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Reformed and Reforming

Living Faith in South Africa

Lemana Training Institute and Urban Life in South Africa

MONDLANE'S WORK AT DINGANE was highly respected and in 1944 the Swiss Mission allowed him to begin studies at the Lemana Training Institute in Transvaal, probably first going as an evangelist and later, in 1945, on a visa recognizing his student status.¹ Lemana was part of the Swiss Mission in South Africa (SMSA) which developed in parallel to the Swiss Mission in Mozambique and would become the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa. Throughout his time of studies in Lemana, Mondlane continued working as an evangelist with a congregation at Shirley. He was well liked and respected in the school and became the Chairman of the "Students Christian Association" in his first year of studies. The move to Lemana represented a major shift in Mondlane's life to a context which presented many new challenges. He moved from the Portuguese colonial context to South Africa with an attendant shift in the cultural and linguistic context. His studies in Lemana were in English rather than Portuguese. In his early correspondence, he wrote that he did not want to lose "my language"² and that he had taken his

1. Teresa Cruz e Silva has done much to clarify when Mondlane went to Lemana and also some of the history of the secondary school there through conversation with Elizabeth Cuenod a descendent of Swiss missionaries who worked in Lemana. See Cruz e Silva, *Protestant Churches*, 110.

2. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc from Lemana, March 26, 1944, DM 911A, 1. "Minha lingua."

“Lusiadas” in his suitcase. Although critical of Portuguese colonial policy, it seems clear here that Mondlane, when placed in this new context, did consider himself to be Portuguese and at some level wished to guard that identity. At Lemana, Mondlane also entered into an environment of secondary education which was less overtly religious in its orientation. He wrote to Clerc, “It is curious. They are so behind in everything! The teachers are professors in the School but don’t say anything about Christ. It seems to me that the ignorance which is seen in the people stems from this.”³ Despite his great desire to go to Lemana and to be able to continue his studies outside Mozambique, there was a resistance in Mondlane which reflected his more rigid pietistic and moralistic upbringing in the Mozambican Swiss Mission. He was particularly critical of the level of alcohol consumption he saw, especially among the teaching staff. He helped to found a Temperance society and wrote and produced a play about a teacher who was alcoholic.⁴

Beyond the rural life of Lemana, he was also exposed to the urban reality on the Rand. Once again, he was critical both of the life of the city and the way in which the churches had responded to the needs of the people in these burgeoning urban centers. In February, 1947, in a letter to Clerc, he called Johannesburg a “den of all kinds of vices”⁵ and in an earlier letter in 1946, he criticized the Jan Hofmeyer School for having adapted to the ways of the city by having dances.⁶ Although Mondlane had experienced urban life in Lourenço Marques, he seemed to be quite taken aback by life in the city and by the level of what he understood to be moral corruption that he encountered. However, Mondlane also sought to adapt his faith and his understanding of the church to these new realities which he was experiencing. In his years at Lemana, he became convinced that his calling, while still in the church, was not to ordained ministry, especially if he was to work among young people. He did not discount the role of the pastor, but wrote, “there is great reluctance on the part of young people who in general look on the pastor

3. Ibid. “É curioso, eles são atrasados em tudo! Os professores são senhores doutores na Escola e não falam nada de Cristo. Perceceu-me que a ignorância que se nota no povo vem dali.”

4. Script of play by Mondlane. DM, 911B.

5. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, February 3, 1947. DM 912A, 3. “cova de vícios de toda a espécie.”

6. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc from Lemana, November 25, 1946, DM 911C, 10.

as a criminal looks on a judge and the church as a court. It is not easy for a denominational pastor to help a person who belongs to another church.”⁷ Mondlane saw the inadequacies of the church in meeting the needs of young people in such a rapidly changing world and began to identify sociology and social work as the direction he would like to follow in meeting those needs. “It seems to me that sociology is a course that relates directly to the people very very much in the large population centers (like in the cities).”⁸

Mondlane’s time in South Africa also enabled him to gain a broader perspective on what was happening in the world beyond southern Africa. In an interesting comment on an encounter on the train to Johannesburg he wrote, “In the train I was with Indians (of the Mahomedan [sic] sect) who seemed to rejoice on the news of the death of Ghandi. When I asked them why they rejoiced they answered me saying that Ghandi was one of those who always instigated the Hindus to worry the Mohomedans. I was sorry to hear this obvious lie told by Indians about a man whom all the world respects. I think they do not know Ghandi, they were blinded by their religious fanaticism.”⁹ With a much broadened world view and capacity for analysis, Mondlane began looking at courses in sociology in the major universities in South Africa as options for continuing his studies after completing his “matric” in Lemana.

Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work

At the same time, Clerc and others in the Swiss Mission were also trying to discern what next steps might be for Mondlane. While on holiday in Switzerland in 1946, Clerc attended a conference of the YMCA Executive in Geneva. Despite his discomfort at having to endure six days of listening in English and “American”, it seems that he first identified there the possibility of Mondlane continuing his studies with some sort of specialization in youth work and returning to begin a YMCA in Lourenço Marques. This was to continue to be Clerc’s dream even throughout all

7. Ibid. “há muitas reticências na parte da mocidade que em geral olha para o pastor como o malfeitor olha para seu juiz e a igreja como o tribunal. Não é fácil para um pastor denominacional ajudar uma pessoa que pertence a outra secta.”

8. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, March 1946, DM, 911C, 3. “Vejo que a sociologia é um curso que vai directamente para a vida da gente muito muito nas grandes populações (como nas cidades).”

9. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, February 2, 48, DM 912B, 1b.

the years that Mondlane would spend in the United States and represented for him one of the most important ways the Swiss Mission could respond to the challenges of urbanization in Mozambique as well as to the great change in the global context following World War II which he was feeling acutely in this time in Switzerland.¹⁰ Although both Mondlane and Clerc at this point discerned a need to use sociology and the other social sciences to adapt the work of the church in Mozambique to the changing context, especially with youth, it seemed apparent that Mondlane was beginning to take a more radical course and was looking beyond the churches to a more fundamental change that would be required to respond to the many challenges facing Mozambique and the region.

In the discussion concerning where Mondlane would continue his studies, the options were the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work in Johannesburg, run in conjunction with the YMCA and developed for training native [sic] social workers, or a Sociology course at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) or Fort Hare. Although Mondlane agreed that the practical side of the education at the Hofmeyr School would be beneficial¹¹ he continued to keep the option of a university program open while the Swiss Mission negotiated a place for him at the YMCA school and in fact was disappointed when the decision was made for Hofmeyr.¹² However, the mission connections were quite strong and the Hofmeyr School was willing to provide a scholarship for a student from Mozambique recommended by the Christian Council. Clerc was very clear that he felt this was the best school for Mondlane because of the YMCA connection. In his reference for Mondlane to Dr. Ray Phillips, the Director of the Hofmeyr School, he wrote, "My sincere opinion is that I am backing one of the best and ablest we can find here. My intention is, if circumstances and God permit to see Mondlane trained and seriously trained to be an able Youth Leader for all the youth of Lourenço Marques, starting something new we, as missionaries, we cannot do. This would be one very urgent extension of your work in

10. Letter from Clerc to Mondlane from Auvornier, Switzerland, April 16, 1946, DM 911C, 4.

11. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc from Lemana, November 26, 1946, DM, 911C, 11.

12. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc from Lemana, September 10, 1947, DM, 912A, 9.

an important place. May I say that Eduardo Mondlane has gained the confidence of the principal missions working here.”¹³

This was clearly the plan of the mission community in Lourenço Marques. In his report for 1946–47, Clerc wrote, “One further difficulty that we have found on our way could be overcome if we would be able to place the young boys who leave the Mintlawa (and the school) to earn their living in a Christian center organized, as well, in communal living groups. The links which connect the youth to the adult Church are missing and we do not have, at the present time, either the people or the funds to forge them. It was while thinking about this deficiency that, on the initiative of the missionaries in the city, steps were taken so that Eduardo Mondlane would be able to do a union secretary course and afterward found a Christian Center in Lourenço Marques.”¹⁴

It did not take long at the Hofmeyr School before the tensions between city life and Mondlane’s rural upbringing came into conflict. Indeed, on the first day at the school, he wrote to Clerc, “I do not like the restlessness that is ruling life here in town. I think Lemana will always remain the best place for intellectual undertakings.”¹⁵ Yet he could not avoid the hard reality of life in the city and was in fact thrust into the heart of the tensions of life in the townships when in his first semester he was placed for his practical work in the “Missão Anglicana” in Sophiatown, in a boys club held in the evening. Although it is not clear in the correspondence, it is quite possible that this was part of the work of Fr. Trevor Huddleston and the Community of the Resurrection. The only thing Mondlane objected to in the program was that the boys were being taught boxing. He was made an honorary boy scout but again was critical of the low moral standards of the “non-European” leadership

13. Letter from Clerc to Ray Phillips, September 15, 1947, DM 912A, 10.

14. *Rapport sur la marche des Mintlawa de la région de Lourenço Marques Durant l'exercice 46/47*. DM 23K. “Plus d’une difficulté que nous rencontrons sur notre route serait écartée si nous pouvions remettre les jeunes garçons qui sortent des Mintlawa (et de l’école) pour gagner leur vie, à un centre Chrétien, organisé, lui aussi, en groupes de vie communautaire. Les chaînons qui relient la jeunesse à l’Eglise adulte manquent et nous n’avons, pour le moment, ni les hommes, ni les fonds pour les forger. C’est en pensant à cette déficience que sur l’initiative des missionnaires de la ville, des démarches sont faites pour qu’Eduardo Mondlane puisse faire des études de secrétaire unioniste et puisse fonder un Centre Chrétien à Lourenço Marques.”

15. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, February 2, 1948, DM 912B, 1b.

who “drink to excess and do not show Christian respect in their sexual life.”¹⁶

Mondlane also very early on came face to face with the increased racial discrimination under the National Party Government, elected in May 1948. In September he was assaulted by a police officer when he would not give him the cane he was carrying. The officer took the cane and beat him with it and slapped the side of his face with his open hand which resulted in the perforation of his eardrum. Mondlane went with a friend to report the assault at the police station where the friend was assaulted for asking the detective to speak in English. Their complaint was taken but the person taking it told them that they did not have enough respect for Europeans. Although the following day the detective came to the school to make an apology, Phillips wanted to send this on to the provincial police because other students had had similar experiences. In commenting on the incident to Clerc, Mondlane wrote, “Teacher, all of this is owing to the interracial relations which are becoming worse here in the Union since the new government has been in power. My case is minor compared with many others. The Boers kill Africans without any remorse and still think that they are Christians.”¹⁷ It is interesting to note that Mondlane used this argument to challenge the racist attitudes of the Boers. He would develop this much further in relation to ministers in the National government after his expulsion from South Africa in 1949. Unlike in Mozambique, those in positions of authority in South Africa were Protestants, in the same Reformed tradition as Mondlane. This challenged not only his political but also his ecclesiastical and theological assumptions. In fact, it was his encounter with racism, most particularly within the Protestant missions and churches over the years, which would bring about his disillusion with the church more than any other issue.

It was clear to Mondlane that the course at the Hofmeyr school was inferior to what he would have received at one of the South African universities and he continued to look for alternative programs and for alternative sources of funding. In a letter to Clerc on November 25, 1948,

16. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, May 14, 1948, DM 912B, 2. “bebem em excesso e não teem respeito Cristão da vida sexual.”

17. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, October 1, 1948, DM 912B, 5. “Sr. professor isto tudo é devido às relações interraciais que se tornaram peores aqui na União desde que o novo governo está em poder. O meu caso é menos comparado com muito outros. Os Boers matam Africanos sem remorso algum e ainda pensam que são Cristãos.”

he wrote that he would be able to acquire up to £40 from “European friends” and also that he had been in conversation with the Native Affairs Office which was offering him a scholarship if he would work in South Africa following his studies. His contacts in South Africa were widening and he was willing to look beyond what the Christian Council of Mozambique would offer him in order to enter a university program. An important influence on Mondlane at this time was an American Methodist missionary, Darrell Randall, who taught economics at the Jan Hofmeyr School. Like Clerc, Randall saw Mondlane’s potential but given that they were much closer in age, Randall’s relationship with Mondlane appears to have been much more collegial than Clerc’s. Randall was part of a new generation of western missionaries who were more attune to the political changes afoot in Africa after World War II and were seeking to develop a less paternalistic relationship with African churches and colleagues. It appears that Randall was becoming Mondlane’s confidant and that Mondlane was reluctant to express some of his emerging views with Clerc. In his criticism of the Hofmeyr School to Clerc, he uses the argument that the school does not reflect Christian morals as one would think it would: “Before coming here I thought that there would be some insurance against pagan influence, since it is a Christian college. But I have been surprised to discover that on the contrary the place creates hypocrites by not allowing direct criticism of the system of instruction. And as well the fact that the college does not have a residence means that control over the life of the student is beyond the reach of the director. Such that if the student was not truly Christian it would never be possible to have any kind of influence.”¹⁸ Yet, what seemed to be truly concerning Mondlane was the obvious substandard level of education at the school compared to that at a university in South Africa. He had been studying the calendars of the various universities and was leaning toward Wits, Cape Town or Natal, those universities that admitted “Africans” and had departments of sociology.¹⁹

18. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, November 25, 1948, DM 912B, 7. “Antes de vir aqui pensei que talvez houvesse alguma segurança contra a influência pagã, como é um colégio cristão. Mas fiquei surpreendido em descobrir que pelo contrário o lugar cria hipócritas por não admitir crítica directa ao sistema instrutivo. E também o facto de que não há dormitório do colégio contribue para que o controle da vida do estudante esteja fora do alcance do director. De modo que se o estudante não foi cristão por verdade nunca sera possível influenciá-lo de nenhuma maneira.”

19. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, December 3, 1948, DM 912B, 8.

Núcleo de estudantes secundários africanos de Moçambique (NESAM)

By the time that Mondlane returned to Mozambique on his vacation at the end of 1948, he was gaining notoriety within the mission community as well as in the larger colonial society, and was certainly under the scrutiny of the police. It was at this time that he joined with other students in forming the Núcleo de estudantes secundários africanos de Lourenço Marques, later de Moçambique (NESAM). In a letter to Clerc, who despite Mondlane's deep desire to have his counsel²⁰ was on holiday in South Africa while he was in Mozambique, he described the objective of this student organization: "The objective of the 'Núcleo' is to create a spirit of unity and camaraderie among African students which will be expressed in a) the fervent desire to develop spiritual, intellectual and physical culture and b) to serve the African community impartially."²¹ The members of the "Núcleo" were all Protestants and most were members of the Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique.

Without a doubt, as Teresa Cruz e Silva suggests, Mondlane's experience in organizing students in South Africa made him a natural leader in the group. As well, it is clear that his thinking was becoming more politicized through his experience in the townships of Johannesburg, his studies at the Jan Hofmeyr School, and his connection with the more liberal thought of church leaders such as Darrell Randall. However, it would appear to be somewhat spurious to suggest that Mondlane at the time saw in NESAM a nascent revolutionary organization and that this thinking had developed through his involvement with the ANC Youth League in South Africa. Cruz e Silva's reference for this connection is in E. Friedland's thesis, *A comparative Study of the Development of Revolutionary Nationalist Movements in Southern Africa—FRELIMO (Mozambique) and the African National Congress of South Africa* which in turn is quoting from the article "FRELIMO, the Real Choice" in the Cuban journal *Tricontinental*, an article which is purported to have been written by Mondlane. There is little evidence other than in this article to support the claim that Mondlane was involved in the ANC Youth

20. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, November 25, 1948. DM 912B, 7.

21. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, January 18, 1949, DM 913A, 2. "O alvo do 'Núcleo' é criar um espírito de unidade e camaradagem entre os estudantes Africanos que se exprimirá em: (a) o desejo ardente de adquirir cultura espiritual, intelectual e física, e (b) servir a comunidade Africana desinteressadamente."

League or that Mondlane was attempting to establish a similar political organization in Mozambique. On the contrary, in his correspondence with Clerc, Mondlane seems to be most interested in bringing together Protestant young people for mutual support to further the growth of the Protestant churches in Mozambique. Immediately following the first meeting of NESAM, Mondlane went to Chamanculo church to be part of a meeting of another “núcleo” called the *Mancebos Cristãos* led by his close friend Novidades Honwana. This group and the work of Novidades Honwana was at least as important to Mondlane at this time as NESAM and it seems clear that his political thinking was not nearly so developed or revolutionary as has been read back in later accounts of the period.²² This is not to say that NESAM did not play a significant role in the developing resistance to Portuguese colonial rule. In *The Struggle for Mozambique*, Mondlane himself wrote of NESAM, “It spread nationalist ideas among the black educated youth. It achieved a certain reevaluation of national culture, which counteracted the attempts by the Portuguese to make African students despise and abandon their own people; [it] provided the only opportunity to study and discuss Mozambique in its own right and not as an appendage of Portugal’s. And, most important perhaps, by cementing personal contacts, it established a nation-wide network of communication, which extended among old members as well as those still at school, and which could be used by a future underground.”²³

According to Friedland, when Mondlane was detained by PIDE before his return to South Africa in February 1949 to begin his studies at Wits University, they were interested to know whether NESAM had any Pan-African financial or political connections. Unfortunately, all records of these early interrogations by PIDE appear to be lost to the archives in Lisbon but one suspects that this detention in 1949 did more to politicize Mondlane than to give PIDE any information concerning his radical pan-Africanist activities. His main concerns in this period seemed to be his studies, his future work in the church and his search for a suitable life partner. In fact he wrote to Clerc in January while still not sure which university he would be attending: “For as I said . . . in Chicuque the environment in which I am living in Johannesburg is not beneficial for either the spiritual or the intellectual life. In the Cape there,

22. Cf. e.g. *Eduardo Mondlane*, 19–20.

23. Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, 113–14.

where life is quieter and less concerned with the life of racial politics etc. I would be able to concentrate my mental and spiritual efforts toward things that are really worth studying.”²⁴

Study at the Univeristy of the Witswatersrand

It is not clear why the plans to study at Cape Town shifted suddenly to Wits when Mondlane returned to South Africa on February 6, 1949. He had been advised by the South African Consul in Lourenço Marques to return before his immigration permit, which he had been granted in 1945, expired since the permit was renewable every six months.²⁵ He was welcomed and oriented by E. Juillerat, the head of the Swiss Mission in South Africa and wrote that “the university accepted me without any difficulties thanks to Mrs. Jaqueline Eberhardt and Mrs. Violaine Junod.”²⁶ Although there were divisions within the Christian Council in Mozambique and even within the Swiss Mission there concerning Mondlane’s continuing studies, it appears that he was well received by the representatives of the mission in South Africa and that his continuing education was given their assistance and their blessing. Darrell Randall had arranged a job for Mondlane before the beginning of term to give him some spending money.

It appears that Mondlane entered wholeheartedly into life at Wits, academically but also socially and within many of the organized student groups. He was popular and made friends easily. In an early letter he wrote that many of his new friends wanted to learn Portuguese. He lived in Douglas Smit House together with a number of medical students from Fort Hare University.²⁷ This is interesting to note since these students also became a target of expulsion from what the National Party Government understood to be “white” universities.²⁸ However, in his

24. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, January 20, 1949. DM 913A, 3. “Porque como . . . disse em Chicuque o ambiente em que vivo em Johannesburgo não é saudável tanto para a vida espiritual como intelectual. No Cabo ali, onde a vida é mais calma e menos inclinada à vida política racial etc. eu poderei concentrar as minhas forças mentais e espirituais para coisas que vale a pena estudar.”

25. Tobias. “A Little known Chapter,” 120; and Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, February 18, 1949. DM 913A, 4.

26. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, February 18, 1949. DM 913A, 4, “a universidade aceitou-me sem dificuldades graças às senhoras Jaqueline Eberhardt e Violaine Junod.”

27. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, March 3, 1949, DM 913A, 5.

28. Tobias, “A Little Known Chapter,” 124.

early correspondence with Clerc, Mondlane did not seem to be cognizant of the imminent threat he was under due to apartheid policies. He was chosen by the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) to represent the first year class of Wits at a conference in Cape Town in the July vacation time of 1949 and was pleased to accept this as a “once in a lifetime” opportunity.²⁹

It is clear in Mondlane’s correspondence with Clerc at this time, and from other sources, that, although without any doubt his political consciousness was being raised as the apartheid structures of the National Party Government elected in 1948 were being instituted, his primary connections and the lens through which he was watching these developments was in his involvement with the growing ecumenical movement in the country. He was deeply involved in the church; he taught Sunday School in a Swiss Mission church in the “Western Native Township.” He wrote that, he had preached in a Baptist Church together with two young European women from the Students’ Christian Association. He then went to “the Methodist Hall” afterward to pray for the students of the world. He noted that out of two hundred students present, only four were black. He also recounts the story of attending a picnic with a group of young people at “Enzenzeleni, near Roodepoort” which is very telling of his thinking at the time: “We were a group of young Christians from all the South African races (Indians, Africans, Europeans, Coloreds), of good will and Christian faith. The picnic was organized by some missionaries who belonged to the Christian Council of South Africa. Mr. and Mrs. D.D. Randall were part of the organizing committee. The Rev. Mr. Blaxall, Director of Enzenzeleni (Tiyencelani) Deaf & Blind School, was able to buy a plot of land close to his school to be used for building huts and tents for the use of Christian “campers” who wish to have meetings in which there is no color bar.”³⁰

29. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, May 9, 1949, DM 913A, 7.

30. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, June 1, 1949, DM 913A, 9. “Éramos um grupo de jovens Cristãos de todas as raças Sul-Africanas (Indianos, Africanos, Européus, Mixtos), que creem na boa-vontade e Fé Cristãs. O pic-nic foi organizado por alguns missionários pertencentes ao Conselho Cristão da África do Sul. O Senhor e senhora D. D. Randall foram colaboradores da comissão organizadora. O Senhor Rev. Blaxall, director de Enzenzeleni (Tihencelani) *Deaf and Blind School*, arranhou comprar um terreno perto da sua escola que deverá ser dedicado a construção de palhotas e barracas para o uso dos ‘campers’ Cristãos que queiram ter reuniões em que não haja nenhuma barreira de côr.”

Indeed, at least in his correspondence with Clerc, he identified his life in the church and his Christian faith as the most important thing which sustained him in his times of difficulty: “I must not be prevented from continuing this religious work because it revives my courage to live. There are times when I feel that it is not worth working and even living. When things don’t go as they should and the world becomes more confused and irrational than it really is, or should be, there is nothing that gives me more courage to stand up to the facts than to speak about the Man who had more courage and faith than all those beings that have lived on this planet, Earth.”³¹

Expulsion from South Africa

Even the growing crisis around his permit to remain in South Africa was seen through this lens of faith. Mondlane understood that the refusal to renew his visa in June of 1949 was part of the larger plan of “separate development” of the new National Party government. “I suspect that this is a political strategy to satisfy the political desire of the new Nationalist government, that of wanting to force all the Universities which accept Africans to expel them from these universities. I hope that I am wrong in my opinion.”³² However, his critique is voiced not in political terms but rather, as he did at the time of his beating by the South African police officer, in religious or theological terms: “What bothers me in all of this is that Mr. Rev. Dr. D. F. Malan (D.D.) is a Christian, each day that he goes to the parliament to discuss the affairs of the nation he dedicates himself to the same Lord Jesus Christ to ask for the guidance of the same Holy Spirit in which I, his innocent victim, confide. I am in a dilemma. Pray for me if possible.”³³

31. Ibid. “Não deve proibir de continuar a fazer este trabalho religioso porque ajuda-me a reaviver a minha coragem de viver. Há tempos em que sinto que não vale a pena trabalhar e mesmo viver. Quando as coisas não andam como deviam, e o mundo se torna mais confuso e irrazoável do que realmente é, ou devia ser, não há nenhuma coisa que me dá mais coragem de enfrentar os factos do que falar do Homem que teve mais coragem e Fé do que todos os seres que teem vivido neste planeta, Terra.”

32. Ibid. “Eu desconfio que isto é uma estratégia política para satisfazer o desejo do novo governo Nacionalista, o de querer forçar todas as Universidades que aceitam Africanos de tirá-los dessas universidades. Espero que estou errado nesta minha opinião.”

33. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, June 17, 1949, DM 913A, 10. “O que me atrapalha em tudo isto é que o Sr. Rev. Dr. D.F. Malan (D.D.) é um cristão, cada dia que vai ao parlamento discutir os assuntos da nação dedica-se ao mesmo Senhor Jesus Cristo para

By mid-June, 1949, the situation around Mondlane's ability to continue to study at Wits was reaching a crisis point. He had many advocates within the mission and university communities and there was significant interest in the Johannesburg press but he was reluctant to be very public about his situation. His main concern was to be able to complete his term exams at the end of June. He talked with a lawyer, a member of the National Party,³⁴ and communicated this with Clerc who felt that he should not have done this on his own but should have worked through the leadership of the Swiss Mission.³⁵ Indeed, they were already working with connections within the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and Clerc encouraged Mondlane to go to Pretoria to meet with South African immigration authorities with members of the mission leadership. It is clear that Clerc was depending on the mission network and its connections in both the DRC and the National Party to sway the immigration authorities, a method which had no doubt worked in the past in dealing with problems with the South African government. However, the changed reality in South Africa after the election of the National Party government and the consequent growing rift between those who supported and those who did not support its apartheid policies meant that this network was under considerable strain. Mondlane's situation was quickly becoming a test case to find the limits of the new regulations in relation to visas and immigration policy and he became something of a political *cause celebre* for the primarily liberal students and faculty at Wits. Clerc was somewhat assuaged by the news that Darrell Randell had been involved in consulting the lawyer since this involved someone from the mission community. However, once again it appears that Randall represented a changing understanding of the role of mission personnel with a heightened political awareness and willingness to advocate for political and social change rather than seeking favors from the government. It is of particular interest to note that both the lawyer who took on Mondlane's case, Kay Theron, and the professor from the Social Studies department of the university who advocated for him with the Minister of Immigration were both Afrikaners and perhaps represent the less than monolithic view of Afrikaners at the time

pedir a guia do mesmo Espirito Santo em que eu, o seu inocente vítima, confio. Estou num dilemma. Ore por mim, se faz favor.”

34. Ibid.

35. Letter from Clerc to Mondlane June 26, 1949, DM 913A, 11.

toward the policies of apartheid. Theron's advice to Mondlane not to go to Cape Town for the NUSAS gathering also reflected the increasingly politicized nature of the case with Mondlane explaining that "if the government knows that I am a member of that organization, which is known to be anti-nationalist, I would be victimized."³⁶

On August 29, 1949, Mondlane received a final notice from the South African Ministry of the Interior indicating that his permit would not be renewed. From his correspondence with Clerc, it appears that he believed that he would have to leave the country that day. In fact, over the next few days, there was a last ditch effort to convince the Minister to reverse the decision and allow Mondlane to stay. In a story in the *Johannesburg Star*, it was reported that letters had been sent from the Students' Representative Council and from a Professor in his department. In a story in the *Daily Mail* from the same period, it was reported that over seven hundred students had gathered to protest Mondlane's expulsion, fearing that this was only the beginning of a broader threat to students from other African territories studying at the university "using administrative rather than legislative means to impose apartheid."³⁷ The *Star's* editorial comment states that "this is petty politics and is not really addressing the question of the 'Native land problem' or the 'urban problem.'"³⁸ The story was also picked up in the Portuguese press in Lourenço Marques, at first asserting that Mondlane was studying on a Portuguese government scholarship but later clarifying the situation. Mondlane visited the Portuguese Consul in Pretoria together with the President of the Student Representative Council and it seems that the Consul was impressed by Mondlane's case, writing a letter to the Minister of the Interior asking to allow him to finish his first year of study at Wits. Although this letter did not achieve the required results, Mondlane was impressed by the attitude of the Consul and appears to have begun a period in which he was willing to work with the Portuguese authorities in order to further his education.³⁹

36. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, July 15, 1949, DM 913A, 13, "se o governo sabe que sou membro daquela oranização, que é conhecida anti-nacionalista, seria victimizado."

37. *Daily Mail*, date unclear, DM 913A, 17.

38. *Johannesburg Star*, Date unclear, DM 913A, 23.

39. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, August 8, 1949, DM 913A, 19.

Sojourn in Mozambique

Despite all the interest and protest surrounding this decision, Mondlane was forced to leave South Africa on September 3, 1949. On his arrival in Lourenço Marques, he was detained by the police and held for five days. In a letter to Quinton Whyte of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Clerc wrote that Mondlane was held until “he could give proof of his anticommunistic feelings.” He also indicated that he himself had been interrogated for three hours until he could prove that “the funds used by Mondlane were not of communist party origin.” He concludes that “all this ended well and with declarations of friendship.”⁴⁰ Reflecting at a later time, Herbert Shore, in his introduction to the 1983 edition of Mondlane’s, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, indicates a much more unfavorable report from this interrogation, that Mondlane was considered to be a political threat to the colony and that he had been “contaminated by the communist virus.” According to Shore, the Public Prosecutor’s office determined that Mondlane needed to be put under close police watch and, if possible, given a scholarship to study in a Portuguese university where he would be separated from the black population and, hopefully, cured of his political and intellectual predilections.⁴¹

Whether one considers the earlier or the later reading of this interrogation, however, it is interesting to note the articulated concern over communist influence as primary rather than nationalism or the influence of neighboring colonial powers, both of which might have been more significant to the Portuguese at an earlier time. The growth of the perceived “communist threat” in the post World War II context was becoming predominant in the thinking of the Portuguese authorities as it was in South Africa and was able to be used to identify and condemn any challenge to the colonial or apartheid regimes. Whether or not Mondlane had any significantly developed political ideology or affiliation in his time in South Africa, any critical tendency may have been labeled as communist. As is clear in the extensive files of the PIDE concerning the Protestant churches and the ecumenical movement, his involvement with church based organizations which raised any kind of political or social critique could have labeled him as communist as

40. Letter from Clerc to Quintin Whyte, October 3, 1949, DM 1172E, 1B.

41. Shore, “Resistance and Revolution,” xiii–xxxi.

quickly as his affiliation with student or overtly political organizations such as the ANC.

Again, this is not to deny that his experience in South Africa had a significant impact on Mondlane's growing political consciousness. However, in reading his correspondence from this period it appears that his primary concern continued to be how he could complete his studies, and where, and how he might find a life partner, all within the framework of Clerc's dream of him providing dynamic leadership in a growing church youth movement in Lourenço Marques under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. After his return to Mozambique, he read for a second time Stanley Jones' *The Choice before Us*. Jones criticized both the capitalist and the communist political options held out for African development and highlighted the value of socio-political Christianity. Mondlane wrote, "This is a document of great interest, especially for people who still aspire to a satisfactory social organization for all people, but based on the Christian religion."⁴²

Mondlane was still very much working within the framework of the development of a society based on Christian principles, largely emerging from the Protestant mission vision for Africa that was still very much alive at this time, even though his education and integrationist ideas were pushing the boundaries of that model. His enthusiastic work with the Laubach method of literacy training and his intentional development of relationships within the church on his return to Mozambique in this period highlight his dedication and commitment to the work of the church. Of critical importance to the future was the opportunity to work with Pastor Zedequias Manganhela and the Swiss missionary, Duvoisin, in Catembe. Mondlane seems to have gained a deep appreciation for the work of Manganhela. He wrote in the Duvoisin's guestbook in April, 1950, "Now I begin to understand what has been going around in my head: the zeal that I have found in Pastors Zédéquias and Bernardo Manganhela. I see now that they are the inheritors of their parents, who you are."⁴³ In the future, this developing relationship between the

42. Letter from Mondlane to Clerc, January 11, 1950, DM 913B, 2. "É um documento de grande interesse actual, especialmente para pessoas que ainda aspiram para uma organização social satisfatória a todas as pessoas, mas baseada na religião cristã."

43. Mondlane in the guest book of the Duvoisin family in Matutwini, April 30, 1950, DM 474E, 1. "Maintenant je commence à comprendre ce qui me poursuivait dans ma tête: le zèle que j'ai trouvé chez les pasteurs Zédéquias et Bernardo Manganhela. Je vois maintenant qu'ils ont hérité de leurs 'parents' que vous êtes."

two church leaders was to prove fatal for Manganhela. The PIDE was relentless in trying to track what communication passed between the two men and believed that Manganhela provided the primary link and channel for FRELIMO within the country in large part because of this relationship. However, in 1950, these developments were still only in embryonic form. Mondlane was able to complete his first year of studies at Wits through a special arrangement which allowed Clerc to supervise his examinations and his primary concern remained how and where he would be able to continue his studies.

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