

**BETWEEN CONFLICTS AND SILENCES: MOZAMBICAN LITERATURE AS AN  
ALTERNATIVE HISTORICAL NARRATIVITY**

***ENTRE CONFLITOS E SILENCIAMENTOS: A LITERATURA MOÇAMBICANA  
COMO ALTERNATIVA DE NARRATIVIDADE HISTÓRICA***

***ENTRE CONFLICTOS Y SILENCIOS: LA LITERATURA MOZAMBIQUEÑA COMO  
ALTERNATIVA A LA NARRATIVA HISTÓRICA***

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**ABSTRACT:** Mozambique's young independence still carries elements of the *coloniality* that has plagued the country. Men and women have fought not only for independence, but in a post-independence noxious civil war, a scenario in which their history was still narrated in pieces, often without a space of their own as real Mozambican narrators. The literature I recall for this reflection functions as an element of representation in the face of the silencing of the country's own history, often told by the figure of the colonizer. The contribution I present reflects on the history of Mozambique and the development of its literature. The panoramic character of the research and analysis developed here makes reference to the process of formation of the national state, after the agreement guaranteeing the transfer of the political power to Mozambique, more specifically to FRELIMO, including the ideological contradictions of the party and the countless deviations and problems that have showed up there.

**KEYWORDS:** Mozambique. Literature. Coloniality. FRELIMO.

**RESUMO:** *A jovem independência de Moçambique ainda traz elementos da colonialidade que afligiu o país. Homens e mulheres lutaram não apenas pela independência, mas numa nociva guerra civil pós independência, um cenário em que sua história era ainda narrada a conta gotas, muitas vezes sem um espaço de inserção para moçambicanos e moçambicanas enquanto narradores. A literatura que convocamos para esta reflexão funciona como um elemento de representação frente ao silenciamento de sua própria história, muitas vezes contada pela figura do colonizador. A contribuição que aqui apresentamos traz uma reflexão sobre a história de Moçambique e o desenvolvimento de sua literatura. A investigação e a análise desenvolvida, de caráter panorâmico, fazem referência ao processo de formação do estado-nacional, após o acordo que garantiu a transferência do poder político à Moçambique, mais especificamente à FRELIMO, incluindo as contradições nas propostas ideológicas do partido e nos diversos desvios e problemas que ali se manifestaram.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *Moçambique. Literatura. Colonialidade. FRELIMO.*

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**RESUMEN:** *La joven independencia de Mozambique aún trae elementos de la colonialidad que afligió al país. Hombres y mujeres lucharon no solo por la independencia, sino también en una guerra civil dañina posterior a la independencia, un escenario en el que su historia todavía fue narrada por cuentagotas, a menudo sin un espacio para la inserción de mozambiqueños y mozambiqueños como narradores. La literatura que llamamos para esta reflexión funciona como un elemento de representación frente al silenciamiento de su propia historia, a menudo contada por la figura del colonizador. La contribución que presento aquí trae una reflexión sobre la historia de Mozambique y el desarrollo de su literatura. La investigación y el análisis desarrollados, de carácter panorámico, hacen referencia al proceso de formación del estado nacional, luego del acuerdo que garantizó la transferencia del poder político a Mozambique, más específicamente a FRELIMO, incluidas las contradicciones en las propuestas ideológicas del partido y en el diversas desviaciones y problemas que se manifestaron allí.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Mozambique. Literatura. Colonialidad. FRELIMO.*

## Introduction

The reflection brought up in this article aims to draw a parallel between the history of a country and its literary cultural production. The country in question is Mozambique, which located in Southeast Africa, has a vast cultural diversity and a complex history marked by ambiguities, submission to a colonial system, a brief moment of liberation and a contemporary moment marked by the appearance of a series of narratives who build today what it means to be Mozambican. The development of this work shows, first, a brief history of the country, which roughly speaking, can be illustrated as having three great moments: a first moment of plurality, the colonial period and the time of the struggle for liberation and independence.

Each has its particularities, which we try to emphasize from a historical panorama in which it is possible to have a sense of how we believe that a Mozambican identity, a Mozambican being, has been built. In sequence, we sought to identify in these time periods who were the main authors, works and most relevant themes of the moment. This is important not because we have an orthodox view in which culture (and in this case, literature) reflects what happens in society, but because we see the act of literary production itself as a way to actively participate in the historical construction of your country.

It is in this sense that we think of literature as an alternative to historical narrativity. Not as a way to override what the country's written history records, nor to annihilate. But to try to understand, almost in the mold of a combative ontology, in the mold of Archie Mafeje, what it was to be a Mozambican. What it was like to be from Mozambique not because of the views of those who wrote about it, but because of the country's literature and the experience of those who were born, grew up and fought for their its environment.

## History as inspiration for literature

Before thinking about the identity of a group, literature, political and social movement or nation, it is necessary to reformulate the basic question of "what would be identity" and ask "to whom or for what the construction of a new age would serve". In the case of the Mozambican identity, politically constructed by the movement that fought for liberation, it is clear that it was initially guided by the attempt to homogenize the different peoples/ethnicities that inhabited the Mozambican territory, such as the adoption of the colonizer language, the Portuguese, as an official language, as well as the prohibition of the use of native languages in schools and in institutional daily life.

Following the *History of Mozambique* (2012) written by the historian Malyn Newitt, it was abroad that nationalism was effectively born. Mozambicans, children of the colonial system (African mother and European father) and affected by the assimilation policy, when studying abroad and coming into contact with politics and Western thought, started to get involved in the political affairs of their country of origin. The historian José Luís Cabaço, on the other hand, gives another perspective to think about the emergence of this nationalism which, even considering the importance of Mozambicans assimilated in the independence process, provides us with greater support to think about the ways in which Mozambican nationalism has its roots not only in the contact of assimilated with Europe/United States, but also in Mozambican organizations that already dealt with this subject without necessarily having had contact with Enlightenment ideas.

Cabaço refers to organizations or *unions* that emerged in mid-1958 and aimed to be forms of mutual aid and defense of the interests of communities. An example of this was the so-called *Makonde And Makua Zanzibar Union*, which being reserved only for the ethnic-linguistic group of the Makonde, sought to "promote an environment of fraternal ties between members and foster this spirit among all members of our tribe" (CABAÇO, 2010, p. 264). Thus, these organizations already expressed a notion of identity that was based on their own culture that can also be understood as a language, history, and sense of belonging.

According to Cabaço, this thought is considered a protonationalist thought that has less to do with an authentic nation and is more related to a heterogeneous society, and acts at the level of collective consciousness as a kind of consensus.

That said, we can now speak of the emergence of a literate elite of blacks and mestizos who took the first critical positions to the colonial government. As said, mixed-race Mozambicans, children of the colonial system (usually children of an African mother and

European father), became involved in the political and social affairs of the Mozambican colonial reality after having contact with ideals of freedom and equality spread in the West. Examples of this are the journalistic activity that grew in Mozambique at the beginning of the 20th century and the life of Eduardo Mondlane who led FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) from 1962. Initially, it is necessary to talk about the path of the very emergence of the liberation front to be able to think about the construction of an identity that they called "new man".

The Mozambique Liberation Front emerged on 25 June, 1962, when three organizations/*unions* came together under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane to fight a common enemy. The point is that this union has already started with ethnic, political and cultural conflicts and contradictions. The biggest one was between the traditional leaders and the Front itself, which accused the traditional so much of "being an obstacle to unitary anti-colonial action and opposing science, technique and progress" (CABAÇO, 2010, p. 275, our translation), still, at the same time, they classified them as part of the colonial apparatus. This was because the *unit* was Eduardo Mondlane's main concern. In this unit, the ethnic-linguistic origins of individuals were not ignored, so that individuals of certain ethnicities continued to identify with them. What FRELIMO sought to prevent was that these specificities would become a focus of competition that would, consequently, weaken the movement. Taking into account that, whenever something was tried against the colonial government, the struggle was lost due to the lack of unity, to make Mozambicans feel united against a common enemy implied a combatant who knew why to fight and against whom he was positioned.

To address this, FRELIMO's plan consisted primarily of a ritual of passage/telling of suffering, in which an individual was received to talk about all the types of violence he had to undergo during his life due to the colonial regime. According to Cabaço (2010), the unit was rooted in a common experience of suffering and wage misery, whipping and paddling, humiliation and hunger. These collective and shared experiences through a narrative were also built stigmatizing Portuguese colonialism, which was the cause of this situation and the enemy that all Mozambicans had in common. As a result, it is evident that when it came to "uniting Mozambicans it requires that in our conscience die the tribe to make the nation be born", in other words, it can be said that there was also talk of eliminating traces of an individualism so that it is possible to build collective work in which unity was a priority. Knowing that this unit had in common the history of a people and a project to create a new national identity, the reason for the fight was clear (due to the ceremonies in which several Mozambicans saw that what

happened in one region of the country also happened in another, regardless of ethnic group) and against whom they were standing: colonialism as a system.

However, it is important to keep in mind that colonialism was not the only enemy, as tribalism, regionalism, racism, machismo and other “inherited vices” were also considered evils to be combated. Thus, everything related to the colonial system and traditions was repudiated within FRELIMO's ideology. The idea of the Front, then, was that “taking from us the exploiting culture and ideology [...] constitutes the essence of the struggle for the creation of the new man” (CABAÇO, 2010, p. 284, our translation). An essential point in the construction of this new man was in his military character. According to Cabaço, the incorporation of Mozambicans in the liberation war, together with the organization of the nationalist movement and the disruption of traditional references, was seen as a structural shift that would result in a rare occasion for “the various experiences of the militants to be reorganized through practice and scientific education in nationalist values, military rituals, patriotic symbols and interpersonal relations of solidarity” (CABAÇO, 2010, p. 284, translation). This new man, then, was created from a new socialization that united the life experiences of each individual with an important aspect of modernity: militarization.

For this transformation to happen, FRELIMO operated by internalizing a new praxis in the guerrillas (manual labor and military discipline), providing a formal education that would give them the necessary tools to appropriate the technique through scientific knowledge, and preventing traditional thinking of reorganize itself within the Front. In this way, they selected traditional practices that made sense for that moment in the movement, such as production systems and artistic and creative production.

In general, what was done by the Front was an attempt to replace one culture (as a way of life) with another. For this, the people who joined the liberation movement were prepared in a practical, strategic and ideological way through interpersonal relationships and contact with nature. This was necessary so that they could “become aware” of the objectives of the struggle and of the independent country, which were: a just, solidary, disciplined society, with an economic vision founded on self-sufficiency and dependent essentially “on its own forces”. However, the obstacle to the construction of the new man was due to the persistence of traditional structures. An example of this perspective can be found in the 21st publication of the newspaper *A Voz da Revolução*, in April 1974, in the words of the then FRELIMO president, Samora Machel:

African society is at a late stage in the development of the productive forces, it is a society dominated by subjectivism, superstition and submission to a non-existent supernatural [...] that is what explains the weakness of the idea of revolutionary ideology (MACHEL *apud* CABAÇO, 2010, p. 287, our translation).

Over time, the project transformed itself from a strategy used during the armed struggle to gradually become a proposal to reorganize social life through a pedagogical project; so that the previous ideals that were guided in the fight against the colonial system and all kinds of “backwardness” were giving way to a structured positivist model, of method, action and ethics that everyone should accept. According to Cabaço, FRELIMO ignored the fact that the “construction of national unity” was done in relation to existing identities.

Such identities culturally resisted colonialism, triggering their own defense mechanisms and initiating “processes of adapting their values and symbolic systems to dialogue with modernity” (CABAÇO, 2010, p. 290, our translation). This implies that this national state that was formed after emancipation reinforced authoritarian traits. The persistence of these features allows an analogy to be established with the FRELIMO government model and the colonial model. This made the references to traditional identities, which resisted attempts at silencing during the colonization years, be reinforced. So that Mozambicans found themselves, then, in a kind of closed circuit of repression of their traditional identities.

Consequently, this makes room for it to be possible to reflect both on the importance of a unification to fight against a common enemy and to think about the ways in which this unification was made. Knowing that Mozambique was a space that even before the colonial period already had a foreign presence from France, England and India (NEWITT, 2012), the question that remains is how to think of a unification movement that would unite all the specificities of such a plural people. Eduardo Mondlane's idea was that one could not think of a unit if it did not have a common enemy, so that making all Mozambicans realize that they were in the same subordinate condition was a necessary strategy so that they could strengthen themselves as a unit.

What can be understood as a problem appears when this unit tried to ignore millenary identities, traditions that have been permeated by generations and values, beliefs and ways of being and being in the world that constituted the groups' way of thinking and acting ethnic groups of Mozambique; or when trying to “kill” a tribe that is rooted in the life of each one.

If Mozambican nationalism arose from this political environment that suppressed subjectivities and caused existing identities to be shattered, then one can think of the cultural forms that accompanied this whole process of emancipation and that were concerned not with



building a new identity to think of a new Mozambican, but to assume the various existing forms that coexisted during the creation of this "new man".

Thus, when retrieving this brief historical summary of Mozambique, we sought to understand the central points that were raised by different historical periods, points that were central to the development of a notion of Mozambicanity worked on and constructed by the country's literature. According to Francisco Noa, the literature that was produced in Mozambique was a literature that is very much interconnected with the historical and experiential paths, which is a characteristic of African art.

African art is visceral, it is structurally linked to the environment in which it appears. So, if this medium has particularities (cultural, political, ideological, social, economic), the literature will dialogue with this same medium and will manifest many of the specificities that this medium presents (NOA, 2014, p. 343).

It is these paths that the development of the article will seek to highlight from a look at the development of Mozambican literature, its authors, and themes.

### **Literature as a representation of history**

The historical, political and social processes that took place in Mozambique are richly expressed by its literature. Based on this literature, we were able to get in touch with processes so recent that they occurred on the other side of the Atlantic and, with that, carry out an analysis about the processes, mainly with regard to identity, according to Saúte: "From its first moment literature is a space for questioning identity" (SAÚTE, 1998, p. 82, our translation). Bearing in mind, of course, that a single author cannot represent all of a country's literature. The systematic reading of several Mozambican authors has allowed a broader understanding of historical processes from the literature produced in the country. According to Maria Souto Ferreira:

Several fictional works produced in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe, after the end of the colonial period, are motivated in discussions about identity (re)constructions in an environment in which negotiations were not always possible and/or individual expressions, due to the brutality of the Portuguese colonial regime (FERREIRA, 2009, p. 1).

In the view of Francisco Noa (2014), the first manifestations of Mozambican literature took place at the end of the 19th and mid-20th centuries, eminently linked to journalism<sup>3</sup>. Likewise, according to Saúte “it is not possible to speak of the emergence of the literary sphere without paying attention to the phenomenon that is at the origin of the press movement” (SAÚTE, 1998, p. 84, our translation).

In João Albasini's chronicle *n'O Brado Africano*, for example, independence was not yet a theme. The central issues of that narrative were related to citizenship, advocating equal rights between Mozambicans and Portuguese. For Albasini, citizenship could only be achieved through education. This would be the first generation of Mozambican literature, starting with journalism, what could be understood, as Mendonça (2008, p. 22) says, is the ambivalence of “being African and being European”.

The awareness that the new colonial state that emerged in the late 19th century would play an even more marginalized role stimulated a strong vein of radicalism in the capital's mestizo circles. The first important mestizo newspaper, *Clamor Africano*, was founded in 1886 by Alfredo Aguiar, who had come from Angola, where the radical voice was more developed. The newspaper continued to be published in Quelimane until 1894 and took a hard line against abuses of forced labor. Aguiar was followed by the Albasini brothers in the direction, grandchildren of the famous João Albasini of an African wife, who represented in their people the decline of large Afro-Portuguese families. Although João Albasini holds a governmental position as superintendent in recruiting labor in Lourenço Marques, which naturally associated him with the most hated aspect of colonial rule, this did not prevent him from becoming involved in radical politics. The Albasini founded *O Africano* in 1908 as the official voice of a group called the African Union, and then the most influential *O Brado Africano*. This was founded in 1918 as the voice of the African Guild, a mestizo organization that demanded reforms in the structure of the Republic (NEWITT, 2012, p. 385).

In the perspective of Mendonça (2008), the emergence of properly Mozambican literature actually took place in the late 1940s. It is important to highlight that the literature that was developing in Mozambique does not break with Portuguese literature, but rather with colonial literature, that produced by the Portuguese on African soil. In Leite's analysis: “National literature is born exactly to contradict colonial literature, which started to be produced basically from the years [19]30. It is also a way of reacting against a regime's pamphlet literature” (LEITE *apud* SAÚTE, 1998, p. 82, our translation).

<sup>3</sup> Previous representations existed in the literature in Mozambique, but this one, called Colonial Literature, overestimated the role of the colonizer, unlike the Mozambican literature, which questioned the current colonial order.



This colonial literature valued the white man, his presence and his actions in Africa. In the 1940s, the adjective “Mozambican” began to circulate in literature and the claim of an idea of nation, notably in the poetry of José Craveirinha and Noémia de Souza, from these authors “we witnessed the emergence of a Mozambican literary sphere as a systemic body” (SAÚTE, 1998, p. 83, our translation). In the perspective of Fátima Mendonça, after the first manifestations, literature as a system is already notable (a group of authors, readers, circulating works and a critique). Literature produced at that time was mainly engaged literature, not only culturally, but politically: “the claim that was made was the claim of cultural territory, which obviously implied political territory, clearly taking into account that it was a subjugated space, a dominated space” (NOA, 2014, p. 348, our translation). Still with the contribution of Noa, Mozambican literature would be:

Premonitory not only of the liberation movements, but also of the independence. So there is an anticipation here, through sensitivity, through imagination, and utopia will be a hallmark of this literature, of this poetry, which shows us exactly that there will always be a better future, in which exploration will end, colonization will end, and that there will be a literature of its own. So, they are aware that they are building their own literature, and that it is going to assert itself exactly in an independent state. Therefore, in this literature, they cross a cultural nation, a utopian dimension of a cultural nation, but also of a political nation. It is clearly outlined there, in many of the texts that crossed the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s (NOA, 2014, p. 352-353, our translation).

This first generation of Mozambican authors sought to mix the colonial language with the local languages, this is done from a realistic perspective. According to Noa (2014), it was a nationalist realism, an African realism, in contrast to colonial literature that had a fantastical and stereotyped character. It is a realism that speaks of the pain of being colonized and excluded, this marks this literature even in the context of independence. Making a brief analysis of excerpts from a poem by Noémia and Craveirinha (Table 1), we can see the articulation of this emerging that escaped the form of colonial hegemony.

**Table 1** – Excerpts from the poetry of Noémia de Sousa and José Craveirinha<sup>4</sup>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Lesson</b> Noémia de Sousa</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Pity</b> José Craveirinha</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">They taught him in the mission,  When he was little:  “We are all children of God; each Man  is brother of another Man!”  They told him this on the mission,  When he was little.  Naturally,  he was not forever a boy:  he grew up, learned to count and read  and started to know  better this woman for sale  that is the life  of all the wretched.  And then, once, innocently,  looked at a Man and said "Brother ..." But the Pale Man struck him hard  with eyes full of hate  and answered him: “Negro”.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Angry  you believe in the insult  and calls me black.  But do not call me black.  So I don’t hate you.  Because if you call me black  I shrug my elastic shoulders  and pityingly of you I smile.</p>

Source: Sousa (1988) and Craveirinha (2008) – adapted by the authors (our translation)

It is in poems like these that one can perceive both the realism of the moment and the very logic of the colonial system, when Noémia de Sousa makes an account that goes back to

<sup>4</sup> The poems lost some of their structure in the translation.

the times of a childhood that was educated in Protestant missions, the growth along with the learning of reading and writing, as well as the assimilation of ideas of equality, until the moment that these ideas are confronted with the Mozambican reality: a black being called black with a pejorative tone and that makes everything that she had learned about equality be put in check. Craveirinha's poem, on the other hand, reaffirms this black identity that was once subjugated. Because as much as hegemonic thinking put them in a subordinate situation, the hegemonic (different from the ideological which is a fixed system, which implies a passive subjectivity) is an active process in which there are dominant, residual and emerging elements. This notion of assuming a blackness would then be an emerging element, which escapes the force of hegemony and which shows both a certain pride in its blackness and a contempt for those who believe that being black is synonymous with being inferior.

Noa also highlights that in this literature there is a realism of the moment lived, but there is also an idealization of the future, as if the future was a denial of what was happening in the context of colonization. This utopian dimension is very present in the aforementioned José Craveirinha and Noémia de Souza, showing a certain maturity in this anticipation of what would happen in the liberation movements.

It is, therefore, in this sense, that José Craveirinha's poetry recognizes an almost uncontrollable utopian vocation such is the seduction for the future, as a guarantee of overcoming the constraints of the present, an expression of a not always mitigated nostalgia for the future. That is, it is a contesting questioning of existence, a non-place that is assumed as an alternative (NOA, 2002, p. 69, our translation).

This ideal and partly utopian future, in which Mozambican men and women would coexist in a more egalitarian society, is one of the most notable aspects of literary production at that time. Liberation movements will emerge with the intention of freeing themselves from colonization and creating the nation, however, before that, writers already wrote that desired nation.

Literature imposes itself as the space where, in a very particular way, we are confronted with multiple and varied configurations of the utopian imagination. After all, it is, *per se*, one of the most elaborate forms of the utopian imagination as an aspiration of language that establishes itself and founds possible worlds or, simply, as idealization of existence (NOA, 2002, p. 69, our translation).

With independence, the literary texts produced in Mozambique start to show a highly valued idea of nation, previously proposed by authors such as José Craveirinha and Noémia Souza. FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front), when taking power in 1975, used the

discourse of national unity based on an almost perverse notion of creating a new identity with the erasure of the previous ones, by proposing a homogeneous and univocal perspective of nation, ignoring the cultural, ethnic and linguistic plurality existing in Mozambique.

For Noa (2014), the repression of local cultures functioned as a kind of prison. Ironically, when they were freed from Portuguese colonialism, Mozambicans seemed to fall into another form of imprisonment, this time organized and maintained by their own leaders. In one of his speeches Samora Machel said:

We want to create the New Man. We want future revolutionaries. We want to create the new free mindset, with our own personality. We also want to free some who still persist (both in Mozambique, Tanzania and in all other independent countries in Africa) from using a slave mentality from abroad. Therefore, we will have our new schools that will teach all the people the best ways to combat this evil. (MACHEL *apud* MAZULA, 1995, p. 143, our translation).

In the 1980s, some writers began to express their disenchantment with the revolution through their literature. Contrary to Craveirinha's poetry (from the 1940s) - in which, alongside criticism of colonialism, utopia emerges - a new generation of writers, in particular, Paulina Chiziane, Mia Couto and Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa, seem to displace the narrative focus for allegorical elements about recent events in contemporary Mozambique.

That is, they produce a literature that questions the way the nation-building process unfolds using metaphors, allegories and enigmas. Mozambican literature is, in its entirety, a claimer, always questioning the prevailing order in Mozambique: “the idea of literary representation is confused with the idea of politics, precisely because literature has always been founded on the idea of nation” (SAÚTE, 1998, p. 86, our translation).

In “Ualalapi” (1987), for example, Ungulani Ba Ka Khosa constructs a contesting metaphor about the power instituted in the country, based on the historical reconstruction of the defeat of the Emperor of Gaza, Ngungunhane, by the Portuguese troops, a moment that marks the taking of definitive possession of Mozambican territory, with this work the author “expresses his irreverence, an identity mark also of this generation” (SAÚTE, 1998, p. 93, our translation).

Still with Ungulani, the work “*A Orgia dos Loucos*” (The Orgy of the Crazy) (1990), on the reality of Mozambique in the decades that followed Independence, deserves mention. The work, composed of nine stories, fictionalizes the experiences of men and women marked by scarcity, by civil war, by the degradation of endogenous culture, by dystopia. We are faced

with a series of seemingly disconnected writings, which soon reveal their guiding thread from an important perspective: everything in Mozambique seems to be "out of place".

## **Conclusion**

With a panoramic character, we carried out an experiment in this work regarding some possibilities that exist in a sociological analysis of a literary text, mainly in works by authors who write in African territory, especially in the country today known as Mozambique. By placing the country's history in front of its literature, it is possible to examine that the history of Mozambique, told by its sons and daughters, has been perpetually present since the production of Noemia and Craveirinha, unlike the colonizing history that, to some extent, always accompanies a sanitizing speech, Mozambican literature shows the open wounds in its recent history.

Mozambican literature is a literature that questions the Mozambican identity project imposed by FRELIMO. The paradise that was previously drawn in literature and in the project of national identity, in which citizenship would embrace individuals in a more egalitarian Mozambique, is revealed, for many, a nightmare in which the persistence of elements of the colonial structure becomes noticeable in the lives of women and men of the newly liberated nation.

We conclude, therefore, by highlighting Mozambican literature as a fruitful element of historical, social and political analysis. Even in the fiction of Paulina Chiziani, Ungulani or Mia Couto, the representation of Mozambicans to Mozambique is evident, with allegories, poetry and other possible elements. The narrative is always that of questioning the order that still has roots in the violent Portuguese colonial process.

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