

as to make its impact almost meaningless.

Barry Munslow has attempted to reverse this trend. Mozambique: The Revolution and Its Origins is reminiscent of the recent popular publications on Central America.¹ In the short span of only 173 pages of text, he is able to cogently synthesize four-hundred years of oppression and resistance, illustrating the historical origins of the struggle for national liberation in the context of class struggle. Opening with a historical analysis of Mozambique's political economy, he clearly outlines the development of Portugal's colonial policy, the penetration of British capital, and Mozambique's integration into the regional economy of Southern Africa under the hegemony of South Africa. He also goes on to show how Portugal attempted to reverse the revolutionary movement in Mozambique during the war for national liberation by allowing a massive influx of foreign capital.

Munslow follows up this section with a coherent study of Mozambique's nationalist movement up to 1960. From there, he provides an excellent, and quite readable synthesis of FRELIMO's (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) struggle against Portuguese colonialism and NATO. Most important is his account of the internal transformation which took place in the liberated zones, through the process of armed struggle. It was at this historical juncture that the dialectics of class struggle and its articulation to the struggle for national liberation emerged. Munslow ends the book with a very insightful summary of the gains as well as obstacles to peaceful socialist transformation. Critics of the Nkomati Accord should at least peruse the last section of this book so that they may gain a clearer understanding of what is meant by real conditions.

Specialists in Southern African studies would be the first to recognise that Munslow is not saying anything new. In addition to the writings of Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel, numerous Western scholars have all, at one time or another, contributed to the analysis of Mozambique's revolution, directed no doubt, to a Euro-American audience.² Munslow's merit lies in his attempt to write a popular synthesis of the revolutionary process in Mozambique.³ On the other hand, though his arguments are quite similar to these authors, he relies on primary data and the actual voices of the Mozambican people to tell the story through numerous interviews. Indeed, the Mozambican people who created the revolution in the first place have the clearest analysis of their own situation. Munslow also goes a bit further than commentators have in the past in his account of the Mozambican labour movement. Resistance among African railwaymen, dockworkers, stevedores, wagon drivers, as well as white wage workers have been patently absent from many of the past accounts.

Sui generis is the chapter entitled, "The Theory and Practice of Mozambique's Revolution." First, he demythologizes the role of the Soviet Union in FRELIMO's ideological development, an argument pushed *ad nauseam* in the past.⁴ Secondly, he correctly points out that FRELIMO's transition from a united front organization to a revolutionary vanguard party did not come about by some arbitrary decision made by FRELIMO's Central Committee in 1977. Instead, the process, begun in the early 1970's, was simply a logical outgrowth of the intensification of class struggle in the liberated zones. Finally, unlike the popular books on Central America, Munslow lays the theoretical foundations for his analysis, utilising the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Gramsci. His analysis of FRELIMO's ideological development is truly unique.⁵ Drawing on Gramsci's theory of the intelligentsia, he divides the movement into traditional intellectuals (those usually university trained, studied in Lisbon and imbued with Lusophonic culture) and organic intellectuals (workers and peasants) (p. 138-9). Munslow argues, as Gramsci had, that the synthesis of these two intellectual experiences forged the movement's ideological foundations. Distinct from most other African nationalist struggles, the conditions of armed struggle forced this synthesis which otherwise would not have existed.

Munslow is also able to re-create the conditions which gave rise to the intensification of class struggle in the liberated zones. Though most studies in the past have emphasized the successful and egalitarian nature of the liberated zones, they have tended to romanticize the initial period of struggle. Munslow exposes the level of exploitation thus:

In 1966, landowners in the liberated zones of Cabo Delgado began employing people to work in their fields. At the end of a month's work on the cashew plantation, a worker would receive a shirt. For carrying a sack of cashew nuts for eight days, to the Rovuma river, a man would be given a piece of cloth to be sold inside the liberated zone, and for this he received a little salt. The chairmen controlled the trading stores, sold the goods at an inflated price and frequently lined their own pockets . . . On occasions the peasants received less for their produce, such as cashew nuts and honey, than they did from the shopkeepers who operated under the colonial administration . . . People soon began to ask why they should make sacrifices if members of the liberation movement and their own people continued to exploit them.

There is one aspect of his analysis of Mozambique's nationalist movement which is rather disappointing. Munslow

hangs on dearly to the ambiguous, inappropriate term, "proto-nationalist." This expression, coined by Terrence Ranger, has never seemed to apply to any particular movement. Even if it were an appropriate characterisation for so-called "primary resistance" movements," Munslow applies the term to UNAMI (National Union for Mozambican Independence), MANU (Mozambique African National Union), and UDENAMO (National Democratic Union of Mozambique)--the three pillars of FRELIMO. Why call FRELIMO nationalist and the other organizations "proto-nationalist" if they too are anti-colonial and nation-oriented?

Overall, Munslow provides one of the most important scholarly contributions to the liberation of Mozambique. Through a careful reading of primary and secondary sources, as well as dialogue with Mozambique's 'organic' intellectuals--the movers of Mozambique's history--Munslow demystifies the revolutionary process. Although it is written for the non-specialist, the only obstacle to its proliferation, other than illiteracy, is capitalism--it runs at \$13.95 for paperback.

NOTES

¹See for instance Tommie Sue Montgomery, Revolution in El Salvador: Origins and Evolution (Boulder, Colo., 1982); Lisa North, Bitter Grounds: Roots of Revolt in El Salvador (Toronto, Canada, 1981); Henri Weber Nicaragua: The Sandinist Revolution (New York, 1981).

²These works include, Edward A. Alpers, "The Struggle for Socialism in Mozambique," in Carl G. Rosberg and Thomas W. Callaghy (ed.): Socialism in Sub-Saharan Africa: A New Assessment (Berkeley, 1979); Carole Collins, "Mozambique: Dynamizing the People": Issue 8 (1978); Basil Davidson, "The Revolution of People's Power: Notes on Mozambique, 1979": Race and Class, 21 (1979); Thomas Henriksen, "People's War in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau," Journal of Modern African Studies 14/3 (1976); Barbara Isaacman and Allen Isaacman, Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982 (Boulder, Colo., 1983); James Mittleman, Underdevelopment and the Transition to Socialism (New York, 1981); John Saul, "FRELIMO and the Mozambique Revolution," Monthly Review 24/10 (1973); John Saul, The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa (New York, 1979).

³Allen and Barbara Isaacman have also produced an excellent introductory text on the history of Mozambique (see above citation), also published the same year as Munslow's book. Though the book by the Isaacmans is far more developed in its historical interpretation of the period 1900-1982, it is written for those with some background in African history. But both books are recommended to anyone interested in the revolution in Mozambique.

⁴Examples include, David Albright, Communism in Africa (Bloomington, 1980); Thomas Henriksen, Communist Powers and Sub-Saharan Africa (Stanford, 1981); Mohamed El-Khawas and Luis B. Serapiao, Mozambique in the Twentieth Century (Wash., D.C., 1979).

⁵Though his analysis is unique, there has been an attempt to compare Amílcar Cabral's political thought with Gramsci. [Timothy W. Luke, "Cabral's Marxism: An African Strategy for Socialist Development," Studies in Comparative Communism 14/4 (1981)]. Since Cabral's theoretical foundations applies to all the national liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies, it could be said that Luke's analysis can apply to the Mozambican struggle.

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René Lefort. Ethiopia: An Heretical Revolution? Translated by A.M. Berret (London: Zed Press, 1983). pp. xii, 301, 2 maps. Price: \$10.50 paper covers.

René Lefort is a well known French journalist with solid credentials as a progressive analyst. Readers of Ufahamu who do not know his work in French may be familiar with his earlier sympathetic discussion of Mozambique that appeared in translation in Monthly Review, 28/7 (December 1976), pp. 25-39. In this book which was received very favorably by French reviewers when it was first published in Paris in 1981, Lefort sets himself the following task:

We have sought to include within a single book the Ethiopian revolution as it was in the north and the south, in the towns and in the countryside, for the 'bourgeois' citydweller and for the serf, for the Amharas and the Oromos. We have tried to do this by starting from the contradictions that Ethiopia's traditional society had failed to overcome, from the cracks opened in this frozen edifice by the emerging of a zone of modernity. We thus locate how the revolution percolated into these cracks and, by successive small advances, followed the fault line. Finally, we stop at the end of 1978, when the infernal rhythm of events slowed down with the appearance of a new political line and a new political order, incarnated less by an institution or a social group than by one man - Mengistu Haile Mariam. (p. 4)