

# From Afro-Brazilian into African Studies

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My visit to the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) was motivated by two interrelated research projects. The first was to study materials related to the transnational construction of the academic field of Afro-Brazilian studies in the 1930s and 1940s. The second project was to focus on the impact of the making of Afro-American studies and African studies proper, in both North and South America, and on the life and trajectories of the independence leaders of African countries from the 1950s – especially the Mozambican, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. The week I spent at the Rockefeller Archive Center, thanks to a small research stipend which I obtained, has proven highly productive for both research projects.

The first research project deals with the way Brazil, and particularly the State of Bahia, played a central place in the development of the notion of Africanism, as articulated by Melville Herskovits, his associates, and the many scholars he influenced. Such a notion would prove to be essential in the subsequent creation of African studies in the US. It would reverberate on the development of new varieties of “Negritude,” as part of the process leading to the independence of most African countries in the 1960s (with the exception of Portuguese colonies and white-dominated Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.) Africanism also impacted the redefinition of African American identity on the eve of the Civil Rights movement in the US.

Between 1941 and 1943, the city of Salvador, Bahia became the site of the battleground between two different perceptions of black integration in the United States and of the place of Africa in this process. Franklin Frazier, the most famous black sociologist of the time, who had already published *The Negro Family in the United States*, was locked into an argument with the equally famous, white, and Jewish anthropologist Melville Herskovits on the “origins” of the so-called black family. To make things even more complex, both centered their contention on fieldwork done among the same informants: the *povo de santo* (the members) of the same *candomblé* house of worship in Salvador - the prestigious and “traditional” Gantois *terreiro*, of the Ketu/Yoruba nation. In between the two of

them was linguist Lorenzo Dow Turner, who would later publish his seminal book on African influences on Gullah, the language spoken by the people of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia in the United States (Turner 2003). Turner was a friend of Frazier, but his scholarly theories were closer to Herskovits'. After scrutinizing the trajectory of these three scholars in Brazil, my research (Sansone 2012) came up with two main conclusions. In the United States, African studies, as a proper field of academic study, originated within the field of African American studies. Brazil and especially the state of Bahia, which has the highest percentage of people of African descent in the country, took a key place in this process. The style, jargon, priorities, fashions, and methodology of African studies and African American studies were therefore interrelated, especially in the period between 1930 and 1960. That is when African decolonization started on a large scale and new research agendas were set. The second conclusion is that there is no history of anthropology and related disciplines outside the geopolitics of knowledge. In our part of the world, it is closely associated with both the Hot Cold War that led to a number of conservative and authoritarian regimes in the region and the cultures wars that characterized the relationship in the broad field of development, education and science between the US and Latin America, starting from the 1930s (William 2001; Parmar 2012; Rosenfield 2014.) This posits that in the intellectual exchange, there is a global North and a global South, with complex relationships between scholars from the North and from the South. The latter are mostly, though not exclusively, providers of ethnographic evidence, local contacts and sagacious insights, but seldom the source of universally valid theoretical generalizations. Thus, the global position of the scholar in this exchange reveals his or her approach and agenda. Any reading of an ethnographic report about the Afro-Brazilian context must take into account such context and power relationships.

The Rockefeller Archive Center does not appear to hold documents relating to Lorenzo Dow Turner, and in regard to E. Franklin Frazier, I have only found a couple of cross references. However, it does contain very important documents on Melville Herskovits, on his successful application to the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) for a grant for one-year field of work in Brazil, <sup>1</sup> In the RF Archives, there is also material on the years immediately afterwards (1942-45), which show how the research in Brazil consolidated his career in the US and was,

in fact, a stepping stone toward the establishment of African Studies proper at Northwestern University. The collection also documents the consolidation of his role as transnational gatekeeper in both the field of African American and, later, African studies.

Herskovits started contacting the RF about a possible trip to Brazil in the latter half of 1940. By April 1941, his application for a USD 10,000 grant was ready. He sensed that the RF was interested in the promotion of Latin American Studies, as well as the promotion abroad, and especially in Latin America, of social sciences developed in the US.<sup>2</sup> Herskovits had extensive research experience in the Caribbean and Africa; Brazil was the only important country of what today we would call the “Black Atlantic,” in which he had not yet been able to carry out research. The grant he was now applying for would help fill this gap. Herskovits’ poor command of Portuguese was an issue, and Joseph Willits, the director of RF’s Division of the Social Sciences, in a very polite manner, suggested that he familiarize himself with that language before making his trip. Herskovits did not take his advice.<sup>3</sup> The Herskovits family sailed to Brazil from NY on August 29 on a Moor-Cormack vessel.<sup>4</sup> On June 11, the grant was approved. On November 5, 1941, Herskovits wrote a fairly long letter to Willits comparing interestingly the intellectual climate at the University of Sao Paulo (USP) and at the Escola Livre de Sociologia with that of the Faculdade de Filsosofia in Rio. According to him, the latter, even though more established, was less intellectually stimulating, and less vibrant. Willits answered promptly on November 17, remarking that the contrast between Sao Paulo and Rio was interesting and needed further exploration. On December 12, Herskovits wrote about a process he deemed promising: the establishment of the Faculdade de Filosofia da Bahia, a college of liberal arts, under the leadership of Isahia Alves – a man Herskovits held in high esteem. The main problem was the absolute lack of funding. The government provided the building, but the rest was not being provided for - not even the salaries. Most professors had to make their living elsewhere. Many were doctors and their earnings come from their practice. This lack of full-time dedication was a major problem here, as elsewhere in Brazil. One can imagine, said Herskovits, what such an institute would be if it could benefit from a few men of the standing of Gilberto Freyre, then the dean of sociology in Brazil.

After completing his fieldwork in Bahia, Herskovits was nominated honorary professor of the recently opened Institute of Philosophy of Bahia. It dedicated its first public conference - held on May 6, 1942 - in the main hall of the Instituto Normal (*A Manhã*, April 30, 1942), to the reading of Herskovits' report on his research in Brazil, which preceded his nomination as honorary professor of the Institute. Since Herskovits had already left for the US, the honorific title was delivered to Mr. Candleman, representative of the US Consulate in Salvador da Bahia, who later forwarded it to Herskovits (p. 2165). The correspondence shows that the then recent development of social science institutes in Brazil, in the years 1940-42, especially in Rio and Sao Paulo, such as the Instituto de Altos Estudos Politicos e Sociais in Rio and the Escola Livre de Sociologia in Sao Paulo, was closely observed by the US consulates. The Rockefeller Foundation, specifically Joseph Willits, was quite interested, as well. Herskovits reported about these centres and suggested to Willits that it would be interesting, from the part of the Rockefeller Foundation, to invest also in centres in the north of Brazil such as in Recife and Salvador. Thus far, they had received much less funding.<sup>5</sup> Herskovits was quite critical of the new Institute in Rio, and especially of its Dean Salviano Cruz, who had stated he had the support of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Social Science Research Council of the US, which was untrue.<sup>6</sup> It is obvious that Herskovits had his agenda and liked certain people more than others, and expressed his preferences.

His report on fieldwork in Brazil was very much appreciated by Willits, who stated, "It is excellent and will be very useful to us. It states very clearly the possibilities and limitations of social sciences grants in Brazil."<sup>7</sup> In somewhat of a response, Herskovits advised, "... treat it as a confidential document. Some of the comments mightn't be so good for the Good Neighbor Policy!"<sup>8</sup>

In December 12, 1942, Herskovits wrote to Willits applying for funding for two "brilliant" Brazilian scholars - Octavio Eduardo and René Ribeiro – and suggested a substantial donation for the new Faculdade de Filosofia da Bahia, which had greatly impressed him. Alas, on December 16, Willits answered, "Our news is averse to any start with general support to the institution in Bahia. Humanities has one case up for support for fellowship from Bahia, but has no idea that there will be chance for project there any time soon." From this correspondence, one

gathers that such funds for Bahia would never come from the Rockefeller Foundation. Herskovits kept on sending his publications on Brazil and a copy of the recordings he did in Brazil to the RF until 1958, when he published in a book in honour of the late Pierre Rivet. It included a chapter on the social organization of candomblé, and was his last publication on Brazil.

From 1943, Herskovits tried to raise financial support for the Institute of Philosophy of Bahia, which would later merge with the Federal University of Bahia, founded in 1957. For some reason, this application was not successful. He kept supporting this Institute by donating books to its library, both his own publications, as well as other books of general interest that could be shipped by Northwestern University. Herskovits and his spouse Frances, in fact the co-author of much of his work, would never get to publish the book they proudly announced in their interview with the Rio daily newspaper, *A Manhã* on July 5, 1942.<sup>9</sup>

A few years after Herskovits' death, in 1967, his wife Frances came back to Bahia for follow-up research with the intention of publishing this book, after all. In spite of the extensive field work she carried out during a couple of weeks, in which she demonstrated what a first-rate anthropologist she also was, and the extensive interviewing of a cluster of informants of their research in the 40s, this second attempt to publish a book on the Herskovits' research in Brazil was not accomplished. Evidence for this effort can be found in the Schomburg Center Archives where the field notes are kept. It is also documented by the Brazilian press, which reported on Frances' activities and had shown that a number of colleagues from the Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais (CEAO) of the Federal University of Bahia<sup>10</sup> had actually assisted her as fieldwork assistants and key informants, as well.

In many ways, Herskovits became the patron of Brazilian anthropology in the sense that he created conditions for the first Brazilian doctoral students in anthropology to receive a grant and study in the US. At the Rockefeller Archive Center, there are important documents relating to Octavio da Costa Eduardo, possibly the first Brazilian to actually obtain a Ph.D. in anthropology, as well as numerous references to other Brazilian or Brazil-based intellectuals (among them, Gizela and José Valladares in Salvador, Rui Coelho, René Ribeiro in Recife,

Kurt Niemandaju and the powerful Dona Heloisa Torres, director of the National Museum in Rio) who applied for grants with assistance from Herskovits or whose application was evaluated by him. These findings resulting from research at the RAC, in this respect, complement nicely my research in other archives in the US, France (especially the UNESCO Archives) and Brazil.

The second research project I mentioned above, is on the impact of Afro-American and African studies in the US <sup>11</sup> and on African independence. The rich and complex life of Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, the first president of the Mozambique Liberation Front, presents the opportunity for the construction of the biography of an anti-racist. Such a project addresses issues of authenticity, internationalism and memory struggles, personified in someone who was a trained anthropologist and had taught anthropology up until the first year of his engagement with the liberation struggle in 1963 (Sansone 2014). This project is still very much in progress, and for this reason, I will tease out its main steps and motives. I am cognizant that conflicts and contradictions in Mondlane's biography anticipate and dramatize several topics of relevant debates. They are related to what could be called the struggle for and struggle of memory in Mozambique, that is, the re-reading, this time from various and conflicting points of view, of recent history and memory regimes that have been established. In Mozambique, as in several African countries, these regimes of memories foresee the creation and maintenance of the status of immortality for some central figures in the narrative of the nation. However, being in the Hero's Crypt is important, but not enough. The reconstruction of Eduardo Mondlane's biography and, above all, of his intellectual biography and especially the fifteen years he lived outside Mozambique, as in most biographies, yields a question of agency: the extent to which his life determines its context, or is determined by the context.

In its first stage, my research has dealt with key aspects and episodes in Mondlane's intellectual biography. In the second and present stage, it tries to tackle the current tension in Mozambique and abroad generated by the celebration of 50 years of his assassination and 100 years of his birth in 2020. <sup>12</sup>

My interest in Eduardo Mondlane (hereafter EM) took shape through a classic case of serendipity when I came upon a file about him in the Melville Herskovits

Papers at Northwestern University. I knew how important Mondlane had been to the history of independent Mozambique, but I had no idea that he had been one of Herskovits' most cherished pupils. Their families had been in contact for decades, creating and recreating a complex transnational network of contacts, affections and joint interests. In fact, I discovered that in the years 1950 -1980, there had been several contact points between the trajectory of Mondlane and his family with Herskovits and his family. The two families remained on friendly terms and in relatively frequent contact, even after the death of Herskovits (1963) and the assassination of Mondlane (1969). My research on Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane (1924-1969) covers his Ph.D. in Anthropology at Northwestern University; it continues from 1961, as professor of anthropology at the University of Syracuse; and from 1963, as first president of Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front.) It focuses on both his twelve years in the United States, between academic life, activism and the United Nations, and the last years of his life between 1964 and 1969, when his base was in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. My project shows how relevant may be the influence of ideas proper to the social sciences concerning the question of race, Africanism, and African modernity to the intense biography of an anticolonial and revolutionary leader, and the construction of his original anti-racism. This reconstruction of part of Mondlane's biography also throws light on the development of a young Protestant thirsting for social justice, who becomes a social scientist and, later, the leader of the struggle for independence in Mozambique. Traditional African education, training in the Swiss Mission, masters and doctoral studies in the United States, and employment in the United Nations Trustee Commission help to enrich his personality and make it as enticing as it is complex.<sup>13</sup>

Since the Ford Foundation Archives were deposited at the Rockefeller Archive Center, my days there were very fruitful also for this second project, which is formally independent, however, as shown, connected to the first one. Mondlane and, even more so, one of his mentors in the US, Melville Herskovits, were Ford Foundation grantees. The archives also contain interesting documents associated with other foundations that, after a close scrutiny, might reveal interesting connections to Mondlane's trajectory: for example, a Ford Foundation file on Mondlane's project for training in higher education at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania <sup>14</sup>, and the Rockefeller Archive Center recently received a

complete copy of the Herbert Shore Collection.<sup>15</sup> The latter is the most comprehensive archive on Mondlane, bits and pieces of which I had seen at Oberlin College (Ohio) and at the Historical Archive of Mozambique in Maputo. The grant application to the Ford Foundation concerned the creation of possibilities for training Mozambican refugee students in the University of Dar es Salaam.<sup>16</sup> From the documents can be gathered how much EM was respected both as an intellectual and a political leader, but also how important training of cadres for the liberation front was for EM. For this, he saw the university as a potential ally. There is plenty of evidence that, at first and for two years, from 1962 to 1964, EM tried to combine his position as professor of anthropology at the Maxwell Center with the position of (first) president of the Mozambican Liberation Front. EM also continues somehow to collaborate with the United Nations, especially the Trusteeship Division, even after he left the UN in 1961. This combination of training in anthropology and familiarity with the UN resulted in the writing of several texts that are conceived of more as academic papers or reports than as political pamphlets<sup>17</sup>.

The collection of documents on Mondlane of the Herbert Shore Archive still deserves a close study. Here I give a first overview of its content and relevance to my research. The set that is part of the Ford Foundation Archives consists of eight reels of microfilms, each with hundreds of images. The first reel contains mostly EM's material (papers, book chapters, leaflets, pamphlets, articles in journal and bulletins). Reel 2 contains the very rich correspondence for the years 1950-69. Especially in the first years he received many letters in Shangana by friends – sometimes addressed to “amigo Mondlane America” -, relatives and even European collaborators of the Swiss Mission. Reel 3 consists of Janet Rae Mondlane documents and correspondence. Janet, Eduardos's wife, will play a key role in Mozambican politics even after his death and continuing to the present. In this reel can be found the project for the creation of an EM archive, which is yet to come, as well as many letters to and from George Houser, the Methodist reverend who for more than a decade was director of ACOA (American Committee on Africa). The reel also contains most of the documents regarding the Mozambique Institute, which the Mondlanes created in Dar es Salaam with the help of foreign foundations, especially the Ford Foundation and, later, Nordic foundations. In Reel 4, we have many articles about the Mondlanes. Among them,

I singled out the ones by Aquino (n 1505), Markum, Minter (n 2716), Presbyterian Life (n 3307) and the World Council of Churches (n 2203). Reel 5 is devoted to material about Eduardo and Janet Mondlane, mostly clippings from the press. The bulk of it is on EM assassination in January 1969. There are very interesting clippings, such as those on EM expulsion from the University of Witwatersrand in 1948 (which caused a wave of student protest at the university) or those in which EM is called an African prince (which he was not). Other clippings show that when in 1954 in Chicago EM addresses a large Methodist youth audience and “brings down the house,” he is presented as the son of a chief (which in many ways he was). Reel 6 has the correspondence by third persons concerning the Mondlanes. Here, too, there is a predominance of correspondence relating to EM’s assassination and its aftermath. Reel 7 contains the Frelimo Publications and reel 8 the list of contents of the entire archive, which is listed in chronological as well as in thematic order, and according to the name of people or organizations.

The scrutiny of Mondlane’s trajectory reveals other dimensions of his life. Evidence for this derive from a first quick analysis of the extremely rich Herbert Shore Collection at RAC, as well as from research in the archives of Portuguese secret services (PIDE/DGS) in the National Archives of Torre do Tombo (ANTT) in Lisbon, held in several short periods since 2014. Mondlane’s life was dominated by a strong tension between, on the one hand, cosmopolitanism and the rejection of ethnic-racial identity constructions for the purposes of popularity in the *vox populi*, and, on the other hand, the need to compensate for this cosmopolitanism, to be seen as a “son of the land,” an authentically African, expression of a Mozambican nation that was still to be created, but needed icons and models of its new nationality. Mondlane belonged to the generation of forty-year-old activists whose lives, had they not been ruthlessly and prematurely interrupted, might have changed the course of Africa's postcolonial history. His life must be interpreted in a context of a decade that saw the early disappearance also of Franz Fanon, Patrice Lumumba, EM and Amílcar Cabral. All of them were both nationalists and cosmopolitans.

The conflicts and contradictions in Mondlane's biography anticipate and dramatize several relevant topics of debate. Central to this is what could be called a struggle for memory in Mozambique, the re-reading, this time from various

conflicting points of view, of recent history and memory regimes that have been established. In Mozambique, as in several African countries. These regimes of memories foresee the creation and maintenance of the status of immortality for some central figures in the narrative of the nation. In this process of patrimonialization of the immortals, the central questions are: Who are these? How many immortals are there? From when (which part of the life of these people is appropriated by the nation) and until when? (There are several immortals who cease to be such when there are political upheavals).

Allow me to give you a brief description of the various moments in Mondlane's life. I would say that, despite everything and generalizing a little, the years of school and university were, in short, the happiest years. He began his studies, in social work, in 1945 in South Africa. After the first year, EM was able, with the help of contacts with the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, to attend the social sciences program at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. In 1948, with the hardening of apartheid, his visa was not renewed, and he returned to Maputo. There are indications that Mondlane obtained his degree at that South African university by concluding his studies by correspondence. Back in Maputo, in 1949, he strengthened his relationship, already existing, with the association of Mozambican students. The Portuguese secret police, PIDE, was already aware of him and started to follow him. With the intervention of the Swiss Mission and with the support of the provincial governor, he obtained a scholarship to continue his studies in Lisbon, where he stayed for only a year. In that city, Mondlane felt constrained and controlled; the intellectual and political climate did not seduce him. Unlike most African students in Lisbon, he rarely attended meetings and poetry recitals in the House of Students of the Empire, as, when compared to activists like Agostinho Neto or Amílcar Cabral, he did not feel the need to "re-Africanize" in these meetings in which there was almost an identity catharsis taking place. Symptomatically, if a significant group of students of the House (among others, Marcelino dos Santos), a few years later, fled to Paris, in a famous clandestine operation, Mondlane, always with the support of his contacts from the Swiss Mission, managed to escape Portugal in another direction and in a less noisy way. He left thanks to assistance from the Phelps-Stoke Fund, with a scholarship to study at Oberlin College in Ohio. Thus began, in 1951, his extended period in the United States.

My research intends to investigate in detail these thirteen years he spent in the United States. Mondlane went through several institutions, and in all of them, as I have already seen in the testimony of people who knew him as well as in documents, he left (worthy) memories and recollections: Oberlin College, Northwestern University, Boston College, Harvard University, Trusteeship Commission of the UN, and the University of Syracuse. In this period, he drew closer to several well-positioned scholars, such as Melville Herskovits, George Simpson, Marvin Harris, and Ralph Bunche. These friendships and contacts would become useful, years later, in raising resources and support for the struggle for Mozambique's independence. Mondlane conducted research on racial attitudes of whites and blacks in the North and South of the United States for his masters and doctoral degrees. He attended groups and events associated with the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, and engaged in *sui generis* anticolonial activism, with many interviews on TV, in the newspapers, and on the radio, as well as through participation in conferences and meetings. His stay in New York to work at the United Nations corresponded almost perfectly to the enchanted moment in the internationalist anticolonial struggle: 1960-64. For Eduardo, these, on the other hand, were also pleasurable years of family life, meeting with friends and enjoying a cosmopolitan city like New York. In fact, for him, there was a moment of great growth in terms of contact networks between 1960 (the great year of African independence) and 1964.

This time period coincided with Brazil's move from passive support of Portugal's foreign policy - that had produced a favourable atmosphere to be used by Gilberto Freyre and the celebration of the goodness of the Portuguese colonialism by Salazar in the 1950s - to the NPE (New Foreign Policy) of president Jânio Quadros. Soon things would change and toughen up, starting from 1963 with the assassination of John F. Kennedy and the exacerbation of the Cold War in Africa. Frelimo formed in the years immediately afterward, as part of a great social engineering project, which was the formation of a Mozambican "new people." From 1965 forward, there was almost no return point or escape valves, and the social and cultural capital of Mondlane, which had contributed to attracting international attention around the struggle for independence of Mozambique, worked less well, especially inwardly in Mozambique, in terms of the relationship

with the incipient guerrilla movement. These were the hardest years of the Cold War. It was also a period associated with coups in Brazil and Indonesia, both in 1964, the consolidation of the Mobutu dictatorship in Zaire in 1965, and the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy in 1968. Despite this change of winds, Mondlane insisted on navigating between various worlds and deluded himself on being able to determine the Frelimo foreign policy, for example, not allowing the presence of foreign military in Frelimo from Cuba, China or the USSR and its allies - only military trainers and in a much more discreet way than in the MPLA. In short, Eduardo Mondlane built himself up as a cosmopolitan leader. Out of Mozambique, his academic training and personal trajectory were a great bonus, even helping in the struggle to raise resources, especially in the period 1960-64. I emphasize that "inward", such cosmopolitanism and international transit of Mondlane worked much less than "outward." He was accused by several militants of "liking books too much", not being resolute in decisions (an aspect that even his collaborator Sergio Vieira pointed out), of traveling too much, managing too many resources and, last but not least, of being married to Janet Rae, who was white and American (an extraordinary activist who would be, for several decades after Mondlane's assassination, quite active on the political scene in Mozambique.)

In short, Mondlane's life seemed to have taken place in a field of tension. There was ongoing pull from different poles: between individual projects and mission, desire to have a good life (especially as an intellectual) and sense of duty, the feeling of being the person who can change the course of your country, but of also having to sacrifice yourself for the same goal. In his trajectory, there were contingencies and choices, constrictions and opportunities, in a continuous confronting with injustices, first of all of a racial nature. Here I need to make a parenthetical observation. Frequently, it has been said that Mondlane was less interested in the narratives associated with blackness and was essentially a-racialist. It seems that, indeed, his relation to the notion of blackness was rather discreet and that he did not think that racial identities had to be exacerbated in the process of emancipation of a new country like Mozambique. This, however, does not mean that he was "color blind" – that he did not perceive racial hierarchies and discriminations. An early analysis of the documents and testimonies I found in the archives for the years 1964-69 indicates that he had

developed a discourse on racial hierarchies as a factor of dehumanization, but never believed in strategic essentialism, in the radical and political use of racial categories. In this, Mondlane differed from other African leaders, including his contemporary Frantz Fanon with whom he came to have contact possibly in New York - although this is a meeting that my research still needs to investigate. In the process of creating and consolidating Frelimo, the question of color always existed –as was obviously the case. Thanks to Mondlane's effort, within the movement, the racial question never was celebrated or exacerbated - at least until 1969. Mondlane never let himself be taken by the doxa. That is why I consider him a "middle hero" - a figure who did not seek the outcry of the crowd to justify his actions.

One of the key questions of this research is to what extent was Mondlane of a canonical mind set, and to what extent was he innovative, when compared to the other important African leaders of his day. Some characteristics that differentiate him from the other leaders of the former Portuguese colonies can be easily noticed: he was the only one who studied (mostly) in the United States, maintained a less unambiguous relationship with the Portuguese language, developed and nurtured a network of contacts more diverse and certainly more academic. Mondlane, in addition, remained interested in the social sciences until the end, and received and read many books, even corresponded with researchers and wrote a couple of reviews of books written by anthropologists from Dar es Salaam.

Analysing Mondlane's trajectory, a first consideration that points to new and necessary research clues is that the history of the decolonization of Mozambique, and of the ideas produced in this process, are not only a history between Portugal and Africa. Indeed, in the case of the Palop (Lusophone Africa), this process was even more international than in the vast majority of African countries (with the possible exception of Algeria.) It took place some ten years after other countries in Africa, and in the middle of the Cold War -a time that produced strong and new international networks. In the course of Mondlane's life, one sees a great number of actors and agents, from several countries: United States, Switzerland (Geneva and Lausanne -World Council of Churches), Brazil (through Marvin Harris, Darcy Ribeiro, and Pedro Agostinho da Silva), Algeria, Tunisia, China, USSR (as well as

Bulgaria, Romania and DDR), Congo, South Africa, Tanzania, Ghana, Senegal, Egypt, Sweden, Holland, Germany, England, and Italy.

What is the current situation of Eduardo Mondlane's biography? Nowadays, this kind of research has a great impact not only in Mozambique and in other African countries where these struggles are taking place, but also in the social sciences, where there is a renewed interest in the interaction between formation in social sciences, anticolonial struggles, and the construction of a modern and new political, let's say, post-populist, leadership in contemporary Africa (Schumaker 2001). Today in Mozambique, as in many other African countries, there is something that we can call the struggle for memory, a result of the process of patrimonialization (which includes both valorization and preservation) of the past and the struggle for independence. In this process, instead of trying to arrive at a new and more mature moment of synthesis, which includes several even contradictory and antagonistic narratives about the recent past, the effort seems to be that of transforming the various aspects of Mondlane's life into one, so to speak, forming a unique Mondlane. Simplification and reduction of the complexity of the biography of this father of the homeland are possible. Something that was already complex in the context of the liberation struggle, after the civil war and the one-party rule, is even more absurd today in a context of progressive plurality in the field of politics. Once the Mondlane biography is patrimonialized, its narratives become objects of preservation and dissemination, typical dynamics of the process of patrimonialization of the intangible culture: standardization, bureaucratization, professionalization, and commodification. A biography can thus become not only a monument but also a commodity.

This research project presents a series of methodological challenges. In addition to focusing on Mondlane's trajectory and the networks he creates, concentrating on the years from 1948 to 1969, my research also intends to investigate some questions concerning methodology policies. It is my wish that this reconstruction of part of the intellectual biography of Eduardo Mondlane, based mainly on documents from US archives and secondary sources, will allow a dialogue between the oral sources and the reconstructions of Eduardo Mondlane's biography made from Mozambican documents (mainly from the Mozambican Historical Archive and Frelimo, but also from several personal archives), the

Swiss Mission, the PIDE, the KGB, the CIA, etc. The argument is that biographies of leaders of the scope and complexity of Mondlane cannot constitute a business for individual detectives, true shadows of the dead. In Mozambique, it is necessary to make a new sociology of the crypt of the heroes, by which it would be important to be able to access, with relative ease, the Frelimo files for the period 1962 to 1969. It is also important to be in tune with both the new biographical wave that the country has been experiencing in the last decade (during which dozens of ex-combatant biographies have been published on all sides of the war fronts) and with the new and more modern approaches to the patrimonialization of intangible culture in recent years. My methodological option is for a multi-situated and interdisciplinary collective reading of documents, testimonies, texts, and iconography: biography as a collective work. A great novelty is that the new communication technologies allow us to think about the socio-historical reconstruction of complex and multifaceted trajectories, such as those of Mondlane, as an exercise in crowd sharing and crowdsourcing - sharing with a group the analysis of documents through Wiki Resources, for example, which allows more people to compose, at the same time, a (hyper) text. In a kind of collective authorship/multiple looks, perspectives and positions can contribute to new readings of a document. In this respect, it might be interesting to observe the experiments carried out by the Digital Museum of the African and Afro-Brazilian Memory -[www.museuafrodigital.ufba.br](http://www.museuafrodigital.ufba.br). These are also issues to be addressed by the research network on complex biographies, "Beyond the boundaries: science, agency and biographies in transit," edited by Patrícia Mattos, at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon and composed by several researchers, for which a request for support was recently submitted to the Portuguese Science and Technology Foundation (FCT).

Now, it is necessary to detail what I have already managed to accomplish. My research is based on original data, analysis of primary sources, and the review of the research carried out by others on some aspects of the trajectory of Mondlane (Manghezi; Borges Graça; Cruz e Silva e Alexandrino; Cossa; Duarte de Jesus), such as his involvement with the Swiss Mission and the Methodist and Presbyterian churches (Faris). I have also analysed a few, but not many, theses and dissertations dedicated to Mondlane (Matsinhe and Samuel). For this, I

consulted a wide variety of libraries and archives, each with its limitations and internal policy.

There are, in short, six types of sources:

- a) 1948-1960: Correspondence with the Swiss missionary clerics and the Swiss Mission in general.
- b) 1950-1969: Correspondence with Eduardo's wife, Janet Mondlane.
- c) 1950-1962: Correspondence and documents in the United States (Oberlin College, Northwestern University, Harvard University, U. of Syracuse, Boston University, and the United Nations).
- d) 1961-69: Documents in the National Archive of the Torre do Tombo (ANTT) in Lisbon, especially the archives of PIDE and the Security Services.
- e) The writings of Mondlane: master's thesis, doctoral thesis, tests and essays in the masters and doctorate courses, texts, articles, interviews, autobiographical notes.
- f) Publications about Mondlane, especially magazines and newspaper articles, but also bulletins and pamphlets - either praising or execrating the figure of Mondlane.

There is still much that I should do:

- a) Systematize the approximately 5000 documents already digitized at the ANTT (mostly from PIDE and the Security Services).
- b) Investigate documents already available online about the early years of Frelimo 1963-1970.
- c) Scrutinize the Herbert Shore Archive, the microfilms of which are at the RAC.
- d) Create an online collaborative platform for the critical and collective reading of a series of documents that are difficult to interpret, or for which there are several possible interpretations. This will be developed in close association with the H-LUSO digital list, organized from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, with which I am already in contact.
- e) Carry out a research mission for six weeks in Mozambique with two objectives: develop a digital museum project to support the open-air museum managed in Mandjakaze together with the Mondlane Foundation; and interview about 20 people who have had contact with Eduardo Mondlane, or who have worked to safeguard their memory in different spheres of society (museums, Ministry of

Culture, university, history books, monuments, Frelimo itself, development agencies and ARPAC, blogs and press, etc.).

The research presented in this project has attracted interest both within and outside Mozambique, and has provided me with several partnerships with Northwestern University (where Mondlane completed his master's and doctorate in social sciences), Oberlin College (where Mondlane graduated), University of Syracuse (where Mondlane lectured as an anthropologist), the United Nations Archives (where he worked for three years), ISCTE in Lisbon (for the relevance and proximity of the National Archive of the Torre do Tombo and of the archives of the PIDE that are kept in it), Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique (because it is the main Mozambican university and it is named after Mondlane, who is, in fact, considered the first social scientist with a doctorate in the country), and finally the Eduardo Mondlane Foundation in Mozambique (which manages an open-air museum about Mondlane's life in his birthplace, Mandjakaze, and showed interest in creating a digital museum that works in synergy with the face-to-face museum), as well as at least two universities in South Africa -University of the Western Cape at the Cape and University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

Although my effort has been comprehensive, my research is not meant to be conclusive. On the contrary, my intention is more to raise questions than to arrive at definitive conclusions on such an interesting, complex and sometimes contradictory trajectory. In fact, each of these six file types illuminates one aspect of Mondlane's life story. In this respect, there is a plurality in the archives. Indeed, if we ask ourselves what the heart of Mondlane's thinking is, the answer will largely depend on which files we are using. We have, therefore, the archives of the churches, academic life, personal life, Frelimo, PIDE, and the memory of friends and old comrades. There will certainly be others. Faced with this plurality and diversity -which show the unfolding of the life of a complex and progressively more mature but also more difficult and realistic man - and, in some ways, in opposition to them, one has the fashion that Mondlane was posthumously constructed as a national hero in a project of monumentalization of his biography. In this process of transforming Mondlane into a hero and symbol of the new nation, the state and other agents both took up part of the practices by which the

colonial state created its symbols in what was called a colonial memorial complex (Werbner 1998.) They created new instruments and discourses that highlight a radical rupture with the colonial past.

As said, after having conducted research in files of the United States, Switzerland and Portugal, I will need to do research in archives and do interviews in Mozambique and South Africa on the life of Eduardo Mondlane, with emphasis on his transit through social sciences during the twelve years that he resided in the United States and the last years of his life, from 1964 to 1969, when his base was Dar es Salaam. This last phase of research, which I plan to carry out during my sabbatical year, starting in August 2020, wants to illuminate the ideas created in the preceding phase of my research. That phase corresponded to the 1940s (Africanisms, Negritude) which impacted the processes resulting from the decolonization of Africa. It also affected concretely the life of a leading figure, Mondlane, who had been mentored in his master's and doctorate by Herskovits, who had a long exchange with Marvin Harris and who, at a certain point, in his quest for a "third way", considered that Brazil (and, more specifically the Centre of Afro and Oriental Studies of the Federal University of Bahia, where I presently work) could be the place where to train the future generation of independent Mozambique cadres.

I have been working on these two interrelated themes since the late 1990s, totalling now about 20 years of research. Most of this research has been done in short and very intensive spells of time spent abroad, often taking advantage of an invitation to visit a US or European university to lecture. In this research mode, I do not differ from most colleagues who are based in institutions in Latin America, who experience severe restraints to carry out research calmly in the North – in terms of visa barriers, sheer lack of time, and research fund limitations<sup>18</sup>.

The research I was able to do at the Rockefeller Archive Center, thanks to the research stipend I received, has been rather important for both of my research projects, each of which is planned to produce a book. I came to the Archives at long last, after several years of email exchange with Bethany Antos, an archivist who deserves my best words of appreciation in this report. I had conducted research in several archives in the US and, to a lesser extent France. My (very)

intensive five days' visit at the Archive Center was therefore both a moment of new discoveries and a moment of synthesis and synergy – in which I could pool the many threads my research had spun over the last decade. While I still have to analyse in depth the more than 1000 documents I managed to scan, through a first assessment I can say for sure that I found pivotal documents. They include ones regarding Melville Herskovits, particularly several concerning the institute (Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas) where I actually work at the Federal University of Bahia, of which Herskovits was nominated the first honorary professor in 1943 and with which he stayed in contact at least until the mid-fifties. The five days at the Rockefeller Archive Center corroborated what I was imagining: the central place of Herskovits in the making of the social sciences in Brazil and especially Bahia, within first the Good Neighbor Policy and later, from 1948 to the 1970s, the hot cold cultural war. Herskovits' activism and international network have been the core of my research on the making of the social sciences in Brazil, especially in Bahia, a process that sees the intersection of an array of local, national, international and transnational agendas. This focus will lead me to the archive of the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY) at Columbia University, where I hope to be able to carry out research in November 2019. Having met Patricia Rosenfield at the Rockefeller Archive Center and having read her seminal book, *A World of Giving*, has been, as a matter of fact, one of the major “findings” of this short, but intense research experience.

Let me close on this part by adding that, as is known, Herskovits papers and documents are in several places (Smithsonian, Northwestern, Schomburg and Rockarch), and this distribution (or is it dispersions?) already deserves some reflection. Even more complex is the documentation concerning Eduardo Mondlane. Eduardo Mondlane and his wife Janet Rae Mondlane were grantees of the Ford Foundation in the years 1963-68. The Foundation supported mostly the educational activities of the training school for Mozambican refugee called The Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam <sup>19</sup>. Soon after his assassination, the Ford Foundation, as I could confirm at the RAC, supported a project to construct an archive and possibly even a museum dedicated to Mondlane. A second grant was given to complete the collection of material a few years later. The Herbert Shore Collection also received the support of the Ford Foundation. I still have to investigate why and how both these projects were not completed, and how and

why the Herbert Shore Collection on Eduardo Mondlane, after having been deposited at the library of Oberlin College, Ohio, was recently also deposited, in a somewhat different and more organized format, at the RAC. The complexity of the biography of EM dwells also in such mysteries. Even though over the last decade there has been an upsurge of interest for the life of EM, one still wonders why there is not a complete biography of such a remarkable human being.

Thanks to this visit, I have managed to strengthen the connection between my two research projects as well as, more generally, broaden the transnational perspective on the intense relationship between Afro-American and African studies in the years 1940-1970. In these two fields of studies, the feeling I gathered from the days spent at the RAC is that if US-based foundations have not been everywhere, they have certainly been present in many more places and contexts than I had imagined; and that there is no history of the social sciences in Brazil without consulting such archives!

Finally, a few impressions on doing research at the Rockefeller Archive Center. I was impressed by the pleasant combination of three elements that do not usually match archival research well: Efficiency, Technology and Conviviality. All archivists were marvellously efficient, and I repent on not having been able to thank them all, one by one. The scanning technology and the facilities more generally were simply smashing and very user-friendly. The nice lunch the archives offered to the researchers started a bit formal, but soon developed into a very jovial and useful meeting among researchers and between researchers and staff. Finally, the coffee room was the place to meet and talk to interesting researchers from many countries, exchanging tips of all sorts.

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<sup>1</sup> For this research I worked through the following documents at the Rockefeller Archive: Rockefeller Foundation Records, RFR, Projects SG 1.1, Series 100, International, series 257 Virgin Islands FA386. Series 216 Illinois Social Sciences, Subsection 216-S, Box 20: Document 214.9. Northwestern University, Melville Herskovits J., Travel, Anthropology, 1941.

<sup>2</sup> Moseley to Herskovits, April 10, 1941, RFR.

<sup>3</sup> Willits' notice to the TF, May 23, 1941, RFR.

<sup>4</sup> Herskovits to Willits June 23, 1941, RFR.

<sup>5</sup> M. Herskovits to J. Willits, May 26, 1942, RFR.

<sup>6</sup> Willits to Herskovits, May 14, 1942, RFR.

<sup>7</sup> Willits to Herskovits October 20, 1942, RFR.

<sup>8</sup> Herskovits to Willits, November 4, 1942, RFR.

<sup>9</sup> Brazilian newspapers devote a lot of attention to the couple. For example, the newspaper *A Manha* has seventeen reports on the couple's voyage to Brazil.

<sup>10</sup> The main ones were the then young Vivaldo da Costa Lima and Julio Braga. Allow me to mention that CEAO is the institute I have been working for the last 20 years.

<sup>11</sup> To a somewhat lesser extent I also scrutinize the impact of organizations that were created in the early 1940's, such as CORE, and from the 1950's such as the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and the Africa-America Institute (AAI). Even though formally independent from the academia, I argue that these institutions also fed on the cultural and political climate that enabled the consolidation of African American and African studies in the US.

<sup>12</sup> This research project relates to the project for the development of a physical and digital archive on Eduardo Mondlane to be hosted in the Mozambique Historical Archive (AHM). This archive is conceived of as a collaborative transnational, interdisciplinary and multilingual endeavour based on the notions of digital donation, digital repatriation and digital generosity.

<sup>13</sup> I also benefited from this visit to New York to do some extra research in the archive of the United Nations, where Mondlane worked for almost five years from 1957 to 1961, and in the Phelps Stokes papers at the Schomburg Centre of the NY Public Library.

<sup>14</sup> Eduardo C. Mondlane is linked to four different files in the Rockefeller Archive Center collections:

**Africa-America Institute (06300425), Ford Foundation**

Grant #: 06300425

Grantee: Africa-America Institute

Grant Purpose: Educational Project for African Refugee Students in Tanzania

Dates: 1963-1964, Reel #: 765, 4076

**L56-345 to L56-545, Ford Foundation**

Log File: L56-545

Ford Card Description: Study Group on Problems Related to the Political Independence of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi

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**Mondlane, Eduardo C. Rockefeller Foundation**

Record Group: 2 1963

Series: 779 (Mozambique)

Reel: 50, Frame: 73

**Mondlane, Eduardo C. Rockefeller Foundation**

Record Group: 2 1964

Series: 779 (Mozambique)

Reel: 51, Frame: 500

There is also one reference on Mondlane's Rockefeller Foundation card related to "Syracuse University – Maxwell Graduate School (of Citizenship and Public Affairs)" in 1962:

**Su-Sy, Rockefeller Foundation**

Record Group: 2 1962

Series: 200 (United States)

Reel: 22, Frame: 839

The materials on Mondlane begin at Frame 922, but there is one cross-reference sheet on Frame 905.

<sup>15</sup> Ford Foundation grant 09650345, Archive on the life and legacy of Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, The Herbert Shore Collection, University of Southern California Doheny Library, Micrographic Department, 1996. Collected in 1969-1996 in Africa, Europe and North America. Supported by a grant by the office of Southern Africa, The Ford Foundation,

<sup>16</sup> Stephen Bailey to K.W. Thompson, Report by Eduardo Mondlane on the meeting held at RF on July 20 concerning plans for establishing an institute for public administration by the University College of Dar es Salaam, July 30, 1962.

<sup>17</sup> See, among other, an interesting paper on W. Wilson written in 1962 from the U. of Syracuse; an article on his work at the Trusteeship Division on Cameroon, "Nationalism and Development in Mozambique", Paper presented at the University of California Project Brazil-Portuguese Africa, February 27-28 1968 and at the University of Dar on November 7 1968; "The Movement for Freedom in Mozambique" Paper to be read at The Mediterranean Congress for Culture, June 20-24 1964, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence; the paper "The Trusteeship System in the United Nations", prepared for a conference on South West Africa, Oxford, March 1966. Even the text of EM (now called Comrade President)'s speech at the Conference of the Department of Education and Culture Opening Speech of the meeting at Tundura, December 20, 1968, looks more like an academic paper. If the techniques and style of the social sciences had quite a bearing on his militancy, so had the experience at the UN. On July 24 - August 4 1967 in Lusaka EM speaks at a UN International Seminar, where he presents a Consultant Paper. Apparently, EM kept collaborating with the UN as a consultant, even after he became president of Frelimo. Reading this work, one senses that in the years 1963-69, EM was undergoing radical change together with the radicalization of both the Cold War and guerrilla activities in Mozambique. When living in the United States, EM had been often quite sceptical as regards black activism. However, in a long interview in December 1968, roughly one month before his assassination, on page 30, he shows solidarity with blacks in the US and says that their struggle is his.

<sup>18</sup> These obstacles are one of the main reasons I decided to create, together with a group of colleagues, the Afrodigital museum mentioned in footnote 1, whose main tenets are digital donation, digital repatriation and digital generosity (see more in Sansone 2013)

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<sup>19</sup> The week before coming to the Rockefeller Archive Center, I did research on Herskovits and Mondlane at the Schomburg Center, and on Mondlane at the UN Archives.