

Mustafah Dhada, “The Wiriyamu Massacre In Mozambique: The Search For Answers,”  
(paper presented at the Centre for Social Studies, Associate Laboratory, University of Coimbra, June 17, 2014):1-27  
(Draft)

*(Embargoed until the publication of the forthcoming monograph on the subject)*

### **Framing the Narrative**

On 16 December 1972, at noon, uniformed men trained to kill surrounded five villages in a triangle hugging the mighty River Zambezi, just below the city of Tete in northwest Mozambique. They interrogated the inhabitants but failed to find what they were looking for: rebels and leads to local rebel bases. A bloodbath ensued.

By late afternoon, they nearly wiped out four of the five core villages in the triangle,<sup>1</sup> reportedly with one man shouting, “Aphane Wense!” “Kill Them All. Leave No One Alive. Those Are Our Orders.”<sup>2</sup> For the next three days and nights, they hunted insurgents. Some of the same men returned weeks later, wearing “bandanas as masks soaked in ‘Old Spice’ aftershave,”<sup>3</sup> to counter the all-pervasive stench to burn and bury the bloating dead. This gruesome story stayed muffled for 206 days until Father Adrian Hastings,<sup>4</sup> a White Father, member of the Society of the Missionaries of Africa,<sup>5</sup> sent the narrative to *The Times*, which published the account on 10 July 1972. Six days later, Caetano, Portugal’s premier, was to arrive in London for a four-day visit to commemorate 600 years of imperial alliance between Portugal and Britain. Nine months thereafter, his regime fell. Mozambique was free.

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<sup>1</sup> The five villages were: Chaworha, Wiriyamu, Juawu, Riacho, and Djemusse. I have elected to use the spelling Chaworha and not Chawola or Chawora because the majority of informants on site during the Wiriyamu reconstruction sessions rolled their “r” with a “l” click of the tongue, making the name fall between an r and an l before the vowel ending.

<sup>2</sup> Eye-witnesses on site during 1994 fieldwork. Informants who are pertinent to the information provided here included: António Mixone, Bulachu Pensado Zambezi, Enéria Tenente, Vasco Tenente, Kalifornia Kanivete, Podista, and Domingos Kansande.

<sup>3</sup> Antonino Melo, interview with author, Lisbon, Portugal, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Father Adrian Hasting, a prolific scholar of African Christianity, and an accomplished historian was particularly sensitive to issues of human rights and self-determination in Africa. He was keenly aware of the need for scholars to listen to the voices of the colonized from the canyons below, and incorporate these in historical narratives. To him the voiceless at the margins of authority and power mattered. “I came from an old liberal tradition in Britain. Social justice was a cornerstone of my upbringing.” Father Adrian Hastings, interview with author, Leeds, 1996, hereafter Father Hastings. Father Hastings’ biography is given in his obituary “Adrian Hastings” in *The London Telegraph* (26 June 2001).

<sup>5</sup> The first Archbishop of Algeria Charles Martial Lavigerie had established this apostolic house in 1868 for missionary work to convert Arabs in North Africa.

Thus began the Wiriyamu narrative. Since then, a range of accounts have been published. Some are serious and scholarly,<sup>6</sup> others journalistic.<sup>7</sup> Inspired by the narrative, several are works of fiction.<sup>8</sup> Materials on the massacre have emerged in other formats: as blog entries,<sup>9</sup> as YouTube video clips,<sup>10</sup> as scanned newspaper postings,<sup>11</sup> as undergraduate research papers,<sup>12</sup> as web and blog sites. Among these voices, two works in particular embody the polarization of power and perspective: they contest the place, the events, and the magnitude of the massacre.<sup>13</sup> One was crafted by the Portuguese government; the other published 14,424 days after Wiriyamu's near total wipeout.<sup>14</sup>

This paper discusses first how the search evolved for answers to key issues left unresolved in *The Times*. The paper then explores for clues in two sets of repositories. The first set includes liberation ephemera, Church documents and public records; while the second comprises of secondary and fic-

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<sup>6</sup> Adrian Hastings, *Wiriyamu: My Lai in Mozambique* (London: Search Press Limited, 1974); Adrian Hastings, "Reflections upon the War in Mozambique," *African Affairs* 292 (1974), 263–276; Mustafah Dhada, "Contesting Terrains over a Massacre: The Case of Wiriyamu," in: George C. Bond and Nigel C. Gibson (eds.), *Contested Terrains and Constructed Categories: Contemporary Africa in Focus* (Cambridge MA: Westview Press, 2002), 259–277; Kevin Parker, "Wiriyamu and the War in Tete, 1971–1974" (MA thesis, University of York, 1982).

<sup>7</sup> Felícia Cabrita, "Os Mortos Não Sofrem," *Revista Expresso* (5 December 1992); Felícia Cabrita, "Wiriyamu, Viagem ao Fundo do Terror," *Revista Expresso* (21 November 1998); Felícia Cabrita, *Masacres em África* (Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> Williams Sassine, *Wiriyamu* (London: Heinemann, 1980); Farida Karodia, *A Shattering of Silence* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1993); Ricardo de Saavedra, *Os Dias Do Fim* (Lisboa: Editorial Notícias, 1995); Lídia Jorge, *A Costa dos Murmúrios* (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2008); José Rodrigues dos Santos, *O Anjo Branco* (Lisbon: Grávida, 2010). For a general survey of fictions on colonial war, see: Isabel Moutinho, *The Colonial Wars in Contemporary Portuguese Fiction* (Suffolk: Tamesis Books, 2008). For feature films inspired by Wiriyamu see Margarida Cardoso, *A Costa dos Murmúrios* (Lisboa: Filmes do Tejo, 2004), 115 min., which examines the narrative in the context of Portugal's colonial wars. The film is given extensive academic treatment in, Susana Maria Correia Poças de Carvalho, "Dois olhares sobre uma guerra: A Costa dos Murmúrios" (MA thesis, The Open University, Lisboa, 2008).

<sup>9</sup> See entries under Wiriyamu in, *Choppertech Blog*, accessed 15 June 2012, <http://choppertech.blogspot.com/>; "Wiriyamu e Outras Polemicas" in, Macua Blogs, 10 June 2012 <http://macua.blogs.com/>; *The Delgoa Bay Blog*, accessed 13 June 2012, <http://delagoabayword.wordpress.com/>; "Wiriyamu...o que foi?" *Cuamba Blog*, accessed 17 November 2012, <http://cuamba.blogspot.com/2010/01/wiriyamu-o-que-foi.html>.

<sup>10</sup> See for instance, "massacre de Wiriyamu (01 de 07)," (no web title), accessed 15 June 2012, [http://youtube.com/results?search\\_query=wiriyamu&oq=wiriyamu&aq=f&aqi=&aql=&gs\\_l=youtu.be.3...3042.3340.0.3770.8.3.0.0.0.0.96.176.2.2.0...0.0.JQXlkOM0\\_mw](http://youtube.com/results?search_query=wiriyamu&oq=wiriyamu&aq=f&aqi=&aql=&gs_l=youtu.be.3...3042.3340.0.3770.8.3.0.0.0.0.96.176.2.2.0...0.0.JQXlkOM0_mw).

<sup>11</sup> "Atrocities and Massacres, 1960–1977: Wiriyamu, Mueda and Others, Dossier MZ-0354," *Mozambique History Net*, accessed 15 July 2012, <http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/massacres.html>.

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<sup>13</sup> Anonymous, "*Wiriyamu*" or a Mare's Nest (Lisbon: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1973); Bruno C. Reis and Pedro A. Oliveira, "Cutting Heads or Winning Hearts: Late Colonial Portuguese Counter-insurgency and the Wiriyamu Massacre of 1972," *Civil Wars* 14-1 (2012), 80–103.

<sup>14</sup> Days computed using, "Convert units," *Convertunits.com*, accessed 10 June 2012, <http://www.convertunits.com/>.

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tional literature. The final sections of the paper devote to the oral methodology used to construct the narrative and the events that catapulted the project to the finishing line.

### **The Search For Answers**

I began work on this book in late 1973 early 1974. Wiriyamu was fresh on people's minds, the events, only 209 days in the past, still warm for a historian's touch. Several factors, however impeded the research. Portugal itself was undergoing a sea change as it sought to divest its colonies after Marcelo Caetano's ouster. Portugal's new leaders, former commanders of its colonial army, were unlikely to prove receptive to anyone requesting access to respondents and sources with information on the massacre.

In addition, perhaps the most important factor was my own lack of personal maturity and professional formation. During this period, that is to say between 1973 and 1977, I was involved in the cataloguing of ephemera on Luso-African liberation movements and church-related materials in three repositories. Two were London-based, namely, *Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné* (CFMAG), and the *Catholic Institute of International Relations* (CIIR). The third repository was Father Hastings' Wiriyamu papers and private diaries, which I helped organize as he moved from London, to Birmingham, Cambridge, Oxford and Leeds.

The CFMAG was a campaign pressure group originally established in 1968 at the behest of *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*, Front for the Liberation of Mozambique's (Frelimo). A year after its formation, the CFMAG expanded to represent similar organizations fighting for liberation in Angola and Portuguese Guinea. Subsequently, it networked with political parties, labor, church and non-governmental organizations to secure political, moral, and material support for Luso-African liberations while encouraging appropriately vetted visitors to go behind the front lines to verify independently claims of territories liberated from Portuguese colonial governance.

The CFMAG had two types of ephemera: one, generated by liberation movements in Luso-Africa, and the other produced by CFMAG as internal records. The former comprised of propaganda materials, news-clippings, posters, banners, campaign buttons, photographs, comic strips, cartoons, images, military bulletins, speeches by liberation leaders, political mobilization reports, party congress proceedings and papers, reports of visits into the liberated areas, records of protest marches and publicity campaigns, interviews with activists in exile and volunteers working at and on behalf of the CFMAG, and films.

The internal records included confidential memoranda, agenda and minutes of meetings, budget documents, petty cash accounts, and records of financial donations and gifts in kinds, lists of donors, and correspondence with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Bank of England over donation transmittals to Africa.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> The CFMG archives can be located via *Britain's National Archive's* home page, accessed 11 October 2013, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/results.aspx?tab=2&Page=1&ContainAllWords=Committee+for+Freedom+in+Mozambique%2c+Angola+and+Guiné>.

A year after the military ouster of Caetano in 1974, the CFMG was dissolved to coincide with Mozambique's day of independence on the 25<sup>th</sup> of June, 1975. Its archives were subsequently pruned and shipped to be housed at The Bishopsgate Institute's Library and Archival Collections. In that year, a new organization was formed to succeed it, *Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau Information Center*, MAGIC. Today this archive stands severely denuded of its original holdings and comprises six boxes of office minutes, newsletters, publicity materials, press releases, publications, correspondence with like-minded pressure groups in Europe, and materials produced by the Mozambique Institute 1965 - 1971.

CIIR on the other hand, had a longer history. Cardinal Arthur Hinsley, the fifth Archbishop of Westminster, founded it in 1940 as *The Sword of The Spirit*, to rally Catholics and Protestants against totalitarianism. It was renamed CIIR in 1965 to reflect more accurately its expanded agenda, which after the end of the Second World War came to include globally based grassroots development, social justice and individual human rights. Despite its Catholic origins and sponsorship, CIIR remained broadly ecumenical. The case of Wiriyamu fell exactly within its mission statement and purview under the human rights rubric. It was in this context that the CIIR came to hold voices from the canyon in the form of texts on Wiriyamu handled by various priests. In 2006, CIIR became *Progressio*, and its archives were lodged at Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Senate House Libraries, University of London.<sup>16</sup>

The CFMAG years shaped my early thinking in historical research. I became reasonably proficient in cataloguing, classifying, handling and archiving methodologies. I was sensitized to view propaganda materials, news-clippings, posters, banners, photographs, comic strips, and cartoons, images, and films as legitimate sources for studying atrocities elsewhere in Luso-Africa within the context of its nationalist history.

Exposure to discourses at CFMAG, however, had an unintended consequence. The dominant narrative, the most prevalent among activists associated with CFMAG, effectively demonized the Portuguese and elevated Frelimo on a pedestal as a revolutionary vanguard. I could see the need for such a binary that placed Portugal on the defensive. As a propaganda tool, such binary texts proved morally vital to secure Portugal's colonial defeat; and as such formed part of Mozambique's struggle for liberty as a lived-in experience.<sup>17</sup>

The problem was that this binary assumed a life of its own after colonial independence as a teleology, infecting Mozambique's historical, political and scholarly discourses.<sup>18</sup> This infection in turn

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<sup>16</sup> A succinct biography of Hinsley pertinent to this study is given in, Andrew Chandler, "Catholicism, Dictatorship and the World at War; The Significance of Cardinal Hinsley, 1935-1943," *Contemporary Church History Quarterly* 19,1(2013), accessed 3 May 2013, <http://contemporarychurchhistory.org/2013/03/catholicism-dictatorship-and-the-world-at-war-the-significance-of-cardinal-hinsley-1935-1943/>. The pertinent four sub-fonds related to Mozambique are to be found in CIIR/A/3 Mozambique; CIIR/B/9 CIIR Administrative Papers; CIIR/B/10 Photographs; and CIIR/B/11 Press Cuttings. Barr synthetic documents, none of the four sub-fonds appear now to have primary material that could alter the foundational theses of this book.

<sup>17</sup> Dhada, "Contesting Terrains," 259-277.

<sup>18</sup> Munslow, *Mozambique: The Revolution*; Basil Davidson, *The Liberation of Guinea: Aspects of an African Revolution* (London: Penguin, 1969); Patrick Chabal, *Revolutionary Leadership and People's War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); and, Mondlane, *Struggle For Mozambique* are but a highly selective example of the genre.

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made the culture of evidence inordinately difficult to validate epistemically beyond ideology. What began as a utilitarian instrument to further liberty transmogrified after Mozambique’s liberty into a dominant force against pluralism in society and interpretative scholarship.

### **Examining Liberation Documents**

I could not help but wonder if there was room for a more nuanced approach to nationalist history for the region. I felt that such an approach would require a new methodology, one that would strip ideology and fiction from ascertainable facts so change could be studied more accurately. In addition, I was keenly aware that used on their own, the materials I had been with and worked on so intimately at the three repositories mentioned above would prove insufficient to craft a robust text. Something more was needed to truly address the nationalist context underpinning the Wiriyamu massacre – and in 1974 I was not equipped yet to know what that something was.

I carried with me this sense of methodological unease to Sussex, which helped me achieve a resolution through professional training and exposure to new historical methods in a variety of settings. That university had just instituted a school exclusively for training scholars in African and Asian Studies (AFRAS) in a trans-disciplinary area studies setting. In year-long extensive tutorials, AFRAS trained me to handle multi-media materials as legitimate sources for historical analysis. The tutorials had been carefully crafted by the late Bruce Graham, an Australian-born political scientist,<sup>19</sup> and F. G. Bailey,<sup>20</sup> the well known social anthropologist under the rubric of “Ideologies and Change.”

The AFRAS common room then was abuzz with historians and area specialists discussing colonialism, uses and abuses of imperial archives and artifacts, and the role of the subalterns and their place in colonial and post-colonial histories. Ranajit Guha was our resident historian in subaltern studies. As his recent book attests, he still remains an active practitioner and critical thinker in this field.<sup>21</sup> I followed his seminars and their spill-over discussions, engaging vigorously several historians to consider the problem of ephemera, ideology, and change in framing historical texts on decolonization. One truth became clear: the fight against the highest stage of capitalism (in its Leninist sense) was not against imperialism, although that struggle was imperative to operationalize constitutional

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<sup>19</sup> B. D. Graham, *Representation and Party Politics: A Comparative Perspective* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993) is pertinent here. Graham’s political studies on Australian, Indian and French electoral history are easy to trace with Google Scholar. A short biography is posted here, “Bruce Graham, Research Professor of Politics, died suddenly on 3 October from a heart attack,” *University of Sussex* 2 November 2007, accessed 30 July 2013, <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/internal/bulletin/archive/02nov07/article12.shtml>.

<sup>20</sup> F. G. Bailey, *Stratagems and Spoils* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001). 20 years after his departure from Sussex, he penned his thinking on deeds and rhetoric in the context of truth and political action in another seminal study, F. G. Bailey, *The Prevalence of Deceit* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> Ranajit Guha urged historians to consider it important to delve into the narratives of the colonized from the canyons below. For details see, *Subaltern Studies: A Bibliography of Articles and Reviews*, accessed 06 September 2009, <http://lib.virginia.edu/area-studies/SouthAsia/Ideas/subalternBib.html#note>. See also, Ranajit Guha, *History at the Limits of World-History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

independence.<sup>22</sup> Rather it was a fight against epistemological imperialism in which the subaltern was deliberately situated center-stage to fuel post-colonial history; one that assiduously eschewed the epistemic erasure of the former oppressors while placing discourses on culture and identity of the new post-colonial self at the center of polity and praxis. Then and only then could the narrative of liberation transparently free the neo-colonized from vestigial imperialism.

To prove this, I first tested Graham's methodology on a small sample of CFMAG materials by manually constructing a database that arranged data elements in diachronic and synchronic columns, with each data-element bearing a uniquely designated source code and alphanumeric identifier. The results suggested his methodology to be exceptionally well-suited for extracting direct and inferentially derived data elements from salvageable ephemera. With this test run under the belt I focused on assessing whether extant works in primary and secondary literature were robust enough to address epistemic inclusions on both sides of the divide and tackle the queries framed for this book.

Frelimo materials envisioned a new Mozambique and its strategy to defeat Portuguese colonialism as a struggle on three fronts - military, state building, and diplomatic. The Wiriyamu massacre fit two of the three fronts: the military, which led to Wiriyamu's erasure, and the diplomatic, which led to its resurrection as a critique of Portugal's conduct of war.<sup>23</sup>

Data and details on both, Frelimo's military operations for the 1964-1969/70 and its diplomatic initiatives, proved woefully cryptic.<sup>24</sup> Data on public pressure diplomacy and foreign aid was essentialized and often difficult to date - though not so now that Portuguese secret police files are opened for review.<sup>25</sup> Data on foot soldiers within the movement, their supporters and the affected peasantry were Spartan. Where generalities abounded, teleology terminally infected the data. The resulting texts were steeped in ersatz history, history twisted to serve a normative purpose.<sup>26</sup>

In addition, Frelimo repositories of ephemera were resoundingly silent on three aspects of the story: the massacre itself; the society, culture, and politics surrounding Wiriyamu; and how Wiriyamu responded to Frelimo overtures to attract popular support for the war in Tete, responses that may or may not have resulted in Wiriyamu's erasure.

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<sup>22</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Sydney: Resistance Books, 1999).

<sup>23</sup> The analysis used two sets of Frelimo publications: the Portuguese language *A Voz da Revolução* produced for the party's internal use and *Mozambique Revolution* (titled *Mozambican Revolution* until 1966), which began production in December 1965 ceasing publication in June 1975.

<sup>24</sup> *Mozambique Revolution* is now electronically accessible at Aluka.org, accessed 18 November 2013, <http://www.aluka.org/action/doBrowse?t=2040&s=-ath&sa=geog&br=tax-collections%7Cpart-of%7Ccollection-minor&&>. *A Voz da Revolução* can be tapped at the same site, accessed 18 November 2013,

<http://www.aluka.org/action/doSearch?sw=&searchText=A+Voz+da+Revolução&submit=Search&dsc-selector=geog&sa=xst&sa=xhr&sa=4>

<sup>25</sup> Samples of foreign aid files worthy of note for the post 1970 period are, Direcção-Geral de Arquivos, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Pastas de Moçambique, PT/TT/PIDE/D-F/001/00023; PT/TT/PIDE/D-F/001/00024; and, PT/TT/PIDE/D-A/1/2826-11.

<sup>26</sup> Portugal too shared a similar teleological fate during Estado Novo. The problems were most pronounced in its literary historical narratives. See, Ingemai Larsen, "Silenced Voices: Colonial and Anti-Colonial Literature in Portuguese Literary History," *Lusotopie* 13, 2 (2006): 59-69.

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Decades later, Frelimo explained, its silence on the massacre was a casualty of wartime logistics. Its military communication relied on foot-traffic to the Mozambican borders; thus, both the flow of information and execution of party directives were often delayed, protracted, or intermittent.<sup>27</sup>

Further, wherever possible, a Frelimo commander explained, communications were kept to an oral minimum to obviate enemy detection. Military imperatives therefore effectively dictated its strategy in Tete,<sup>28</sup> imperatives that may well have taken precedence over the operational dynamics of mobilization. This assertion by Frelimo, if true, helps explain the overwhelming use of rigidly Marxist rhetoric once Samora Machel emerged as Frelimo's commander and leader in late 1969 - early 1970.<sup>29</sup>

However, the lacuna on Wiriyamu did not address the paucity of records on Frelimo's political work in the region.<sup>30</sup> Unravelling this mystery was important for two reasons: one to determine the role of the party, if any, in attracting Wiriyamu's terminal entrapment; and the other to clarify how Frelimo managed to advance so rapidly in Tete without undertaking an apparent, sustained mobilization campaign. In the past, Frelimo had found it imperative to undertake such a campaign in the northern front before engaging the Portuguese militarily. By tapping successfully into local dissent, the party accelerated successfully its hold in northern Mozambique - and evidence drawn from documents penned by Frelimo's nationalist counterparts elsewhere tells why. These suggest that armed liberation required both a sustained and effective mobilization from all classes in society and the frequent use of teach-ins, mini-conferences, group confessionals, and Gestalt-like conventions to solidify the culture of its emergent nationalist ideology.<sup>31</sup>

Effective mobilization here implied asking the social apex among the colonized to commit cultural suicide while the disfranchised social sector engaged in a similar transformational self-discovery using a variety of artifacts ranging from performance theater, to story-telling, art, music, history, and the broader humanities. Frelimo materials reviewed here failed to suggest a similar robust undertaking of civic culture to pull Tete towards an imagined post-colonial history. Could it be that some other entity might have done the work for Frelimo?

### **Church Documents, Public Records - and Statelessness**

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<sup>27</sup> General Hama Tai, interview by author, Maputo, 1994-1995; General Gruveta, interview by author, Maputo, 1994-1995; and, Mariano de Araújo Matsinhe, interview by author, Maputo 1994-1995.

<sup>28</sup> General Hama Tai.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas H. Henriksen discusses this aspect of the history in his work, Thomas H. Henriksen, *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Mozambique's War of Independence, 1964-1974* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983).

<sup>30</sup> This is not to suggest that oral history would not uncover evidence of such works in the Tete region.

<sup>31</sup> For details and depth of social analyses undertaken see endnote 46 in Dhada, *Warriors At Work*, 9-11, and 224-226.

The CIIR collection and Father Hastings's privately held papers confirmed this to be the case. The CIIR had come to own and generate materials on Wiriyamu as the matter fell within its purview under its human rights rubric. It was in this context that it came to hold materials on the subject. The collection also had newspaper clippings and background papers from around the world. The background papers in Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish in Father Hastings' collection, however were not all in the public domain. Although some of these were synthetic, they proved invaluable to build a skeletal framework on the killings at Wiriyamu, shed light on the priests' handling of the Wiriyamu massacre, and explain the role that the church may have played in formenting a culturally resilient christian citizenry among its parishioners.<sup>32</sup>

Frelimo and the church appeared here to have shared the same epistemology - self-determination, with the former stressing in theory at least the rediscovery of a new self as a precondition for liberation; while the church engaged in cultivating a sentient Christian but post-colonial identity.<sup>33</sup> In Mozambique's Tete, oral texts suggest that missionary priests were engaged in exactly the kind of transformational work that Frelimo would have had to undertake on its own, with the same degree of intensity that its counterparts in Portuguese Guinea had undertaken to initiate their armed insurgency.<sup>34</sup> That is why Frelimo texts had nothing of cultural and contextual value directly related to the Wiriyamu case before its disappearance, but the church documents and their ephemera did.

However, even here among materials related to the church, the voices of the local community, parishioners, and survivors were murmurous, inked by priests in missionary society bulletins.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, these voices left one in the dark on how survivors and informants volunteered themselves into written history so to speak, how the text on Wiriyamu was compiled, revised, and transmitted, and how the priests protected their sources to safeguard the integrity of the story as revealed.

As imperial holdings, could the Portuguese archives speak for either the dead at Wiriyamu or their executioners? Not really.<sup>36</sup> Soon after the April coup of 1974, testimonial, scholarly, and journalistic texts, audiovisual documentaries, websites and blogs on the colonial war began flooding the public sphere in Portugal. The gap between history as a lived-in experience and professional history began to rapidly narrow with the opening of national archives in Lisbon.<sup>37</sup> By the early 1980s, the emergence of a critical mass of well trained and productive Portuguese scholars increased the prospects

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<sup>32</sup> Father Joseph, White Father, formerly of Zobue Seminary, interview by author, Seminário Maior, Maputo, 1994 and 1995.

<sup>33</sup> Padre Vicente Berenguer Llopis, interview by author, Maputo, 1994 and 1995. For a review of Padre Berenguer's recent work reflective of Burgos' fathers approach to transformational change in missionary work see segments 33:33 to 39:29 in, Creemos 13TV, *Misioneros por el Mundo, Misión Mozambique*, accessed 01 June 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BXbt5pY8Mug>.

<sup>34</sup> Dhada, *Warrirors At Work*, 9-12, 56, 67, 132-33, 210-15, 222-27, and, 231-32.

<sup>35</sup> See, Padre Enrique Fernando, *Bullentim de Mucumbura*. Periodic series lodged at, IEME - Instituto Español de Misiones Extranjeras, Madrid, Spain.

<sup>36</sup> Portuguese intelligence reports on the case, such as they are fail to provide an accurate narrative as these appear to have been crafted seven months after the event. Direcção-Geral de Arquivos, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Pastas de Moçambique, PT/TT/PIDE/D-F/001/00021. This work has not mined the publicly accessible archives of Arquivo Histórico Militar. For an inventory of its materials accessed on 22 April 2014, see, <http://arqhist.exercito.pt/details?id=140738>.

<sup>37</sup> Furtado, *A Guerra*.

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of a reasonably well crafted set of texts on Portugal's colonial wars.<sup>38</sup> Today the prospects of a freshly minted *opera magna* on this aspect of colonial history have reached its near-zenith.<sup>39</sup> Syaka Funada-Classen's recently published text provides us with a dramatic departure in nationalist narrative away from binary treatment of the origins of war in Mozambique.<sup>40</sup>

In addition, the Portuguese national archives began releasing materials on a number of topics.<sup>41</sup> Included among them were surveillance of priests and church personnel during the war in Tete;<sup>42</sup> and colonial responses to journalists visiting Tete during Wiriyaumu's outing. Neither these nor the military records of the company responsible for Operation Entrapment, however, provide data on the anatomy of the massacre.

They appear as resoundingly silent as Frelimo, in large part because of Portugal's obduracy to investigate the event.<sup>43</sup> Further, *Entrapment* was representative of several hundred similar military operations undertaken by the colonial army - except that in this case it proved fatal for the Portuguese empire. Moreover, the logs of military operations of the company responsible for the massacre fail to mention *Operação Marosca*.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> For a synopsis of what is out there on Portuguese colonial wars in terms of books, films, veterans associations, memorials, public monuments, social networks, and discussion groups visit the home page of *Guerra Colonial Portuguesa*, accessed 11 October 2013, <http://guerracolonial.home.sapo.pt>. A bibliography of emerging works in the field is given in, *Portuguese Studies* 29, 2 (2013). Issue Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5699/portstudies.29.issue-2>. See also, Stewart Lloyd-Jones and António Costa Pinto, eds., *The Last Empire: Thirty Years of Portuguese Decolonization* (Britol, UK: Intellect Books, 2003).

<sup>39</sup> Notable are works by the Grupo de História da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra's Bibliografia Anual de História de Portugal. See also the following works by, Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto, Luís Nuno Rodrigues, Pedro Aires Oliveira, Ana Mónica Fonseca and Daniel Marcos, Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses and Robert McNamara, Bruno Cardoso Reis, and Emilce Rees in, *Portuguese Studies* 29, 2 (2013). Issue Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5699/portstudies.29.issue-2>. Consult also, Emilce Rees, "Lusophone Studies: A Cumulative Area Bibliography, 2007-09," *Portuguese Studies* 25, 2 (2009): 230-248. Before his untimely demise, John Marcum was said to be "completing the final edits on a history of the Mozambican revolution based on a trove of original documents and interview notes dating back to the late 1950s." Guy Lasnier, "John A. Marcum, Africa Scholar, USC politics professor emeritus, dies at 86," *University of California Santa Cruz Newscenter* (September 20, 2013), accessed 3 November 2013, <http://news.ucsc.edu/2013/09/marcum.html>.

<sup>40</sup> Sayaka Funada-Classen, *The Origins of War In Mozambique* (Somerset West: African Minds, 2013).

<sup>41</sup> For a first hand recorded experience of said archives see, Paul Bjerck, "African Files In Portuguese Archives," *History In Africa* 31 (2004): 463-468.

<sup>42</sup> See for instance, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado; Direcção Geral de Segurança, *Actividades políticas dos padres Alfonso Valverde de Lion e Martin Hernandez Robles*, Direcção-Geral de Arquivos, PT/TT/D-F/001/00005.

<sup>43</sup> Reis and Oliveira, "Cutting Heads," 80-103.

<sup>44</sup> Antonino Melo.

By late 1978 or early 1979, two years after I headed for Oxford, I had finished digging into additional repositories in print. These included the British *Library Newspaper Room* (BLNR), which housed hardcopies of London-based papers including *The Times* and the *Sunday Times*; and the Bodleian's, Radcliffe Camera; and the All India Library. The latter two contained the United Nations' confidential and publicly accessible records of petitions from Luso-African nationalists, background papers on the liberation wars on Luso-Africa, and materials collected during the UN's Wiriyaumu commission of inquiry. I also consulted the Rhodes' House library holdings on the liberation war, Cahora Bassa Dam,<sup>45</sup> and secondary literature on Portuguese colonial history some of which were in Portuguese. Rhodes House also held Ronald H. Chilcote's two volume bibliography that proved useful to navigate Frelimo's petitions at the United Nations' special hearings on Luso-Africa.<sup>46</sup>

It soon became clear that my initial assessment proved correct, in that archival work alone would be insufficient to address the queries framed for this study, the appearance of subsequent secondary literature notwithstanding. The most printed texts could achieve was to proffer a generic study of the Wiriyaumu massacre in the context of Mozambique's colonial war - and no more. Hansard records of proceedings in the British House of Commons and declassified materials by the British Foreign Commonwealth Office could help to address two additional aspects of the Wiriyaumu crisis, Anglo-Portuguese relations, and how and why the story broke out the way it did in *The Times*. However, full justice to even these two aspects of the story would require mining two disparate sets of primary materials: declassified documents in American<sup>47</sup> and South African archives; and the appropriate archives in London,<sup>48</sup> Warwick,<sup>49</sup> and Cambridge.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> For tactical reasons, this text has excluded Keith Middlemas' materials on Cahora Bassa Dam lodged at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, materials that Thomas H Henriksen has exploited in his monograph on Mozambique's revolution and counter-revolution.

<sup>46</sup> R. H. Chilcote, *Emerging Nationalism in Portuguese Africa: Documents* (Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1972). Documents from this collection form now part of the Core Readings Collection in Struggles for Freedom in Southern Africa in the *Aluka Digital Library*, accessed 3 August 2013, [www.aluka.org](http://www.aluka.org).

<sup>47</sup> National Archives, RG 59, "Transcripts of Secretary of State Kissinger's Staff Meetings, 1973-1977, Entry 5177, Box 1, Secretary's Analytical Staff Meetings." Secret. National Archives, RG 59, Central Files 1970-73, POL 19 PORT-GUIN. Confidential; No Foreign Dissem; Controlled Dissem. Drafted by Heyniger, cleared by Summ, and released by Mark.

<sup>48</sup> Two archives are pertinent here: The British Library Newspaper Room, BLNR, which housed hardcopies of London-based papers including *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*; and, the Bourne and Hinsley Papers at Westminster Diocesan Archives, which are perhaps less central to this text but give information on Cardinal Hinsley's vision behind the formation of the CIIR's predecessor organ to fight fascism and totalitarian regimes tramelling basic human rights in Europe. Articles consulted in the BLNR are given in the bibliography.

<sup>49</sup> Warwick has materials on the unionized printers and typesetters who affected the timing of the Wiriyaumu outing. See, *National Society of Operative Printers, Graphical and Media Personnel* (MSS.39/NAT), Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick.

<sup>50</sup> The papers of Sir William John Haley, 1901-1987, Knight, Journalist, Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge, GBR/0014/HALY, HALY 15, 1955-1969, 11 folders and volumes. While peripheral to the main story, Haley proved instrumental in nurturing the a key player responsible for the outing of Wiriyaumu on the front page of *The Times of London*.

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To address the remainder, I would need to collect evidence from respondents after undergoing training in a number of fields: oral history; topometry for mapping elevations; rudimentary osteology for handling bone remnants; and mental health appropriate for handling respondents suffering from Post Traumatic Syndrome Disorders, PTSD. Only then could I address the Wiriyamu massacre in the context of Tete’s lethal cat and mouse game between Frelimo and the Portuguese.

With this realization, I set about acquiring the skills necessary for the work ahead. I was helped considerably here by the works of The Oral History Society (OHS)<sup>51</sup> and its founder, Paul Thompson,<sup>52</sup> the renown social historian. OHS had a strong presence in Oxford. Exposure to their work helped me develop tools in oral history methods that I subsequently tested in a pilot project, which resulted in a study of subaltern history, entitled “Murmurs Under The Stairwell: What Butlers, Stewards, and Servants Do In An Oxford College.”<sup>53</sup> By late 1980, I felt reasonably confident of the skills I had acquired for my study. My first port of call was going to be Lisbon to consult the nationalist ephemera holdings at *Centro Informação e Documentação Amílcar Cabral*, CIDAC, and the national archives at Torre do Tombo, which later proved to have nothing of practical value on Wiriyamu. My final destination was to go home, Mozambique, to undertake field work in the Wiriyamu triangle.

The Lisbon-based CIDAC replicated in its initial phase the CFMG’s operative nomenclature and print-media holdings. Established six years after CFMG and a month after the bloodless coup in April 1974, its original objective was to educate the public on issues related to Portuguese colonialism, the colonial wars, the national liberation movements and their armed struggle against Portugal, and Portugal’s swift march to decolonization. Its principal holdings included one of the most comprehensive collections of *Boletim Anti-Colonial* (BAC), Anti-Colonial Bulletin, and a near-complete set of works, both well known and obscure, by Amílcar Lopes Cabral. In January 1977, CIDAC changed to *Centro Informação e Documentação Amílcar Cabral* (CIDAC), partly to recognize Cabral’s role in Luso-African nationalism, and partly to reflect its strong holdings on his work. CIDAC evolved in early 2000 to address social, educational, and economic development issues facing Luso-Africans, Portugal’s immigrant community, and Portuguese speakers in the diaspora. In early 2001 the Lisbon municipality granted CIDAC a 30 year lease to house its permanent collection of Luso-African ephemera, which resulted in renaming the center yet again to *Centro de Intervenção para o Desenvolvimento Amílcar Cabral*, CIDAC to better align its new name to reflect its expanded mission.

Just then the entire project crashed to a stunning halt. I was rendered stateless! By the time the Master (Allan Bullock, the historian and author of *Hitler: A Study of Tyranny*) and Fellows of St. Catherine’s College obtained travel papers from the Portuguese authorities, it proved too late. The 15-year war, this time *civil and not colonial*, was in full swing in Mozambique, blocking safe and secure passage

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<sup>51</sup> See, *Oral History Society*, accessed 11 October 2013, <http://www.ohs.org.uk>. See also, “Paul Thompson,” *Pioneers of Qualitative Research*, accessed 11 October 2013, [http://www.esds.ac.uk/qualidata/pioneers/pioneerdetail.asp?id=pioneer\\_people\\_thompson](http://www.esds.ac.uk/qualidata/pioneers/pioneerdetail.asp?id=pioneer_people_thompson)

<sup>52</sup> See his seminal work, Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>53</sup> Mustafah Dhada, “Murmurs Under The Stairwell: What Butlers, Stewards, and Servants Do In An Oxford College,” (unpublished paper, St Catherine’s College, 1980).

to Tete for field work in war-ravaged Wiriyamu. I shelved Wiriyamu as a doctoral project and chose an alternative thesis, the “Nationalist Politics, War and Statehood: Guinea-Bissau, 1953 - 1973,” which was subsequently published as *Warriors At Work*.<sup>54</sup>

### Secondary Literature - The IDAF and Hastings’ Monographs

In the meantime, several works on Wiriyamu appeared in print. Some were scholarly,<sup>55</sup> some journalistic,<sup>56</sup> and others fictional.<sup>57</sup> Still others emerged in several digital formats: blog entries,<sup>58</sup> YouTube

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<sup>54</sup> Dhada, *Warriors At Work*. See also two updating articles, Dhada, “Guinea-Bissau’s Diplomacy,” 20-40; and, Mustafah Dhada, “The Liberation War In Guinea-Bissau Reconsidered,” *Journal of Military History* 62, 3,(1998): 571-593.

<sup>55</sup> Hastings, *Wiriyamu*; Hastings, “Reflections,” 263–276; Dhada, “Contesting Terrains,” 259-277; and Parker, “Wiriyamu.”

<sup>56</sup> Cabrita, “Os Mortos Não Sofrem,”; Cabrita, “Wiriyamu,”; and, Cabrita, *Massacres*.

<sup>57</sup> Sassine, *Wiriyamu*; Karodia, *A Shattering of Silence*; Saavedra, *Os Dias Do Fim*; Jorge, *A Costa dos Murmúrios*; and dos Santos, *O Anjo*. See also, Moutinho, *The Colonial Wars in Contemporary Portuguese Fiction*, and Isabel Ferreira Gould, “Decanting The Past: Africa, Colonialism, and the New Portuguese Novel,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 45, 1(2008):182-197.

<sup>58</sup> See entries under Wiriyamu in, *Choppertech Blog*, accessed 15 June 2012, <http://choppertech.blogspot.com/>; “Wiriyamu e Outras Polemicas” in, Macua Blogs, 10 June 2012 <http://macua.blogs.com/>; *The Delgoa Bay Blog*, accessed 13 June 2012, <http://delgoabayword.wordpress.com/>; “Wiriyamu...o que foi?” *Cuamba Blog*, accessed 17 November 2012, <http://cuamba.blogspot.com/2010/01/wiriyamu-o-que-foi.html>.

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videos,<sup>59</sup> films,<sup>60</sup> scanned newspaper postings,<sup>61</sup> undergraduate research papers in PDF format,<sup>62</sup> and social network discussion groups. Among these works, two in particular embodied the polarization of power and perspective: they contested over details crucial to the story: the place, the events, and the magnitude of the massacre.<sup>63</sup> One was crafted by the Portuguese government; the other by two Portuguese scholars was published 14,424 days after Wiriyamu's erasure.<sup>64</sup>

Among printed materials, several texts are worthy of note here, largely because these identify Portugal's armed forces and the secret police as the decision-makers, actors, and organizers behind the

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<sup>59</sup> See for instance, "massacre de Wiriyamu (01 de 07)," (no web title), accessed 15 June 2012, [http://youtube.com/results?search\\_query=wiriyamu&oq=wiriyamu&aq=f&aqi=&aql=&gs\\_l=youtu.be.3...3042.3340.0.3770.8.3.0.0.0.0.96.176.2.2.0...0.0.JQXlkOM0\\_mw](http://youtube.com/results?search_query=wiriyamu&oq=wiriyamu&aq=f&aqi=&aql=&gs_l=youtu.be.3...3042.3340.0.3770.8.3.0.0.0.0.96.176.2.2.0...0.0.JQXlkOM0_mw).

<sup>60</sup> For feature films inspired by Wiriyamu see *A Costa dos Murmúrios*, DVD, directed by Margarida Cardoso (2004; Lisboa, Portugal: Filmes do Tejo, 2004) which examines the story in the context of Portugal's colonial wars. The film is given extensive academic treatment in, Susana Maria Correia Poças de Carvalho, "Dois olhares sobre uma guerra: A Costa dos Murmúrios" (MA thesis, The Open University, Lisboa, 2008). The fictional text that sought to tackle the colonial war broadly was António Lobo Antunes, *Os Cus de Judas* (Lisboa: Objetiva, 1979), also translated in English as *The Land at the End of the World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2012). For a broader discussion of how films sought to represent silently discourses affirming or questioning hegemonic power in Portuguese colonial narratives see, Carolin Overhoff Ferreira, "Decolonizing the Mind? The Representation of the African Colonial War in Portuguese Cinema," *Studies in European Cinema* 2, 3 (2005), 227-239.

<sup>61</sup> "Atrocities and Massacres, 1960-1977: Wiriyamu, Mueda and Others, Dossier MZ-0354," *Mozambique History Net*, accessed 15 July 2012, <http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/massacres.html>.

<sup>62</sup> A sample of these in the author's possession include two sets of research papers, one submitted at California State University Bakersfield (CSUB) in partial fulfillment for the BA HIST 418; and the other set submitted at Bard College, Master of Arts in Teaching Program, Delano Campus, California, in partial fulfillment for History 501: Amy Lane Angelini, "Wiriyamu the Cover-Up That Did and Did not Happen" (CSUB, Spring Quarter 2011); Dennis Anderson, "Extreme Threats Require Extreme Solutions" (BARD, Summer Quarter 2010); Patrick Arvizu, "The Crisis of Narrative at Chaworha" (CSUB, Spring Quarter 2010); Anthony Box, "Colonial Suicide: How Portugal Effectively Ended its Own Empire in Mozambique" (CSUB, Spring 2011); Christopher Campise, "The Colonial Tree has Fallen; Exploring the Implications of the Massacre at Wiriyamu" (CSUB, Spring 2010); Nathan Holmes, "Missionaries for Political Change" (CSUB, Spring Quarter 2011); Ruth Leon, "Why Did They Do It? A Brief Study of Priests Role after the 1972 Massacres in Mozambique" (CSUB, Spring Quarter 2010); Andres Rivas, Jr., "When Liberation Fails" (CSUB, Spring Quarter 2011); Chris Rock, "And The Truth Shall Set Thee Free" (CSUB, Spring Quarter 2010); and, Rafael Villalon, "A Tale of Two Massacres" (CSUB, Spring Quarter 2010).

<sup>63</sup> Anonymous, *"Wiriyamu" or a Mare's Nest* (Lisbon: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1973); Reis and Oliveira, "Cutting Heads," 80-103.

<sup>64</sup> Days computed using, "Convert units," *Convertunits.com*, accessed 10 June 2012, <http://www.convertunits.com/>.

killings. A handful provided details on the victims.<sup>65</sup> In addition these works draw on two sources: quantitative and qualitative data gathered from witnesses and survivors almost immediately after the event, and memories recorded or told orally, 20 to 36 years after the event.<sup>66</sup>

The London-based International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IDAF), an organization established in 1952 for not-for-profit work produced one of the earliest reports on the massacre.<sup>67</sup> Comprised of 48 pages of English text, it appeared in 1973 six months after the story came out. The report introduces the war with a special emphasis on the use of fortified villages, describes the geographic location of the massacre on a map, and then discusses the challenges faced by the church in the colony, the massacres before Wiriyamu, and the Wiriyamu massacre itself, in which 400 are identified as dead, 177 by name and 223 as Jane and John Does. The report ended with the events surrounding the publication of the carnage, with a detailed chronology of Portugal's denial. The report has seven short appendices on narratives related to mass violence penned by priests from several Catholic denominations in Mozambique. Adrian Hastings provided the majority of this material to IDAF.

Six months later Adrian Hastings wrote a 158-page monograph, highlighting three causes for the massacre: Portugal's systemic colonial brutality, its historical past, and its military strategy in Tete. Hastings followed the monograph with a reflective<sup>68</sup> piece, which reviewed his findings reaffirming his earlier conclusion holding Portugal wholly responsible for the massacre. Two seminal works handed to him by the Burgos Fathers buttressed his theses, one of which was on an earlier massacre at Mucumbura. Generally, Portugal's colonial history in Africa, Hastings argued, was repressive and violent. This violence progressively worsened, becoming more systematic, punitive and brutal once the colonial war gathered momentum in early sixties. It reached a zenith in the early seventies with frequent use of incarcerations and interrogations of priests and foreign-born missionaries.<sup>69</sup>

This then is how Hastings saw the massacre: a vengeful atrocity of 400 killed by the Portuguese because of their systemic brutality, historical past, and military strategy in Tete. Hastings' texts come with limitations, none of which are unusual for this type of document on short-lived mass violence. Although his narratives broadly indicated where Wiriyamu was, they omitted its precise coordinates, longitude, latitude and elevation, leaving room for detractors to construct counter-narratives.

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<sup>65</sup> Hastings, *Wiriyamu*; Hastings, "Reflections," 263–276; Parker, "Wiriyamu"; IDAF, *Terror In Tete: A Documentary Report of Portuguese Atrocities In Tete District, Mozambique, 1971-1972* (London: IDAF, 1973); Cabrita, "Os Mortos Não Sofrem,"; Cabrita, "Wiriyamu"; and, Cabrita, *Massacres*.

<sup>66</sup> Cabrita, "Os Mortos Não Sofrem,"; Cabrita, "Wiriyamu"; and, Cabrita, *Massacres*.

<sup>67</sup> IDAF, *Terror In Tete: A Documentary Report of Portuguese Atrocities In Tete District, Mozambique, 1971-1972* (London: IDAF, 1973). The IDAF archives were split in two. The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa Press Cutting Archives are now housed at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies Library, University of London, accessed on 24 July 2012.

<http://icommlibrary.blogspot.com/2009/12/international-defence-and-aid-fund-for.html>. The remainder are lodged as "African Activist Archive" at University of the Western Cape-Robben Island Mayibuye Archives, accessed on 24 July 2012, <http://africanactivist.msu.edu/organization.php?name=International+Defence+and+Aid+Fund+for+Southern+Africa+>

<sup>68</sup> Hastings, "Reflections."

<sup>69</sup> Hastings, *Wiriyamu*; and, Hastings, "Reflections."

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Hastings’s texts placed Wiriyamu as a victim of Portugal’s war, and the latter as the root cause for the massacre. By doing so, Hastings was clearly aiming to hold Portugal accountable for its unethical conduct. The downside to this approach is that very little was revealed of what life was like in that complex of five villages. Understanding Wiriyamu outside victimhood however, would have required a broader narrative based on field research, which Hastings could not undertake even if he wanted to given Portugal’s obduracy in the matter, nor was that his intention. Such a discussion would have entailed not only examining the local structural and social determinants behind the massacre, but also delving into Wiriyamu as a complex living and breathing community before its demise. In the absence of such a narrative, Wiriyamu remained as portrayed – a victim of war.

Further, the focus on victimhood framed the massacre in terms of Portuguese counter-insurgency, leaving out of the narrative, the dynamics of insurgency led by the Frelimo. Why were the Portuguese at war in the first place and what impact did this story have on subsequent events in Portuguese imperial history? Having played a key role in bringing the story to light, he elected not to tackle the latter question. “It was for others to review the impact of Wiriyamu on Portugal’s future as an empire.”<sup>70</sup> Kevin Parker, then a young scholar from York University, thought this approach too narrow to understand Wiriyamu. Instead, he sought to advance the narrative in this body of literature. He explored Wiriyamu in the wider context of a war for independence between Frelimo and Portugal’s army stationed in its colony in Mozambique.

### **Parker’s Coverage and Cabrita’s Eschatology of Chaos**

Parker crafted “Wiriyamu and the War in Tete 1971-74” eight years after the publication of Hastings’s texts. The 68-page monograph is immensely readable, and utilized 69 critically identified sources. Among these four related to the Wiriyamu massacre, one detailed the massacre that followed Wiriyamu in a place called Inhaminga located south of Changara; one source discussed the Mucumbura atrocities as these appeared originally in the Hastings document; and one report discussed the killings at Kateme – material left untouched by Hastings. The four sources on the Wiriyamu case included the official Portuguese rebuttal denying Wiriyamu’s very existence and its alleged bloody disappearance.<sup>71</sup> In addition, Parker’s monograph mined published sources: Adrian Hastings own collection of papers, typescripts, and monographs now deposited at the Borthwick Institute for Archives; and “Facts and Reports.” These were orange colored mimeographs on Portugal’s colonial wars from both sides of the divide collated by an anti-colonial activist center in Holland.

Parker’s text broadens the discussion by examining the massacre in two contexts, the nationalist and the colonial. The dynamics of armed nationalism was, he suggests, as much a factor in the massacre as Portuguese counterinsurgency. Initially, Portugal had fought unsuccessfully until 1970 when overwhelming firepower and armed men stalemated the nationalists in northern Mozambique who then opened a new front in Tete to gain tactical advantage over the colonial army. Parker ended his manuscript with an assessment of the massacre revelations, its timing and effects on Portugal and the latter’s decision to part with Mozambique. The massacre at Wiriyamu, concludes the manuscript, was a gift to Frelimo, which it could not have foreseen. Ultimately, with the coup in Portugal in April 1974, Mozambique’s accelerated independence marched ahead of Frelimo’s political ability to deepen its

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<sup>70</sup> Adrian Hastings.

<sup>71</sup> Kevin Parker, “Wiriyamu and The War In Tete.”

roots where it was politically most weak - south of Tete.<sup>72</sup>

The monograph excels therefore in advocating a broader context in which to view Wiriyamu from above the canyon, as it were. The views and voices from the canyon, however, are missing, as is Wiriyamu-specific evidence linking the view and voices from the canyon below to the broader context from above. Parker ends his manuscript with an assessment of the massacre revelations, its timing and its impact both on Portugal's subsequent decision to part with Mozambique and on Frelimo's swift assumption of political power as Mozambique's dominant liberator.

The massacre at Wiriyamu, concludes the manuscript, was a gift to Frelimo, which it could not have foreseen. It accelerated Mozambique's independence ahead of Frelimo's political ability to deepen its roots where it was politically most weak. Ultimately, Wiriyamu emerges from Parker's text unchanged from its previous avatar as a victim, terminally passive and oppressed. This view of Wiriyamu continues to dominate current studies. In the final analysis, Parker's omits Wiriyamu's prosopography during its final days – and for understandable reasons, given the absence of oral and on-the-ground archival research.

One writer who sought to uncover the anatomy of the bloodshed at Wiriyamu was Felícia Cabrita, a Portuguese journalist and investigative social commentator, biographer, and critic of the Portuguese Catholic Church. Cabrita originally carried out her field research in 1991 and followed it with another investigative visit to Tete in 1997/8. Both trips were extremely short, and both entailed interviews with seven survivors and nine soldiers involved in the carnage at Chaworha and at various locations in the Wiriyamu complex. She produced two articles followed by a 280-page text published in 2008 in which the two articles appeared updated as a chapter of 37 pages. The articles included a most valuable portfolio of 14 highly informative images of survivors taken on site. She reworked the original material for the two articles for the book, which incorporated two long italicized prefaces. One narrated difficulties encountered in returning to the site as though such an investigation were a comedy of ideological errors. The other described Antonino Melo's highly dramatic return to the scene as a former commander of the Portuguese soldiers involved in the deadly mission.<sup>73</sup>

In theory, Cabrita's texts had the necessary field research to further our understanding of what happened that afternoon until three days later. In reality, the Cabrita texts do not capitalize on the material at hand – and understandably. Cabrita was sent by a newspaper outfit to pursue a sellable story, on an empire at colonial war. Cabrita's texts did just that. Her story painted a highly impressionistic picture of the killings, with the Portuguese army engaging in a near-pornographic opera of mass murder soaked in blood and chaos – and serial rape. Little is discovered of how the killing was masterminded (more so than we know) as a serious offensive to annihilate Wiriyamu, how it was staged, and what the community was like before its victimhood. The massacre is portrayed as a blood soaked orgy of serial rapes, pillage, burning men, women and children alive, and evisceration of pregnant women— acts to rival Caligula's insanity in imperial Rome.

The evidence collected from the victims via interpreters in such a tight timeframe could do only so much. The recollections from the survivors were published as synaptic pulses as they fled the scene. The story of the soldiers fared no better, for their tales proved to be as jagged as their victims. "You

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<sup>72</sup> Kevin Parker, "Wiriyamu and the War in Tete, 1971-1974" (MA thesis, University of York, 1982).

<sup>73</sup> Cabrita, 'Os Mortos Não Sofrem', Cabrita, 'Wiriyamu, Viagem ao Fundo do Terror', and Cabrita, *Massacres em África*.

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have to understand we were there not standing still but moving. I was responsible for my men, and their safety. We used grenades to save on bullets as we shoved them into huts,” said the commander during a two-day interview with this author at an undisclosed location in Portugal in 1995.<sup>74</sup> Put differently, neither Antonino Melo nor his men at arms had or could afford an overview in that carnal theater from noon until sunset; at least that is what Cabrita’s text portrays. Further, when asked for her field notes and records in 1995, Cabrita said she had not kept these after her first article was published.<sup>75</sup>

Therefore, it is not surprising that very little of systematic, scientific and analytic value can be unearthed from Cabrita’s text. What we are presented with is an impressionistic portrayal of a blood-soaked chaos with victims facing the certainty of death and in some cases demonstrable pity. How did the massacre happen at Wiriyamu? How was it planned and staged? Queries of this kind would have helped fill in the gaps in the narrative. In the absence of this type of oral evidence culled on-site, the texts examined above left several literary works in the field free to speculate to fill in the gaps.

### **Sassine’s Byron**

Of these speculative texts two works of fiction are worthy of note here. One was published in 1976 by the Paris-based *Presence Africaine*, a quarterly journal founded in the forties by Alioune Diop, the polyglot Paris-based Senegalese scholar of the classics and an accomplished man of letters. The journal had originally been established to engage “all contributors of good will (White, Yellow or Black), who might be able to help define African originality and to hasten its introduction into the modern world,” that is to say publish works that furthered Africa’s march toward self-determination.<sup>76</sup> A work on Wiriyamu fit exactly the mission and objectives of the publishing house, particularly if it placed the events in the context of self-determination for the peoples of the southern African region.

Nearly four years after the massacre, the senior editors of the journal met at Presence Africaine’s Paris office in the Latin Quarters to consider *Wiriyamu*, a 149 page French script sent by Williams Sassine, a well-known Franco-phone writer of Lebanese and Guinean Muslim descendants based in Guinea-Conakry.

The novel developed an imagined anatomy of collective murder at Wiriyamu as a three-day character-intensive carnage. This story of the carnage is laid out in spliced chunks of text. Each chunk is headed by an hourly timeline. The narrative is highly charged with emotive scenes inhabited with morally tenuous characters with Portuguese sounding names, villains, victims and a poet. The plot and characters appear inexorably drawn to annihilate victims and damage each other.

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<sup>74</sup> Antonino Melo.

<sup>75</sup> Felícia Cabrita, phone interview by the author, Lisbon, 1995, hereafter Cabrita.

<sup>76</sup> Alioune Diop, “Niam n’qoura ou les raisons d’être de Présence Africaine,” *Présence Africaine*, I (1947), accessed 11 July 2011, [http://www.presenceafricaine.com/index.php?main\\_page=page&id=1&chapter=1](http://www.presenceafricaine.com/index.php?main_page=page&id=1&chapter=1)

As fiction, *Wirriyamu* is eminently readable, and at times poetic. As a novel tenuously based on facts however, it fails to provide gaps in the narrative left blank by Felícia Cabrita. The novel conveys no sense of place, the true anatomy of the killing spree, how it happened, and above all why. The characters fail to mature into fictional flesh and blood, strong enough to drive either, the imagined narrative or the factual story. At times, the novel appears to be an unconscionable use of a tragedy to produce poetry and fiction. The scenes, the plot, and the events could have occurred anywhere; and as such the story hardly justifies the use of *Wirriyamu* in its title and in several places in the book to make it a piece of fiction worthy of a visual scan, or careful read.

The narrative does end on a seminally suggestive note, in that the events at Wirriyamu did have a role to play in the liberation of Southern Africa – and here Sassine is on the mark. The story in *The Times of London* would appear to have weakened Portugal's tenure in Mozambique, which when set free, strengthened the resolve for others to liberate the rest of southern Africa. Sassine's book conveys this idea through Kabalango, a Byron-like poet, who in the end comes to realize that 'Wirriyamu' can only carry meaning if it is avenged with a call to arms to liberate the region, walking the talk as it were. In Kabalango's view that is the only way to end the colonial violence suppressing the subaltern voices and existence in Southern Africa.

### **The White Angel's Fictional Return**

Unlike Sassine's fiction, [José Rodrigues dos Santos](#)' recently published tome "O Anjo Branco", *The White Angel*, forms part of a larger national trend in fictional narratives tackling Portugal's imperial and colonial past.<sup>77</sup> This work more successfully conveys the intricacies of Mozambique's colonial war, Tete as a place, and the anatomy of the massacre at Wirriyamu. It features a Portuguese medical doctor, José Branco, modeled after the author's father, dos Santos senior. The latter had fallen out of favor of the Portuguese officialdom who sent him to the "white men's hell," which is how they referred to Tete, "a cemetery for whites" the last place anyone "white or civilized" would want to live or die, deep in the "darkest heart of Africa".

Colonial authorities hoped his exile would send him and his troublesome ways into self-abnegating oblivion. Instead, he found a new lease for his professional life. The medical challenges facing the province were gargantuan, and the resources close to non-existent. He created an aerial medical service, flying in a small plane to remote locations tending to the sick and the frail impeccably dressed in medical whites.

The novel follows the life story of this medic against the background of war, politics, torture, and conviviality between races and social classes. The author's declared aim was to offer a highly nuanced treatment of the war, eschewing categorical condemnation of either side of the colonial divide. The novel rejects a simplistic view of the Portuguese presence in Tete and argues instead for a more sophisticated narrative in which the Portuguese secret police and colonial administrators and Frelimo and its wounded, acknowledged, periodic and at times clandestine presence in the same space, thereby allowing for mutual coexistence without condoning each other's legitimacy of conduct in war.

Unlike Sassine, dos Santos succeeds in advancing this notion: that perhaps the war in Tete was more complex and morally uncertain than it was made out to be; and that perhaps Wirriyamu too may well merit such an outlook. The latter point is not explicit in the book, though the message to this effect is clearly implied by the author's own political and personal perspectives on the war.

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<sup>77</sup> dos Santos, *O Anjo*.

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Two aspects of this novel are troubling. One relates to its perspective and the other to inaugural events that surrounded the book's launching. The novel promotes the impression of principled conviviality in Tete between the colonial hierarchy and its subaltern opponents of both persuasions, those passively supportive of the nationalists in war, and guerrilla fighters and their urban activists in Tete. As several who lived in that province during the war can attest, this image is far from the mark. The conviviality was minuscule if not negligible. If it existed as a widely practiced norm, it did so virtually, in the author's imagined world of consorting enemies.

Further, by my reckoning, the author would have been around eight years old during his father's medical ministry in Tete. Research using informants in Tete could easily have better informed the narrative in this regard. Granted, the work is fictional; still, given the claims by the author of having carried out a punitively intense "fact-based" research, this perspective of complex coexistence between enemies drawn to kill proves difficult to overlook.

The second aspect of the work is perhaps ethically more troublesome if not ghoulish. We now know that the author's father had photographed Wiriyamu a couple of weeks after the carnage. However, the photographic evidence is partial and should not be construed by aspiring revisionists as evidence of how small the Portuguese kill was at Wiriyamu.

Lisbon's Geographic Society mounted an exhibition of these images at the inaugural launching of the book in 2010. Adrian Hastings was proven right, after all these years! The tragedy is that this independent body of photographic evidence has become known fully nine years after Hastings' death, 28 years after he helped reveal the massacre. Sadly, Hastings went to his grave without the satisfaction of knowing where the incriminating evidence lay buried.

Santos Senior and Santos Junior sat on the images for 38 eight years while the world questioned where Wiriyamu was located and what happened to it. The continued photographic burial of Wiriyamu after 1974 is, to say the least, inexcusable, particularly since Portugal's colonial wars in Africa had ended, Portugal's fascist regime had toppled, Portugal was now fully democratic and a member of the European Union, and the evidence would have buried once and for all any doubts of the magnitude of the kill at Wiriyamu. More troubling is the photographic outing of Wiriyamu this way, to coincide with the inauguration of a fictional work depicting a Portuguese version of an Albert Schweitzer dressed in medical whites angelically dispensing healing to Tete's needy.

### **The Dynamics of Oral History**

The seven printed texts reviewed here suggest the massacre to have been a deadly, binary discourse on good and evil. Some viewed the event through moral, imperative grounds while others provided a highly sophisticated culture of evidence to ground their respective binary focus. Some texts focus on the perpetrators carrying out the carnage while other texts center on the people who perished at Wiriyamu as victims. However, the absence of victims' voices strengthened the perception of them as objects deprived of life and limb, more known for their blood-soaked end than their existence as breathing living human beings. In other words, none of the works had fully addressed key questions centrally framing this book.

That is why I resuscitated the Wiriyamu project in 1994. I secured a Fulbright stipend for a year, two years after the *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Renamo)*, and Frelimo peacefully negotiated an end to the civil war, and marched on two fronts: archival work and oral interviews. My archival work entailed tapping documents in Mozambique,<sup>78</sup> printed materials held by the Burgos fathers in Spain, repositories in Portugal,<sup>79</sup> Britain, and the United States.<sup>80</sup>

I structured my oral interviews thematically. Onsite field work including preparation lasted for eight months, starting in December 1994. I interviewed respondents in Spain, Portugal, England and the United States between 1995 and 1997. The last interview took place as recently as March 2013.

My oral interviews sought to interrogate fundamentally the Wiriyamu story in *The Times* and as laid out in subsequent texts by Father Hastings and others.<sup>81</sup> This objective proved easy to fulfill in a sense, since all I had to do was to address the lacuna in current literature and question the unfolding text focusing on contradictions and dissonances where these emerged – and where these could be addressed on site itself. I was indeed well aware of the need to be sensitive in how I framed my questions so as not to invite defensiveness in my respondents. On the other had, I always used words like, “help me understand this” or, “help me with this fact here.”

Initially I found it difficult, though not impossible, to strip bias from oral evidence, particularly ones pregnant with evocative data. One approach I took was to always question the extant narrative as revealed in the Times and an alternative that I posited to myself in my head by imaginary respondents. I kept reminding myself that there were an infinite number of inferences I could draw for every fact presented. At first listen, one could infer an expression of affectionate care from hearing the story a young herder carrying a goat home in his arms. Subsequent probes seeking clarification on context followed by a physical demonstration on how they carried goats in their arms, under what circumstances they engaged in such practices, and how old was the herder revealed the goat to be pregnant. Safe delivery of the goat was essentially a protection of capital. The lost of a kid would have meant the loss of potential 45 escudos once the kid grew ready to be sold in the local market, not counting the lost of future kids if the goat died.

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<sup>78</sup> *The Samora Machel Documentation Center*, 333 Rua do Bagamoyo; *Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*; and, *Centro de Estudos Africanos*, CEA.

<sup>79</sup> Since last visited the British based IDAF archives were split in two. The International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa Press Cutting Archives are now housed at, *The Institute of Commonwealth Studies Library, University of London*, accessed on 24 July 2012.

<http://icommlibrary.blogspot.com/2009/12/international-defence-and-aid-fund-for.html>. The remainder are lodged as “African Activist Archive” at University of the Western Cape-Robben Island, *Mayibuye Archives*, accessed on 24 July 2012,

<http://africanactivist.msu.edu/organization.php?name=International+Defence+and+Aid+Fund+for+Southern+Africa+>

<sup>80</sup> *Mozambique Revolution*, Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies; and the Herbert Shore, *Aluka.org*, accessed 01 August 2013,

<http://www.aluka.org/action/doBrowse?sa=xst&t=2040&br=tax-collections%7Cpart-of%7Ccollection-minor>; and, RG 30/307 - *Herbert Shore Collection in Honor of Eduardo C. Mondlane*, accessed 15 January 2013. <http://www.oberlin.edu/archive/holdings/finding/RG30/SG307/>

<sup>81</sup> Hastings, *Wiriyamu*; Hastings, “Reflections”; Parker, “Wiriyamu and the War in Tete, 1971-1974”; Reis and Oliveira, “Cutting Heads,” 80-103; Cabrita, “Os Mortos Não Sofrem,”; Cabrita, “Wiriyamu, Viagem ao Fundo do Terror”; Cabrita, *Massacres em África*; and, Amnesty International, *Annual Report 1973-1974* (London: Amnesty International, 1974), 63-64; and, IDAF, *Terror In Tete*.

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Often, respondents wanted me to view the events through a certain prism. In one case, during a group interview I was told that children had been pounded to death in mortars and pestles. Yet I knew that men, let alone armed men, would not handle mortar and pestle because of gender-bias. If the Portuguese colonial forces did engage in beating children to a pulp in mortars, then they must have had ample time and energy to devote to this task, thereby delaying their mission objective, which was to clean up Wiriyamu as quickly as possible of its living humans. The soldiers and their interrogators, it transpired later, were keen to get the operation wrapped up before sunset so they could tent up for the night in a “relatively safe zone.” This is not to suggest that rape, pillage, and the taking of women as trophies could not have occurred. They may have, but I failed to unearth primary oral sources proving the atrocities enumerated here to be true.<sup>82</sup>

When I asked respondents if they saw any of the atrocities mentioned above, they responded in the negative. I could draw only one conclusion from this, that in the heat of the story telling, someone may well have gestured pestle to stand for the butt of a gun. The latter gesture was very likely to have happened since the Portuguese, short of arms and ammunition, were under instructions to spare bullets. “We used grenades instead. They killed more people than a bullet,” attested the commander of the operation to me when interviewed later for this work.<sup>83</sup>

I chose respondents to help me with data-recovery on the massacre after a short preselection process using cross-indexed references to gauge the strength, content, depth, consistency and context of data they had to offer. I took great precaution to focus first on eyewitnesses. I placed on hold respondents eager to tell their stories based on hearsay and respondents with stories told to them by deceased primary sources until the first phase of recovering primary source data ended.

I expressly eschewed topics of rape and genderized violence to minimize the emotional footprint on female respondents unaccompanied by a female field worker. In all instances I took care to avoid triggering PTSD episodes. In the face of such episodes (and there were not many), my two field-workers (one male and one female) and I stopped data-gathering. We used empathy and motionless silence to allow grief an uninterrupted space to mourn the events until the narrative flow dissipated towards a safe and secure harbour. To relieve stress, my respondents and I took frequent breaks and changed our seating arrangements. We tried to keep sessions on data collection distinctly separate from other forms of social interactions among respondents who had not seen each other recently.

The male field worker trained in PTSD triage stood by me always, to monitor boundary maintenance during the interviews. He checked me daily for signs of premature vicarious trauma from continuous exposure to massacre testimonies. He also generally helped with fact checking, logistics, provisions, lodgings, water and fuel supplies, and structured time-management. Clinicians experienced in PTSD-related fieldwork had advised me to take mandatory sabbaticals. I took two: one to travel to Maputo to share preliminary findings with scholars at the Center of African Studies, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo; the other I spent sculpting near Ponta d’Oro - a beach resort.

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<sup>82</sup> Antonino Melo.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.*

We welcomed respondents to choose their place of interview. The majority of survivors chose the foot of a baobab tree on the massacre site at Wiriyamu because they felt the need to bond with a survivor still rooted to the site, albeit a tree. Those I interviewed at adjoining massacre sites either chose a spot near a chapel or a water well. Survivors I interviewed in Djemusse selected a larger baobab tree to lean against “because it saw and could hear what we are saying.”<sup>84</sup> [Photo - Chapel Photo]

We designed all interviews to be minimally invasive. We began with recording basic biographic data and chose muted colors for micro-cassettes and the clothes we were wearing and kept interview equipment and their carriers to a minimum, leaving the interview process visually free of the “learned tools of the trade” - pen, paper et al. Where we needed these, we bought them locally. We felt that introducing imported materials would hinder the process of data collection. This way, respondents were free to focus on their testimonies in a place of their choosing free of icons of imported modernity.

We varied the formats of several interviews to fit in with the needs and the pace of respondents. Some preferred constant prodding. Others invited didactic probes, and here we sought the help of companions to cross-check facts on memory recall. We used group discussions and palavers frequently for collecting data on lineage, demography, poultry, goats and cattle.

We found it was easier to gather data on vital commodities and resources, perhaps because these related to life in a village before its end. Such data ran the gamut: points of reference pegged to specific boulders and land and water marks; sources of, and proximity to, water; variety of homes, their shapes, their social significance, and the materials used; methods and means of making and selling woven baskets, *batuquis*, coal, and artisanal goods; slaughter of meat for personal use, social events, and generating income; distilleries of local beer and spirits to imbibe and sell; rainmaking rituals; football and courtship practices and rituals; trading in animal husbandry; hunting and fishing; and location of sacred forests; and animal wild life.

Two respondents withheld what they knew from us, perhaps because they feared that by telling their side of the story they would not be able to safely return to a normal life after revisiting the trauma of their ordeal. In both cases, the interviews took unprecedented turns. One reconstructed on site how he escaped from the inferno enveloping him and his family. [Photo - Respondent Reenacting the killings at Djemusse] The other relived with eerie precision the process used to collect the list of the dead on the very night of the massacre. Both felt they had accomplished something by choosing to relive the day. In doing so, they uprooted as a tsunami would, the interview protocols carefully put in place to facilitate data-gathering.

One respondent, who went blind for an undisclosed or unexplained reason following the massacre, physically retraced his trajectory to escape the carnage that followed him close at heels as he sought to warn the others. One respondent’s narration on a little reported massacre site at Juawu was equally cinematographic.

My interviews in Tete, Maputo, Matola, Madrid, Lisbon and cities in England and the state of New York followed a similar protocol - except in a handful of cases. One entailed a Burgos priest from the Basque region, the son of a bullfighter who played a role in protecting a key eye-witness to help an English reporter bring proof of the massacre back to London. He was “jubilado” in Madrid -

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<sup>84</sup> Kalifornia Kaniveti, interview with the author, Wiriyamu, Mozambique, 1995.

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retired. I had to interview him while he performed his three chores as a roof top gardener, pigeon breeder, and assistant to a priest in the local medical recovery program. I was at his disposal during my stay at his sanatorium. The resultant interviews appeared unaffected by the din of cooing pigeons and traffic noise. He spoke as he walked the streets of Madrid usually during lunchtime as he headed to the parish church. We were attached to microphones linked to an analogue micro tape recorder, which I held in my hands to ensure we remained appropriately tethered.

Several interviews had to be held in hotel lobbies, army barracks, luggage store rooms, a sanatorium, private dining clubs, hotel rooms, a bar, a coffee house, a yacht club, a seminary, a church, and over restaurant meals. I found interviewing in these places challenging. They were held without the aid of my PTSD triage fieldworker and oral history technician whose job was to help me adhere to my planned set of questions and ensure I maintained boundaries, with the result that I had to repeatedly review details of data recovered and ensure that they were recorded in their proper sequence. Oddly enough, two interviews carried out under these conditions yielded a set of multi-layered and richly textured texts. Of the two, the most noteworthy was the interview with Peter Pringle, *The Sunday Times of London* journalist, which lasted for twelve hours straight with copious consumption of Grappa during which he confirmed the veracity of the massacre backed by photographic evidence.<sup>85</sup> He penned a text of his own to this book.

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<sup>85</sup> Peter Pringle’s biography is given in, *Peter Pringle, Biography*, accessed 30 July 2013.  
<http://www.peterpringleauthor.com/bio.htm>

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Of the respondents I interviewed, a pool of 30 proved instrumental for this study. Details on Wiri-yamu's military context in Tete used materials from 15 respondents. The anatomy of that day's massacre was pieced together with details provided by 16 respondents supported by a group of fact-checkers who worked closely with 216 affected families: 107 from Chaworha, 30 from Wiri-yamu, 30 from Juawu, 14 from Riachu, and 35 from Djemusse.<sup>87</sup> Data on the church in Tete between 1970

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<sup>86</sup> Antonino Melo.

<sup>87</sup> The family names are given in the census tables enclosed.

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and 1974 and its role in the story was drawn from 16 informants while 15 among the 30 selected guided the text to uncover details on its trajectory as it reached the pages of *The Times of London*.<sup>88</sup>

### **The Wakeup Call**

The project went dark in 1997 after my Fulbright return for several complex reasons. I had bought note pads locally, which deteriorated rapidly because of their inordinately low pH content. In addition, some of the ferric oxide tapes, again bought locally, re-magnetized on rewinds, making some of the tapes inaudible. Some of the data were re-constructed by digital sound engineers while the bulk of non-primary data culled from secondary informants were regrettably lost.

While I was doing field work, I made a conscious effort not to feel emotionally connected to people I had interviewed. Put differently, I took great care not to mix the personal with the historical. I cannot say the same about my state after processing the information I had uncovered. In other words, the historical had come to devour the personal. I was indeed traumatized by the collection of evidence. It left me numb, lost for words, dazed, disconnected from the contexts of my living and unable to find my conceptual and intellectual bearings. I was in effect suffering from Secondary Trauma Stress, STS.<sup>89</sup> I lost my abilities as a historian to practice my craft, which I partly recovered after a decade and a half. Clearly I had failed to adhere to debriefing protocols prescribed for fieldworks dealing with collective mass violence.<sup>90</sup> Self-denial did not help; neither did my resounding failure to address the matter with the urgency that STS deserved by enlisting the help of professionals in this field. In the meantime, I made two attempts to bring the project into print. One text that I

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<sup>88</sup> They were Padre Miguel Buendia, E. António Cachavi, José Capela, Padre José Fonte Castellã, António Chuva, Padre Enrique Fernando, Padre Domingo Ferrão, General Gruveta, Father Adrian Hastings, Kalifornia Kaniveti, Domingo Kansande, Abidu Karimu, Michael Knipe, Padre Vicente Berenguer Llopis, Irmã Lucia, Father Joseph, Padre Alfonso Valverde, Mariano Matsinha, Antonino Melo, António Mixone, Podista Mchenga, Peter Pringle, Cantineiro Raul, Padre José Sangalo, General Hama Tai, Enéria Tenente, Vasco Tenente Valeta, Christopher Wain, João Xavier, and Bulachu Pensado Zambezi.

<sup>89</sup> Literature on PTSD and STS among Portuguese war veterans is covered in, Angela Maia, Teresa McIntyre, M. Graça Pereira, and Eugénia Ribeiro, "War Exposure and Post-traumatic Stress as Predictors of Portuguese Colonial War Veterans' Physical Health," *Anxiety, Stress, & Coping* 24, 3 (May 2011), 309-325; M. Graça Pereira and Susana Pedras, "Vitimização Secundária nos Filhos Adultos de Veteranos da Guerra Colonial Portuguesa," *Psicologia: Reflexão e Crítica* 24, 4 (2011), 702-709; and, M. Graça Pereira, Susana Pedras, and Cristina Lopes, "Posttraumatic Stress, Psychological Morbidity, Psychopathology, Family Functioning, and Quality of Life in Portuguese War Veterans," *Traumatology* 18(2013), 49-58.

<sup>90</sup> Literature on vicarious trauma and trauma prevention in the post-narrative phase is extensive. See, John Barnhill, *DSM-5 Clinical Cases* (Arlington, Virginia: American Psychiatric Association, 2013). For secondary literature consult, Peter Glick and Elizabeth Levy Paluck, "The Aftermath of Genocide: History as a Proximal Cause," *Journal of Social Issues* 69, 1 (March 2013): 200-2008; and, Jessica Johnson, "Agency Level Interventions for Preventing and Treating Trauma: A Qualitative Study," Master of Social Work Clinical Research Papers, Paper 41.  
[http://sophia.stkate.edu/msw\\_papers/41](http://sophia.stkate.edu/msw_papers/41).

penned examined how and why Portugal denied the massacre as it was being revealed.<sup>91</sup> Another article, which appeared bereft of footnotes in compliance with the journal's publishing guidelines, exposed Portugal's culpability in the affair.<sup>92</sup>

I made the final push to consolidate the research in 2010 two years before an article questioning aspects of the Wiriyamu narrative appeared as a case study in civil wars,<sup>93</sup> which a historian familiar with the case had brought to my attention on 31 May 2012.<sup>94</sup> I took his note as a wakeup call to race the project to the finish. Partly to this end, I had already resigned as Dean of Graduate and Undergraduate Studies at California State University Bakersfield, retreated to faculty among fellow historians, and set to work on two scholarly texts. One offered a critique on the article that appeared in the *Civil Wars Journal*,<sup>95</sup> and the other<sup>96</sup> outlined skeletally the Wiriyamu massacre. This final response to that last wakeup call is now here: a monograph on Wiriyamu's terminal entrapment that tackles its context, its erasure, its resurrection as a publicly outed narrative, and its afterlife on real, imagined, and contested terrains. I am hoping to follow this text with a companion volume on oral testimonies on Wiriyamu in the very near future.

In the meantime, Portugal's former men-at-arms "ashamed of our own history," continue to be afflicted with PTSD,<sup>97</sup> while Antonino Melo remains where he is, nailed to the cross by his conscience, haunted by images of half-burnt bodies left behind. Can official Portugal afford inaction? I think not. Until then, I hope this text will help its leaders come to terms with Wiriyamu's erasure and heal the unattended veterans afflicted by trauma from the colonial war.

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<sup>91</sup> Dhada, "Contesting Terrains," 413-455.

<sup>92</sup> Mustafah Dhada, "Frankly My Dear, We Should Give A Damn!" *Peace Review* 12:3 (2000): 457-462.

<sup>93</sup> Reis and Oliveira, "Cutting Heads," 80-103.

<sup>94</sup> Eric Morier-Genoud, personal communication with author, 31 May 2012. Eric Morier-Genoud's professional association can be accessed at *Queens's University, Belfast*, accessed 01 June 2012, <http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofHistoryandAnthropology/Staff/AcademicStaff/DrEricMorier-Genoud/>. See also, Eric Morier-Genoud, "Wiriyamu: atrocidade pro esclarecer?\*", *Savana*, June 1, 2012, 11.

<sup>95</sup> Mustafah Dhada, "The Wiriyamu Massacre of 1972: Its Context, Genesis, and Revelation," *History In Africa* (June 2013): 1-31. DOI: 10.1017/hia.2013.2, Published online: 19 June 2013.

<sup>96</sup> Mustafah Dhada, "The Wiriyamu Massacre of 1972."

<sup>97</sup> Angela Campos, "'We Are Still Ashamed of Our Own History.' Interviewing Ex-combatants of the Portuguese Colonial War (1961-1974)," *Lusotopie* 15, 2 (2008), 107-126.