women. To make matters worse most of these well prepared graduates deserted the vocation to get jobs in entirely different fields. The large sums spent by the State could be considered as lost to the teaching career. But, even supposing that all of them would follow it, the annual output of graduates was so insignificant that it could not satisfy the needs of the non-African population alone. The difficult living conditions outside the main towns, the lack of access to higher ranks, the salaries similar to those paid by more attractive public services, the higher wages offered by many private concerns, were the main factors responsible for that reluctance.

On the other hand, among the 10,500 so called "teachers" employed in 1973 by the whole missionary schools⁴⁰ no less than 9,000 were merely local makeshift monitors in scattered outposts. It never exceeded 140 a year the number of Africans who finished their courses in the less exigent teacher-training schools belonging to the Catholic Church. In 1969, when I could collect reliable data, only 117 Africans finalists got that much valued diploma.

The 1961 deep psychological shock caused by the tragic events of Northern Angola had the result of increasing the shortage of qualified teachers. The responsible authorities both of central and colonial governments took hasty measures to correct the evil consequences of delayed errors and deficiencies. Genuine attempts were made to regain the sympathy of these "Portuguese Africans" who, to general astonishment, seemed to be unsatisfied with their destiny and even inclined to support open rebellion. The syllabus content as well as exams became each time easier and thus the African enrolment in high and technical schools increased steadily.

One of the parallel consequences of the armed struggle that seems to have escaped the attention of many scholars was the increased rate of economic growth. It is true that the urbanized and westernized minority, conditioned by the State censorship and propaganda, felt indeed some uneasiness in face of the apparently small but endless military operations against what everybody thought were insignificant and unpopular, treacherous and unorganized gangs of terrorists sneaking through far-away, primitive and sparsely populated backwoods. But that feeling grew together with more investment, more general prosperity and more opportunities of good employment in and around the main urban centers. Be it as it may be, both in primary and secondary levels the teaching profession became increasingly unattractive for non-Africans. Slack, unstable and unprepared teachers were appointed. The education system went through a deterioration impossible to avoid and to repair. Specially in the primary and "1st cycle" State schools the standards began to slope downwards. Many Africans who passed their exams if asked to write a text of their own in Portuguese proved to be so ill-prepared that were not accepted as simple clerks by private firms. The secondary level situation was in some way saved by the wives of expatriate officers serving in the growing military garrisons spread throughout the whole colony. But they seemed to be rather permissive and also more interested in increasing the family savings which could be freely transferred to Portugal, which was not the case with settlers.

⁴⁰ A A Marques de Almeida (1973), p. 22.

3.4. Uncontrolled absenteeism in rudimentary/adaptation mission schools

In regions where African families already recognized the need of overcoming illiteracy the missionary schools for "rudimentary education" were overcrowded, there was no proper register of attendance nor any control over absenteeism. Only when it was too late did some parents find out that their children instead of going to school were in fact spending their time in ignored strolls, amusements and even misdeeds. As few had formal birth certificates, nobody knew for certain what the age of the great majority of pupils was and, therefore, many remained at school for an indefinite number of years until they almost reached adulthood.

3.5. Difficult admission to secondary level

The maximum age set for admission to secondary schools was another source of difficulties. Since Portuguese was not their home language and they were not under strong family pressure to begin their schooling at the age of six, most African pupils completed Standard Four only after they turned fourteen, which automatically barred them from enrolling in the "preparatory" or "First Cycle" of secondary schools. Even when they were able to complete that standard before reaching the above mentioned age limit, and, besides, had the advantage of living in urban areas where technical and high-schools were situated, few could overcome the bureaucratic and practical barriers of the public entrance examination. Those who managed to obtain registration in the secondary level were from the very beginning distressed by the normal poverty of their families and by home environments almost incompatible to study, to concentration and to increased knowledge of Portuguese. Living in appalling conditions such as overcrowded shacks, often lacking books and school materials, badly clothed and fed, suffering from ill-diagnosed and ill-treated diseases, forced to walk long distances to their schools, studying by candles and streetlamps, sleeping in dirty mats and cots often infested with parasites, it is not surprising that the achievement of African students was seriously impaired. Their aspect and speech accent aroused the scorn of other non-African pupils thus developing feelings of inferiority and marginality. The simple fact that some of them were able to pass the final examination of a secondary level course is a tribute to their talent and persistence.

3.6. Meanest direct aid to African students

There was in fact no well thought out plan of social action designed to help the African students to overcome the terrific obstacles they had to face. No efficient measures had been worked out in order to provide them with adequate bursaries as well as light meals, school books and medical care. Some attempts were made but on a meaningless scale. Only a number of those enrolled in secondary schools close to the capital learned how to profit from the nearby headquarters of aid and welfare organizations. For instance during the 1964/65 school year the aid funds of each State primary school, "caixa escolar", obtained through voluntary fees given monthly by more affluent pupils, supplied 306,000 free meals in the Province of L. Marques and only 620,000 in the rest of Mozambique. Furthermore the cost per meal was three times higher in the former than in the latter case. In 1965/66 the few high and technical-school canteens of the "Mocidade Portuguesa" were only used by 351 African students in the capital and by 230 in the eight remaining provinces. More than 71% of the total expenditure made by the "Comissão de Assistência Pública" with small grants to some hundreds of needy students was concentrated around the capital.

A good example of the general lack of understanding or foresight was given by the administrative committee of the "Fundo de Acção Social no Trabalho" an autonomous body which had the duty of "operating an intense social program to meet the consequences of the transfer from the customary environment to the place of employment". Despite having its annual budget increased to £ 1,450,000, thanks to a social tax paid both by employers and employees, it took the decision to cease granting new scholarships and gifts of books and school equipment both to workers classified as "rural" and their children willing to study. Another example was supplied by the Ministry of Education in Lisbon, in a time when the more qualified international authorities were already emphasizing the importance of secondary education for sustained development.

For unknown reasons it was decided to consider all students in secondary schools not liable to get bursaries (Decree 46,935 of 1966) and furthermore extended this measure to the whole colonial empire. The committee that was set up later in Mozambique to correct the blunder started by giving a fearful financial help to 29 secondary and university students during

the school year of 1966//67. In the following school year it dared to use part of its budget not in real bursaries, but merely as a monthly aid of about £ 12 to twenty or thirty secondary school pupils, mainly of African origin.

However, there was a better way of helping students. It took into consideration both the poverty of most African students' relatives and the strong traditions of solidarity among the extended families that inclined the guardians to spend the State money not in improving the living conditions of the students themselves but in meeting the general needs of the whole lineage. It also recognized the fact that most students who had with great difficulty been able to complete their Standard Four in rural and suburban schools, could not find accommodation in the main towns where all secondary education establishments were situated. This kind of aid was common in other African countries: within Mozambique, for obvious reasons, it enjoyed considerable success and popularity. I am referring to free hostels for good but needy students. This was the system used by nearly all Catholic and Protestant missions both for primary education and arts-and-crafts schools, but only occasionally for the First Cycle of high-schools. By the end of 1969, Catholic missions provided accommodation for about 11,700 pupils of both sexes. It was also the facility supplied by the usual three Arts-and-Crafts State Schools and by some specialized graduations to be obtained in the departments of health and agriculture.

But in these as in most other matters the Department of Education had to wait for Lisbon's decisions. The central government only in 1963 did recognize the need to open hostels for students, "lares de estudantes" (Decree 45,240).

However the committee appointed next year to study the problem in Mozambique did not produce visible immediate results. Only by the end of 1970 a local legislation was published (Dip. Leg. 3,047). It seems that an attempt was made to open two such hostels in Inyambane. When the sovereignty of Portugal was already doomed to collapse Governor-General Pimentel dos Santos, in his "Programa de Acção Governativa para 1972-1975", included the creation of twenty two hostels planned to receive one thousand students.⁴¹

⁴¹ M. Pimentel dos Santos (1972), pp. 20-21.

3.7. Overloaded syllabuses

I will mention now another Portuguese deep-rooted conceptual stance on education that the African students were forced to face and surpass. For a very long time education in Portugal was inspired by the purpose of giving all pupils a "solid general culture". And this guiding principle started at primary school level being further emphasized at the secondary level for seven years. Certainly between 1927 and 1961 secondary education underwent no less than eight major reforms interposed by numerous minor ones. But the same lasting ideal remained basic in all of them. Some specialists in pedagogics have interpreted this national option as being a reflection of the elitist tendencies of the small but powerful ruling classes of Portuguese society. Some defenders laid stress on the ancient and globally superior educational traditions of "latin" countries clearly opposed to the recent, superficial and overinclined to specialization "anglo-saxon" concepts on the subject. Naturally this is not the proper place to discuss the merits or the demerits of the above mentioned option. The fact is that the syllabus was indeed grossly overloaded. In high-school all students were forced to take Portuguese, Latin, French, English, Geography, History, Physics, Chemistry, Natural Sciences, Geometry, Mathematics (upgraded with Algebra, Trigonometry and Logarithmics), Philosophy, Drawing (freehand and geometrical), Political Organisation, Morals and Civics, Gymnastics and for some time even Music. One major criticism will suffice: the almost total absence of subjects concerning directly Mozambique: its history, geography, fauna, flora, economy, demography, anthropology, natural resources, modern conditions, basic infrastructures, deadly tropical diseases, etc. The difficulty of the syllabus is demonstrated by the fact that only between 10% and 20% of non-African students ever reached the 7th and final form of high-school without having failed more than once at one time or another. To put it in a different way, there was a 80% or 90% failure rate which I think in the surrounding English speaking countries has always been totally unacceptable. For a long time the majority of pupils forming this upper 10% - 20% consisted exclusively of Europeans, Indians, Chinese and some Coloureds. That there was something excessive with the above mentioned syllabus was also amply proved by the fact that many pupils who failed in Mozambique high-schools and whose families could afford to send them to South Africa or Southern Rhodesia boarding schools, normally did very well there, even though they were handicapped at the beginning by having a poor knowledge of English. By 1974 several thousand

Portuguese students of both sexes had completed their education in colleges and universities situated in those two neighbouring countries. It is worth while to mention the frequent official displeasure against this "denationalization process" of Portuguese white students. Some of these were voiced in the writings both of Braga Paixão and Moreira de Almeida. The first wrote in 1938: "As reality destroys theories, the truth is that a good part of the present school generation have turned their backs on this Portuguese homeland to seek in foreign parts the useful training that in practice they to not find here".⁴² The second in an article published in 1951 admitted: "The phenomenon of academic emigration is not symptomatic of a denationalization process. It is the result of very different psychological factors and of the situation of our colony which is surrounded on all sides by parts of the British Empire, where due to the excellent climate, natural riches as well as grater financial and demographic resources of their metropolis an impressive civilizing task has been achieved...".⁴³

However that may be, within Mozambique African students were obviously at a great disadvantage in absorbing the already mentioned variety of knowledge, particularly in more scientific subjects. Low incomes earned by African wage labourers and small business owners precluded them from using the help of private coaches, the well known "explicadores", who up to now are so useful and so worthy of general esteem in Portuguese society. Attempts made by some more educated Africans to give extra-school lessons at secondary level, in their own houses, were stopped by the authorities on the grounds that article 14 of Legislative Diploma 2,287 (25 Sept. 1952) laid down that all private schools had to obtain previous permission by the Governor-General.

The relatively well paid teachers of the State secondary education establishments were men and women with proper academic qualifications from Portuguese universities and higher technical institutes. They enjoyed social and intellectual prestige, lived in the best suburbs and were considered part of the superior strata of colonial society. They were respectfully addressed by everyone as "senhor (a) doutor (a)". Many were extremely exigent and severe in their criterions and valuations.

3.8. Selective entrance and final examinations

A major obstacle met by all pupils but more so by Africans, was the entrance examinations to high and technical schools and to universities. There

⁴² Braga Paixão (1948), p. 50.

⁴³ L. Moreira de Almeida (1951), p. 209.

were also oral and written public exams at the end of each educational stage. The academic progress of a lawyer, an engineer, an economist, an agronomist, a medical practitioner, a veterinary surgeon, etc can be shown as follows:

a) Primary education (4 standards)

Final exam

b) Entrance exam to secondary level

c) 1st (later preparatory) cycles (1st, 2nd Forms)

Final exam

d) 2nd cycle – high/technical school (3rd, 4th, 5th Forms)

Final exam

e) 3rd cycle – high/technical school (6th and 7th Forms)

Final exam

f) Entrance exam to university level

g) University degree (5 to 6 years) with annual exams

h) Final conditions (dissertations, thesis, field work, etc.) to obtain a full degree.

At different levels in Portuguese society all these stages were vitally important. In many cases they and the marks thence obtained were used to classify the claimants. Standard Four was required as a minimum to obtain the driving licence, to be inscribed in the National Trade Unions and get the related professional permit – "carteira profissional". The same happened in the lower ranks of the Public Service. The entrance into the middle ranks was limited to applicants having the 2nd Cycle of high-schools or its equivalent. Banks often required the 3rd Cycle. In common military service the courses to prepare sergeants and officers were obligatory, according to this order, to conscripts whose minimum qualifications were the 2nd and 3rd Cycle. These so called "miliciano" ranks had a key role not only during the 1961-1974 colonial wars but also in the success of the 25th Abril 1974 coup.

3.9. School-year unadapted to local climate

Other shortcomings of the educational system dated from 1939 when the school-year was changed to coincide with that of Portugal. Strangely enough this measure was not taken by the Central Government itself but by the Head of the Department of Education, then Dr. Braga Paixão, in a proposal presented to the Mozambique Legislative Council and approved without difficulty. It is worth reading the preface of that law (Dip. Leg. 625, 14th January 1939) because

it stands out clearly how harmful could often be the policy of Empire unity. During thirty five long years both students and teachers suffered the effects of attending schools during the hottest and most humid season, severely handicapping general performances, as it was recognized in the law put in force between 1906 and 1938. As the school year was divided in three periods it happened that the height of summer forced an interval of 50 days between the first and the second periods counterbalanced by the practical abolition of the interval between the second and the third periods. With the new regime the interval of leisure between each school year went from the beginning of July until the middle of September, exactly the fresher and dryer season more favourable to intellectual activity. These change only benefitted a minute proportion of pupils who wished to continue their studies in Portugal.

It is not surprising that one of the first measures of the FRELIMO leaders was to revert to the old 1906-1938 school term system better adapted to local conditions and followed by all the neighbouring countries.

3.10. Shortcomings of the text-books supply

The question of suitable school texts was also a source of considerable difficulties. Up to 1962, the ideal of spreading the Portuguese language and culture throughout the Empire and thence establishing an uniform system of education, had the result that only books published in Portugal were allowed to be used. After this date a small effort was made to publish locally more suitable text-books but only for primary education. As far as high and technical schools and also universities were concerned, sometime before the beginning of each school year the official list of "adopted" text-books had to be gazetted by the Lisbon Central Government. As only then would bookshops send their orders to editors, the surface transport together with customs formalities gave rise to considerable delays before both teachers and students had access to their basic text-books. For reasons difficult to accept the above mentioned official list could be much modified every school year.

4. FINAL REMARKS

In the beginning of the 60's I tried to make known in Mozambique the approach worked out by George Balandier and other sociologists defining the existence of a clear duality in the social and economic structure of many

overseas European colonies. In an article published in April 1964 I emphasized: "It exists, then, an almost total absence of an intermediate stratum which could help the bridging between two so markedly different ways of life. In such context I wish to make it clear that the criterion of economic development I defend is largely based on the attitude to be taken regarding the destruction of the dualistic structure and the integration in the monetary economy of the mainly subsistence traditional economies. The conditions for development can only be attained if – together with the expansion of modern sectors – the African population income is increased steadily by means of productivity improvements among farmers, fishermen, stock breeders, etc. The success of a development policy cannot and must not be measured by global national indices of average standards of education, health, wages, consumption, per capita income, expectation of life etc., but by the distribution of these same indices by each one of the two social and economic strata on which the population is divided".⁴⁴

These criteria were certainly correct if applied to the "dual economy" as defined by G.Balandier and others. On the other hand, through the years and up to now, it became more and more clear to my judgement how difficult it was and still is to put them in practice. This being the case I am forced to rethink the above mentioned position. However that may be, I still refuse to classify as invalid the conventional "dualism theory",⁴⁵ specially when applied to the systematic and generalized written transmission to illiterate populations – handicapped from the start – of the knowledge amassed during thousands of years by civilizations which valued the constant search for higher technological achievements and for increased practical application of scientific discoveries.

It seems that once military and administrative occupation were completed, the solutions tried by the several colonial powers in order to school the Africans could not have been very different. The pattern prevailing in Sub-Sahara Africa was similar to that summarized by R.J. Challiss as follows: "... a disproportionate emphasis was laid upon the development of education for Europeans compared with that of other races, a segregated system of schools for the various races of Southern Rhodesia was established, initiative for the provision of schools for Africans was left exclusively in the hands of Christian missionaries, and the type of education to be given to African children was defined differently from that given in European schools".⁴⁶

⁴⁴ A Rita-Ferreira (1964).

⁴⁵ R. Palmer & N. Parsons (1977), pp. 4, 27-28.

⁴⁶ R. J. Challiss (1973), p. 57.

This commonly adopted dual education system was clearly structural in its foundations. The explanation is simple: the enormous cultural and technological gap existing between the European conquerers and the African conquered societies. All of those who had left their countries with the fundamental objective of improving their standard of living and more so that of their descendants, could not accept schools understaffed by makeshift (but polyglot!) teachers where the general level of instruction had to be oversimplified in order to be followed by African children coming from backward and illiterate rural communities and speaking only their numerous dialects. Of course many amongst the civil and military personnel as well as the affluent entrepreneurs and overpaid experts, could afford to leave or send their children to schools in Europe, South Africa or Portuguese and British India, exactly as present day co-operators are doing. But the majority of immigrants had no means to adopt that costly solution. One must have in mind that among the many types of colonial occupation existing in ancient and modern history, not a single case is known where conquerers were sufficiently rich, altruistic and motivated to, at the same time, have built schools and dwellings and have recruited, at short term and offering alluring salaries, thousands or even hundreds of qualified teachers expressly to give advanced education to masses of alien peoples in remote, ignored, insecure and disease-ridden places.

In Africa only Christian missionaries, moved by their religious fervour, were prepared to suffer all sorts of risks and hardships, indifferent to sound material returns. The importance of the obstacles raised by the above mentioned structural factors may be enhanced by comparisons made between the results obtained in the progress of African education by the two regimes which although having deeply opposed ideologies had, nevertheless, many common points between them. Naturally I have in mind the "marxist-leninist" regime imposed by the FRELIMO leaders and its predecessor that they defined disparagingly as "colonial-fascist". To my judgement, this issue deserves the attention of some students of political science. Indeed the similarities are so evident that in one's mind may even rise the absurd suspicion that the new political leaders were in fact imitating many of the practices of their former colonial masters.

To finish off this paper I will recall an aspect often ignored. In one fundamental point Portuguese colonization was successful, i.e. in achieving sustained economic growth. Amongst the multifarious authors who dealt with pre or post-independent Mozambique it is worthy of special attention what

Pierre Balmes wrote in 1979: "If accusations can be made against the management of Mozambique, it is not on economic results that they can be founded. In fact the government of Samora Machel has inherited an African country with one of the most developed industry, one of the most active trade, one of the most diversified agriculture...".

Further on he emphasized that the errors were made elsewhere: a political line without solution which slowly isolated Portugal from the rest of the world and last but not least the **negligence of African education**.⁴⁷

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⁴⁷ Pierre Balmes (1979), p. 9.

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