Sounding the Nation, Sounding the Revolution: Music and Radio Broadcasting in Post-colonial Mozambique (1975-1986)

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to identify the sounds, editorial policies and values promoted by Radio Moçambique (RM) during the so-called "socialist period" (1975–1986). Given the high illiteracy rate in the country, RM became the primary medium for informing the populations of FRELIMO's ideology – the ruling party within a single-party regime – and for spreading the values related to the "new Mozambican man" project. Building on Marissa Moorman's "sonorous capitalism" concept (2008), this article explores the place of music in promoting and anticipating political and cultural changes in post-colonial Mozambique.

Prelude: Toward a "Radio Revolution"

"The colonial regime used Radio to broadcast a particular type of music as a means for cultural alienation and submission to foreign values. The conference noticed that this situation still exists today on our Radio, where it is necessary to initiate a cultural revolution. As a guide for this process, the Conference outlined the progressive integration of music with revolutionary content in our Radio, capable of gradually educating the listeners' musical tastes and awakening the cultural values of our People and Revolution".[1] [2]

In November 1975, the first National Conference of the Department of Information and Propaganda of FRELIMO[3] outlined the media strategy for Mozambique, five months after independence from Portugal. In this event, radio broadcasting was elected as the main priority among all information and propaganda mediums, not only because it allowed simultaneous dissemination of content to the whole country but also due to a high illiteracy rate.[4] Amongst countless resolutions, the Conference decided that music

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should be used toward the national teleology. Since the predominant colonial radio repertoires, described in this text as "submissive to foreign values", did not align with the government's intentions for post-colonial Mozambique, new solutions had to be adopted. Therefore, "music with revolutionary content" was chosen as the priority for the construction of the nation.

Since its inauguration in 1934, Rádio Clube de Moçambique (RCM) became one of Africa's most prestigious broadcasting institutions. In 1974, this radio station had three orchestras at its service and broadcasted more than 60,000 hours a year in 14 different languages. In addition to Portuguese, Spanish and French repertoires, it also included many English Pop and Rock songs. Likewise, there were several programs in local languages entitled "A Voz de Moçambique," created by Portuguese authorities to exert "psychological influence" on populations during the liberation war (1964–1974).

FRELIMO also resorted to radio broadcasting during the war through "A Voz da FRELIMO", a 30-minute program originally broadcasted from Tanzania in Portuguese and in local Mozambican languages. Its content included news about the war (in Mozambique and in other African countries), and programs explaining the history of Portuguese colonial policy and the armed struggle in Mozambique. On May 10th, 1973, FRELIMO expanded their broadcasts to one hour in Portuguese, Xichangana, Cisena and Cinyungwe, this time broadcasting from Zambia. The music in these programs resorted mainly, but not exclusively, to Mozambican revolutionary anthems (Saíde & Saúte, 2020, pp. 19–40; Freitas, 2020, pp. 80–81).

The importance of RCM during the colonial period has already been scrutinized in publications by Barbosa (2000), Power (2000), Loforte (2007), Ribeiro (2014) and Valdigem (2021). However, aside from some notable exceptions, some authors paid little attention to the "sonorous" (and "musical") dimensions that shaped its different channels,[5] nor did they look into the changes that took place after Mozambique's independence in 1975.[6] In other publications, I already had an opportunity to analyze the "sonorous history" as well as the "cultural and economic" dimensions of RCM during the colonial period (Freitas, 2021a, 2021b). In this article, I intend to expand my analysis to post-colonial Mozambique during the so-called "socialist period" (1975–1986),[7] focusing on the sounds and the cultural policy defined by the liberation front for radio broadcasting.[8] To that end, I divide this article into three parts: the first will explore some aspects regarding the cultural policy applied for radio broadcasting, primarily focusing on music; the second will delve into two notable initiatives – a radio

orchestra and a phonographic publishing label; and the third will analyze the discourses pertaining the concept "African music," taking into account the views and opinions printed in newspaper articles.

This endeavor follows on my PhD research in Ethnomusicology (NOVA FCSH) on the "sonorous construction of Mozambique" after independence, taking into account three fields of inquiry: cultural policy, radio broadcasting and music industries. To that end, I adopted a qualitative method in order to develop an "ethnography of the past" (Bohlman, 1996; McCollum, 2014). Hence, I conducted structured interviews with 25 key agents, including musicians, radio personnel, phonographic producers, show businessmen, political representatives, among others.[9] Archival research in various institutions also played a major role in my research, including audio files consulted at RM archives and many articles published by *Tempo* weekly magazine. My research also privileged a dialogical approach, by promoting reading sessions with my field collaborators to guarantee that their ideas were not misinterpreted and were communicated as accurately as possible (Feld, 1987).[10]

Theoretically, I contextualize this article within ethnomusicological studies on music, nation-building and post-colonialism in African countries (as are the examples of Waterman, 1990; Carvalho, 1997; Turino, 2000; Askew, 2002; Meintjes, 2003). This endeavor is also in consonance with other ethnomusicological studies on nation-building and radio broadcasting, including cases from Nazi Germany (Currid, 2006), Brazil (McCann, 2004), Mexico (Hayes, 2000) and Portugal (Moreira, 2010; Silva 2021). I follow, in particular, the concept "sonorous capitalism" by Marissa Moorman (2008), in turn, an adaptation of "print capitalism" by Benedict (1991) [1983]. However, unlike Anderson, who argues that national consciousness was imagined from books and newspapers, Moorman focuses instead on the influence of music industries and radio broadcasting (Moorman, 2008). As a result, by promoting the circulation of ideas, speeches and music, radio contributed to the development of an "imagined Mozambicanity," although filtered by the values of FRELIMO within a single-party regime.

From RCM to RM: Forging a New Sound for Mozambique

During the transitional government (September 1974 -June 1975), FRELIMO began preparations for the so-called "radio revolution." According to President Samora Machel, this transformation should not rely on an uncritical substitution of words, stating the urgency to prepare journalists and announcers to correctly inform the populations according to FRELIMO's ideological guidelines.[11] After independence, the radio station was nationalized and, in the process, aggregated two other stations from

Sofala province – Rádio Pax and Emissora do Aeroclube da Beira. As a result, Rádio Moçambique (RM) was created on October 2nd 1975, with Rafael Benedito Afonso Maguni – a famous announcer of the already referred "A Voz da FRELIMO" – as its first director. From this moment on, the liberation Front became in control of vast and, arguably, the most advanced radio broadcasting network in Africa. Image 1 summarizes RM main broadcasts after independence:

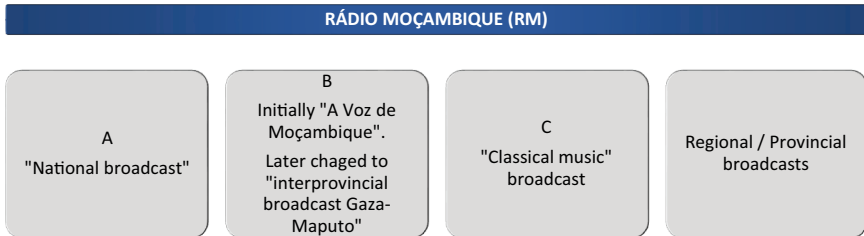| RÁDIO MOÇAMBIQUE (RM)			
A "National broadcast"	B Initially "A Voz de Moçambique". Later chaged to "interprovincial broadcast Gaza-Maputo"	C "Classical music" broadcast	Regional / Provincial broadcasts

Image 1. Rádio Moçambique Main Broadcasts after Independence.

Several problems were immediately identified, including the inadequate coverage in some parts of the territory and the high price of radio receivers. Aiming for a solution, the government signed an agreement with the German Democratic Republic to provide, through the company Stern Radio, the necessary components to manufacture *"Xirico"* radio sets – which became known as "the official Mozambican radioreceptor" .[12] Modeled after Contura 2500 (a mainstream radio receiver in the GDR) and manufactured by the State-owned Empresa Electrónica Eletrotecnia, "Xirico" became readily available in local stores at a very low price.[13] The objective of this nation-wide investment was clear: to ensure that all Mozambicans could hear FRELIMO's "voice" and thus sonorously build a shared national consciousness (see Image 2).

To that end, Portuguese was chosen as the primary language, encouraging, and creating programs to promote overall literacy. Nevertheless, since a significant part of the population did not speak Portuguese, local languages were also considered essential, although with the "necessary caution" to prevent the circulation of "regionalist" content that, according to FRELIMO's structures, could undermine national unity. As stated by Sol de Carvalho, a journalist that participated in the aforementioned National Conference of the Department of Information and Propaganda of FRELIMO:

"The choice of languages was based on a practical decision: everyone in Mozambique should understand FRELIMO's message. If Samora said something in Portuguese, they had to guarantee that all linguistic groups would

Image 2. "Xirico" Advertisement in National Newspapers.

understand. So, they defined six languages out of the twenty-three. They were not chosen according to the number of speakers or their economic and social importance. For example, since there are mutually intelligible languages such as Changana, Ronga or Bitonga, choosing one of these would be enough. The sonorous construction of the nation is linked to the sonorous construction of FRELIMO, and languages were an essential first step in that process".[14]

Then came the next big question: which music is suitable to represent a new Mozambique? The few Mozambican LP's available had been recorded in South Africa or on colonial radio programmes and were primarily associated with "Marrabenta," a local musical genre widely promoted by colonial authorities as representative of the "Portuguese folklore in Mozambique." For this reason, it was deemed ineligible from radio broadcasts, at least during the first years after independence (Laranjeira, 2014). Portuguese music was also practically eradicated, except for artists associated with left-wing politics, such as José Afonso, José Jorge Letria, Fausto and José Mário Branco. Most Brazilian artists such as Roberto Carlos and Martinho da Vila

were also excluded because the political structures associated them with "bourgeois customs" and colonial nightlife.[15] Finally, despite a forced reduction in the total time of its programs, western classical music continued to have a place in RM, while all religious music was outright banned by President Machel himself, as the following dialogue with radio producer Sansão Mutemba proves[16]

> **Samora Machel:** I ask you not to broadcast religious music on our radio.
>
> **Sansão Mutemba:** That's over, Comrade President.
>
> *Samora Machel:* We don't want our media to spread religion. Religion is a private thing, and it should not be there. We don't want that.
>
> **Sansão Mutemba:** It's over, Mr. President. I can confirm that it's all over. [. . .]
>
> **Samora Machel:** Well, the music? There are some songs [. . .] on the Radio that say, "God helped me," "God this, God that" [. . .] Things related of God on the Radio, no. We are fighting this. [. . .] And to say that God helped Mozambique? No, we don't want that too. I didn't ask God for ten years [during the liberation war] [audience laughter]. We actually tried to clean that thing.

The following illustration, produced by FRELIMO's Department of Information and Propaganda, aims to compare the predominant radio repertoire before and after independence (Image 3). "Xiconhoca"[17] is nostalgic about the music broadcasted during the colonial period, including artists such as Jimmy Hendrix, Elvis Presley, Roberto Carlos, Erasmo, Parafuso (a humourist who told racist anecdotes), among others. It is interesting to note that Xiconhoca wears colorful pants, bell-bottoms, and heels shoes – a dressing style associated with "hippie" lifestyles, in turn heavily criticized by FRELIMO. The son contradicts his father's values, stating that the radio station has now the objective to "mobilize, educate and organize the working class." Therefore, aside from clarifying the excluded repertoires, this illustration represents the confrontation between the "old colonial man" and the idealized "new Mozambican man," as romanticized by FRELIMO.

Following the general exclusion of most musical repertoires from the colonial period, the radio station archives had little to no appropriate music to fill up to 19 daily hours of broadcasting. Hence, radio executives tasked three personnel groups to record music from all over the country,[19,20] an endeavor that totaled more than 900 songs associated with "traditional music," which was, at the time, widely assumed as one of the central pillars of the new country.[21] Most of the first recordings were comprised of revolutionary choral music in the style of Protestant religious anthems, however, with lyrics adjusted to the Mozambican revolution.[22] Several traditional music groups were also called to the radio station to record their best

Image 3. Illustration from the Series "Xiconhoca – O Inimigo" Focusing on Radio Broadcasting.[18]

songs, always under the supervision of the station's directors, who, in turn, guaranteed the prevalence of the revolutionary theme. According to António Alves da Fonseca, "as we didn't have Mozambican music, we asked groups to come to record their songs at the Radio studios. Everything was recorded on reel-to-reel tapes [. . .]. There was a period when we would listen to revolutionary anthems in the morning, breakfast, lunch and supper . . . it was all revolutionary music [. . .]."[23]

Later, after 1977, the call was also extended to groups associated with "música ligeira" [popular music], as Américo Xavier explains: "We decided that traditional music wasn't enough. So, we asked for popular music groups to record on Radio . . . and so they came! The lyric's theme remained the same – revolution, revolution, revolution . . . it was revolution all the time, every day, every week."[24] Nevertheless, the concept "revolution" seemed to

entail different meanings depending on the actors involved, especially when applied to music. For example, to some people, using Western instrumentation, including electric guitar, bass, drums, and synthesizer, would be confused with "musical imperialism," a far cry from the revolutionary ideas sought after. Others, in turn, defended that the instrumentation was not an issue but how it was used to spread the rightful revolutionary message, focusing instead on the lyrics' songs.

The flexibilization happened in 1977–78, following a strong critique made by senior government members, stating that the radio broadcasts were mostly limited to revolutionary anthems and exhaustive repetitions of Samora Machel's speeches.[25] Afterward, other subjects such as "love" started to appear in the lyrics' songs. Once again, according to radio producer Américo Xavier:

> "One day, I remember saying: from morning till evening, we're always singing about the revolution, but life is more than that. Why don't we sing about love? It was also necessary to sing about the worker, sing about my village, sing about my landscape . . . so that's how I started influencing people to do other things. Little by little, there was change. People were afraid because FRELIMO had brought a lot of new things . . . FRELIMO brought a national identity that clashed with pre-existing values; hence many people were confused. Many things have been misinterpreted. For example, no one said that people should not go out to nightclubs, but people gradually stopped going out. The government didn't say let's "close the clubs" . . . however, people assumed that clubs didn't fit in with the new reality and moved away. I think the same thing happened with the recordings we made on the radio. That's why, for a period, we only had revolutionary-centred songs".[26]

All these guidelines lead one to question the existence of censorship on Rádio Moçambique, both for radio recordings and subsequently for LP publishing. Some interlocutors asserted that there was explicit censorship, while others mentioned that it would happen informally. According to Schwalbach (2002, p. 42), there existed two types of censorship: one, which he termed as "self-censorship," and another that was "unofficially" developed by government officials' orders. Self-censorship happened because musicians and producers were genuinely engaged in the new political movement, seeking to actively contribute to the revolution with their music. He also adds that "musicians achieved this through singing themes that would enhance ideals of the revolution; while radio broadcasters avoided playing music that would somehow remind the people of the past colonial manner and era. This form of self-censorship may be easily explained if one were to analyse it within the context of the exaltation that the people were experiencing at the time" (Schwalbach, 2002, p. 42). Nonetheless, some musicians were afraid that their work would be labeled as "reactionary" or "xiconhoca," as was the case of António Marcos who, after independence, chose not to record his songs because, in his words, "I didn't

know how to compose music with a revolutionary theme. So, to avoid being misinterpreted, I chose not to present any of my compositions to Rádio Moçambique."[27]

Regarding the "unofficial censorship," orders were issued "behind the curtains" by senior FRELIMO leaders, as explained by radio producer Carlos Silva in an interview conducted by João Schwalbach:

> "There were in fact some songs that we didn't play because they had a connotation with the past, no one actually enforced this. We felt that it had to be like that. The radio, as an element of national unity, played a fundamental role and we understood this. We had to take everyone's music to everybody and it was logical that we didn't play music that in some way represented the bourgeoisie or colonial methods. Naturally, from time to time, we received an observation from one *dirigente* saying 'Don't play this or that', even through the phone. At some point, for instance, we could not play certain famous artists such as Roberto Carlos, Martinho da Vila and Amália" (Schwalbach, 2002, p. 21).

The recording process included a questionnaire for screening purposes and to control the musicians' political values, including questions such as: "Have you ever been convicted of any political crime? If yes, explain when and why?" or "Have you ever participated in any counterrevolutionary organization? Which one? When?." Whether we call it or not "censorship," it is clear that there was a firm control over the contents produced by Rádio Moçambique, and that it effectively conditioned the lyrical contents of the songs recorded (Freitas, 2020, pp. 171–174). This alleged (self-)censorship would also be expanded to other cultural domains beyond the radio broadcasting realm, as was the nightclub cases mentioned by Américo Xavier.

Grupo RM *and* Ngoma

In 1979, Rádio Moçambique boosted the production of Mozambican music with two crucial initiatives: they founded a radio orchestra – Grupo RM; and incremented the publication of local music through the label NGOMA, dubbed as "the national disc label." The first project was inspired by the radio orchestras from the colonial period and aimed to produce music for radio broadcasting, phonogram publishing and, eventually, live music concerts throughout the country.[28] The group offered three types of repertoires: 1. They played "old" music that was somehow representative and accepted as "Mozambican music"; 2. They aimed to create an original repertoire, mainly inspired by traditional music; and 3. They accompanied musicians who recorded at Rádio Moçambique (see Image 4).

Image 4. Grupo RM Live in Inhambane (1979).[31]

Although the prevailing music instruments were generally associated with *música ligeira* [equivalent to anglophone popular music],[29] the orchestra's musicians were tasked to collect and incorporate "traditional music" into their songs. According to drummer Zeca Tcheco, in an interview at *Tempo* magazine: "we followed the idea of creating music with Mozambican roots. We listened [...] and eventually travelled to other provinces to do research on traditional rhythms."[30] Despite this effort, the group ended up specializing in musical rhythms from the South, mainly associated with Marrabenta. This choice is justified by its members originating from the South of the country, which conditioned not only the themes they addressed but also the languages of the songs (mostly in xi-ronga and xi-changana), making them incomprehensible for most of the county's cultural groups.

The label "Ngoma" was created in 1978–79 with the objective to produce and distribute Mozambican music. It published more than 160 albums from 1979 until 1990 (including 45rpm singles and 33rpm LPs) mainly related to *música ligeira*, with occasional publications on traditional music and revolutionary anthems. The first publication was a 45rpm single by Alexandre Langa entitled "*A derrota dos colonialistas*" ("The colonialist's defeat") (see Images 5 and 6).[32]

Conversely, it should be stated that Mozambique's phonographic industry was highly underdeveloped and that there were no active copyright laws in the country.[33] According to my field collaborators, musicians just wanted to be listened to on the radio and did not even care about receiving money.[34] A now-famous musician – António Marcos – told me he recorded at no cost because he saw it as a way of safeguarding his work. However, he did not know, at the time, that due to the absence of copyright laws, his recordings

Images 5 and 6. Left: The First Publication in the Series "Ngoma," the 45rpm Single "A Derrota Dos Colonialistas" by Alexandre Langa. Right: The Official "Ngoma" Logo between 1979 and 1982.

were not protected from plagiarism.[35] Later, musicians began to be paid only in the act of recording. It did not matter if the album sold one or a thousand copies: for the musicians, the procedure would be finished after the recording process and all sales profits would go entirely for the record companies and Rádio Moçambique.[36]

The phonogram analysis reveals two predominant performing styles: the first has an intimate character, including voice and guitar accompaniment with a three-chord harmonic base. The melodies are straightforward and repetitive, highlighting the importance of lyrics songs which were, as mentioned before, mostly sung in southern languages. Recordings by Vicente Soto, Tomás Ubisse and Eusébio Tamele are representative of this style.

The second performative style is analogous to a "group" or band typology, including one or two electric guitars (rhythm and solo), a bass guitar, drums, percussions, and sometimes woodwinds, such as saxophone, and trumpet. All songs accompanied by Grupo RM are representative of this trend. Since many groups shared the same instruments, their "sound" became uniformized, even regarding their technical problems. For example, every song that has a piano accompaniment seems to be out of tune. This happens because all artists used the radio auditorium's (very) old piano that needed maintenance.

Another meaningful aspect is the total absence of female solo artists, which stems from the musician's weak social status and stigmas related to the women's status in Mozambican society (Casimiro, 2001). The lyrics revolved around moralizing themes that reflected social problems such as home abandonment, delinquency, school disinterest, and veiled critiques on the armed conflicts between FRELIMO and Mozambican National

Resistance Movement (RENAMO). The slogans and war speeches inspired various songs, most notably Yana's "Que venham" ("Let them come") (Freitas, 2020, pp. 90–120).[37]

The 16-years' war (1977–1992) brought dire consequences for Mozambique: a million people were killed in combat, or as victims of hunger, thousands were injured, and five million people were displaced from their areas of residence to large cities. The Mozambican economy suffered uncountable damage and struggled to maintain its most essential products in stores. How to make music in a context where there were no essential goods such as food? The flight of musial businessmen, the closure of musical instruments stores, the lack of LP and cassette players, and the scarcity of essential material for phonographic production, such as vinyl and paper, contributed to the collapse of the record industry in 1985.

"What Is African Music"? the Big Debate

From August to December 1981, Rádio Moçambique's music programming was at the center of a fierce discussion at *Tempo* magazine. It began with a debate between two readers who defended two different perspectives for the national radio station: on the one hand, Cossa argued that RM should broadcast much more "African music"; while on the other, Sarimate argued that this decision could lead to an unnecessary and exaggerated Africanism.[38] Based on these two viewpoints, a chain of responses was initiated, praising either one or another perspective. Although no one defined the central concept of the discussion – "African music" –, it was clear that for some, it should be limited to the music produced in the continent, while others argued that it included other genres with "African roots," such as *Samba* and *Rumba*.[39]

At its core, this discussion elucidates the internal divide that was happening at that period and can be resumed to the following question: is FRELIMO an African-centered movement or a revolutionary internationalist movement? The analysis of all letters could, by itself, warrant sufficient material for an individual article focusing on the multiple meanings applied to the concept of "African music" and how readers articulated it. Among the various published letters, I selected, at the time being, three, that in turn represent different views on the same problem.

Anselmo de Vaz Trindade takes Cossa's side, stating that "RM, as its name suggests, plays Rock and Samba on the disastrous argument that they have African roots" - adding that "in Africa, we don't want music with African roots, we want African music to dominate the broadcasts [...]." As a counterpoint, Francisco João Maússe Massingir presents a vision that is consonant to Sarimate's: "Why should the European continent be the reason for a turnaround in the national programs and not all continents? It only proves

the total Africanism of Mr. Jorge Cossa's mentality. His problem is not the absence of African music in the national broadcasting; I'm sure he feels some hatred for European music."[40] Finally, Bento Mavila, from Lichinga (Niassa), wrote that Radio is not a personal record player and, as such, it should try to please as many people as possible: "everyone has their own tastes, and since they are indisputable, I don't think it's worth continuing this debate. Let us distinguish Rádio Moçambique from a simple turntable[41]." Finally, other readers questioned the relevance of having an entire channel dedicated to European classical music since, according to them, it had nothing to do with Mozambican or African identities.

This debate revealed the existence of different nationalist projects within FRELIMO, between those that defended the physical factor (geographic and skin color) and those that supported a revolutionary angle: the first project was "pan-negro," insofar as it privileged racially-cut African music, based on the valorization of black people – regardless of whether or not they came from the African continent (hence the adoption of Rumba, Samba, among others); in opposition to the second, of a "pan-Africanist" type, focused on "revolutionary" content and to an idea of "common space" for African peoples, without direct reference to racial connotation (Nascimento, 2013, p. 21). Hence, the focus would not necessarily be on the skin color, but on "revolutionary music" politically aligned with the realm of socialist internationalism – preferentially, but not exclusively, coming from the African continent.[42]

This conflict stems from a structural dilemma that goes back to the creation of FRELIMO, as explained by Maria Benedita Basto: on one hand, the liberation front had to legitimize the unity of different ethnic groups and justify their collective identity as Mozambicans without compromising on the other, its broader internationalist socialist objectives (Basto 2021:104–105). Not only this dilemma wasn't resolved by late 1981, but the civil war (1977–1992) was fueling an ethnic-centered nationalism that stemmed away from the clear internationalist or "pan-Africanist" perspective that characterized Samora Machel's discourse, most famously signified by his iconic quote "kill the tribe to build the nation" (Machel, 1974). Furthermore, this debate can also be seen as an indicator of some of the changes that would occur after Machel's death in 1986, when the pan-Negro perspective took over in many national institutions, as noted by Roberto Morozzo Della Rocca (Rocca, 2012, p. 31).[43]

Nonetheless, as the direct result of five months of intense discussions, sometimes resorting to brisk insults among readers, Rádio Moçambique decided to issue an official statement on December 27th, 1981, with seven points of intervention which I now translate in full:

"**1** - RM's musical programs must be varied, including different genres, styles and periods, ensuring that popular, folk, light, choral, symphonic, concert and operatic musical practices are present, accompanying and contributing to the gradual development of the population's musical sensitivity.

2 - The music programming of each radio channel must take into account its specific audience in order to:

A) attract their interest.

B) gradually introduce new musical tastes.

3 - The first priority of all RM broadcasts is to promote Mozambican music.

A) The quality is fundamental, but, at this stage, the selection process cannot undermine the quantitative concern.

B) There must be a concern to distribute music from all the provinces.

C) There must be a concern to create musical programs focusing on the history of music in our country, its genres, instruments, composers, and interpreters.

4 - The second priority is the dissemination of African and African-rooted music, namely musical expressions from the Caribbean, Latin America and North America with obvious African musical influences (e.g. Rumba, Son, Calypso, Jazz, Samba, etc.).

5 - Regarding foreign music, RM must pay particular attention to music from socialist countries.

6 - Concerning North American and Western European music, RM should pay special attention to the transmission of music that genuinely represents these countries, enabling listeners to distinguish between these [genuine] cultural expressions from those that, by their nature, are the result of market and industrial interests of capitalist societies. In particular, [. . .] efforts should be made to prevent the idols manufactured in capitalist societies from being transformed into icons in our country (generally, they are spokespersons for the ideological, political and moral values of those societies).

7 - We establish, at this stage, the following mandatory minimum percentages for all RM broadcasts, except for channel "C."

- MUSIC FROM MOZAMBIQUE - 40%

- AFRICAN MUSIC AND MUSIC WITH AFRICAN ROOTS - 40%".[44]

Have these guidelines been applied in subsequent years? Or was this statement a maneuver to silence a five-month-long controversy? Producers António Alves da Fonseca, Luís Loforte and João de Sousa confirmed that there was a reasonable attempt to apply this directive, but that in practice, it ended up not working. According to João de Sousa: "We lost quality, and quantity took over [. . .] with unbelievable lyrics that reflected the political

moment – it was all FRELIMO-centred watchwords, Unit-Work-Surveillance, and so on. In my opinion, they didn't represent the population's real social problems."[45]

Postlude: The Sonorous (De)construction of a Nation?

> "Sonorous capitalism was manifest in the fact that one could buy and listen to Angolan music throughout the country [. . .] Radio also provided a network for the circulation of music, ideas, and news and creative ways of linking those three that produced a sense of nation. The specificity of radio as a cultural technology helped actualize the nation, linking various "meanwhiles" [. . .]"(Moorman, 2008, p. 164).

With this article, I aimed to demonstrate that the history of independent Mozambique is inseparable from the history of radio broadcasting. Rádio Moçambique was the instrument that supported and disseminated FRELIMO's national project, thus guaranteeing a common sonorous experience for all Mozambicans. Considering that 93% of the Mozambican population was illiterate at the moment of independence (Ngunga, 1999), printed sources couldn't effectively communicate FRELIMO values. That's why the liberation front resorted to radio broadcasting as soon as it became available, initially during the liberation war, later expanding their possibilities after independence by providing the population with "Xirico" radio sets. As noted by Paolo Israel, radio became "a sublimation of the leader's gaze, transferred from the visual to the aural domain; as the ear of the nation, always present, always attentive, always listening" (Israel, 2014, p. 178). With news broadcasts, inspiring words, and revolutionary music, FRELIMO promoted its national project, resorting, in the process, to the power of radio frequencies and the transmutability of sound. Consequently, this perspective represents a shift on the theory underlying the concept of a nation – from "print capitalism" (Anderson (1991) [1983]) to "sonorous capitalism," as explained in the previous quote by Marissa Moorman regarding the Angolan case (2008).

In truth, Rádio Moçambique centralized almost all state initiatives related to music. Aside from the standard procedures of any radio station, it was also in charge of different phases of phonographic production and publishing. The nationalization of all broadcasting systems also brought new policies, in turn, built in opposition to the "old colonial radiophonic style" and its predominant repertoires. For that reason, Radio Moçambique promoted an unprecedented race to record new repertoires: they sent specialists to all provinces in order to collect "traditional music" while receiving at the radio studios various groups associated with the category "música ligeira." Later they would even create a radio orchestra under their auspices – Grupo RM.

We also saw that most repertoires focused on revolutionary themes, on the achievements of Mozambicans, the experience of the liberation struggle, while mobilizing the population against the so-called "colonialist vices" and capitalist societies.

How successful was this process? Although it initially had produced some of the desired effects, the strict control applied and the consequent standardization of its contents evidenced some deep discursive and sonorous paradoxes, whose consequences are still felt today. For instance, if the adoption of the Portuguese language in radio broadcasts aimed to avoid regionalist and "tribalist" feelings, the same care did not translate to the country's popular music produced on the Radio, especially since most repertoires came from the South. Therefore, they ended up having the opposite effect to the desired "unity" of all Mozambican groups; after all, many didn't feel included in this "soundly organized" Mozambique. On the other hand, the notable absence of female voices points to deep stereotypes linked to the musician's and women's social status. These paradoxes, when daily broadcasted throughout the country, reminded its listeners of the artificiality of FRELIMO's national construct. Actually, one might even question their eventual contribution to the demise of the so-called "socialist experience" in Mozambique, from 1983–86 onwards.

By advocating the uniqueness of African nation-building cases, some authors argue that the theories of Anderson (1991) [1983] and Hobsbawm (1989) are not sufficient to explain the inherent complexity of nation-building processes in Africa. Patrick Chabal, for example, argues that the concept of "imagined communities" brings a false "clarity" when applied to African countries, noting that this concept was developed from national constructions in the northern hemisphere, thus passing on the impression that there is a single model of nation-building (Chabal, 2008, p. 45). However, other researchers such as Bruce Berman and Lonsdale (2013) and John Lonsdale (2013) have criticized the disregard of the European experience for nation-building in Africa, noting that, structurally speaking, they not only derive from similar contingencies but are also complementary in light of an increasingly globalized context.[46]

Notwithstanding the perspective adopted, there's no doubt that sound and music played a major part in Mozambique's nation-building process. This importance was further enhanced once the civil war (1977–1992) escalated, and freedom of movement became increasingly restricted. Still, even in this situation, it was through sound that FRELIMO would continue to transgress the invisible lines no one would actually dare to cross, maintaining its imagined presence through radio broadcasting. Sound and music were so important that they became the focus of a fierce ideological debate regarding the place of "Mozambican music" and "African music" in radio broadcasting. This debate was, at its core, symptomatic of a growing internal

divide within FRELIMO that opposed two different visions for Mozambique and Africa: a racially cut pan-negro perspective was starting to emerge as a substitute for the revolutionary pan-African one, five years before the pan-negro angle took the forefront after Machel's death. We are, therefore, faced with an interesting "sonorous" nation-building case, developed from contradictory ideas on which European and African references were in constant tension. Perhaps Bruce Berman is right: it is within that "tension" that lies the key for understanding the multiple sonorous representations associated with Mozambique, highlighting the impact of expressive culture not only as a mediator and aggregator, but also as a fundamental agent for understanding and anticipating socio-political changes intrinsic to nation-building contexts.

Notes

1. Conferência Nacional do Departamento de Informação e Propaganda", Tempo, 271, 14–12-1975: 56–63
2. This and other cited documentation were translated to English by the author, except where noted.
3. Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) was created on June 25th, 1962, in Dar Es Salam, Tanzania, as the result of the joining of three preexistent liberation movements: the National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO), created in 1960 in Salisbury; African National Union of Independent Mozambique (UNAMI), created in 1961 in Malawi; and Mozambique African National Union (MANU) created in 1961 in Kenya. Eduardo Mondlane became its first president, from June 25th, 1962, until his death on February 3rd, 1969. As a United Nations official, Mondlane first tried to negotiate independence through diplomacy; however, after the continuous obstinacy of Portuguese authorities, he decided to start an armed guerrilla struggle. On September 25th, 1964, the first attacks took place in the provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa, starting a liberation war that lasted for almost ten years, until the signing of the Lusaka Accords on September 7th, 1974. After a transitional government, the independence was formalized on June 25th, 1975, with Samora Moisés Machel (1933–1986) as the first president of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The armed struggle and the communal experiences in the so-called "liberated areas" served as inspiration for the creation of a new society that would control its means of production, as well as its expressive practices. According to FRELIMO´s ideologists, the main objective of the revolution was the creation of the "new Mozambican Man", that would emerge with the future communist society. As part of that process, the values of the so-called "vicious, colonialist and capitalist man" had to be refuted and countered (Machel, 1977; Cabaço, 2001, p. 112).
4. In 1975, the illiteracy rate in Mozambique was 93% (Ngunga, 1999).
5. The non-universality of some concepts such as "music" was pointed out by many authors, justifying this idea by the existence of groups and societies that don't have a term to designate their "humanly organized sounds" (Blacking, 1973). The concept "music" also excludes many other important aural dimensions, such as the political slogans and speeches which were intrinsic to the

radio listening experience during the analyzed period, hence the focus on sound studies should also be considered (Guillebaud, 2017; Samuels, Meintenjes, Ochoa, & Porcello, 2010). Nonetheless, this article adopts other concepts such as "expressive modes", "expressive culture" and "expressive practices" as substitutes for ethnocentric terms such as "music" and "dance", although these may be used merely as operational concepts. For more information regarding music categorization in Africa see Stone (2008); for the Mozambican case see Carvalho (2002); Freitas and Carvalho (2022).

6. The history of radio broadcasting as well as the phonographic industry during the first years after independence is far from being fully explored. Aside from my own work, Schwalbach's master thesis (Schwalbach 2002) on cultural policy and popular music still remain one of the most interesting efforts on this topic. More recently, Leonel António Simila (2019) developed an important and timely PhD research focusing on the role of cultural policy and radio broadcasting for the enactment of the multiparty system after 1994, focusing on Nampula's provincial node of RM. Unfortunately, the author didn't delve into the musical policy promoted within this province.

7. In this article, the term post-colonial is mainly used in a more literal connotation, to characterize the period initiated with the formal decolonization as part of the "nation-building" process, without neglecting the premises of "postcolonial studies" as a privileged space for contestation and deconstruction of power structures and discourses produced from a privileged colonial perspective. It also aims to comprehend the persistence of exploitation processes – frequently labeled "neo-colonialists" – beyond formal independence, as confirmed by the continuity of social, economic, and political inequalities that prevailed in previous forms of governance (Cooper, 2005, p. 27; Loomba, 2015, p. 24; Gilbert & Tompkins, 1996:2; Mbembe, 2001).

8. "Cultural policy" can be understood as a set of institutional initiatives defined by public or private organizations to stimulate and orient the expressive modes of a particular group or society (Nery, 2010). It can also be applied as a way to obtain consensus in the process of social transformation. Through the analysis of this "policy", we can understand how a particular group intends to represent itself, not only for internal cohesion but also for international projection. Consequently, the study of "cultural policy" should consider the social conditions that allowed the construction of the cultural field, its history, and the respective agents and institutions involved in its development, reproduction, and self-legitimation (Bourdieu, 1989).

9. For the full list see Freitas (2020); the interviewees directly cited in this article are identified in the references list.

10. Since this research was carried out by a Portuguese citizen within a former Portuguese colony, I tried to anticipate any negative reactions or misinterpretations that this endeavor emerged from neo-colonial objectives – a perspective that I vehemently refuse. In the course of my fieldwork, I always sought to circumvent and ward off such ideas, by carefully and unequivocally explaining my objectives. A revised book version of my thesis was published in late-2020 in Mozambique, as part of my ethical stance to make my PhD results easily available in the country where I conducted my fieldwork (Freitas, 2020).

11. Audio file: "D.111 e 112.75 Reunião da Informação com S. Machel – 29 de Ag 1975", RM audio archive.
12. "Xirico" is the name of a common bird in Mozambique, whose scientific name is "*serinus mozambicus*".
13. "Xiricos sem tampa", *Tempo*, 579, 15–11-1981: 52–53.
14. Interview with Sol de Carvalho (23–03-2018).
15. "Boites. Que contrapartida para elas?", *Tempo*, 345, 15–05-1977: 24–25.
16. Audio file titled: "D.111 e 112.75 Reunião da Informação com S. Machel – 29 de Ag 1975", RM audio archive.
    40 m:36s.
17. The word "Xiconhoca" is composed of two names Xico and Nhoca: the first derives from Francisco Langa, referred to as Xico Feio, a Political Police (PIDE-DGS) employee known for his torture sessions at Machava jail. Nhoca means "snake" in most Mozambican languages. FRELIMO's Department of Information and Propaganda used this infamous character to publish, in newspapers, many behavioral or evaluative dimensions that characterized the so-called "enemy of the revolution". For more information, see Meneses (2015).
18. *Tempo*, 380, 15–01-1978:2.
19. "Conferência Nacional do Departamento de Informação e Propaganda", *Tempo*, 271, 14–12-1975: 56–63.
20. RCM's first survey into "indigenous music" started in 1938–39 following the interest of Portuguese composer and radio orchestra conductor Belo Marques (1898–1987) in transcribing "indigenous melodies". The results were subsequently published in *Radio Moçambique* magazine and in a book (Marques, 1943; Freitas, 2021a, pp. 451–452). Also, during the 1940s Hugh Tracey recorded chopi *timbila* musicians in partnership with RCM (Morais, 2021, p. 12), even though these recordings were, in most part, ignored by the radio station. It was only in 1955 that RCM started broadcasting a short musical program with local "indigenous music", sponsored by commercial brands such as Philips or Pfaff, which were interested in boosting the sales of radio receivers and sewing machines to the local population. In April 1958, these experimental broadcasts in local languages were designated "Hora Nativa" and, by 1962, they were transformed into autonomous channels named "A voz de Moçambique" (Freitas, 2021b, pp. 108–109).
21. In another publication co-written with Freitas and Carvalho (2022), I delved into the role of revolutionary anthems and traditional music as nation-building tropes, taking into account the analysis of three national and international events: FESTAC77 (1977), the National Festival of Popular Dance (1978) and the National Festival of Song and Traditional Music (1980).
22. "Revolutionary anthems" is a four-part choral expressive practice (including Bass, Tenor, Alto and Soprano voices) whose development is intimately related to the sonorous experience of the liberation war, the transition period, and the first years after independence. A detailed musical analysis of these anthems was presented in Freitas (2020); and Freitas and Carvalho (2022). Maria Paula Meneses (2019), also analyzed these songs mainly through their lyrical content (as a printed source) focusing on how they became an alternative way of "being" and "writing" history.
23. Interviews with António Alves da Fonseca (11-10-2016; 14-10-2016; 18-10-2016 e 10–04-2017).

24. Interview with Américo Xavier (21–10-2016).
25. "Contribuição para a análise crítica da informação na RPM", *Tempo*, 359, 21–081977: 18–19. Authorship: Luís Bernardo Honwana.
26. Interview with Américo Xavier (21–10-2016).
27. Interview with António Marcos (11–04-2017).
28. "Programas recreativos da Rádio Moçambique", *Tempo*, 442, 25–03-1979: 59–61.
29. Which included guitar, bass, synthesizer, saxophone, trumpet, drums, and percussion.
30. "Evoluí como baterista num meio que parecia hostil", *Tempo*, 1011, 25–02-1990: 50–55. Authorship: Paulo Sérgio.
31. *Tempo*, 442, 25–03-1979: 59–61.
32. Reference "Ngoma 0001".
33. Mozambique did not have any copyright laws until 1998, when the Mozambican Society of Authors was officially created.
34. Interviews with António Alves da Fonseca (11–10-2016; 14–10-2016; 18–10-2016 e 10–04-2017).
35. Interview with António Marcos (11–04-2017).
36. Interviews with António Alves da Fonseca (11–10-2016; 14–10-2016; 18–10-2016 e 10–04-2017).
37. Reference "Ngoma 0078".
38. "Debate da música moçambicana ao «ritmo da felicidade»", *Tempo*, 567, 23–08-1981: 68–69. Authorship: Sarimate.
39. "Sarimate ou a hiena que vestiu pele de cabra", *Tempo*, 573, 04–10-1981: 54–56. Authorship: Anselmo de Vaz Trindade.
40. "Música Africana na RM. O Continentalismo do Sr. Cossa", *Tempo*, 574, 11–10-1981: 58–60. Authorship: João Maússe Massingir.
41. "Música Africana na RM. A RM não é gira-discos", *Tempo*, 575, 18–10-1981: 58–60. Authorship: Bento Mavila.
42. Interview with Sol de Carvalho (23–03-2018).
43. Regarding a letter signed by former FRELIMO combatants on the possibility of peace talks with Renamo, Roberto Della Rocca noted that: "the letter reflected on a possible adhesion of some FRELIMO cadres to positions defended by RENAMO, in particular, on blackness and the reappropriation of Mozambique by the black people. Machel had incorporated into power numerous Indians and Portuguese from Mozambique associated with blacks through their militancy in FRELIMO. Now someone feared that the flag bearers of 'Mozambicanity' in an ethnic sense, which following Machel's death were conquering space within FRELIMO, would conclude an agreement with RENAMO" (Rocca, 2012, p. 31).
44. "Música Africana na RM. Por uma discussão em bases correctas", *Tempo*, 585, 27–12-1981: 54–58.
45. Interview with João de Sousa (04–04-2017).
46. According to Bruce Berman, "Once we move beyond the distorting myths of the 'artificiality' of the nation state in Africa, the supposed disruption of its development by the ancient primordial sentiments of primitive tribes, and the consequent relegation of sub-Saharan Africa to the dark and alien 'other' beyond the experience of the rest of the world, we find that, as elsewhere, the nation state in Africa is a continuously unfinished project, a contingent outcome of the universalised social forces of globalised modernity and its own

distinctive cultural diversity, mediated by the idiosyncrasies of the colonial experience of Western domination. African nations both shadow the development of Western nation states, the real historical nation states, rather than the idealised forms too many scholars use the template for assessing the failures of non-Western nations; and are a portent of the challenges posed to all nations by contemporary globalization" (Berman, 2013, p. 372).

Disclosure Statement

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Interviews

Interview with Sol de Carvalho, filmmaker and former director at RM, held at Cinema Scala on Avenida 25 de Setembro, Maputo, on 23-03-2018.

Interviews with António Alves da Fonseca, director of Produções GOLO and former director of RM, held at Edifício GOLO at Avenida Mao Tsé-Tung, 488, Maputo, on 10-11-2016; 10-14-2016; 2016-10-18; 10-04-2017.

Interview with Américo Xavier, former employee and music producer at RM, held at Escola de Jornalismo de Maputo at Avenida Ho Chi Minh, 103, Maputo, on 10-21-2016.

Interview with António Marcos, musician and composer, held at the restaurant "Taverna Doce" at Avenida Mao Tsé-Tung, 57, Maputo, on 11-04-2017.

Interview with João de Sousa, journalist at RM, held at Centro Social da RM, at Rua da Rádio, Maputo, on 04-04-2017.