

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: MOZAMBICAN NATIONAL ANTHEMS:
MEMORY, PERFORMANCE, AND NATION-BUILDING

Katherine June Curtis, Master of Arts, 2010

Thesis Directed by: Professor Robert Provine
Division of Musicology and Ethnomusicology
School of Music
University of Maryland School of Music

This thesis examines the national anthems of Mozambique. Crises in Mozambique's history prompted the search for a new national anthem three times, with only two of the searches ended in a new national anthem—namely, “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*” the anthem adopted at independence and the current national anthem “*Patria Amada*.” Using theory from ethnomusicology, anthropology, political science and others, the role of these national anthems in national unification and cultural solidification are discussed. In order to analyze the anthems of Mozambique, national anthems will be explored as static symbols and performed rituals. The history of Mozambique from its first contact with colonization through the present day will add insight to the associations that make anthems powerful in those roles.

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by

Katherine June Curtis

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Advisory Committee:

Dr. Robert C. Provine
Dr. Laurie Frederik Meer
Dr. Lawrence Witzleben

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Dedication

To Ryan

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Introduction

Music is everywhere in Mozambique. It is playing in the airport, it is generally blasting in the *chapas* (small busses), the local television channels play local music videos everyday, and every morning, every school in Mozambique (including the teacher's colleges), starts with a performance of the national anthem. Mozambique is certainly not alone in requiring this kind of political performance, this sort of national education and ritual. However, for the better part of a decade this daily ritual was confusing and even politically problematic for Mozambicans.

After the Mozambican civil war, which ended in 1992, a new government was established and a new anthem was required by the Assembly of the Republic of Mozambique (Assembleia da República), the newly elected democratic parliament. For the better part of a decade, while the search for an acceptable anthem continued, Mozambique had an old anthem that had been stripped of its lyrical content. Traditional nationalism dictated that the anthem be taught and sung in every classroom, in every school, but without lyrics this tradition seemed somewhat ridiculous. So, in lieu of new lyrics to teach, many children continued to sing the lyrics of their old anthem, "*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*", ("Long live FRELIMO"), an anthem to a socialist nation that in essence no longer existed. Politically, this was a touchy subject, creating all kinds of tension in the Assembly.

Mozambique is a perfect case study through which to look at the role and the effects of national anthems. In the last thirty-five years, Mozambique has considered a new national anthem three times. What is it that makes a national anthem so desirable in the first place? And when the old anthem became problematic, why did it take almost

eight years to find a new anthem, “*Patria Amada*”? There were other options to choose from, but the deputies of the National Assembly all had expectations for a national anthem and refrained from choosing one until they found what they wanted. What were they waiting for? What makes a good anthem, what makes it effective? And whatever the desired effects may be, does the new anthem of Mozambique successfully fulfill these expectations?

This thesis will explore these questions as they apply to “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*” the first national anthem of Mozambique, the unsuccessful 1983 anthem project, and the current anthem, “*Patria Amada*”. Anthems in general will be discussed both as a symbol and a ritual, with a general formula for effectiveness being proposed. The elements of an effective anthem will be used to analyze each of the two adopted national anthems, which will be helped by a comparison with their anthem predecessors.

Where to Start

Exploring national anthems leads through many branches of knowledge—politics, history, sociology, anthropology and music. Surprisingly, national anthems are not popular subjects in musicology or ethnomusicology, despite the rich material they offer. Guy and Daughtry¹ are two ethnomusicologists who have done recent studies of national anthems and have drawn attention to the strong reactions anthems draw from musicians, politicians and the public alike, attesting to the great opportunities anthems offer for in-depth studies of musical meaning, nationalism and music, political ritual, and so on.

¹ Nancy Guy, “‘Republic of China National Anthem’ on Taiwan: One Anthem, One Performance, Multiple Realities,” *Ethnomusicology* 46, no. 1 (Winter 2002), 96-119. J. Martin Daughtry, “Russia’s New Anthem and the Negotiation of National Identity,” *Ethnomusicology* 47, no. 1 (Winter 2003), 42-67.

Additionally, Cusack's articles on African and Lusophone anthems have pointed out the effects of ruling classes on national anthems. This thesis will attempt to add to the small number of culturally analytical writings on anthems, and will hopefully encourage the further study of anthems, especially from a cultural perspective.

The number of academic writings discussing the recent past of Mozambique is also sparse; this is particularly true for writings on the culture and music of Mozambique. This can easily be explained by the fact that the independence and civil wars of Mozambique both made Mozambique a very dangerous place for citizens, even more so for researchers and writers, for a very long time. However, there are numerous political histories of Mozambique, some comprehensive, others specific; and Mozambique's main newspaper *Notícias* has kept detailed histories of daily political life as well as public life and nationalist editorials. Though the resources are few, there is more than enough information available through which to study the anthems of Mozambique. The discussions of political ritual, nationalism, and community found in the writings of Kertzer, Turner, Durkheim, Billig, Anderson, Bohlman and so many others, form a backbone of theory that informs the discussion of national anthems and their effectiveness in political and public life. All the authors mentioned so far, along with many others, contribute to the discussion on political symbolism and the ability of anthems as symbols to build and solidify nations like Mozambique. But before going into depth, a short word of definition on national anthems in general is required.

I. National Anthems

National anthems can be found throughout the world, most conforming to five specific styles: hymns, marches, operatic anthems, folk anthems, and fanfares.¹ Many can be categorized in two or more categories at once. In many languages the word anthem has no equivalent, they are instead labeled as hymns. Each of the two martial anthems of Mozambique, for example, is a *hino nacional* or national hymn; consequently, they are often treated as hymns, even though their musical characteristics are more martial. The music and lyrics of the various world anthems are not all identical, even in anthems that were derived from the same song (i.e. South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia), yet all of these anthems are established as symbols of political unity. Despite their differences, there are elements in common that can lead to unification on a national level. Cerulo has done extensive content analysis of national anthems, as well as other national symbols. She points out the idea that if national symbols—in this case, anthems—are expected to effectively communicate patriotism, both semantic and syntactic structural meanings likely exist.² In her analysis, she found that there are often similar structures between nations in a region as well as nations who have been ruled by the same colonial power.³ Yet the fact that almost all nations have an anthem with unique musical and lyrical content, would show that the formula for a successful national anthem must be more flexible than what can be charted in such a study. This leads to a need to discuss the role of symbolism and cultural context in the use of anthems.

¹ “National anthems,” in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19602> (accessed January 14, 2010).

² Karen A. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System: National Anthems and Flags,” *Sociological Forum* 8, no. 2 (June 1993): 243-271.

³ Karen A. Cerulo, *Identity Designs: The Sights and Sounds of a Nation*, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 72.

Anthem as Political Symbol

Much of social communication takes place on a symbolic level, through physical communication, symbolic language, and other performative means. The political realm is no different; much of political communication takes place through both static and performative symbols. It is through these symbols that political parties, nations and even politicians themselves are communicated to the masses. As Michael Walzer points out, “The state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived.”⁴ The nation, as such, is difficult to define in general terms. What is a nation? The definitions are many and varying, but the general idea is that a nation is a collection of people with a common identity and a physical proximity.⁵ Nationality is almost a state of existence: we talk about *being* a Mozambican or an American. And just as Walzer points out, a state of being cannot be adored, there must be something more tangible on which to concentrate.

Will people love and serve a nation they cannot define? Every political party, government and ruler knows that defining a nation and the role each individual plays in that nation is essential to maintaining political solidarity. If the nation is undefined, shapeless, and without real or symbolic borders and content, the individual citizen will feel little loyalty. It is in the personification of the nation, as Walzer puts it, that people find something to be loyal to. It is in the flag, the anthem, the prince or president, that the

⁴ Michael Walzer, “On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought,” *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (1967), 194.

⁵ Karl W. Deutsch, “Nationalism and Social Communication,” in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 27.

individual grasps his connection to this conceptual nation of other individuals, the “imagined political community.”⁶

The importance of political symbolism is nowhere more apparent than in the example of Mozambique. When ruled by the colonizing power, Portugal, Mozambique took on its shape as an African colony, a conglomerate of many small and separate nations forced under the same flag. It was through the imposing of Portuguese as a national language and the introduction of Portugal’s own flag and anthem that an identity for these now unified peoples could be created. Many generations later, these previously separate people had come to see themselves as part of a single community. Then, when Mozambicans proclaimed independence from their colonial rulers, they had to reshape that identity to correspond with their new nation. The anthem of Portugal could no longer define their community, and new symbols had to be introduced. It was through a new flag, a new anthem, a new constitution that Mozambique began to take shape in the eyes of its population. And again, at the conclusion of an intense civil war new symbols were needed to re-imagine a new Mozambique at peace and reunify modern Mozambicans through common identity perceptions. Mozambicans needed to be able to envision their nation in a common way and in order to feel a sense of community.

In his writings on nationalism, Benedict Anderson defines the nation as imagined because, “...the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”⁷ If Mozambique as a nation is imagined, politics must necessarily take place on the symbolic level; and if the nation is to be stable, it must have

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 2006), 5-6.

⁷ Ibid.

strong symbols to keep that imagined community firmly planted in the imagination.

Strong symbols are those that have the ability to materialize the imagined. As stated by

David Kertzer,

Many of the most potent political symbols have a palpable quality to them, making it easier for people to treat concepts as things. This is evident in the metaphors that help define the political universe. ...Similarly, a flag is not simply a decorated cloth, but the embodiment of a nation; indeed, the nation is defined as much by the flag as the flag is defined by the nation.⁸

The use of metaphors, the presentation of tangible symbolic representations and the performance of political ritual all serve to make the imagined more tangible, more easily revered. And, as Kertzer points out, these symbols begin to define the nation as much as they are defined by it. National anthems fall into this category of potent political symbols; they define the nation in music and lyrics, creating unity and national sentiment through their performance.

Anthem as Ritual

National anthems are so much more potent than many other political symbols, because they lie at the intersection of music, propaganda, and ritual. It is commonly held that music can stir emotion in the human heart and mind, stimulating or increasing feelings of joy, sadness, anger and many other emotions. Part of the power of an anthem to affect the masses comes from the emotional stirrings caused by the music of an anthem. Just what it is about music that causes these emotional stirrings is still debated, but many, if not most, musicologists believe that music affects our emotions, at least partially, because of memory and association.⁹ These associations can be broad in

⁸ David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 7.

⁹ See Leonard B. Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.

spectrum, ranging from specific cultural references to musical characteristics generally recognizable throughout much of the globalized world.

The propagandistic nature of anthem lyrics—the vast majority of anthems have lyrics—conjure up a nation in its ideal form. It gives the masses as well as the politicians something more tangible when trying to imagine and define a nation. As Cusack states, the lyrics “need to convince ‘the people’ that they belong to the nation, and a nation with some unique characteristics that distinguishes it from other nations.”¹⁰ An effective national anthem does not merely talk about general patriotism, it focuses on patriotism specific to the nation to which it refers. By defining the nation in unique terms the lyrics pull the people of a national community together, while separating them from other nations. At times when the identity of a nation is called into question, those lyrics can re-imagine the nation in the minds of those who doubt its reality or authenticity and can halter desires to politically move away from that definition of the nation.

Solidifying and strengthening the idea of the nation is enhanced on another level through the performance of an anthem. The ritual of the anthem, experienced by all those who participate, whether the official performer or one of the masses who stand at attention in any of a number of prescribed positions (e.g. hand to heart, etc.) all participate in the performance. And through that participation, each individual finds himself symbolically or literally in unison (or dissonance if not following cultural prescriptions) with the “imagined community” of the nation.

But what is it about an anthem that makes it so different from any other song? Mozambique—and I think it would be safe to say that all countries—have more patriotic

¹⁰ Igor Cusack. “African National Anthems: ‘Beat the drums, the red Lion has roared’.” *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 17, no. 2 (December 2005), 238.

songs than one. How then does one song become such a strong political symbol, whether loved or hated by the people it represents? The difference exists, at least partially, in the fact that national anthems fall into the category of ritual. Regardless of how, when or by whom they are performed, the ritual nature of the anthem cannot be escaped. Whether the intent is to respect or disrespect the anthem through a specific performance, the ritual aspect of the anthem gives each performance symbolic, political weight.

The modern observer or participant may be tempted to see performances of the national anthem merely as a traditional entertainment or political theatre, rather than as a symbolic political ritual. Kertzer goes so far as to say,

“According to mainstream Western ideology, ritual occupies at best a peripheral, if not irrelevant, role in political life. Serious political analysts, we are led to believe, would hardly waste their time by distracting attention from the real nitty-gritty of politics—interest groups, economic forces, and power relations—in order to turn a critical eye to ritual.”¹¹

The fact that political ritual seems to go on unobserved may stem mainly from a misunderstanding about what ritual is and how it is applied to the political realm.

Schechner states that ritual is never purely ritual and theatre is never purely theatre.¹²

The continuum between efficacy and entertainment Schechner describes is helpful in realizing that political performance really can be, and in fact usually is, ritualistic. That is what gives political action extreme power and weight as compared to the everyday actions of individuals.

Schechner’s continuum brings into perspective the daily patriotic and political actions of individuals and politicians. He distinguishes between performances with audience participation (efficacy) and performances where the audience only observes

¹¹ Kertzer, 12.

¹² Richard Schechner, “From Ritual to Theatre and Back,” in *Ritual, Play and Performance*, ed. Richard Schechner and Mady Schuman (New York: The Seabury Press, 1976), 206-207.

(entertainment).¹³ In many political performances, the audience participates, from standing in a proscribed respectful way to singing along with the anthem. In another example, Schechner states that in ritual “criticism is forbidden” while in theatre “criticism is encouraged.”¹⁴ For example, deputies of the National Assembly of the Republic of Mozambique who choose to disrespect the new national anthem of Mozambique risk being disciplined,¹⁵ yet criticizing the other deputies, delegates and even the president is completely acceptable, even if it is not encouraged. By criticizing a symbol, one shows disrespect for the nation itself and thereby performs rebellion to that nation. Individual politicians can be given symbolic status as well, which often happens temporarily during a specific ritual performance. When this happens an observable difference occurs in the treatment of that individual before becoming a political symbol and how they are treated while in the role of political symbol. Finding these and other examples of ritual behavior in the political realm can help to understand the importance and the effect of political symbols.

The performance of political ritual plays a significant role in social solidarity. Participating in any aspect of these ritual performances conveys the individual’s relationship to and with their nation, and when a symbolic representative of the nation—such as a national assembly, president or prince—participates in ritual, they can communicate the will of the imagined nation in an embodied fashion. Social solidarity is affected by public ritual discourse, because those rituals define the character of the nation and the relationships between the different parts of a nation. When a social crisis is at

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ “Assembly Backs Down Under Renamo Pressure,” *Mozambique News Agency*, 19 March 2001, AIM Reports, No. 203.

hand, whether internal or external in nature, symbolic ritual action can strengthen a government by reinforcing its original legitimacy in the eyes of the populace or by re-inventing the nation in order to conciliate and create a new legitimacy.¹⁶

The following sections will look at the three crises in Mozambique's history that led to three separate searches for an anthem. The anthems themselves will also be analyzed in content and ritual in an effort to illustrate the power of an anthem and the anthem elements that contribute to that power.

¹⁶ Kertzer, 61-67, 153.

II. Mozambique—From Colony to Nation

The story of Mozambique does not begin at independence; the people of the nation now known as Mozambique have had a long history of kings conquering the general region, the rule of Portugal being the most recent. Mozambique's relationship with Portugal helped to define Mozambique, both when they were part of the same imperial nation and when they were redefining themselves after being split apart. Portugal's own history and national anthem influenced Mozambique and her choice of a new national anthem. A brief historical background of important and relevant events from Portugal's imperial history will show how Mozambique came to be in crisis and why the first national anthem, "Viva, Viva a FRELIMO," was needed and expected to create a sense of nationalism and solidarity in the wake of that crisis.

During an era of exploration and colonization, the Portuguese "discovered" Mozambique in the late fifteenth century, and settled there during the sixteenth century. By the end of that century Portugal was established as the ruling power in much of what we know today as Mozambique and remained as such for over two centuries. Previous to Portuguese rule cultural boundaries had shifted with different kings and rulers, who conquered neighboring ethnic groups in the southeastern region of the African continent. Like many other colonies, the borders of Mozambique were made with little or no regard to the existing ethnic boundaries. The resulting conglomeration of cultures was diverse in ethnicity, language, tradition, and terrain. Added to this mix were new Portuguese inhabitants from a distant land and language. All that these many people had in common was their common rule by Portugal, and the Portuguese understood the importance of

unifying these people under one flag.¹

The political history of Portugal is complex and fascinating. Though the details of its history cannot all be recounted here, a few important details about the political situations experienced by Portugal on the world stage, as well as on the home front, are necessary to understand the events that led to the official adoption of the national anthem “*A Portuguesa*,” the anthem of the empire at the time of Mozambique’s fight for independence. In particular, it is important to realize that the social dramas in Portugal, as well as the dramas between Portugal and Mozambique directly effected the decisions of both nations to establish new national anthems, and the kinds of songs that were chosen.

From the time of its formal organization until 1910, Portugal was ruled by a monarch (even during a period when the region was ruled by Spain). And like other imperial monarchies of Europe, the people of Portugal were occasionally dissatisfied with the crown. The dissatisfaction of the people came to a head in the face of imperial disagreements with England, who issued an ultimatum to Portugal to give up all claim to the strip of land connecting Angola and Mozambique across the southern section of the African continent. The Portuguese monarchy felt they were no match for the British at that time and had to give up claim to the land, to the outrage of the Portuguese people. This outrage symbolized the feeling of the Portuguese people that the colonies were a part of Portugal. This anger eventually led to the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic.

¹ Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 285-6. In this passage, Newitt describes the Portuguese authorizing Afro-Portuguese *chicunda* bands to conquest new regions as long as the official Portuguese flag was flown. This was part of a larger effort by the Portuguese to secure and unify the Mozambican interior before the British were able to claim them.

Soon after the establishment of the Portuguese republican government, a national anthem was officially adopted in 1910, an anthem that would be heard throughout the empire. “*A Portuguesa*” had been written a few years earlier during the disagreements with England over Mozambique and Angola. It expresses the indignation of the Portuguese populace, who were ready to go to battle with England to save that section of their imperial nation. Though fascinating in their own right, the music and lyrics of “*A Portuguesa*” will only be discussed briefly in the next section, as compared to the first anthem of Mozambique. It is important, however, to recognize that the anthem was written and adopted at a time when the shape of the Portuguese empire was being questioned in a time of great crisis. The anthem was intended to redefine and unify the people of Portugal throughout the empire.

Far from Portugal, the African colonies experienced all the instability of the government changes in Lisbon. Throughout the last century of Portuguese rule, Mozambique (along with the other Portuguese colonies) was frequently shifted back and forth from being closely governed by Lisbon and being more autonomously controlled by more local appointed officers.² In the 1920s the government in Lisbon turned over much of their power to appointed Portuguese governors and owners of large private industries—many of whom were British or later, South African and Rhodesian.³ Like many colonies, Mozambique suffered under both centralized imperial rule and the comparatively autonomous rule of appointed commissioners and colonists. By the mid-twentieth century, colonial rebels in Mozambique and throughout the Portuguese empire began to fight against the government of Portugal, creating a massive social drama,

² Newitt, 386, 401-406.

³ Ibid, 427-428.

which required extensive and dramatic imperial action.

The Crisis of Colonial Rebellion: The Road to “Viva”

Turner has extensively charted the process of social drama, pointing to the necessity of certain political rituals for social solidarity. Turner’s process of social drama begins with a “*Breach*,” often a ritual action or a breach of ritual. Once this breach has been performed, “a phase of mounting *crisis* supervenes,” a crisis with potential for political destruction. The rebellions of the Portuguese colonies all began in their own way, but the supervening crises were of serious significance. According to Turner, those in power must perform some sort of “*redressive action*” in order to limit destruction; these actions vary based on the extent and seriousness of the crisis.⁴ The sheer number of wars facing Portugal in the span of just a few decades made this particular social drama one with an extensive potential for political destruction, and therefore, required extreme redress.

The Portuguese dictators in power during the revolutions, António de Oliveira Salazar and Marcelo Caetano, respectively, refused to make any significant redressive action in the colonies. The colonies individually waged wars for independence, some for years, some for decades. These wars cost the Portuguese army in casualties as well as straining the economy. Unrest on the Portuguese home front was growing as the Portuguese people saw the impossibility of continuing wars on multiple continents, even if their leaders did not. Suffering the brunt of the imperial wars, the Portuguese military supported a national coup, ousting the current dictator, Marcello Caetano, and taking

⁴ Victor Turner, “Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors,” in *Ritual, Play and Performance*, ed. Richard Schechner and Mady Schuman (New York: The Seabury Press, 1976), 105-111 (Author’s own emphasis used).

control of the government on April 25, 1974.⁵ The lack of redressive action by the dictators led to societal overthrow in this case, but because the Portuguese conflict would not be fully over without resolving the continuing social drama the colonies, redress was still required.

At this point, Portuguese politicians were divided on how to handle what remained of the empire. Some called for the organization of a Lusophone federation of colonies, others wanted to give the colonies complete autonomy. While they debated the fate of colonies like Mozambique, the war to control the colonies continued. But, Portuguese soldiers still in Mozambique now often refused to fight, and the rebellion of FRELIMO (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* or Mozambican Liberation Front) refused to call a ceasefire.⁶ The danger for all people in Mozambique was undeniable and soon after FRELIMO finally ended its military actions, discussions of complete Mozambican autonomy held place with the new Portuguese government. João M. Cabrita, in his book *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy*, summarizes the change of power like this:

No arrangements were made to ensure a democratic basis for the future African countries. Power was transferred to the nationalists, who were regarded as the authentic representatives of the people, a claim based on their years of fighting for independence.⁷

The Marxist leanings of many high-ranking Portuguese military officials in the MFA (*Movimento das Forças Armadas*) at this time helped to influence the decision to directly transfer power to the nationalist representatives of Mozambique and let them govern

4. ⁵ João M. Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy* (New York: Palgrave, 2000),

⁶ Newitt, 539.

⁷ Cabrita, 4.

themselves, which included letting them decide whether or not to have elections at all.⁸ The power to govern Mozambique was, therefore, literally handed as a redressive gift to the nationalist party conglomerate of FRELIMO. FRELIMO played an essential role in securing independence for Mozambique, and the power had been organized in 1961—announced for the first time in 1962—by a diverse group of powerful individuals, many of whom agreed on very little besides the need for independence. FRELIMO was formed by a union between previously separate independence movements.⁹ As Cabrita says, “It was more of a marriage of convenience...than a genuine united front...ultimately contributing to divisions within the colony’s independence movement.”¹⁰ But, despite the newness of the governing politicians and the uncertainty of their future, it was a time of great rejoicing for most Mozambicans.

The final phase of Turner’s process of social drama is that of “*reintegration*,” the chance to either publicly re-unify or accept permanent separation.¹¹ In the case of the Portuguese-Mozambican colonial war, reintegration was marked by a public transfer of power to FRELIMO and the accompanying separation of Mozambique from the Portuguese empire. Peaceful and friendly separation was symbolized throughout the nine months that marked the transition of power from Portugal to Mozambique, by the FRELIMO party flag and the Portuguese flag flying side by side.¹² These two flags were quite different, symbolizing the differences between the governments. Their flying side-by-side communicated a friendly, shared ruling for those transitional months.

⁸ Newitt, 538.

⁹ The conglomeration originally included Udenamo (União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique), MANU (Mozambique African National Union) and a few weeks later, Unami (União Nacional Democrática de Moçambique Independente).

¹⁰ Cabrita, 5.

¹¹ Turner, 105-111 (original emphasis used).

¹² Whitney Smith, *Flag Lore of All Nations*. (Brookfield: Millbrook Press, 2001), 66.

Once independence was fully gained on June 25, 1975—Mozambique’s official Independence Day—both the FRELIMO party flag and the Portuguese flag were retired. In their stead, a new national flag was hoisted. The new flag bore symbols of Mozambique in a sort of crest, the hoe for the farmer, the book for the intellectual, the cogwheel for the worker and, in deference to the costly fight for independence, it included the AK-47 rifle (see Fig 1). Similar themes would be present in another even more widespread political symbol, the national anthem of independent Mozambique.



Fig. 1. Flag of Mozambique from 1975-1983.

Resolving conflict through symbolic action

Why does symbolic action take such a prominent role in political conflict resolution? Why fly the flags side by side? Why aren’t private words between leaders enough to secure a lasting peace agreement? Kertzer summarizes the work of many other anthropologists in the area of ritual and conflict, giving some insightful examples to illuminate the need for ritual in times of crisis. In an example of resolving conflict through trial by ordeal Kertzer states,

The guilt of the accused is thus established not by the individual who had made the accusation, but by the rites. As in Western court rites, the judgment is

depersonalized, and punishment is made the responsibility of the entire society rather than a matter of personal vendetta.¹³

Other rituals work much the same way in that they offer the leaders involved in political crisis the chance to act with a sense of immunity. Kertzer is essentially saying that by acting in a ritual fashion, the politicians put the weight of their action on the rite itself, on the symbol of the rite or on the entire community instead of on their own heads. For example, during the transition of governments, Portugal and Mozambique had their flags flown side by side with their former enemy. The symbolic and ritual nature of this action (which Turner would call “reintegration”) alters the concept of the action, turning two negotiating political bodies into two nations overcoming strife. The politician(s) become(s) the nation, making the flag and the nation the real actors, making the politicians merely corporeal helpers to the will of the personified nation.

Finding a Formula—What an Anthem Needs

Several elements, when present, help to make a national anthem a powerful ritual vehicle in times of crisis and for strengthening nationalist sentiment in times of peace. These elements do not constitute a magic formula, but their presence (or lack thereof) can make (or break) an anthem. When present, the three elements of nationalist lyrics, unisonant performances, and political ambiguity help to make an anthem a successful tool during crisis resolution and to promote national (and symbol) longevity. Nationalist aspects of the anthem text helps to create a tangible national identity, ambiguity in text and music offers flexibility and potential stability, and unisonance through performance opportunities creates a sense of shared community through shared action.

¹³ Kertzer, 133.

In order for anthems to be effective tools for political resolution and stability, they must help to define the nation in a way that fits political needs. National anthems, therefore, must be more than national, they must be nationalistic. According to Bohlman, nationalist music is distinctive from national music in that it is focused on the nation as a state rather than the nation as a cultural group. He writes,

Nationalist music comes into being through top-down cultural and political work, just the opposite of national music. Rather than representing something preexistent and quintessential—culturally prior to the nation—nationalist music represents cultural boundaries for the state that have political purposes. Rivers, rather than providing a cultural core to the nation, trace the nation's boundaries.¹⁴

The national anthem is not intended to function as a folk song, regardless as to whether it started that way or not. Instead of defining culture and aesthetics, an anthem defines politics. Lyrics which are nationalistic sketch out the nation, they define it, they give it shape, they embody the nation. Bohlman continues by pointing out the uses for nationalist music,

The state uses nationalist music in several distinctive ways. First, it relies on the malleability of nationalist music to fabricate and create images of itself. The more concrete such images are, the more extensively they endow music with the potential to serve the state. ...Second, nationalist music mobilizes the residents of the state through musical ideas. They narrate an historical or political struggle. They identify the entity against which the nation struggles, and they draw the battlelines, both abstract and real. Nationalist music can take the people of the state into battle, for example as military music. Third, nationalist music generates an aesthetic and musical language that allows the nation-state to compete for abstract ideas as well as the specific ideologies.¹⁵

In addition to defining physical and political boundaries, national anthems must be politically malleable, they must define what the people are willing to fight for/against, and they must have abstract musical thought to underline the specificity found in other

¹⁴ Philip B. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 120.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 121.

aspects of the anthem. The malleable and abstract natures of anthems helps to make them proper vehicles for nationalism, because of the opportunity it creates for symbolic ambiguity.

In discussing the meaning of political ritual and symbol, Kertzer points out that symbols they have three properties: condensation, multivocality and ambiguity. Kertzer explains that condensation is bringing multiple meanings together into one condensed meaning. Multivocality is the co-existence of separate, and equally valid meanings in the same symbol. He continues,

...It should hardly be surprising that ritual symbolism is often ambiguous: the symbol has no single precise meaning. Put in more positive terms, this means that symbols are not arcane ways of saying something that could be more precisely expressed in simple declarative form. The complexity and uncertainty of meaning of symbols are sources of their strength.¹⁶

What makes ambiguity a valuable characteristic of an effective national symbol? Kertzer answers this question by pointing out that ambiguity can help extend the meaning of a symbol; the single symbol can reference or represent different ideas, and therefore can last through many minor political shifts without losing its potency. And, similarly, these ambiguities can be purposely manipulated to alter meaning, giving opportunity to customize the symbol for the specific political purpose of a particular event.¹⁷

Lyrics, music and performance all contribute to this ambiguity. Ambiguity in lyrics comes quite naturally, because of the nature of language. Multiple definitions and layered connotations can lend ambiguity to every word, phrase, and sentence. Additionally, lyrics can be written to enhance ambiguity through the use of abstract linguistic devices, such as metaphors and naturalistic images. In music, writing to

¹⁶ Kertzer, 11.

¹⁷ Ibid, 57-76.

achieve abstraction comes from remaining fairly simple. If an anthem is too easily identified with the folk music of one particular region or ethnicity, the resulting cultural and political associations are less universal than a more generic choice. Bohlman makes this point when he states, "...anthem composers have historically avoided melodies and formal techniques that would exoticize their nations, that might call their Europeanness into question."¹⁸ Interestingly, most of the international community, Mozambique included, has chosen to create a European sounding anthem. Was this motivated by an interest by Mozambicans to sound European? Choosing to use a European sounding anthem can make their anthem sound more "legitimate" by sounding more like those of established and/or powerful nations, but more importantly, it can push focus away from the multiplicity of ethnicities in Mozambique and create something that sounds neutral and political. Performance adds the final level of ambiguity. How an anthem is performed can strongly affect the meaning of the performance. In her article on one specific and controversial performance of the Taiwanese national anthem, Nancy Guy puts it this way,

Due to its performative nature (in order for it to sound, there must be human agency), an anthem holds something of a "blank canvas" quality—it may be filled with additional meaning beyond that dictated by printed words and music notation—much more so than is the case with static visual symbols such as a national flag. Is the singer a member of an ethnic minority or not; young, middle aged, elderly? Are the singer's clothes formal, casual, sexy, or conservative? How does the song sound? Is the singing voice trained following Western operatic principles? Is it a pop voice? Is it the voice of a Peking opera singer or a traditional folk singer? Is the accompaniment a rock-n-roll band, a symphony orchestra, an ensemble of native instruments, or a combination of several of these? All of these factors (as well as others) open up interpretive possibilities which add further layers of meaning to a given performance of an anthem. Each quality holds different associations for different members of the society.¹⁹

¹⁸ Bohlman, 120.

¹⁹ Guy, 96.

So just as language and music—almost essentially—have multiple meanings and connotations, different performances can manipulate those ambiguities to create or alter symbolic meaning. However, as Kertzer points out, ambiguity has as many dangers as it has values, and those who make decisions concerning performances must beware not to let ambiguity undermine the solidarity of the symbol and the nation it represents.

Performing the anthem gives opportunity for interpreting the anthem, and group or shared performance offers a shared interpretation and a sense of community. As mentioned above, correctly chosen national symbols can create cultural unity by adding to the overarching social and cultural dialogue of a nation/nationality. They also function on a higher level, contributing not only to a cultural vocabulary, but contributing to a physical sense of closeness or community. Émile Durkheim stated this idea of performed unity when he said, “By uttering the same cry, pronouncing the same word, or performing the same gestures in regard to these [symbolic] objects, individuals become and feel themselves to be in unison.”²⁰ In his book, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson discusses just how this sense of being in unison comes forth in performing a national anthem.

Take national anthems, for example, sung on national holidays. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in the singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. Singing the Marseillaise, Waltzing Matilda, and Indonesia Raya provide occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community. ...How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound.²¹

²⁰ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Translated by J.W. Swain, (New York: Free Press, 1915), 262. As quoted in Cerulo (1995), p. 17.

²¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 2006) 145.

If we combine the concepts of these two scholars, we see that a sense of unison—as Anderson calls it, unisonance—is created by performing with the understanding that others, even those beyond our vision, are performing that same anthem, in the same way, at the same time. In this event of unisonance, the national anthem becomes more than an element of shared vocabulary and becomes a shared experience. The performance of the anthem, particularly on a national level, creates a stronger sense of community through an imagined shared experience.

All of these elements—nationalistic content, political flexibility and nation-building performance—are present to some degree in both of Mozambique’s national anthems. However, the presence of these elements is not as important as the quality of the elements and their ability to function as nationalistic, ambiguous and communal in the minds of the people they represent. As will be discussed, “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*” was readily accepted at independence, because it was just enough like “*A Portuguesa*” to sound legitimate to the Mozambican people, but its acceptance did not last long.

“Viva, Viva a Frelimo”—Independence and the Symbols of Socialism

The name of the anthem attests to the new situation Mozambique found herself in at independence; Mozambique and the socialist FRELIMO party had symbolically, perhaps even literally, become synonymous. Not long after taking power, FRELIMO managed to crush all opposing parties that tried to offer alternative leadership options in the new nation.²² These actions led to the development of a one-party nation-state. FRELIMO was no longer just one political party, it was the only political party. The

²² João M. Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 80-84.

anthem “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*,” written by Justino Sigaulane Chemane, celebrates the new socialist party, the triumph of Mozambicans over colonialism, and clearly exalts the socialist ideology of the ruling party. The three symbolic elements of nationalist sentiment, unisonant performance and potential for ambiguity were all present in this first national anthem of Mozambique as well as the ritual that surrounded it. These three elements worked together to instill a sense of legitimacy on the fledgling government and gave it a useful tool for re-imagining and redefining Mozambique in a new political era.

The nationalistic character of “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*” comes through in both the theme of independence and the declaration of its borders. Both the martial qualities of the music and the general theme of the text contribute strongly to a recollection of the battle for independence. The anthem is in 4/4 meter, the meter most typical of martial anthems. With the addition of strong beats in the bass octave and the official tempo being marked as “Martial,” the anthem creates a sense of the military. The military, at this time in Mozambique’s history, is highly important. This is added to by the strong images of the struggle for independence, “Heroic people who, gun in hand, toppled colonialism.” FRELIMO, the ruling party and the object of anthemic praise, gained its strength in its military campaigns. The martial quality of the anthem recalls the military and therefore recalls FRELIMO. Considering that at this time, FRELIMO as a party was synonymous with the Mozambican government, any recollection of FRELIMO called forth images of the nation as a whole. This image is necessarily contrasted with that of the former Portuguese rulers, because of the strong reference to the War of Liberation, as it is called in Mozambique.

The lyrics of “Viva” define Mozambique not only in reference to the political

party then in power, but also in terms of its literal and figurative borders. First, literal borders are declared. “All the People united / From Rovuma to the Maputo,” refers to the Rovuma and Maputo rivers which form the northern and southern borders of the country. The distinct and easily recognizable river borders are a remaining legacy from the Portuguese. As mentioned previously, Mozambican borders were not made in reference to cultural boundaries, but based on the boundaries of Portugal’s property claims. Referring to these borders helps to define which people should feel united under the new Mozambican flag.

The anthem also describes the political borders of the new Mozambique. In addition to defining Mozambique as separate from its colonial ruler, the lyrics emphatically outline the tenets of the FRELIMO political philosophy of socialism. The entire second verse is focused on explaining these tenets. FRELIMO wanted Mozambique to be the “tomb of capitalism,” a fact they put in place soon after independence by placing agriculture, industry, and the economy in the hands of the government. The lyrics also say that Mozambicans are “United with the whole world,/Struggling against the bourgeoisie” and that their fight with imperialism did not end with their own liberation, “All the People... / ...Struggle against imperialism / And continue, and shall win.” These references brings to mind the military relationships FRELIMO had with other socialist countries and, in particular, their relationship with the nation of Angola, whose own independence had been so closely linked with their own.²³ These lines describe FRELIMO as promoting socialism throughout the world. The following lyrics from the second verse describe socialism on the home front, “The Mozambican People, / Workers and peasants, / Engaged in work / Shall always produce

²³ Newitt, 538-540.

wealth". These images are essential for creating a sense of stability not only because they reinforce the socialist ideology of FRELIMO, but because they offer the comfort that despite the loss of much of the wealthy and educated populace, they can have a bright future. Through physical and figurative definitions, "*Viva*" personified Mozambique as a land between two rivers, a land where socialism would bring prosperity and stability.

Once personified in this way, the anthem further takes shape in the minds of the people through political ritual. As a martial anthem, "*Viva*" was well-suited for use in military displays and ceremonies. On a trip to China in May of 1978, President Samora Machel was greeted in several locations with a presentation of political ritual. In each of these presentations, the Mozambican national anthem was played followed by the national anthem of China (Xinhua General News Service [Peking], 30 May 1978). A common and well-understood gesture of goodwill, playing the two anthems together and placing the leaders side by side may have more clearly communicated the good relationship held by the two nations. By playing the anthem to greet Machel, the Chinese government was greeting the whole nation, for where the national anthem goes, so goes the nation.

Likewise, when the leader dies, a part of the nation dies with it. The funeral rituals of fallen leaders are meant to communicate the loss of one of the national symbols (i.e. the president) through the use of the other symbols (e.g. the flag, the anthem, etc.). In 1986, when Machel died in a tragic plane crash, thought by many to have been orchestrated by the apartheid South African Defense Force,²⁴ the remaining FRELIMO politicians organized an elaborate funeral to mourn the loss of their nations first leader.

²⁴ Newitt, 569.

Machel's coffin was placed on an anti-aircraft gun carriage that had been swathed in red cloth. This was drawn by a Soviet-built armored personnel vehicle to the star-shaped metal roofed tomb where he was to be laid. After having fainted and being revived with smelling salts, Machel's wife Graça mustered the strength to sing along with the performance of the national anthem, while Machel and the rest of the unfortunate dead were lowered into the ground.²⁵ The dramatic use of the national anthem at that point in Machel's funeral served to create a powerful sense of national loss. This symbolic orchestration communicated that Mozambique was not just losing a man, but the president, the "symbol-maker".²⁶ And by recalling the military role Machel played in "creating" the independent nation, FRELIMO was able to reinvigorate nationalist sentiment during a very troubled time.

Additionally, the anthem was used in regular performative rituals that were perhaps more effective in creating a sense of unisonance. One of the main efforts of the new FRELIMO government was to de-colonize the country, which included offering services previously denied the populace.²⁷ Amongst the other services provided was access to education. "*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*" was taught in the schools and then performed on a daily basis. This is, no doubt, the way in which many Mozambicans came to know and perform their anthem. Other public performances included performance of the anthem in political gatherings and playing the national anthem at the opening and closing of public television and radio (which at the time did not run 24 hours a day as they do now). "*Viva*" could be heard by most Mozambicans on a daily basis,

²⁵ Philip Williams, "Viva Samora, Samora Lives," *United Press International*, 28 October 1986.

²⁶ Michael Novak, *Choosing Presidents: Symbols of Political Leadership* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction, 1992), 28, 47.

²⁷ M. Anne Pitcher, *Transforming Mozambique: The Politics of Privatization 1975-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 53.

giving ample opportunity for feelings of patriotism and even occasionally the powerful feeling of unisonance.

<i>A Portuguesa</i>	<i>Viva, Viva a FRELIMO</i>
<i>Verse 1</i>	<i>Verse 1</i>
<p>Heroes of the sea, noble race, Valiant and immortal nation, Now is the hour to raise up on high once more Portugal's splendour. From out of the mists of memory, Oh Homeland, we hear the voices Of your great forefathers That shall lead you on to victory!</p>	<p>Long Live FRELIMO Guide of the Mozambican people Heroic people who, gun in hand</p> <p>Toppled colonialism. All the People united From Rovuma to the Maputo, Struggle against imperialism And continue, and shall win.</p>
<i>Chorus</i>	<i>Chorus</i>
<p>To arms, to arms On land and sea! To arms, to arms To fight for our Homeland! To march against the enemy guns!</p>	<p>Long live Mozambique! Long live our flag, symbol of the Nation! Long live Mozambique! For thee your People will fight.</p>
<i>Verse 2</i>	<i>Verse 2</i>
<p>Unfurl the unconquerable flag In the bright light of your sky! Cry out to all Europe and the whole world That Portugal has not perished. Your happy land is kissed By the Ocean that murmurs with love. And your conquering arm Has given new worlds to the world!</p>	<p>United with the whole world, Struggling against the bourgeoisie, Our country will be the tomb Of capitalism and exploitation. The Mozambican People, Workers and peasants, Engaged in work Shall always produce wealth.</p>

Fig. 2. English translations of “*A Portuguesa*” and “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*”

But even “*Viva, viva a FRELIMO*” has some symbolic ambiguity, despite its strong and seemingly transparent statements. Much of the ambiguity can be seen as having been carried over from the cultural heritage of Portugal. First, “*Viva*” was written in the national language, which was also the language of the imperial power from which FRELIMO tried to distance itself. That Portuguese was chosen as the national language did not seem shocking to anyone in Mozambique, as it was the only language most

Mozambicans held in common. Otherwise, most of the populace know only a few of the many African dialects spoken throughout the country. But despite its being an obvious choice, the fact that the national anthem (and the rest of the national language) is in Portuguese means that Mozambicans still define themselves and imagine themselves through a partially Portuguese filter, for good or bad. This fact lends ambiguity to the anthem and its statements of “toppling colonialism.”

Second, many of the musical and lyrical ideas in “*Viva*” harken back to her predecessor, “*A Portuguesa*.” As shown in Figure 2, “*Viva*” and “*A Portuguesa*” share similar themes of heroic people who are ready to engage in battle. Note the final line of the first verse in particular, both remark that they will be victorious. The choruses of each song follow this pattern in calling the listener to fight for the homeland. And as can easily be seen in the diagram, the two songs have similar verse and chorus length.

Similarly, the two songs share many musical traits; they are both marches, they are written in the same key of E-flat²⁸, they employ the same time signature (4/4) and they both make heavy use of dotted rhythms. However, in substantive content, they are quite dissimilar. “*A Portuguesa*” follows a simple A B (verse, chorus) structural pattern with no repeated phrases until the chorus, whereas “*Viva*” has an A A B structure (melody, melody repeated, chorus). “*Viva*” is meant to be a quick march at 120 beats per minute, while “*A Portuguesa*” is meant to be a moderate march at 92 beats per minute. In one last example, “*Viva*” uses a passing F# diminished chord (F#, A, C) multiple times throughout and it is given unusual emphasis. In bars 2, 6 and 14, it is played on the

²⁸ The same key of E-flat is commonly used in Beethoven’s heroic style (i.e. Symphony No. 3, *Eroica* in E-flat major). See Renee McCachren, “Eroica 1803, Symphony No. 3 by Ludwig van Beethoven,” in *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era 1760-1850*, ed. Christopher John Murray (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2004), 320-21.

downbeat and held for two beats, a great length in a song with such a quick tempo. This chord may be the most musically symbolic element, marking a striking statement about the new Mozambique distancing itself from convention. These anthems can be seen as having many similarities and many differences, both lyrically and melodically, and these characteristics lend some ambiguity to “*Viva*”.

The ambiguity in “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*” manifests itself in familiar sounds, structure and style that hearken back to its predecessor, “*A Portuguesa*” without sounding like a copy. This hint of similarity, the martial sounds, the themes of fighting for homeland, the dotted rhythms all combine to give the new anthem the sounds of an established one. “*Viva*” has just enough similarity with “*A Portuguesa*” to mesh with what already sounds “legitimate” to the Mozambican ear and mind, while including enough differences to make the political breach with Portugal more than clear. In this case, symbolic ambiguity worked in FRELIMO’s favor much longer than even President Samora Machel might have thought possible. Though “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*” remained the official national anthem throughout the civil war and into the 1990s, early crises in Mozambique’s independent history prompted Machel to consider a new anthem.

III. The 1983 Anthem Project

The years following independence were bleak. The war of independence had caused almost every wealthy British, South African and Portuguese investor or resident to flee the country. Plank describes Mozambique as not only left without investors, but in some cases without industries to invest in.

The disadvantages of colonial rule were compounded when more than 90 per cent of the white population left Mozambique at the time of independence, many destroying what they could not take with them.¹

This movement was in some cases forced and sometimes voluntary, but the economic vacuum that resulted from this mass exodus began even before independence was gained. In addition, many of the educated or skilled black and Indian populations also fled the chaos and violence of the period just after Independence.²

In addition to losing the most influential, educated, wealthy and skilled Mozambicans, the government was left without any monetary support. Though the MFA (*Movimento das Forças Armadas*) was sympathetic to the nationalist movements to whom they granted autonomy, they were not interested enough to offer a starting bankroll. And by the time the exodus was finished, the banks were drained of cash, and much of the nation's commercial goods had been purchased and taken out of the country. FRELIMO had literally nothing to start with but the masses whom they intended to govern.³ As previously mentioned, the majority of Mozambicans had little access to education or training during the colonial years, so even the human resources left the

¹ David Plank, "Aid, Debt, and the End of Sovereignty: Mozambique and Its Donors," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 31, no. 3 (Sept 1993), 409. Some buildings in Maputo (formerly Lorenzo Marques under the Portuguese) still bear the scars of this exodus. Building companies finishing high-rise projects filled the elevator shafts with cement, use of the upper floors of these buildings is still difficult.

² Newitt, 551.

³ Ibid.

country with great needs. With empty banks and little infrastructure to create more revenue, the debts FRELIMO leaders had incurred during the war could not be paid and they were desperate for more aid.

Mozambique's war of independence had begun at the height of the Cold War, a time when the leftist rivals China and the USSR were eager to assist needy countries in their wars against imperialism, as long as the dependent countries would fulfill some of their demands in return.⁴ FRELIMO made an agreement with the USSR, and began receiving aid to prepare for and then to continue the war of independence. The USSR and several other countries continued to offer aid after self-rule was granted, but there was great pressure for Mozambique to begin producing and repaying.

The new socialist government established by FRELIMO made efforts to do this by absorbing industries and attempting to control the economy. In little over five years the government owned and controlled a majority of all businesses, industrial production, transport and construction.⁵ FRELIMO invited Soviet officials to come to Mozambique for suggestions on how to properly run state farms. Many of their efforts resulted in mass deaths and wasted resources.

With food shortages common and social programs failing, many people became dissatisfied with the impoverished government. A very small number of dissatisfied Mozambicans formed an anti-socialist rebel group, RENAMO (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* or the Mozambique National Resistance), within the borders of Rhodesia. There they found ready support from the Rhodesian government to stage a rebellion.⁶

⁴ Cabrita, 27.

⁵ Newitt, 552.

⁶ Rhodesia was currently under pressure from its own rebel movements, and didn't want FRELIMO-controlled Mozambique to become a safe haven for these rebels. Supporting Renamo seemed

These few Mozambicans began sending the ideas of rebellion over the airwaves, broadcasting as *Voz da África Livre* (Voice of Free Africa) for one hour a day in 1976.⁷ Disenfranchised Mozambicans who heard RENAMO's broadcasts began to cross into Rhodesia to join the tiny rebellion. Though neither the first nor the last rebellion against FRELIMO, RENAMO was certainly the most successful. After a few years of powerful radio broadcasts and with the help of more foreign aid, they were able to stage a rebellion that grew into a full-blown civil war that lasted for decades. The South Africa of Apartheid was anxious to see Mozambique weakened, as they believe FRELIMO was offering shelter and support to the outlawed African National Congress.⁸

As the fledgling government entered the 1980s, economic hardship was worse than ever, having been compounded by three major natural disasters since independence.⁹ Mozambique suffered devastating floods from 1976-1978, a severe drought from 1980-1985 and another flood in 1981. These three events alone killed an estimated 100,000 and affected some six million others. Add to this the failure of several large-scale

in their best interest at the time. The South African apartheid government also gave support to Renamo in the 1980s in an effort to keep FRELIMO from being able to help South African rebels. It is rumored that the CIA of the United States also played a part in supporting Renamo at some point, but the Reagan administration and Congress denounced Renamo and openly supported Frelimo. It is clear that the CIA played a role in supporting Renamo, but exactly how involved the CIA actually was is difficult to find information on. William Minter, author of *Apartheid's Contras* has some specific information, but even he admits that much of their involvement has not been made public. It is clear that the Reagan administration did not publicly give permission for support, so any significant support would have been kept relatively confidential.

⁷ João M. Cabrita, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy*, (New York: PALGRAVE, 2000), 140.

⁸ Newitt, 559. Mozambique refused to let the ANC set up military bases in order to appease South Africa, but then allowed the ANC to open offices.

⁹ For more information, including exact numbers, see the following report from The World Bank. Peter Wiles, Kerry Selvester and Lourdes Fidalgo, *Learning Lessons from Disaster Recovery: The Case of Mozambique*, Disaster Risk Management Working Paper Series, no. 12 (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2005), 3 and 29. This document can also be accessed through the following website <http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001856/> (accessed April-July 2009).

governmental agriculture projects, and it is not hard to see how a country already broke could become yet poorer. Again, in the words of Plank,

In the early 1980s the economy collapsed. The destruction caused by Renamo disrupted rural production, and damaged the roads and railways on which trans-shipments from South Africa and Zimbabwe depended. Measured G.D.P. declined by 30 per cent between 1982 and 1985.¹⁰

Natural and economic disasters seemed ever-present in Mozambique's first years, and these disasters were constantly enlarged by the continuing civil war. FRELIMO's leader, Samora Machel, called for new national symbols, an effort that could revitalize the nation. Mozambique was indeed in a time of crisis, a time when strong political symbols and rituals could be powerful assets.

In 1983, Machel gathered the most well-respected creative minds in the country to produce a new flag and a new anthem. In an oration given in 2005, Mia Couto, a well-respected Mozambican author and leader, recounted his part in the group of authors and musicians organized for the creation of the anthem.¹¹ He related that he and his peers were essentially locked away until they came up with a certain number of anthem options for the country. Couto describes the relative elegance in which they lived during that tour of duty, living far above the normal standard for that period in Mozambican history. However, none of the anthems that resulted from that forced, yet highly creative, setting were ever adopted. As stated in a Mozambican News Agency report,

Then President Samora Machel had invited some of the country's best poets and musicians to write possible anthems. The lyrics and tunes were written, and deposited with the military band. But the military situation deteriorated sharply, and revising the national anthem was no longer a priority.¹²

¹⁰ Plank, 410.

¹¹ Mia Couto, "Os Sete Sapatos Sujos," *Vertical* No. 781, 782 and 783 (Março 2005). Accessed through the following website: <http://www.macua.org/miacouto/MiaCoutoISCTEM2005.htm> (accessed Jan -July 2009).

¹² "Assembly Approves New National Anthem," *Mozambique News Agency AIM Reports*

Though a new flag was hoisted in April of 1983, choosing a new national anthem went by the wayside.¹³ Interestingly, the new flag chosen by Machel’s government was the flag of Independence with the addition of the national crest—a star, a book, a hoe and an AK-47 (see Fig. 3). The symbols of independence held powerful sentiment and had the potential to reunite a divided country because those sentiments were shared throughout the war torn country.



Fig. 3. Flag of Mozambique from 1983 to the present.

The call to replace “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*” with a new anthem indicates that Machel and his political peers were not satisfied with it as a unifying political symbol. Two questions immediately come to mind: Why wasn’t “*Viva*” working? And why did they look for completely new anthems rather than try to modify the anthem already in place? It is hard to gain access, as yet, to resources that could hold concrete answers to these questions. However, the circumstances surrounding the 1983 anthem project would strongly indicate that the need for a new anthem was motivated by the need for

no. 228 (London), 27 March 2002.

¹³ This date is supported by both of the following sources: Whitney Smith, *Flag Lore of All Nations* (Brookfield: Millbrook Press, 2001), 66; Alfred Znamierowski, *Illustrated Encyclopedia World Flags Identifier* (New York: Lorenz Books, 2000), 99. However, the parliamentary representative who presented Frelimo’s declaration of acceptance for the new national anthem states that the new flag was chosen in 1984. See “Declaração de Voto da Bancada da Frelimo Sobre o Hino Nacional,” *Notícias* (Maputo) 3 May 2002.

FRELIMO to redefine itself as a nation. Already busy with other symbolic political actions that changed Mozambican policy, both domestically and internationally, the party needed new symbols that could fit the new national definition.

The effort to create new symbols corresponded with dramatic governmental change. Many of these efforts were related to the desperate situation Mozambique found herself in economically, some were related to the constant threat posed by RENAMO, others were meant to boost the moral of the nation. Machel changed the direction of foreign affairs, claiming friendship with Western countries, and actively courting aid from them. He courted the government in Lisbon. He even signed a peace accord with South Africa's apartheid government, who until this point he had openly and vehemently opposed. In addition to courting aid, FRELIMO attempted to restructure the agricultural industry, communalizing 20% of the nation during only a few years. In an effort to receive the support of the countries Catholic population, FRELIMO started to return the confiscated property of the Catholic church. And as mentioned above, the military situation was deteriorating rapidly.¹⁴

Redefining the nation in these ways, particularly in the courting of Western powers, directly contradicts socialist statements that Mozambicans "struggle against imperialism" and that Mozambique "will be the tomb of capitalism." The 1983 anthem project, had it been successful, could have lessened the ironies of government actions. Those actions could have been redefined not as political weakness, which many saw it as,¹⁵ but as political reform and redefinition. Though none of the anthems were ever adopted, the 1983 anthem project itself symbolized the desire of the FRELIMO political

¹⁴ Newitt, 566-568.

¹⁵ Ibid, 567.

elite to make significant changes in the national definition, and the inability of the current anthem to accompany such changes.

“*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*” would be difficult to use in redefining the nation in policy and political philosophy, because of the unquestionable socialist statements it makes. The fact that the anthem project was meant to completely replace this other anthem may indicate an effort by Samora Machel to overcome crisis through a more flexible national symbols. Redefining the country as friendly to the West and to the Catholic Church could influence some of the disenfranchised populace in FRELIMO’s favor. Perhaps if this effort at redefinition had continued through the adoption and community performance of a new anthem, FRELIMO could have changed the nation embodied in the minds of the Mozambican people, perhaps even ending the war a few years earlier. One might wonder what potential Machel saw in a prospective new anthem, but his efforts at finding a new anthem amidst the intense situations he dealt with that year communicate his faith that an anthem could help change the country for the better.

IV. An Anthem Without Words

The social, economic and natural tragedies that plagued the first decade after independence continued even after Machel's efforts to change directions. By the late 1980s, FRELIMO was making changes to the Mozambican government in order to allow peace and capitalism. In 1990, a new constitution was introduced and political pluralism was announced. Two years later, on October 4, 1992, a peace accord was signed between FRELIMO and RENAMO in Rome. In 1994, only two years after the peace accord was in force, the first multi-party elections took place. In that first election, multiple parties were introduced, with Frelimo¹ only taking around 44% of votes for parliament.² This era of rapid transition to a multi-party, capitalist system was one of the most peaceful in all of post-colonial Africa.

Almost immediately after elected officials began meeting in the Mozambican Assembly of the Republic, they raised questions about the national anthem. Though Frelimo had their Presidential candidate elected and they were still the largest majority in Parliament, they understood the difficulty of maintaining use of "*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*" ("Long Live FRELIMO") as the national anthem of a multi-party nation. However, as they did not want to give up the now twenty-year old anthem, a compromise was reached that would allow the changing of lyrics, but would require the melody to remain the same.

¹ During the wars, both FRELIMO and RENAMO were referred to in capital letters as reference to their contracted names. In keeping with the literature written about them during these years, I have printed their names in the same fashion. However, with the change to a multi-party democracy, both parties moved away from that practice, perhaps to show their desire to leave behind the war that had negatively effected so much of the population. From this point on in the article, both political parties will be referred to in this new style (i.e. Frelimo, Renamo).

² At this election Renamo took about 37% of the parliamentary vote, the rest of the votes being split between the remaining 12 parties. For more detailed information, see the African Elections Database at <http://africanelections.tripod.com/mz.html>.

The government under Samora Machel was ready and willing to change the national anthem only eight years after it was adopted, yet after another decade of use, those in power struggled to give up the same anthem. Why? Certainly, a new anthem would be appropriate at a time of such rapid redefinition of the nation. However, the situation requiring a new anthem had changed. The issue was no longer one of redefining a government under Machel's (and Frelimo's) power, it was redefining the governmental system altogether and giving up the anthem meant giving up power in yet another way. At the same time, Frelimo was still in the greatest position of power and a mere power struggle cannot completely explain their reluctance to relinquish "*Viva*".

Two decades was long enough to establish "*Viva*" as the national anthem in the minds of the people of Mozambique. Though the associations with the anthem may not have been sweet for all Mozambicans, it was the only official national anthem the independent country had ever known. As such, the anthem had established a legacy, a memory, a history. Changing the national anthem became difficult in part because it is such a ubiquitous political symbol, the anthem represents the nation. Discarding the anthem can be like discarding the imagined nation; and for those who loved that image of the nation, changing the anthem can feel like a loss of that identity, at least a loss of continuation.

Retaining the melody could retain some of that continuation for those who valued both the power and legacy of "*Viva*", but it brought problems for those whose associations with the former anthem were bitter. The multiple opposition parties feared that despite any success in changing the lyrics, the melody would still powerfully recall the twenty years of socialist rule under the Frelimo party banner. This sort of ambiguity

could make a new anthem an even more powerful political symbol for Frelimo, as it would combine the strong memories of their party and the independence they helped bring about with new lyrics that more successfully describe the nation in its current state. However, this type of ambiguity would be far less effective in strengthening the images of Renamo and the other smaller political parties. Consequently, the opposing deputies (or representatives) were not excited about keeping the melody from “*Viva*”, even though they understood that this compromise was all they could expect at this point in time, considering the size and power of Frelimo in parliament.

Headed by Renamo politicians, an ad-hoc committee of experts was formed to find new lyrics. The competition was advertised throughout Mozambique asking for poetic entries that would represent the diversity of Mozambique, yet conform to the old melody. This first competition dragged on for years without any satisfactory results, so the committee decided to try again.³ Once again a competition was announced in 1998, with the hope that more artists and musicians would take part. Again, from Mozambican News Agency,

The Assembly had previously decided to retain the current tune, and only alter the lyrics. The regulations modify this, saying that the melody can be changed “slightly” to accommodate new lyrics.⁴

At the end of that round however, “the jury declared that the entries ‘do not reflect in an appropriate way the cultural richness and historic values of the Mozambican motherland,’ a delicate way of saying they're no good.”⁵

³ Much of this author’s knowledge of this subject has been pieced together from numerous news articles, which are listed in the bibliography. Only those directly quoted or paraphrased will appear in the footnotes.

⁴ “Assembly Discusses National Anthem,” *Mozambique News Agency AIM Reports* no.133 (London), 6 May 1998.

⁵ Paul Fauvet (of Panafrican News Agency), “Mozambique Searching For New National Anthem,”

At some point, listening to and performing reverence for an anthem with no words, whose most recent words were that of their opposing party, finally got to the Renamo-Electoral Union coalition (*Renamo-União Eleitoral* or RUE). By the parliamentary sessions of 2001, RUE often stayed seated during the playing of the national anthem, with some members even reading the newspaper.⁶

If they objected merely to the lyrics of the anthem, they would not feel the need to publicly show their disapproval when only the melody was being played. This means that the music of “*Viva*” had gained unpleasant meanings through association. The melody without the lyrics had power to create emotions in those who listened to or performed it, be they positive or negative. The civil disobedience of RUE shows that “*Viva*” lost none (or very little) of its effectual power after being stripped of lyrics. The civil disobedience performed by RUE was clearly dissent, a breach in protocol to argue for a new definition of what it means to be Mozambican through an anthem. As Kelly Askew states,

Refusal to sing the anthem or stand at attention, chanting the slogan of an opposition party [etc, are all]...equally demonstrative strategies for contesting membership in or posing alternate conceptualizations of the nation. Through their shared performances, the citizens of a state congeal and bring the nation—however variegated—into being.⁷

The failure of RUE to perform proper respect for the chosen national symbol was powerful symbolic action, adding tension to the meetings of the National Assembly.

Africa News, 17 January 1999.

⁶ “Assembly Backs Down Under Renamo Pressure” *Mozambique News Agency AIM Reports* No. 203 (London) 19 March 2001; “Mozambique: Parliamentary Sitting Begins With Demonstration” *Africa News* from Panafrikan News Agency, 14 October 2000.

⁷ Kelly Askew, *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 290.

Prompted by these tensions, a third committee was organized in 2000 to search out a new national anthem. The committee was presided over by Almeida Tambara, a prominent member of the Renamo party since the cease-fire. This time the parliamentary bill that created a new search commission gave that commission more freedom in choosing melody and text. During this process of seeking a new anthem, this new commission decided to take a different approach.

...When a new ad-hoc commission was elected in 2000, somebody remembered that the first attempt to revise the national anthem dated from the early 1980s.

...The potential anthems gathered dust for almost two decades. When the ad-hoc commission revived them, they found that several were better than any from the competitions.⁸

The 1983 anthem project was thus resurrected and of the anthems written during that experiment, three were chosen and introduced to the Assembly of the Republic of Mozambique in March of 2002. Of these three, one *hino* was chosen, pending revisions. The final revised product, “*Patria Amada*,” was officially adopted as the new national anthem on April 30, 2002, by a unanimous parliament.⁹ And on May 3, 2002, President Joaquim Chissano made a public declaration, putting “*Patria Amada*” into law as the official national anthem.¹⁰

Unanimity—The First Step to Unisonance

The potential power “*Patria Amada*” had (and has) for creating nationalism in Mozambique was evident even during its trial and acceptance in Parliament. As

⁸ “Assembly Approves New National Anthem,” *Mozambique News Agency AIM Reports* no. 228 (London), 27 March 2002.

⁹ The fact that the anthem was unanimously approved is a marked source of pride for one of the Mozambican officials I discussed this with. This unanimity starkly contrasts the heated disagreement over the previous anthem that had prevailed since the first seating of the new multi-party parliament.

¹⁰ This formal declaration was published two days later as an official “*Boletim da Republica*”, the official gazette. Though no full text seems to be available to the general public, a record of the document can be found at <http://www.glin.gov/view.action?glinID=205114>.

mentioned above, “*Patria Amada*” was voted into law unanimously. A unanimous vote is valuable in the acceptance of any new national symbol, as a national symbol is supposed to represent the people. Anything but a unanimous vote would instead communicate that the symbol was representative of a few, even the majority, but not all the people of the nation. A unanimous vote, therefore, was symbolically significant and essential in this process. But, a unanimous vote in the Assembly of the Republic is just as irregular as in most nations, and did not happen without much previous dissent and debate.

Before the highly publicized unanimous vote for anthem acceptance, there were previous votes and discussions that led to the final revised product. When the committee originally presented the three anthem choices to parliament, they arranged for the performance of all three anthems by a choir. After some digging, I found that two of the three anthems used the same “*Patria Amada*” lyrics set to different music.¹¹ The lyrics of “*Patria Amada*” were approved by both Frelimo and RUE, but the two groups were divided as to the melody. The disagreement was drawn along party lines, but what was the disagreement based on? Reporters did not have any suggestions as to whether each party rejected the other’s choice based on aesthetics or if it was merely another chance to argue. Perhaps both parties did not agree on what sounds “patriotic” or perhaps one melody sounded too much like the old melody. It is also possible that ethnic aesthetic may have played some part, as the Frelimo party is largely made up of southern Mozambicans and RUE of northerners. But regardless of the origin of the debate, it does serve to emphasize the important contribution music plays to the powerful ritual symbolism of national anthems.

¹¹ *Notícias* (Maputo), 22 March 2002.

According to several reporters in *Notícias*, the main newspaper of Mozambique's capital city Maputo, dissent was worked out during a coffee break (a lesser discussed political ritual), when several major players of both parties agreed that the differences between the two melodies were minimal, especially in comparison to the importance of unanimity.¹² Though these two groups are very comfortable remaining in disagreement on a wide variety of political topics, when it came down to choosing a national political symbol, they agreed that dissent was not an option. They understood that the first step towards unisonance in shared national performance is unity in the symbolic acceptance and adoption of a national anthem.

A word on authors and composers

The version of “*Patria Amada*” chosen was accepted with the understanding that it would be revised in both text and melody to satisfy all the parties of the Assembly. Several prominent musicians and poets/writers were invited to do revisions. Some of them were already members of the committee and some of these artists were part of the group who originally gathered to write the anthems in the 1983 anthem project. The two main lyrical authors, Rui Nogar and Gulamo Khan had passed away years before the competitions had ever been announced; however, parliament still wanted to award the remaining writers and composers with the 250 million meticaís¹³ monetary prize promised at the outset of the competition. The multiple authors and composers were reported in *Notícias*, the dominant newspaper printed in the capital city of Maputo, as the

¹² Ibid.

¹³ The value of the metical fluctuated frequently during these years, but the award money would have translated into approximately \$15,000-\$20,000 American—an average of about \$18,000—in the years 2000-2002. Mozambique has since changed its currency over to the “metical nova família,” which exchanged 1000 old meticaís for 1 new metical. The value now in Mozambique would be somewhere closer to 250,000 meticaís.

following individuals: Albino Magaia, Calane da Silva, Mia Couto, Rui Nogar, Gulamo Khan, José Vedor, Salomão Manhiça, Justino Chemane and Yana.¹⁴ This group authorship created an anthem that is looked on by some as a “communal effort”¹⁵ though it is impossible to find all the authors listed on a sheet of music. Generally, Justino Chemane is credited with the writing of both music and lyrics in print copies of the music, though all of the above-mentioned authors and composers willingly take credit for their part in the process and at least one government website lists only Salomão Manhiça as author/composer.¹⁶

Why do most printed copies of the music name Chemane as the sole author? Was this a move by the government for simplicity? It is striking that of all the authors and composers involved that Chemane would be chosen as the voice for all the others, especially considering that he was also the author of “*Viva*”. Perhaps this decision was made in light of the fact that he is also said to have taken a leading role in searching for the new anthem and in its revision. Mozambique is certainly not alone in choosing an official author/composer for the national anthem.¹⁷

“Viva” and “Patria Amada” Side By Side

When looking at the score and text of “*Patria Amada*” (“Beloved Fatherland”) “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*” similarities and differences are easy to mark. “*Patria*” seems to have just enough similarities and just enough differences with “*Viva*” to offer the valuable

¹⁴ *Notícias* (Maputo), 26 March 2002.

¹⁵ Igor Cusack, “From Revolution to Reflection: The National Anthems of the New Lusophone Worlds”. *Luso-Brazilian Review* 45, no. 2 (2008): 58.

¹⁶ Portal do Governo de Moçambique, a government website that displays information on national symbols, as well as politicians, events, and has links to government-run agencies.
http://www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz/galeriafotos/simbolos_nac/

¹⁷ Cusack, “Revolution to Reflection”, 61-62.

ambiguity needed for the political ritual of a regime change. Similarities may call to mind aspects of the previous song that have been incorporated into the Mozambican's definition of a national anthem, such as the proliferate use of dotted rhythms to a martial 4/4 style. Differences help to redefine the concept of the Mozambican national anthem, and therefore, the concept of the nation. It is possible, with proper proportions of similarities and differences, an anthem may hold the kind of ambiguity that can be used to the advantage of all the political parties involved. "*Patria Amada*" has this kind of potential to create nationalist sentiment in all parties, ethnic groups, and classes, though the realization of that potential is influenced by many factors, most particularly by acceptance and performance.

In addition to the similarities just mentioned, there are a few more parallels common to the two anthems of independent Mozambique. In the most noticeable example, both anthems use the border rivers to demarcate the physical geography within which the nation exists. They use almost identical phrases that translate essentially to "People united from Rovuma to Maputo."¹⁸ Various versions of this phrase are frequently used by Mozambicans to describe Mozambique. Interestingly, this phrase was not included in the original "*Patria*" lyrics presented to the Assembly, but was added during revisions. Perhaps this addition was intended to keep a similarity with the old anthem? Or perhaps it was changed to fit better with the melody chosen? It seems unlikely that the change from "Povo unido na defesa da Nação," ("People united in defense of the nation,") was motivated on thematic grounds as "*Patria Amada*" uses similarly warlike phrases such as, "In the memory...of they that dared to fight!" and "The Sun of June forever will shine!" These phrases very clearly recall the glory of the War of Liberation,

¹⁸ See the first verse of "*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*" and the second verse of "*Patria Amada*".

“Patria Amada”	“Viva, viva a FRELIMO”
<p><i>FIRST VERSE:</i> In the memory of Africa and the world Beautiful fatherland of they that dared to fight! Mozambique, your name is freedom The Sun of June forever will shine!</p>	<p><i>FIRST VERSE:</i> Long live FRELIMO, Guide of the Mozambican people! Heroic people who, gun in hand, toppled colonialism. All the People united From Rovuma to the Maputo, Struggle against imperialism And continue, and shall win.</p>
<p><i>CHORUS:</i> Mozambique, our glorious land! Rock by rock constructing the new day! Millions of arms, only one force! O beloved fatherland we shall overcome! (Repeat Chorus)</p>	<p><i>CHORUS:</i> Long live Mozambique! Long live our flag, symbol of the Nation! Long live Mozambique! For thee your People will fight.</p>
<p><i>SECOND VERSE:</i> United people from the Rovuma to Maputo Harvest the fruits of the fight for Peace! The dream waving in the flag grows And is being cultivated by the certainty of tomorrow!</p>	<p><i>SECOND VERSE:</i> United with the whole world, Struggling against the bourgeoisie, Our country will be the tomb Of capitalism and exploitation. The Mozambican People, Workers and peasants, Engaged in work Shall always produce wealth.</p>
<p><i>THIRD VERSE:</i> Flowers are blooming from the soil of your sweat Throughout the mounts, throughout the rivers, throughout the sea! We swear by (for) you, O Mozambique No tyrant will enslave us!</p>	

Fig. 4. English translations of “Patria Amada” and “Viva, Viva a FRELIMO”

which has already been mentioned as a major theme of “Viva.” The theme of independence from Portugal is an essential element as the vast majority of Mozambicans looked (and still look) at independence from Portugal as a good thing, even if other disagreements abound. Emphasizing the memories and concepts common to all Mozambicans can bring a sense of similarity and unity among the people, even in times of disunion or dissent.

There are also many aspects of the two anthems, which are very different.

“*Patria Amada*” uses a different key signature, the key of F in contrast to the key of E-flat used by both “*Viva*” and “*A Portuguesa*”. “*Patria*” has an A-B-B structure, which gives it a very different feeling from the A-A-B structure of “*Viva*”. The tempo of “*Patria*” is slightly slower, giving it a less aggressive tone, despite its martial style.

“*Patria*” is also less aggressive in language. Its lyrics express themes of hard work, and depict Mozambicans building their future with their own hands, their own strength, their own sweat. These themes and images are not necessarily in disagreement with the socialism of “*Viva*”—a fact that should not be surprising, considering that the original lyrics were written during the height of the socialist era—but neither are they in disagreement with the new democratic structure of government. In the most striking example of this ambiguity, the text of “*Patria*” neither pits Mozambique against capitalism nor does it sing praise to free enterprise. This example is so striking because the new regime is so different from the old regime, and one might consequently expect the new lyrics to directly contrast or counter the old lyrics. Yet “*Patria*” completely avoids the discussion of subjects, like capitalism, which were so central to the text of “*Viva*”. The choice by all parties to adopt less specific, and therefore more ambiguous, statements make “*Patria Amada*” far less aggressive and far less constraining. Philosophically vague lyrics allow it to be a useful symbol to Frelimo and the many parties that oppose it. Taking specific boundaries and specific shared memories, and combining those with flexible discussions of national political philosophy allow “*Patria*” the potential for defining Mozambique as it is, rather than what it is not, creating a lasting and less fallible sense of what it is to be Mozambican.

The first national anthem of Mozambique was born out of a revolution, the second anthem out of a national rebirth. Both songs hold strong meaning for Mozambicans, meaning that comes from the music, the lyrics and the performance. The events that led to these songs becoming anthems, as well as the events that have surrounded their performance have influenced their meaning and have contributed to the national identity of modern Mozambicans. The national anthems of Mozambique have never been simple formalities, created to legitimize the nation, then put on the shelf for treasured preservation. Unlike the Constitution of Mozambique and other important Mozambican symbols, the anthem is performed, observed and listened to in a fashion that makes it a part of the daily life of Mozambicans.

Conclusions

The national anthems of Mozambique, “*Viva, Viva a FRELIMO*” and “*Patria Amada*”, have shown themselves at time to be effective national anthems. During difficult times, during natural disasters, poverty and the civil war of Mozambique, “*Viva*” attempted to bring Mozambicans together under the banner of socialism and the earlier version of the Frelimo party. It was effective in doing this, but “*Viva*” could only affect those who wanted to be affected. For those to whom the anthem communicated negative aspects of their nation, the unifying effects of national anthem performance could not be felt. The vision of Mozambican-ness portrayed in “*Viva*” did not agree with the personal vision held by those who opposed or were somehow disaffected by socialism.

In contrast “*Patria Amada*” has shown itself to be a more unifying political symbol and ritual for modern Mozambique. However, at only seven years old, it is one of the ten youngest anthems the world.¹ But despite the fact that it has had little time to prove itself, “*Patria Amada*” has already shown remarkable nation-building potential. Perhaps most importantly, it received unanimous support from the National Assembly of the Republic of Mozambique, an honor given to few other bills or proposals since the inception of the new multi-party political system. The simple fact that the political leaders of Mozambique were able to unanimously accept this in parliament, communicates confidence in the nation-building potential of this patriotic *hino*. Singing

¹ Michael Jamieson Bristow, *National Anthems of the World*, 11th ed. (Bath, Great Britain: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2006). This statement is based on the dates of adoption given in Bristow’s current edition of *National Anthems of the World*. Out of the 196 anthems in the book, about 10 have been adopted or adapted in the last decade, with most anthems dating before the 1960s and a significant number dating from previous centuries. As an additional note, few of the world’s anthems are without words. Some of these have official texts for association, but which are not intended for singing (as is the case with several Middle-Eastern countries). A very few are without lyrics altogether (authors have written texts, but none have been adopted).

the national anthem daily in schools, the younger generations of Mozambique have and will have the opportunity to frequently involve themselves in performances of “unisonance” (as Anderson would call it) and national cultural learning. In a nation where the current life expectancy is only forty-one years and the median age is around seventeen, the younger generation will have a profound impact on what Mozambique becomes. Will “*Patria Amada*” continue to communicate on an overarching cultural level as Mozambique changes and, consequently, follow the shifting identity of the Mozambican people? Or will it become archaic as language and culture move beyond the present?

“*Patria Amada*” has all the elements that work together to create powerful political symbols; namely, nationalist language and sound, flexibility through ambiguity and opportunities for political ritual performance. But, potential for nation-building does not always follow a perfect formula, and “*Patria Amada*” is still very young. “*Viva*” was certainly accepted when first introduced and had it remained, it would not have been a complete anomaly in the realm of international anthems; yet over time those who opposed the party, opposed the anthem. Perhaps the more ambiguous, yet potentially patriotic, “*Patria Amada*” will survive the natural disasters, poverty and civil dissent threatening crisis found in Mozambique today.

By the time of my first arrival in Mozambique in 2006, the new anthem “*Patria Amada*” had been the official anthem for four years. I met many adults who had memorized the old anthem, but could not remember the lyrics to their new anthem. However, the anthem is still sung everyday in schools, and the younger generation is far more knowledgeable of the anthem than their elders. I was led to wonder, is there now

and will there be a difference between the conceptual nation of the older generation and that of the younger generation? If nothing changes except for the greater knowledge of the national symbols, like the anthem, will the younger generation feel more unified as a nation?

José Castigo Langa, the president of an organization entitled Youth Nucleus for Peace and Social Harmony (*Núcleo de Jovens Pela Paz e Harmonia Social*) argued that this would be the case, if leaders follow through on political education. In a *Notícias* article reporting his call for a conference to discuss Mozambican-ness and patriotism, Langa is quoted as saying that Mozambicans don't know their anthem well enough.² He is embarrassed that they cannot sing along at soccer games like other nations and that teachers and students alike don't seem to put forth any effort in learning the anthem they are required to sing each day. He claims that lacking in this knowledge of the national anthem, "*Patria Amada*," leads to social problems and a lack of identity. He is quoted in the article as saying this:

A people without their own identity can't have affirmation. They don't exist. We want to stir up this discussion because what is at stake are noble values like identity, our self-esteem, that can not be seen as a simple political slogan of the government or of the governing party. Self-esteem is taking upon ourselves that we are all Mozambicans despite diverging ideologies. It means that we should have pride in being Mozambicans, even though we're poor. It also means that each of us has something to give to combat poverty. The politicians are not the authors of change. It is us, the civil society, that should not conform to nepotism, to corruption, to negligence or other degrading practices.³

² "Presidente do Núcleo de Jovens Pela Paz e Harmonia Social," *Notícias*. Full reference information for these articles was unavailable on the *Notícias* website, which did not include original publishing dates for any articles that appear as a result of a search. After several efforts at contacting *Notícias*, this author has been unable to secure publication dates. However, the articles can be read in full at the following website: <http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz/pls/notimz2/getxml/pt/contentx/189223>.

³ Ibid. The full quote as originally published in Portuguese is as follows:
É que um povo sem uma identidade própria não tem nenhuma afirmação. Não existe. Nós queremos provocar este debate porque o que está em causa são valores nobres como a identidade, a nossa auto-estima que não pode ser vista como um simples slogan político do governo ou do partido no poder. Auto-estima é assumirmos que somos todos moçambicanos

Langa's poignant statement that the people of the nation can create nationalism from the root up seems to directly contrast the concept of nationalistic music given by Bohlman and incorporated in the effective anthem formula discussed. Nationalistic music is essentially handed down from the ruling classes or parties, they are the ones choosing the anthem in almost all cases. However, anthems are only powerful when partaken of through political ritual by the rest of the nation. The simple fact that the populace has the power to accept or reject, to support or dissent through the performance of this symbol complicates the ritual and divides the power between classes.

“*Patria Amada*” has all the elements needed to be a nation-building anthem. Whether or not that potential is realized depends on the people of Mozambique, who decide whether to let it be effective for them. Each time “*Patria Amada*” is played, the citizens of Mozambique decide its fate. They choose whether or not to learn the correct words and melody. They choose whether or not they will treat the anthem as a patriotic hymn or as just another song. They choose whether or not they will participate in unifying processes through their own performance. They choose whether they are a “United people from the Rovuma to Maputo/...Millions of arms, only one force!” Though parliament can write laws and direct performance practice; ultimately, the decision to find common identity and vision through the national anthem of Mozambique will be in the hands of individual Mozambicans.

apesar de divergirmos ideologicamente. Significa que devemos ter orgulho de sermos moçambicanos mesmo sendo pobres. Significa também que cada um de nós tem algo a dar para combater a pobreza. Não são os políticos os autores das mudanças. Somos nós sociedade civil que não nos devemos conformar com o nepotismo, com a corrupção, com o desleixo e outras práticas degradantes.

Appendix A--“Viva, Viva a FRELIMO”

(Long Live FRELIMO)

Words and music by: Justino Sigaulane Chemane

In use: 1975-2002

*Translation courtesy of The National Anthems of the World,
ed. W.L. Reed and M.J. Bristow*

Viva, viva a FRELIMO,
Guia do Povo Moçambicano!
Povo heróico qu'arma em punho
O colonialismo derubou.
Todo o Povo unido
Desde o Rovuma até o Maputo,
Luta contra imperialismo
Continua e sempre vencerá.

CORO:
Viva Moçambique!
Viva a Bandeira, simbolo Nacional!
Viva Moçambique!
Que por ti o Povo lutará.

Unido ao mundo inteiro,
Lutando contra a burguesia,
Nossa Pátria será túmulo
Do capitalismo e exploração.
O Povo Moçambicano
D'operários e de camponeses,
Engajado no trabalho
A riqueza sempre brotará.

CORO (repeta)

Long live FRELIMO,
Guide of the Mozambican people!
Heroic people who, gun in hand,
toppled colonialism.
All the People united
From Rovuma to the Maputo,
Struggle against imperialism
And continue, and shall win.

CHORUS:
Long live Mozambique!
Long live our flag, symbol of the Nation!
Long live Mozambique!
For thee your People will fight.

United with the whole world,
Struggling against the bourgeoisie,
Our country will be the tomb
Of capitalism and exploitation.
The Mozambican People,
Workers and peasants,
Engaged in work
Shall always produce wealth.

Repeat CHORUS

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MOZAMBIQUE

Words and music by
JUSTINO SIGAULANE CHEMANE (b. 1923)
Arr. by W. L. REED

Martial (♩ = 120)

1

f

3

3

3

3

4

mf

1. Vi - va, vi - va a FRE - LI - MO, Gui -

dim.

mf

3

3

3

7

a do Po - vo Mo - çam - bi - ca - no! Po - vo he - ró - i - co qu' ar - ma em

Adopted in 1975, when the country became independent.

pu - nho O co - lo - nia - lis - mo der - ru - bou.

10

mf To - do o Po - vo u - ni - do Des -

mf 3

13

de o Ro - vu - ma a - té o Ma - pu - to,

15

Lu - ta con - tra im - pe - ria - lis - mo Con - ti -

17

nua e sem - pre ven - ce - rá.

19

CHORUS

ff
Vi - va Mo - çam - bi - que! Vi - va a Ban - dei - ra, sím -

21

ff
bo - lo Na - cio - nal! Vi - va Mo - çam - bi - que! Que por

24

(rall. 2nd time)
ti o Po - vo lu - ta - rá.

1. D.♯ 2.
rá.

27

Appendix B--“*Patria Amada*”

(Beloved Homeland)

Adopted: 2002

Translation courtesy of Ryan Curtis

Na memória de África e do mundo
Pátria bela dos que ousaram lutar!
Moçambique o teu nome é liberdade
O Sol de Junho para sempre brilhará!

In the memory of Africa and the world
Beautiful fatherland of they that dared to fight!
Mozambique, your name is freedom
The Sun of June forever will shine!

CORO (repete duas vezes):
Moçambique nossa terra gloriosa!
Pedra a pedra construindo o novo dia!
Milhões de braços, uma só força!
Ó pátria amada vamos vencer!

CHORUS (repeat twice):
Mozambique, our glorious land!
Rock by rock constructing the new day!
Millions of arms, only one force!
O beloved fatherland we shall overcome!

Povo unido do Rovuma ao Maputo
Colhe os frutos do combate pela Paz!
Cresce o sonho ondulando na Bandeira
E vai lavrando na certeza do amanhã!

United people from the Rovuma to Maputo
Harvest the fruits of the fight for Peace!
The dream waving in the flag grows
And is being cultivated by the certainty of
tomorrow!

CORO (repete duas vezes)

CHORUS (repeat twice)

Flores brotando do chão do teu suor
Pelos montes, pelos rios, pelo mar!
Nós juramos por ti, ó Moçambique
Nenhum tirano nos irá escravizar!

Flowers are blooming from the soil of your
sweat
Throughout the mounts, throughout the rivers,
throughout the sea!
We swear by(for) you, O Mozambique
No tyrant will enslave us!

CORO (repete duas vezes)

CHORUS (repeat twice)

MOZAMBIQUE

Pátria Amada (Beloved Fatherland)

Words and music by
JUSTINO SIGAULANE CHEMANE (1923 - 2003)
Arr. by MARTIN WEHN

$\text{♩} = 100$ *f* *mf*

1

Na me - mó - ri - a de Á - fri - ca e do Mun - do, Pá - tria

mf

be - la dos qu' ou sa - ram lu - tar — Mo - çam - bi - que o teu no - meé li - ber -

mf

4

CHORUS

sf *mf*

da - de, O sol de Ju - nho pa - ra sem - pre bri - lha - rá! Mo - çam -

sf *mf*

7

Adopted in 2002.

mf

bi-que nos - sa ter - ra glo - ri - o - sa! Pe - dra pe - dra cons - tru - in - doo no - vo

10

f *ff* *f*

di - a! Mi - lhões de bra - ços, u - ma só for - ça! Ó pá - tria - a -

f *ff* *f*

13

ff 1 2 *D.S. al*

ma - da, va - mos ven - cer! Mo - çam cer! Na mé cer!

ff

16

Appendix C—“*A Portuguesa*”

(The Portuguese)

Adopted: 1910

Translation courtesy of Bristow’s *National Anthems of the World* 11th ed.

Heróis do mar, nobre povo,
Nação valente, imortal,
Levantai hoje de novo

O esplendor de Portugal!
Entre as brumas da memória,
Ó Pátria, sente-se a voz
Dos teus egrégios avós,
Que há-de guiar-te à vitória!

CORO:

Às armas, às armas!
Sobre a terra, sobre o mar,
Às armas, às armas!
Pela Pátria lutar!
Contra os canhões, marchar, marchar!

Desfralda a invicta Bandeira,
À luz viva do teu céu!
Brade à Europa à terra inteira:
Portugal não pereceu
Beija o solo teu jucundo
O Oceano, a rugir d'amor,
E teu braço vencedor
Deu mundos novos ao mundo!

Repeta CORO

Saudai o sol que desponta
Sobre um ridente porvir;
Seja o eco de uma afronta
O sinal do ressurgir.
Raios dessa aurora forte
São como beijos de mãe,
Que nos guardam, nos sustêm,
Contra as injúrias da sorte.

Heroes of the sea, noble race,
Valiant and immortal nation,
Now is the hour to raise up on high once
more

Portugal’s splendour.
From out of the mists of memory,
Oh Homeland, we hear the voices
Of your great forefathers
That shall lead you on to victory!

CHORUS:

To arms, to arms
On land and sea!
To arms, to arms
To fight for our Homeland!
To march against the enemy guns!

Unfurl the unconquerable flag
In the bright light of your sky!
Cry out to all Europe and the whole world
That Portugal has not perished.
Your happy land is kissed
By the Ocean that murmurs with love.
And your conquering arm
Has given new worlds to the world!

Repeat CHORUS

Salute the Sun that rises
On a smiling future:
Let the echo of an insult be
The signal for our revival.
The rays of that powerful dawn
Are like a mother’s kisses
That protect us and support us
Against the insults of fate.

PORTUGAL

Words by
HENRIQUE LOPES DE MENDONÇA (1856 - 1931)

Music by
ALFREDO KEIL (1850 - 1907)
Arr. by W. L. REED

Allegro moderato e marziale (♩ = 92)

1. He - rois do
mar, no - bre po - vo, Na - ção va - len - te, i - mor -
tal, Le - van - tai ho - je de no - vo os es - plen - dor - es de Por - tu -

1
5
8

First played in January, 1890. Approved as the National Anthem in 1910.

am. *f* *ff*

gal! — En - tre as bru - mas da me - mó - ria. Ó Pá - tria, sen - te - se a

dim. *p* *pp*

12

cresc.

voz — Dos teus e - gré - gios a - vós, Que

cresc.

16

CHORUS

ff

há de gui - ar - te à vi - tó - r - ia! Às ar - mas! Às

ff

19

p *cresc.* *mf* *ff*

ar - mas! So - bre a ter - ra, so - bre o mar — Às

p *cresc.* *mf* *ff*

22

ar - mas! Às ar - mas! Pe-la Pá - tria lu-

25

Detailed description: This system contains measures 25, 26, and 27. The vocal line (top staff) features a melody with a triplet of eighth notes in measure 26. The piano accompaniment (middle and bottom staves) consists of chords and a steady eighth-note bass line. Measure 27 ends with a double bar line.

tar! ————— Con-tra os ca - nhões mar - char, Mar - char! —————

28

Detailed description: This system contains measures 28, 29, and 30. The vocal line (top staff) has a long note in measure 28 followed by a melodic phrase. The piano accompaniment (middle and bottom staves) features chords and a bass line. Measure 30 ends with a double bar line.

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