Color lines according to the photographer Ricardo Rangel

Drew A. Thompson*

p. 119-141

Introduction

This article is about the Mozambican photojournalist Ricardo Rangel. However, I want to begin with a photograph, not by Rangel, that was representative of Portugal's colonizing endeavors in Mozambique. A print by the studio *Barros and Galamos* depicted men dressed in uniforms, leaning against a pile of barrels. The picture's cardboard frame included the handwritten names of the photograped subjects and typed text. The caption read, "Expedition to Mozambique-1916. Officials of the Department of Military Administration. Barrels of Wine for the Disembarking Expedition from Palma." The caption's date and content located the photograph within a historical reality where Portugal was using private enterprises for manpower, financial capital, and equipment in order to build and operate networks of bridges, roads, and farms in Mozambique (Penvenne, 1995; Allina, 1997). The existence of the photographic print along with the juxtaposition of typed and handwritten text demonstrated that the taking and viewing of photographs accompanied these expeditions.

On the one hand, closer analysis of the print revealed the aptitude of the camera and the photographer to capture diverse perspectives regarding the historical moment. On the other hand, the print was representative of photography's own capacity to illustrate the ways in which photographed subjects looked back at the medium and viewed themselves through it. The barrels propped up the uniformed men, who had their hands either on their knees or the brims of their hats. The men's positions presented a relaxed and jovial scene. Some of the men looked directly at the camera, while others looked in the direction of a scene not visible to the camera and the viewers of the print. Off to the viewer's right side, was an unidentified young black man whose position mirrored that of the men situated slightly in front of him. From the perspective of the print, the men did not appear aware of the young man's presence. Photographic practices provided material objects through which photographed subjects and viewers of photographs located themselves within historical developments. In the coming decades, the situation surrounding Portugal's rule in Mozambique changed along with the role of photography.

* **Historical Studies Program, Bard College**. I would like to thank the editors of this special issue and the two anonymous peer-reviewers of my text for their feedback. I am grateful to Pamila Gupta, Erin Haney, Patricia Hayes, Erika Nimis, Jeanne Penvenne and Rui Assubuji for their editorial guidance. My field research for this article benefited from the support of Beatrice Rangel, Maria de Lourdes Torcato, Luís Bernardo Honwana, Allen Isaacman, José Machado and Ricardo Rangel, who I had the unique privilege to interview the year before his passing. Lastly, I acknowledge the efforts of the research teams at the Historical Archives of Mozambique and the Center for Photographic Training and Documentation, who assisted me in locating photographs and as digitizing them.

Figure 001 – Barros and Galamos, 1916, *"Expedição A Moçambique. Officiaes do Serviço de Aminstração Militar Barris de Vinho para A Expedição Desembarcados em Palma, Arquivo Histórico Militar,* Lisbon, Portugal, PT AHM-110-B-7-MD-4-1.

As evident from Ricardo Rangel's career trajectory, young men, like the ones in Figure 001, went from occupying the role of photographed subjects to assuming positions behind the camera as photographers, onlookers, and patrons. Ricardo Rangel was born in 1924, eight years after the production of Figure 001 and eight years before António Salazar assumed control of the government of Portugal. By 1941, as Portugal ended its use of private enterprises and abandoned its forced labor policies, Rangel worked as an assistant to a photographer and later in the darkrooms of commercial photography studios. His expertise and reputation led to his hiring in the early 1950s as a press-photographer. He went from developing the films of people who enforced Portugal's policies to photographing them working and living within the very systems they controlled. Between the early 1950s and 1975, and as Portugal and the liberation movement *Frente da Libertação de Moçambique* (Frelimo) fought for control over Mozambique, Rangel worked as a photographer and editor for news publications either sympathetic to or critical of the colonial state. After Mozambique's independence in 1975, he assumed editorial roles at state-run newspapers, and trained a new generation of photographers. In 1982, the government appointed Rangel as the first director of the Center for Photographic Training and Documentation (CFDF), where he remained until his death in 2009. Rangel's career paralleled processes of colonization and decolonization in Mozambique.

Rangel's use of photography complicated his and other people's social and political standings. The conditions of Rangel's birth placed him at the center of changes that ensued when Portugal modified and later abandoned the racial hierarchies it enforced. His own mixed-race heritage conflicted with his daily life experiences, leading him to identify with the category *indigena* or black. By way of a brief example, Rangel recalled his surprise at receiving his first job as a photographer. One of his colleagues, the famed Mozambican writer Luís Bernardo Honwana, viewed the professional rise of Rangel and his contempo-

rary Kok Nam, as part of Portugal's effort to convey a picture of racial inclusivity, one that included non-white journalists. Reflecting on Rangel's career led Honwana to also implicate himself in Portugal's effort to diversify workforces. He stated, "I myself would be singled out to go to official functions just because [at] official functions in the palace of the governor, I would be seen [as] a black that [was] not a servant."[1] As they found themselves drawn further into the ways that the colonial state pictured itself, both Rangel and Honwana faced choices of whether to use bathrooms reserved for "Men" or "Servants" and whether or not to visit city beaches located in areas where whites traditionally lived.

Figure 002 – Image from the Report of the Mission to Mozambique of Architect Mário de Oliveira, 1963, Available at the *Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento*, Lisbon, Portugal.

Honwana's observations present a context to consider how the colonial state used illustrated documents to advertise its policies on race. After the start of Mozambique's liberation war in 1964, Portugal's military circulated posters and pamphlets. These propaganda materials featured brown, taupe, pink, and grey colored fists pulling at the sides of Portugal's flag (Figure 002). Layered on top of the flag's insignia was a map of Mozambique, and the slogan "Mozambique is Mozambique because it is Portugal" framed the flag.[2] Another poster depicted a drawing of four men, each shaded in the colors of grey, white, black, and yellow and holding on top of their heads a globe that included Portugal's flag next to its territories in Asia and Africa.[3] Other printed posters included slogans such as "Many Races, All Portuguese," "The Portuguese People are the African People," and "Race does not count... Together We Will Win." [4] None of the military's propaganda advocating for racial inclusion featured photographs of racial groups cohabitating. The absence of such photographs alluded to the state's inability to translate through the photographic medium any reality of racial inclusion.

The historical experiences of migrants to Mozambique in the 1950s and 1960s were different from the messages and images that Portugal advertised. Alvaro Simões recalled arriving in Mozambique from Portugal not knowing how to treat populations that he referred to as "black."[5] In his first days in Mozambique, he saw blacks sitting at the back of buses and also viewed whites driving blacks around. He later learned that whites drove their black servants around and did not sit together. Ana Maria Branquinho confirmed the sentiment that there was no integration between races.[6] She explained that whites performed jobs

1 Luís Bernardo Honwana, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique, July 2008.
2 Instituo Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento, *Relatório da Missão a Moçambique do Arquitecto Mário de Oliveira, 1963*.
3 The document denoted Brazil not with a flag of Portugal but instead by outlining its borders in yellow and green. The mentioning of Brazil suggests the connection of Portugal and Brazil during this period of conflict between Portugal and its overseas provinces in Africa and Asia.
4 AHM, PT/AHM/FO/007/B/38/361, 21-Relatórios acção psicológica, 1969.
5 Álvaro Simões, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique, January 2011.
6 Ana Maria Branquinho, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique, June 2010.

traditionally reserved for blacks in other colonial contexts, such as driving and collecting tickets on buses and operating canteens.[7] There were migrants and native populations who found themselves treated like blacks because their skin color was different from popular assumptions of how skin colors correlated to racial categories. There were also instances where people, despite having dark skin, entered "white" spaces because they were not black but Goan (i.e., Indian).[8] These circumstances viewed and experienced by migrant and native populations reinforced the idea that Portugal's notion of racial inclusion and harmony did not easily translate to and through photography, let alone through policy.

By the early 1960s, populations across Portugal's overseas provinces in Africa and Asia initiated wars for independence. Amid these struggles, photographic studios opened across Mozambique. Such enterprises introduced technologies, like color films and 35mm cameras, that enhanced the circulation and publication of photographs while generating work opportunities. From the purview of José Machado, who himself migrated from Portugal and worked for a commercial studio in this period, there were no blacks who practiced photography.[9] However, Machado acknowledged that Chinese and Indians owned some of the newly-opened businesses. Notwithstanding, photographs by Ricardo Rangel countered Machado's impressions. Rangel pictured both black and white photographers practicing on the streets of the colonial capital of Lourenço Marques (Figure 003). In fact, the choices of racial identification that underlined daily life in colonial Mozambique served as the subject matter for Rangel's photographs. The juxtaposition of Machado's perspective with Rangel's photographs suggests that the practice, use, and viewing of photography skewed popular understandings of race. Rangel photographed situations that people knew and saw but did not necessarily understand according to the terms ascribed by the photographic medium.


NOVOS AVIÕES PARA A D.E.T.A.?

O VELHO HOMEM E A VELHA MÁQUINA

Exames de admissão ao 3.º, 4.º e 5.º anos do Curso Liceal de Adultos

UNOS

OS NOCTURNOS

AM OS PREÇOS

AS dos autocarros

O fotógrafo José Langa, sobre quem nos referimos no texto «O velho homem e a velha máquina»

COMEÇAM HOJE AS AULAS DO MAGISTÉRIO PRIMÁRIO

Almoço de Técnicos de Contas

MATRÍCULAS NOS ESTUDOS GERAIS

OS PARTICIPANTES DAS JORNADAS MÉDICO-VETERINÁRIAS visitaram diversas explorações pecuárias no Maputo

Figure 003 – Ricardo Rangel, "The photographer José Langa, about who we refer to in the text 'The old Man and the old machine,' A Tribuna, October 1964, *Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*, Maputo, Mozambique, Colonial Newspaper Collection.

Figure 001 considered in relation to the life and work of Ricardo Rangel raises a number of questions related to the 2015 UNICAMP symposium, first about how populations in colonial Mozambique understood the racial hierarchies enforced by Portugal, and second about how, through photography, populations produced knowledge about themselves and the historical processes unfolding around them. What was it about the photographic medium, and the production economies that facilitated its operation, that allowed Rangel to enter into a professional and technical world perceived for whites only? What perceptions of race surfaced in colonial Mozam-

7 These canteens were in neighborhoods outside of the city center, where native populations lived.
8 I am grateful to Jeanne Penvenne for bringing this observation to my attention.
9 José Machado, Interview by author, February 2010.

bique, particularly between 1940 and 1975, as a result of photography's increased use? Lastly, why was Rangel able to photograph both black and white photographers, according to the films that he used, while the perception persisted, even amongst photographers of the colonial period, that there were no "black" photographers? My consideration of these questions seeks to understand the visual vocabularies that populations particularly in colonial Lourenço Marques developed in order to locate themselves within the social, economic, and political changes associated with colonization and independence in Mozambique.[10]

To such ends, I explore Rangel's entry into the professional realm of photography through the darkroom and the skills that he acquired. I will determine where photography situated Rangel in relation to the historical changes that gripped the colony of Mozambique. I then recreate the debates that emerged around the publication of Rangel's photographs in newsrooms in order to explore the ways in which perceptions of color lines surfaced and the types of relationships that people constructed. I seek explanations for why populations believed that a photographer like Rangel, who faced the possibility of marginalization because of his skin color, inserted "black" populations into the picture frame (Penvenne, 2012; Smith, 2004). To understand how such a popular notion developed, I consider how available technologies and the skills applied by practitioners facilitated such visual (re-)framings. Nationalist, nostalgic, and even racialized politics in Mozambique have defined the telling of Rangel's life as a photographer (Hayes, 2013; Gupta, 2011 and 2014). In many ways, these historical perspectives have overshadowed Rangel's own technical training and the aesthetic debates that confronted him and his pictures.

The collections and processes under study here are fragmentary and disperse, what visual historian Patricia Hayes in her reading of anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards described as first drafts on history (Patricia Hayes, 2007; Elizabeth Edwards, 2001). In terms of material content, studied archives consisted of prints, negatives, contact sheets, and historical experiences informed by memories of photographs. It is possible to determine the specific photographs Rangel published and how his prints passed through editorial processes. Such analysis reveals that editors cropped many of Rangel's photographs before publication, resulting in pictures of pictures (Azoulay, 2010). Rangel's private archive was incomplete. He did not print all of his negatives, and in some instances, available prints did not have corresponding negatives. Due to the nature of the editorial processes, many of Rangel's negatives and cropped prints remained in the possession of the colonial-era newspapers where he worked.[11]

Seeking to account for the ways that Rangel maintained control over and used his negatives opens up for consideration issues of state and self-censorship and the relationship between photographs and historical processes. What is left of Rangel's photographic archive has remained at the national photography school, the CFDF, and not in the possession of a non-state entity. Thus, the location of Rangel's archives positioned it as a site of critique of the Mozambican state and its history. By way of example, cultural intellectuals that lived in Lourenço Marques have used the CFDF to reprint their colonial-era films and as a platform to exhibit them. Unlike his press colleagues, Rangel did not take many new photographs after assuming the CFDF directorship in 1982 (Assubuji and Hayes, 2013). Instead, he directed his attention to reprinting photographs that colonial officials previously censored. The archiving and exhibition activities unfolding around the CFDF accompanied by reflections on Rangel's career have inserted historical actors into the grand narrative of liberation that continues to be at the center of state power and legitimacy in Mozambique (Coelho, 2013).

[10] Helena Pohlandt-McCormick's comments on my doctoral work related to photography in Mozambique allowed me to formulate this query.

[11] Grant Lee Neuenberg, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique, May 2010.

The Darkroom: An Introduction to Photography and Color Lines

The opening of commercial studios in colonial Mozambique ushered forward new popular and state demands regarding photography's use. Businesses sold cameras and films that made it possible for clients to take their own photographs. In response, studios reconfigured their businesses to offer film developing and printing services, which required them to employ local populations. Rangel himself acknowledged, "Photography houses [were] where it was more profitable to work."[12] This expansion of studios' workforces and services placed new priorities on darkrooms. From a technical standpoint, the darkroom was an enclosed physical space where technicians developed and printed films through a range of techniques that involved the use of liquid chemicals, machines, and paper. For Rangel and others like him who started their careers in photography as darkroom technicians, it was not necessary to know how to use a camera or how to take pictures in order to work in darkrooms. In turn, the darkroom provided a technical education in photography in addition to offering a context through which to process outside encounters with instituted racial categories.

Rangel referred to himself as "Euro-Afro-Asian."[13] His grandfather migrated to Mozambique from Macau, a province of Portugal in southern China, and his grandmother was a native of the Mozambican province Inhambane. According to policy, which stated that the racial categories of the parents determined the race of the child born to them, Rangel's mother was *mestiça*.[14] Rangel's father was a white male nurse from Greece, which afforded Rangel the designation of *mestiço*. However, the migration of populations from Portugal to Mozambique between 1940 and 1975 disrupted enforced hierarchies. Racial intermixing provided limited alternatives to the racial categories instituted by Portugal.

From his childhood, Rangel found himself living in between spaces. He and his mother accompanied his father to different parts of Mozambique. He remembered having few "African" friends at the official Portuguese school he attended. Nonetheless, he was surprised to discover in the rural parts of Mozambique where he lived "whites with blond hair" who spoke the local languages of Ronga and Shangaan.[15] While in class, Rangel learned what he called "the villages, cities, rivers, [and] mountains of Portugal and nothing [about Mozambique]."[16] After completing his grade in a given year, Rangel found himself not advancing to the next grade as quickly as his peers. He attributed this failure to a strategy deployed by Portugal. He stated:

> *I used to say that Portugal learned a lot from Brazil... I think about what I read. The Brazilians had children with natives. They sent their children [who only knew about slavery] to Europe. [The children] came back with a new mentality. In Europe there was no slavery. When they returned to Brazil, they found slavery. According to history, there were many children of slave owners who stood up against slavery... I think here about [this] ideology, so in a way, Portugal found out the best thing [was] not to teach so much, to teach the natives to a certain level.*[17]

Rangel did not advance beyond grade four, having had to repeat twice grades two, three, and four. However, he discovered the existence of an informal yet visible social hierarchy that consisted (in descending order of importance) of whites, Indians from Goa, mixed-race

12 Ricardo Rangel, Interview by Allen Isaacman and author, Maputo, Mozambique, July 2008.
13 CFDF, Narciso Castaneira, "Not stopping in order not to die," *Revista Tempo*, 28 February, 1999, pP. 10-13.
14 The racial categories of parents did not change as a result of their children. So, for example, Rangel's grandmother remained *indigena* or black despite having a *mestiça* child and a husband who was from Macau.
15 Ricardo Rangel, Interview by Allen Isaacman and author, Maputo, Mozambique, July 2008.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.

or *mestiços*, and finally blacks.[18] Interestingly, his own experiences allude to the ways in which populations defied the racial categories assigned to them.

In part because of his social and economic standing, Rangel viewed himself as black instead of as mixed-race. He abandoned his studies after grade four because his parents did not have money, and he moved in with his grandmother who lived in a neighborhood on the outskirts of Lourenço Marques. For Rangel, the neighborhood of Malhangalene was "sort of a frontier border between the city and the suburb," where he observed people "coming from the bush and countryside" intermixing with city culture. Despite his supposedly privileged position as mixed-race, he watched as his grandmother, who was *indigena*, stood on lines separate from white women. He also recalled his grandmother going to jail because she failed to pay the taxes levied on native women. With his house near the military barracks, it was also not uncommon for Rangel to see soldiers, who were in Mozambique to defend "Portugal's sovereignty," fraternizing with women and drinking.[19] These in-between spaces that Rangel addressed were comparable to the place of the darkroom with regards to film processing.

Amid these experiences, Rangel worked as a car mechanic, only to quit because he and his grandmother could not afford the detergent necessary to clean his uniform. Fortunately, Rangel's boss arranged for him to work for a man by the name of Otilio de Vasconcelos, who was an elephant hunter that moved to Lourenço Marques in order to open a photography studio. Rangel's entry into the realm of professional photography reflected the obvious, ironic, and unexpected ways in which his perceived race impacted his professional development.

Rangel entered the professional realm of photography in 1939 as World War II was underway and as a sidelined Portugal revamped its forced labor policies. There were no opportunities to formally study photography in Mozambique besides securing a job in a commercial photography studio or at a news agency. The educational and economic realities that non-whites in colonial Mozambique confronted and the tutelage that they received from studio owners transformed the darkroom into its own type of classroom, one that substituted the limitations associated with formal education. As Rangel's contemporary Kok Nam, who also abandoned his studies to pursue photography as part of an effort to support his family, explained, "[In colonial Mozambique,] there were no photography schools."[20] Instead, many like Rangel and Nam learned the practice of photography and cultivated on-the-job skills as cleaners and assistants in photo labs. Towards the latter years of his life, Rangel attributed the Portuguese word "*mestre*," or "professor" to Otilio who instructed him on "the qualities of the camera."[21] Such training involved what Rangel called "the development of chemicals... [and] a lot of chemistry."[22] To the public, photography was about obtaining a print but Rangel's tasks centered on producing negatives from which an image could be printed. In 2003, Rangel recalled that the work that he did in the darkroom from 1939 through the early 1950s would offend any photographer and student of photography.[23] He elaborated that he cleaned and organized the darkroom, washed papers, dried films, and prepared chemical solutions through measurements and mixing. The insight of Henriques Francisco Cuco, who in 1967 left his job as a restaurant server to work for a photography studio, underlined the learning possibilities provided by darkrooms. Cuco remembered

18 Before 1960, Portugal referred to native black populations as *indigena* and categorized a selected few blacks, who spoke and read Portuguese and had jobs, as *assimilados*.

19 CFDF, Jaime Ubisse, "An Interview: A Living Legend of Mozambican Photojournalism," *Proler*, January/February 2003, p. 19.

20 Kok Nam, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique, July 2009.

21 Jaime Ubisse, "An Interview: A Living Legend of Mozambican Photojournalism," p. 19.

22 Ricardo Rangel, Interview by Allen Isaacman and author, Maputo, Mozambique, July 2008.

23 Jaime Ubisse, "An Interview: A Living Legend of Mozambican Photojournalism," p. 19.

how darkroom employees often stole materials in order to hone their technical skills.[24] Many darkroom employees aspired to open their own businesses.

Rangel cultivated a set of reading skills and political views outside of the darkroom. One of his close friends during the early years of his professional career was the famed writer and journalist José Craveirinha. "I am not ashamed of not having advanced my education," said Rangel.[25] He continued, "I learned a lot from Craveirinha." Rangel greatly admired Craveirinha, who he recalled only had a grade four education and yet was a master of the Portuguese language. Rangel and Craveirinha played soccer together, and Craveirinha, to Rangel's amazement, had lots of books and watched films at the age of fourteen and fifteen. The books Craveirinha owned were especially important to Rangel, who not only believed the colonial state censored texts but also felt that it "did not allowed [him] to read books."[26] Rangel never provided an explanation for why he felt that the colonial state prevented him from reading books. Instead, he elaborated on how he and Craveirinha travelled by ferry to the neighboring town of Catembe, where they secretly read and talked. Over time, Rangel's and Craveirinha's informal group expanded to include others classified as white or *mestiços*, including the poet Noemia de Sousa, the painter Bertina Lopes, and the activist João Mendes. Interestingly, it was not Rangel's work in the darkroom but instead the activities he pursued as a result of reading that landed him in trouble.

The darkroom was only so inclusive of Rangel's experiences and political views. On October 9, 1947, a newspaper article identified Rangel as a photographer who colonial authorities had arrested.[27] Rangel, de Sousa, and others stood accused of being a part of a group of "democrats," in Rangel's words "progressives", who secretly organized themselves in workplaces and cultural groups, held meetings of "political character", and distributed pamphlets that reflected communist ideas.[28] Rangel's arrest came in the years after Portugal's abolishment of forced labor and the entry of individuals like Rangel, Craveirinha, and other non-whites into professional fields. The article noted how the activities of these youth included persons identified as white and mixed-race, and that these individuals sought to make "a set of political and social enticements without distinctions of race, sex, and age."[29] The arrest brought attention to the political reality that the articulation of a set of political views within cultural, leisure, and workspaces facilitated a type of intermixing that the colonial state did not anticipate. Rangel himself openly spoke of the arrest and identified with the objectives of the accused. He explained that he did not know anything about politics before his participation and that the group "of young people" attempted to "show different people different mentalities."[30]

For some time after his arrest, Rangel confronted difficulties in finding work. In Rangel's opinion, no one wanted to hire "a fascist" and "a dangerous person."[31] Despite dim employment prospects, Rangel felt reaffirmed when he realized that he was arrested because the Portuguese thought of him "as knowing a lot".[32] In the end, he visited the street photographers he knew, and decided to practice as a street photographer. He used his connections with photo houses to develop and print films. By the early 1950s, Rangel re-entered the world of studios and darkrooms with a job at the photography laboratory *Focus*.

24 Henriques Francisco Cuco, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique, October and November 2010.
25 Ricardo Rangel, Interview by Allen Isaacman and author, Maputo, Mozambique, July 2008.
26 Ibid.
27 CFDF, Noticias, "Official Notes of the Office of the General Governor," 9 October, 1947.
28 Ricardo Rangel, Interview by Allen Isaacman and author, Maputo, Mozambique, July 2008.
29 Ibid.
30 Ricardo Rangel, Interview by Allen Isaacman and author, Maputo, Mozambique, July 2008.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.

The darkroom, as a physical space, did not lend itself to explicitly identifying how Rangel's outside life experiences translated to his work tasks. It is not clear whether Rangel refused to develop certain clients' films for political reasons and the strategies he adopted in order to navigate the work dynamics that ensued in a darkroom located within the context of the studio enterprise. Insight into the darkroom only surfaced through Rangel's own historical reflections relayed in interviews and also those of his friends and colleagues. However, Rangel's development and printing of films did not preclude him from being photographed. In fact, while working in various darkrooms during the 1940s and early 1950s, he developed a private collection of photographs that pictured him and his friends on city streets. The skills that Rangel acquired in the darkroom offered him and his friends new possibilities through which to represent and view themselves.

The year after Rangel's death, I came across a set of photographs (Figure 004 and 005) in a trash bin at the CFDF while I was conducting research on Rangel. His widow, Beatrice, who served as the interim director of the CFDF after Rangel's death, had the room where Rangel displayed his personal photographs cleaned. Part of this cleaning resulted in the tearing up of photographs that she viewed as separate from the photographs Rangel produced as a photojournalist. In one such photograph (Figure 004), four men break the circle formation in which they stood, drawn in by the camera's presence. Dressed in shorts and knee-high socks, Rangel held a cigarette and looked passed the camera while the person next to him, who was also smoking had his arm around Rangel's shoulder. Passing through the photographed scene, not unlike Figure 001, was a barefoot boy who dressed in clothes that suggested he worked in a nearby restaurant. Perhaps Rangel only viewed the boy after the photograph was taken. What is interesting though is that Rangel's handwriting on the available print revealed the location of the photograph as *Cinema Scala*, a movie theatre

Figure 004 – Unknown photographer, 1950s, "Rangel, Vasco Correia, Humberto Faria, Reinaldo Ferreira," *Centro de Documentação e Formação Fotografica*, Maputo, Mozambique, Private Collection.

Figure 005 – Unknown photographer, 1950s, Untitled, *Centro de Documentação e Formação Fotografica*, Maputo, Mozambique, Private Collection.

located across from the film lab where he worked. In another photograph (Figure 005), Rangel pointed directly at the camera with an expression of surprise. The other people in his company, either seated on or standing around a bench, continued to speak. A man also seated on the bench, who Rangel had his back to, looked at the scene before him. Many in the photograph did not appear to acknowledge the camera's presence and others on the street either passed the group or acknowledged them through glances. In both instances, the camera's origin and photographer remain unknown. There was the possibility, based on the location of the photographs, that Rangel developed these prints in the darkroom where he worked. Furthermore, the captions on the photographs' backside included names of individuals who, like Rangel, had run-ins with the colonial state. Newspapers may have mentioned them by names but the photographs that Rangel collected suggested that photographed subjects viewed themselves through camera lenses and privately collected photographs. The photographs also revealed how pedestrians did and did not view the photographed subjects, whose race in person appeared one way and through photographs another. In turn, Rangel's personal photographs illustrated and facilitated modes of looking that were reflective of the color lines that existed as a result of taking a picture, either acknowledging or ignoring the camera's presence, and/or viewing a print.

From the mid-1950s, Rangel transitioned from the darkroom to the newsroom. Photographs from this period highlight how he located, and even depicted, himself within the color lines that inherently informed the practice of photography. Rangel's personal photographs in addition to a box at the CFDF included a picture of Rangel in his bathing suit standing on a deserted beach under a sign that read, "Bathing Area for Coloured Community" (Figure 006). The photograph included the handwritten date 1954 and the word Durban, a port city in South Africa. In the same series of photographs was a picture of a woman seated

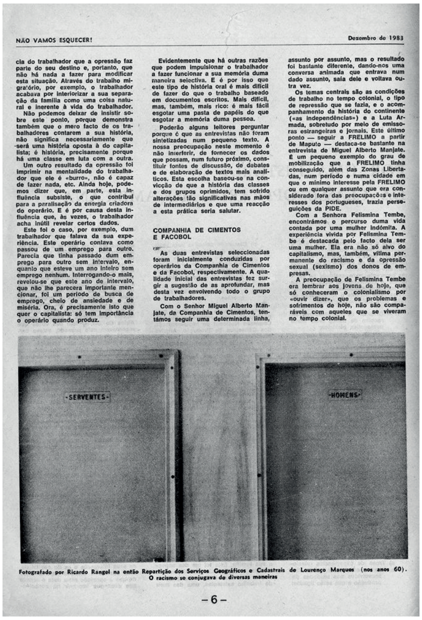
on a whites-only bench and foot traffic, consisting of whites and blacks (based on their skin color), passing her. Rangel's professional position provided him the means to travel to neighboring South Africa. However, there he confronted new spatial modes for classifying and identifying race that led him to situate himself as colored. But another tension surfaced when he encountered the spatial hierarchies that accompanied racial divisions from behind the camera's lens.

There were ways in which racial divisions visually appeared in colonial Mozambique. In one photograph, Rangel positioned himself directly in between two doors (Figure 007). The door on the left read "Servants" and the other on the right "Men." The photograph appeared in 1983 and in 2002 in two different contexts. Printed in 2002 as part of a retrospective on photojournalism in Mozambique titled *Illuminating Lives*, the photograph included the date 1957 and the caption, "Toilets: Where only the black is able to be a servant and only the white is able to be a man." An earlier publication of this print dated back to 1983, amid war between Mozambique and apartheid South Africa. The publication of that print included the caption, "Photographed by Ricardo Rangel in the Department of Geological Services and Registry of Lourenço Marques (in the years of 1960). The various ways racism was wedded."[33] The 2002 caption implied that the ability to distinguish between races stemmed from policing bathrooms, which were one of the only places where people were reminded of racial distinctions. As Figures 006 and 007 illustrated, strategies for physically separating races in South Africa did not extend to Mozambique. The various captions attached to Figure 006 suggested that categories like "man" and "servant" only later came to be read through racial lens of black and white. Furthermore, based on Rangel's professional standing at the time, one assumes that he could have used the "Men's" bathroom. As evidence, both doors equally occupied the photographic frame. But then again perhaps within the confines of the government ministry, Rangel was not seen in the ways that other journalists interpreted his professional rise. As he transitioned to the space behind the camera's lens, Rangel confronted choices over how to represent his experiences through the pictures he was responsible for producing. He quickly discovered that there were not only ways in which racial divisions manifested themselves visually but also ways to photographically visualize these distinctions. Rangel's darkroom experiences were instrumental to this realization and how he located himself within spaces outside of the darkroom.

Figure 006 – Unknown photographer, 1954, Untitled, *Centro de Documentação e Formação Fotografica*, Maputo, Mozambique, Private Collection.

Rangel exhibited in the colonial era the photographs he produced while working as a photo journalist. He had three solo exhibitions in 1965, 1969, and 1973. Critics at *A Tribuna* and the

33 Center of African Studies, "Let's not forget," December 1983, N.º 2/3, p. 6.



NÃO VAMOS ESQUECER! Dezembro de 1983

cia do trabalhador que a opressão faz parte do seu destino e, portanto, que não há nada a fazer para modificar esta situação. Através do trabalho migratório, por exemplo, o trabalhador acabava por interiorizar a sua separação da família como uma coisa natural e inerente à vida do trabalhador.

Não podemos deixar de insistir sobre este ponto, porque demonstra também que o mero facto de os trabalhadores contarem a sua história, não significa necessariamente que será uma história oposta à do capitalista; é história, precisamente porque há uma classe em luta com a outra.

Um outro resultado da opressão foi imprimir na mentalidade do trabalhador que ele é «burro», não é capaz de fazer nada, etc. Ainda hoje, podemos dizer que, em parte, esta influência subsiste, o que contribui para a paralisação da energia criadora do operário. E é por causa desta influência que, às vezes, o trabalhador acha inútil revelar certos dados.

Este foi o caso, por exemplo, dum trabalhador que falava da sua experiência. Este operário contava como passou de um emprego para outro. Parecia que tinha passado dum emprego para outro sem intervalo, enquanto que esteve um ano inteiro sem emprego nenhum. Interrogando-o mais, revelou-se que este ano de intervalo, que não lhe parecera importante mencionar, foi um período de busca de emprego, cheio de ansiedade e de miséria. Ora, é precisamente isto que quer o capitalista: só tem importância o operário quando produz.

Evidentemente que há outras razões que podem impulsionar o trabalhador a fazer funcionar a sua memória duma maneira selectiva. E é por isso que este tipo de história oral é mais difícil de fazer do que o trabalho baseado em documentos escritos. Mais difícil, mas, também, mais rico: é mais fácil esgotar uma pasta de papéis do que esgotar a memória duma pessoa.

Poderão alguns leitores perguntar porque é que as entrevistas não foram sintetizadas num pequeno texto. A nossa preocupação neste momento é não interferir, de fornecer os dados que possam, num futuro próximo, constituir fontes de discussão, de debates e de elaboração de textos mais analíticos. Esta escolha baseou-se na convicção de que a história das classes e dos grupos oprimidos, tem sofrido alterações tão significativas nas mãos de intermediários e que uma reacção a esta prática seria salutar.

COMPANHIA DE CIMENTOS E FACOBOL

As duas entrevistas seleccionadas foram inicialmente conduzidas por operários da Companhia de Cimentos e da Facobol, respectivamente. A qualidade inicial das entrevistas fez surgir a sugestão de as aprofundar, mas desta vez envolvendo todo o grupo de trabalhadores.

Com o Senhor Miguel Alberto Manjate, da Companhia de Cimentos, tentámos seguir uma determinada linha, assunto por assunto, mas o resultado foi bastante diferente, dando-nos uma conversa animada que entrava num dado assunto, saía dele e voltava outra vez.

Os temas centrais são as condições de trabalho no tempo colonial, o tipo de repressão que se fazia, e o acompanhamento da história do continente («as independências») e a Luta Armada, sobretudo por meio de emissoras estrangeiras e jornais. Este último ponto — seguir a FRELIMO a partir de Maputo — destaca-se bastante na entrevista de Miguel Alberto Manjate. É um pequeno exemplo do grau de mobilização que a FRELIMO tinha conseguido, além das Zonas Libertadas, num período e numa cidade em que o mínimo interesse pela FRELIMO ou em qualquer assunto que era considerado fora das preocupações e interesses dos portugueses, trazia perseguições da PIDE.

Com a Senhora Felismina Tembe, encontrámos o percurso duma vida contada por uma mulher indómita. A experiência vivida por Felismina Tembe é destacada pelo facto dela ser uma mulher. Ela era não só alvo do capitalismo, mas, também, vítima permanente do racismo e da opressão sexual (sexismo) dos donos de empresas.

A preocupação de Felismina Tembe era lembrar aos jovens de hoje, que só conheceram o colonialismo por «ouvir dizer», que os problemas e sofrimentos de hoje, não são comparáveis com aqueles que se viveram no tempo colonial.

-SERVENTES- -HOMENS-

Fotografado por Ricardo Rangel na então Repartição dos Serviços Geográficos e Cadastrais de Lourenço Marques (nos anos 60). O racismo se conjugava de diversas maneiras

– 6 –

Figure 007 – Ricardo Rangel, 1983, "Photography by Ricardo Rangel in the Department of Geological Services and Registry of Lourenço Marques (in the years 1960). The various ways racism was wedded," *Não Vamos Esquecer*, December 1983, ALUKA Struggles for Freedom in Southern Africa, http://www.aluka.org/stable/pdf/10.5555/al.sff.document.na0002.

state-run daily *Noticias* reviewed these exhibitions. They frequently commented on the visual quality of Rangel's photographs, celebrating the humanistic and real life aspects of his pictures. One critic in a review titled "The Leopard of Photography Exhibits in the City" stated that Rangel had no interest in the graininess and blurriness of his photographs.[34] What some interpreted as Rangel's disinterest in the photograph's possible defects, this reviewer celebrated as Rangel's "eagerness to hunt [for] a certain moment."[35] For the critic, it was exciting that Rangel opened the camera lens and waited to see what appeared. However, what some critics viewed as imperfections and others as innovations in terms of this "moment of interest" was in fact a rejection by Rangel of the skills that he developed in the darkroom.

Decades later, Rangel indirectly elucidated on the techniques and practicing philosophies he developed in the darkroom. He recounted a story about the time when he started to work at Otilio's studio. He recalled that Otilio enlarged a photograph of his sister who was a famous actress, and then taped the photograph and its negative to the studio's window. The posting included the words "This photograph was made with this negative."[36] Rangel remembered people stopping to stare at the photograph while others entered the shop to state their disbelief that a negative made a "life size" photograph. Rangel recounted this story in order to express his belief that there should be no difference between the negative and the print; the print should have replicated the negative without any alteration.

Jacques Rancière in *The Politics of Aesthetics* writes, "Artistic practices are 'ways of doing and making' that intervene in the general distribution of ways of doing and making as well as in the relationships they maintain to modes of being and forms of visibility" (Rancière, 2011: 13). One way to think of the darkroom is as a physical and interpretative space that provided Rangel with technical and life skills to disrupt and intervene in the accepted ways in which populations formulated historical understandings of colonialism in Mozambique. Rejecting the manipulative aspects of the darkroom and refuting the difference between artist and photographer introduced its own politics of "doing and making", one where knowledge over how to use technologies associated with photography had significance (Pinney, 2010). The "forms of visibility" introduced by Rangel reflected the technical practices he learned in the darkroom (Rancière, 2011: 13). In turn, the visual object reflected (not substituted) reality. The photograph for Rangel was not a relic of the past or future

34 AHM, *A Tribuna*, "The 'Leopard' of Photography Exhibits in the City," 27 February, 1965, Colonial Newspaper Collection.
35 Ibid.
36 Jamie Ubisse, "An Interview: A Living Legend of Mozambican Photojournalism," p. 19.

but instead embodied a type of impasse, a struggle to depict the present as the present for populations to understand the specific moment they were living (Barthes, 1981). These practices ultimately gave way to the terms under which Rangel and his peers reflected on his (Rangel's) career and photographs. As he entered the newsroom, in part because of his technical expertise, Rangel would confront a backlash to the modes of visualization and visibility that he intended to convey (Hayes 2013; Rancière, 2011).

Coloring Newsroom Politics

While in the darkroom, Rangel connected with press-photographers who paid him to print for commercial purposes their previously published films. A representative from the daily newspaper *Noticias da Tarde* approached Rangel after an editor complained that he was tired of the newspaper reprinting the same photographs published in the morning edition. Almost fifty years later, the nationalist narrative In Mozambique celebrated this moment as the entry of the first non-white photographer into the realm of photojournalism. However, decades later in an interview, Rangel complicated this idea of non-white in relation to his entry into the newsroom. He stated, "[y]es a little dark man like me... I [was] not black, but I [was] also not white.... I was not able to enter like this into the newspapers."[37] Skin color was one way through which to locate Rangel within the newsroom, but at the time of his entry, Rangel came to understand his place as a non-white photographer through the editorial responses that his photographs elicited. In fact, Rangel and some of his colleagues situated his photographs not within a grey-scale but instead within the context of a "black" – counter to "white" – aesthetic.

Understanding Rangel's entry into photojournalism colored, by that I mean misconstrued, the realities of photojournalism in the colonial period and resulted in the removal of certain actors from the larger historiography. Rangel practiced alongside other white and non-white practitioners, including*ícias da Tarde*. Born in Mozambique, Vieira briefly left for Portugal, and there he worked for a photography house. When the political situation grew worse, he returned to Mozambique. He received a proposal to oversee the photography section at the daily newspaper *Noticias*. Vieira's position made it possible for him to travel to workshops hosted in Europe by leading manufacturers and distributors of photography materials. In contrast, such opportunities were not accessible to practitioners like Rangel. As would become evident through the experiences of photographers who worked with both Vieira and Rangel, the activities of the newsrooms created a dynamic where struggles easily emerged over photographers' technical training and practicing philosophies. To extend this point further, Vieira's colleagues in the post-independence period viewed and treated him as an extension of the colonial regime. But as his son, Joaquim Vieira, clarified, "My father [Carlos Alberto] was not invited by the colonial administration [to take pictures]. My father was the chief of the photographic section [at *Notícias*] and the decision of sending photographers to that type of official coverage was in his hands and the owner of the newspaper."[38] Clashes in newsrooms extended from perceptions of race and the color lines drawn by photography.

Generations of photographers that followed after Vieira and Rangel described Vieira as having adopted a "classical" approach whereas they considered Rangel to be a practitioner of "social documentary" photography.[39] In comparison to Rangel, Carlos Alberto invested

37 Jamie Ubisse, "An Interview: A Living Legend of Mozambican Photojournalism," p. 19.
38 Joaquim Vieira, Interview by author via e-mail correspondence, May 2011.
39 See: Joaquim Vieira, Interview by author via e-mail correspondence, May and June 2011; Carlos Calado, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique, March and July 2010; and Luís Souto, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique, April

a great deal of effort into the processing of his film. For Carlos Alberto, different subjects required different approaches to the taking and printing of films. To such ends, he operated three darkrooms while working at *Noticias*, and he often relied on local film laboratories to develop color negatives and slides. His son characterized the bulk of his father's work as "news and industrial coverage."[40] To create contrast, Carlos Alberto did not hesitate to use a flash, and, when printing for commercial purposes, he developed his own chemical baths using solutions for "fine grain" and "depth." This strategy referred to as "pushing films", allowed Carlos Alberto "to increase all dramatic output [that] he could get."[41] Interestingly, Joaquim said that his father was not known for taking pictures of women's faces and, in these rare moments, his contrast was "lighter" and involved using panty hose during the enlargement phase. In contrast, Rangel abandoned such "technical accuracy" for what he considered "the rare moment that happened and did not repeat again." [42] Rangel's technical training and the relationships to daily life that he cultivated in relation to the darkroom placed him in opposition to Vieira.

With the increasing "diversification" of newsrooms, a tension surfaced between the technical and aesthetic approaches adopted by photographers, giving way to another set of representational politics for photographers to navigate. Oral narratives in Mozambique on colonial-era photography understand technical differences between photographers as differences between racial groups. For example, Beatrice Rangel, Rangel's widow, recounted to me that Vieira had assigned Rangel to cover a swimming competition held in the colonial capital of Lourenço Marques.[43] Rangel submitted for publication a print of a swimmer approaching the wall that, according to Beatrice, depicted the "brute force" that propelled him to victory. Vieira supposedly selected a photograph of the awards ceremony instead. In another instance, Rangel entered into the sea, accessible through the city beaches, in order to picture a stranded sea lion against the backdrop of Lourenço Marques. Again, Vieira cropped Rangel's photograph. To Rangel's displeasure, Vieira removed the city's skyline. It was common for Rangel to hear editors call the subjects of his pictures "monkeys."[44] Nevertheless, there were also logistical realities that journalists confronted while on assignment that were not about their aesthetic and technical inclinations.

Earlier I quoted the journalist Luís Bernardo Honwana, who explained that the presence of non-white professionals in the newsroom was the result of state efforts to display racial inclusivity. However, white and non-white journalists paired together for assignments were not always allowed to travel within the same spaces. Vieira's son Joaquim remembered that the poet José Craveirinha recalled an instance where Craveirinha and Carlos Alberto were on assignment at the Chamber of Commerce.[45] Officials denied Craveirinha access, presumably because he was not white. In protest, Vieira refused to enter. Returning to Figure 006, cameras and the prints, which resulted from photographing, reflected the contradictions and divisions of the historical moment. But, there were things that the camera and print could not document about such divisions, such as Vieira's decision not to cover the event without his colleague. Not taking a photograph was possibly as significant as taking one. For someone like Vieira his political views on the colonial system had nothing

2010.

40 Joaquim Vieira, Interview by author via e-mail correspondence, May and June 2011.

41 Ibid.

42 AHM, *Diário de Moçambique*, "In the Auditorium and Gallery of Art: The District Governor Inaugurated Ricardo Rangel's Exhibition," 19 December, 1969, Colonial Newspaper Collection.

43 Beatrice Rangel, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique, April 2010.

44 Ibid.

45 Joaquim Vieira, Interview with author via e-mail correspondences, May and June 2011.

to do with his own aesthetic approaches to photography.[46] Aesthetic differences between Vieira and Rangel, largely recounted orally and attributed to their upbringings, introduced a space for positioning Rangel as the first non-white photojournalist. These rhetorical acts cannot be removed from the historical period in which individuals crafted and deployed such opinions. When considered under these terms, there existed a longstanding type of racialized interpretation of Rangel's work through which audiences confronted their changing positions within colonial society.

Two Cities and the Coming of Independence

Rangel left *Notícias* sometime between 1960 and 1961 to join a progressive and multi-racial group of journalists at the daily newspaper *A Tribuna*. Part of *A Tribuna*'s mission was to produce a readership amongst populations living in the city outskirts while also warning residents in the city center "You may live in town but your workers live in townships."[47] Rangel assumed an editorial role at the paper, where he published his photographs on the front pages, alongside articles, and as captioned photo boxes. The newspaper provided him with the creative and physical space to publish photographs that he previously photographed while working at *Notícias* but did not submit for editorial consideration. However, at *A Tribuna*, he published some of his photographs in highly edited forms, which, when compared with negatives and prints in his private collection, removed certain human figures and pictorial details that addressed the modes of cohabitation adopted in Lourenço Marques amid changes in the enforcement of racial hierarchies. The reproduction of Rangel's photographs in this context produced in the eyes of newspaper editors a vision of two cities, one of the "cement city" ("*cidade do cimento*") where whites lived and another of the reed city ("*cidade do caniço*"), a reference to the materials used to construct houses inhabited by non-white populations.[48]

Figure 008 – Ricardo Rangel, 1962, Photo Box, *A Tribuna*, p. 2, *Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*, Maputo, Mozambique, Colonial Newspaper Collection.

Editors cropped and captioned Rangel's pictures to facilitate modes for seeing across and along color lines. The second page of the 71st edition of *A Tribuna* included a two-column photograph of a market scene (Figure 008). The picture frame included two boys who embraced one another and looked at toy airplanes, trains, and cars. In the background, a man was at another shopping stall. Years later, Rangel reprinted from the negative of this picture, and the negative and reprint together show that in the original

46 Joaquim Vieira recalled how his father visited the prison where colonial authorities detained journalists like Craveirinha. A prison guard accused Carlos Alberto of being a traitor and warned him of the repercussions for his actions. See, Joaquim Vieira, Interview by author via e-mail correspondence, May and June 2011.

47 Ricardo Rangel, Interview by Allen Isaacman and author, Maputo, Mozambique, July 2008.

48 Luís Bernardo Honwana, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique July 2008. Also see: José Mota Lopes, Interview by author, June 2012.

Figure 009 – Ricardo Rangel, Early 1960s, *O Natal*, Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, Private Collection of Ricardo Rangel, *Centro de Documentação e Formação Fotografica*, Maputo, Mozambique, Private Collection.

print a man, who stood to Rangel's left, stared at him while he photographed and that overseeing the shop, where the two embracing boys window-shopped, were two other young boys (Figure 009). One boy, seated behind the toys, looked directly at Rangel's camera while the other boy, who stood, turned his head away from the camera. The photograph's original publication also included the caption, "In the greedy eyes, a world of fantastic things that Santa Claus will bring. In the fraternal hug, there is a crush of 1000 infantile and legitimate aspirations that are impossible to satisfy. All this on the eve of Christmas before a stall at Vasco da Gama Market."[49] The caption pointed to the certain unfilled desires of the subjects generated by the act of looking at the toys. Based on the children's appearance, the viewer was left to think that purchasing the toys was out of their reach. They could window shop but not purchase. But this perspective and juxtaposition were contingent on the removal of the other figures that looked directly at Rangel and his camera or turned away. The question arises over how Rangel's use of photography allowed editors, who handled his photographs, to produce a representation of two cities and, in the process, what happened to the meaning of photography as a picture and practice (Pinney, 2010: 166-167).

The editorializing of Rangel's photographs disrupted the multi-racial and gender inclusive vision promoted by colonial authorities and left color lines as the discourse from which to interpret (un-)published photographs. There was the material reality that Rangel photographed using black-and-white films. The newspapers, where Rangel published his photographs, used a black-and-white format that removed color and the details one notices through color from the visual vocabulary. For example, against the backdrop of a road that included a parked car and motorbike along with parking meters, two boys can be seen (Figure 010).

49 AHM, *A Tribuna*, Photo Box, 1962, Colonial Newspaper Collection.


TRIBUNA

— N.º 260 PREÇO 2$00

DIRECTOR:
DR. FREDERICO MITTERMAYER MADUREIRA
Propriedade de «PUBLICAÇÕES TRIBUNA»
Composta e impressa na «SOMOGRAFICA»
REDACÇÃO, ADMINISTRAÇÃO E OFICINAS:
EDIFICIO DAS ASSOCIAÇÕES ECONOMICAS
Rua do Rádio Clube — Rés-do-chão e 1.º andar
TELEFONES — RED.: 92015/4, ADMIN.: 92037
CAIXA POSTAL 1822
LOURENÇO MARQUES
O PELA COMISSÃO DE CENSURA

DITORIAL

AERO PORTO
UMA CAPITAL
DISTRITO

é a primeira vez que temos chamado a
das entidades competentes para o estado em
ncontram alguns aeroportos de Moçambique,
n especial o da cidade de Quelimane. Por duas
vezes que estiveram iminentes desastres
aeroporto, devendo-se o «milagre» à perícia
e-frio dos nossos aviadores.
ta vez foi a estrada nacional Quelimane-
ura que serviu de pista para a aterragem de
cia efectuada por um avião procedente das
e Murrua. O avião, que se dirigia para a
— via Tete —, no passado dia 8 do corrente,
u de se abastecer em Quelimane mas, porque
estava um pouco enevoado não conseguiu
o aeroporto, tendo feito a aterragem na
Felizmente que a aterragem decorreu da
forma, evitando-se um desastre

Enquanto a mamã foi às compras ao bazar, os dois miúdos aproveitam a sua ausência para jogarem ao berlinde ali mesmo em plena Baixa

tem a palavra o leitor

NOVAMENTE EM LOURENÇO MARQUES
O TEATRO FRANCÊS

preto no bran

ECONOMIA PLANIFICADA

Dizem os poetas que as revoluções
são como a Primavera: através delas tod
pinas ficam verdes, todas as árvores flore

Quando se pretenda, seja qual for o
que nos colocarmos ou o país em que
tremos, pôr em prática as tarefas de
ção da economia, marcando etapas que
cessárias, representam mudança radical
ções de produção e a supressão de
légios inaceitáveis ou de explorações
condenáveis, tudo parece, como que por
florescer: os recursos, antes adormecidos,
todos os lados surgindo, as forças produ
muito tempo reprimidas ou paralisadas
-se e actuam em toda a sua pujança.

São, de facto, incontáveis as possibi
os recursos inerentes a qualquer país. O
muitas vezes, é a decisão inflexível e firm
aproveitar, enveredando pelo campo de
der o desenvolvimento natural, arredan
quanto, constituindo barreiras artificialmen
das pelo homem, possa de qualquer mod
tuir obstáculo sério, impedindo a sua
para o único campo capaz de promover
do padrão de vida do povo e do seu
-estar.

A economia planificada, em bases
cada, representa, em qualquer parte,
mágica com poder de transformar os
recursos que, através dos tempos,
inúteis e estáticos, trazendo-os à superfície
mindo-lhes a seiva necessária para a
das mais difíceis tarefas.

PROBLEMAS DE SEMPRE

Relações comerciais igualitárias e
mente vantajosas, o intercâmbio da
técnica com todos os povos, a enteada
os domínios e a coordenação prática dos
economia moçambicana, o uso das
aquisições da ciência e da técnica

Figure 010: Ricardo Rangel, 1963, "While the mother went to do shopping at the bazar, the two boys take advantage of her absence to play marbles," *A Tribuna, Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*, Maputo, Mozambique, Colonial Newspaper Collection.

The similarly dressed boys looked at the ground. The boy to the viewer's left held an unidentified object while the other inched closer to see. But, because of the black-and-white print, I am also inclined to notice that one boy is black and the other white and that the black boy did not have shoes while the white boy did. The included caption read, "While the mother went to do shopping at the bazar, the two boys take advantage of her absence to play marbles."[50] The text offered some context to interpret the scene but still left it opened to reader interpretation. Questions arise for me like whose mother went to the market? Is it the white boy because he had shoes? Why could it not be the black boy? If his mother was not at the market, then what was the black boy doing there? Left with these questions, *A Tribuna* presented readers different avenues to explore the questions introduced by photo essays like this.

A Tribuna included Rangel's photographs, but it did not feature a byline with his name. His photographs accompanied short articles about whether readers remembered seeing a particular person in the street and a biographical profile on a photographer that Rangel and other city inhabitants passed on the streets.[51] Additionally, the paper featured announcements on visiting photographers and exhibitions reviews that sometimes included commentary by Rangel. There is this sense that the interspersing of text and photographs, made further evident when newspapers published pictures of Rangel with colonial officials

50 AHM, *A Tribuna*, Photo box, 1963, Colonial Newspaper Collection.

51 AHM, *A Tribuna*, "Do you know this man?," 31 May 1963, Colonial Newspaer Collection; AHM, A Tribuna, "Before Shooting: Photographer surprises photographers," November 1963, Colonial Newspaper Collection.


terceira página • terceira página

REM
TOS
CAS
ZAM
GAL"

ditadas apê-
io e pela sua
nasceu neste
istrito agora
que lhe tenha
lele cante um
umente muito
ão.

listrito mere-
lhe cantou.
ado, em toda
os reliquias
maior valor.
sente, vemos
uitos lados,
seu litoral.
uro, temos a
será grande,
passado que

Chefe do Es-

strito, como
ratas recor-
parte tenho
lhor manei-

AO LONGO DA LINHA FÉRREA, AS MULHERES APRESTAM-SE PARA RECEBER A DÁDIVA DESEJADA — ÁGUA

O comboio da esperança

Figure 011 – Ricardo Rangel, "Along the train line, the women prepare to receive the desired gift-water," *A Tribuna*, October 1964, *Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*, Maputo, Mozambique, Colonial Newspaper Collection.

looking at his exhibited photographs, produced a type of color line from which to identify Rangel's pictures. Such modes of looking and reading with Rangel's photographs lead to the conclusion that Rangel did not necessarily take photographs to illustrate the subjects discussed in articles and that he often photographed published prints on his way to and from work.

His pictures of workers building railways and women running up to passing trains to retrieve water merited their own stories (Figure 011). This idea of Rangel depicting two cities was informed by the processes of visualization and identification that accompanied the publication of his photographs. In fact, Rangel's photographs, particularly those published in *A Tribuna*, did not appear to be about showing blacks as equals to whites by going to movies, driving cars, and frequenting photography studios. Thus, the idea of cement and reed cities, that journalists interpreted Rangel's photographs as depicting, served as the foundation from which to critique the visual expressions that Portugal's colonization acquired through its racial policies, what Rancière in his interpretation of Benjamin referred to as "the aestheticization of politics" (Rancière, 2011: p. 13 and 19).[52] The critique of "the aestheticization of politics" mobilized through Rangel's photographs did not hinge on what theorist Roland Barthes called the disillusioning grandeur and self-fashioning capabilities of photography (Barthes, 1981). Rather, at work was a type of play and disruption through Rangel's own adaption of the visual tropes that the colonial state banned.

[52] See: Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, New York: Schocken Books, pp. 217-252.

Photographers like Rangel and their colleagues experienced the censorship of their pictures and articles. Media professionals submitted to the censorship board proofs of articles and photographs in advance of publication. The possibility of the board refusing publication was always present. Some editors insisted on publishing potentially controversial materials, including Rangel's photographs, despite certain risks. Officials cut a classified ad submitted by "white Portuguese workers" who requested the same salary afforded to "black" workers.[53] Then a restaurant run by Portuguese owners in the city's outskirts had its advertisement censored for promoting its business as having "nice food, cheap prices, and the only [place] where there is no racial discrimination."[54] When censorship prohibited the publication of certain materials, Bishop Sebastião Soares de Rezende, the editor of the daily *Diário de Moçambique*, authorized the placing of empty black and white text boxes to denote the censored text and pictures. From Rangel's perspective, the responses of the colonial administration to his photographs and other censored materials were guided by fears that audiences in Portugal would see printed materials and then equate the populations of Mozambique and Portugal as equals.

Rangel discovered that colonial officials did not want photographs of settler populations from Portugal carrying things on their heads, barefoot, and without clothes (Figure 012). Travelling in Portugal, in 1971, on assignment for the weekly pictorial magazine *Revista Tempo*, he observed many of the situations that state administrators censored, including a white man shining the shoes of a black person. He had the sense that he could not publish these photographs because from his perspective "the Mozambicans would know about the poverty in Portugal."[55] Such an awareness of the types of photographs prohibited only compelled him to take more photographs. As evidence of this, he recalled being at a bar one night and observing navy sailors partying. When he returned to the newsroom the next day, an editor feared that the censorship board would punish the paper for not having a photograph of the navy sailors. Fortunately, Rangel had the photograph that officials wanted to circulate in Portugal. Ironically, the colonial administration did not want to present pictures of equality but it was reliant on forms of photographic production to produce and maintain such divisions.

Figure 012 – Ricardo Rangel, "Two women of the people both with the same problem of subsistence, regardless of geographic location and skin color. One photo was taken in Lisbon (right) and the other in Lourenço Marques," Revista Tempo, November 24, 1974, Biblioteca Nacional de Moçambique, Maputo, Mozambique, Magazine Collection.

53 Ricardo Rangel, interview by Allen Isaacman and author, Maputo, Mozambique.
54 Ibid.
55 Regardless of Rangel's perceptions, the photographs did feature in an edition of *Revista Tempo* three years after his return to Mozambique. This publication points to a possible shift or even failure of press censorship. For more, see, Ricardo Rangel, Interview by Allen Isaacman and author, Maputo, July 2008.

Figure 013 – Ricardo Rangel, 1962, "Is it or is not prohibited the movement of heavy vehicles in these conditions that these porters go? We declare nothing; we question. And we can add that this is vulgar in Lourenço Marques. It is this only," *A Tribuna, Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique*, Maputo, Mozambique, Colonial Newspaper Collection.

Furthermore, visual representations intended to give the impression of inclusivity while maintaining certain divisions. Such visual forms resulted from a situation where those from Portugal living in Mozambique viewed themselves as equals to native populations (especially in terms of economic standing) and where a photographer like Rangel was able to view blacks better off than white settlers.

Rangel used the types of photographic depictions that he perceived the colonial administration to censor as a guide to photograph men and women in the streets of Lourenço Marques.[56] When Rangel died, his friend and former colleague José Luis Cabaço penned a tribute about watching Rangel take a particular photograph. Cabaço described how he was walking with Rangel, and their colleague José Mota Lopes, near what is known today as the Central Market. Rangel suddenly ran into the street, causing drivers to stop their cars and honk their horns. Cabaço explained that he and Lopes "asked themselves with a *look*" the following question: "why all the fuss, the risk of being run over for a scene that the colonial reality has trivialized." From Cabaço's perspective, Rangel entered the street, bent down, and photographed bare-chested men dressed in shorts and standing on the back of a truck. *A Tribuna* readers viewed a reproduction of the scene described by Cabaço (Figure 013) with the caption, "Is it or is not prohibited the movement of heavy vehicles in these conditions that these porters go? We declare nothing; we question. And we can add that this is vulgar

56 José Luís Cabaço, "A vida é melhor com coca-cola grande...," *Savana*, 19 June, 2009, p. 4.

in Lourenço Marques. It is this only."[57] The difference between the published print and Cabaço's recollection reveals that cropped out of the newspaper print was a billboard on a building with the slogan "Life is better with a large Coca-Cola." Contrary to Cabaço's perception, the photograph was published but without the billboard. Ironically or not, the original negative and/or print with the billboard was never discovered. What did surface were the ways that watching Rangel photograph as well as viewing his photographs were formative to the political consciousness of individuals like Cabaço.

After 1964, Portugal increasingly prosecuted cultural intellectuals, such as Honwana and Craveirinha, for subversive activities. The juxtaposition of two photographers' experiences exemplified the magnitude and significance of watching photographers, like Rangel, take pictures or even taking pictures for oneself in terms of the development of a particular social and political consciousness. João Costa ("Funcho") participated in the pro-independence student movements at the Lourenço Marques University. During the early 1970s, Funcho viewed Kok Nam and Ricardo Rangel's photographs in exhibitions and catalogues. He commented:

> *[Newspaper editors at Noticias] did not represent the people of Mozambique at the time. If you opened a magazine or newspaper in the colonial times, it was only white people. [You would] look to [the] newspaper only to see white people even here in town it [was] only white people at night... black people working as servants.*[58]

But, for a press-photographer like Kok Nam, this idea of "black versus white" was part of the wider reality of the possibility of Mozambique's independence, which he himself experienced while on assignment in Swaziland for the daily Beira-based newspaper *Diário de Moçambique*. Nam reflected:

> *[T]he thing that moved me: I was interrogating myself, what that thing [was] to be independent. But it was naïve, that at the same time, do you know the thing that most impressed me? King Shobuza's hundred and three wives, they [were] very fat and he [was] a beanpole. And in Swazi[land], I found bars for blacks and whites.*[59]

A type of social and political consciousness emerged between 1940 and 1974 in colonial Mozambique through the viewing of photographs, taking of pictures, or even sitting before cameras. Furthermore, these efforts at politicization orchestrated through photography's practice and use were dependent on a type of mobility and movement across and along color lines and even required the embracing of a black-and-white reality over a mixed-race one. Such acts challenged the social, political, and economic hierarchies that the colonial state promoted and enforced through photography.

Conclusion

Based on the technical and technological organization of darkrooms and newsrooms in colonial Mozambique, Ricardo Rangel could not have been the first non-white press-photographer. The celebration of Rangel as the first non-white press-photographer points to a larger process of racialization that surfaced around his life and work, especially in terms of how people interpreted, collected, organized, and appropriated his photographs. Views on race evolved, and so too did the ways that photography's use redefined understandings of visibility and invisibility in colonial Mozambique. The reworking, and sometimes inten-

57 AHM, *A Tribuna*, Photo box, 1962, Colonial Newspaper Collection.
58 João Costa, Interview by author, Maputo, Mozambique, July 2008 and August 2009.
59 Kok Nam in collaboration with António Cabrita, *Kok Nam: O homem por detrás* (Maputo: Escola Portuguesa de Moçambique, 2010, p. 17.

tional archiving, of these cultural frames for representing and viewing racial discourses was the result of the technical philosophies Rangel cultivated in the darkroom as well as the ways that editorial processes, such as self-and state-censorship, incorporated and/or rejected Rangel's photographs.

In terms of questions on race and its photographic representation, Rangel did not merely picture black subjects. Such popular views of Rangel's photographs as depicting a "black" reality were representative of photography's capacity to facilitate the perception of certain color lines which historical actors, like Rangel and his colleagues, aligned themselves in order to address certain historical realities. The somewhat intentional erasing of a grey space, in terms of producing photographs of racial harmony and integration, served to highlight the profound injustices that all racial groups experienced under Portugal's colonial rule. Furthermore, the lack of such photographs that depicted blacks and whites together at restaurants and doing other leisure activities complicated Portugal's efforts to visually support its rhetoric that "Portugal is Mozambique" and "We are all Portuguese."[60] To locate Rangel's photographs as a counter archive to colonial imagery undermines the subtle commentaries and transformations that Rangel's photographs and acts of photographing imparted on what Patricia's Hayes, in her own reading of Rangel's pictures, calls the "sayable and unsayable" (Hayes, 2013). In fact, media professionals and cultural intellectuals in Mozambique have (re-)constructed Rangel's photographs from which to represent colonialism in Mozambique. Thus, Rangel's life and work suggest that Rancière's idea of "the politics of aesthetics", which Rangel himself accepted by rejecting certain darkroom techniques, paved the way for a new type of representational politics from which Rangel and his contemporaries defended their place within Mozambique's history (Rancière, 2011: 13 and 19).

Archival sources

Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, Maputo, Mozambique.

Arquivo Histórico Militar, Lisbon, Portugal.

Centro de Formação e Documentação Fotografica, Maputo, Mozambique.

Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento, Lisbon, Portugal.

Savana Newspaper Archive, Maputo, Mozambique.

Bibliographic references

Allina, Eric (1997), "Fallacious Mirrors: Colonial Anxiety and Images of African Labor in Mozambique, CA. 1929," *History in Africa*, Vol. 24, pp. 9-52.

Assubuji, Rui and Hayes, Patricia (2013). "The Political Sublime. Reading Kok Nam, Mozambican photographer (1939-20120)" *Kronos*, N.º 39, pp. 66-111.

Azoulay, Ariella (2010), "What is a photography? What is photography," *Philosophy of Photography*, Vol. 1, N.º 1, pp. 9-13.

Azoulay, Ariella (2005). "The darkroom of history," *Angelaki*, Vol. 10, N.º 3, pp. 57-77.

Barthes, Roland (1981), *Camera lucida: Reflections on photography,* New York: Hill and Wang.

Benjamin, Walter (2007), *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, New York: Schocken Books.

Cabrita, António and Nam, Kok (2010), *O homem por detrás da câmera*, Maputo: Escola Portuguesa.

[60] AHM, PT/AHM/FO/007/B/38/361, 21-Relatórios acção psicológica, 1969.

Coelho, João Paulo Borges (2013), "Politics and Contemporary History in Mozambique: A Set of Epistemological Notes," *Kronos*, N.º 39, pp. 20-31.

Edwards, Elizabeth (2001), "Photography and the Performance of History," *Kronos*, N.º 27, pp. 15-29.

Gupta, Pamila (2014), "Some (not so) lost aquatic traditions: Goans going fishing in the Indian Ocean," *Interventions*, Vol. 16, N.º 6, pp. 854-876.

Gupta, Pamila (2011), "Gandhi and the Goa Question," *Public Culture*, Vol. 23, N.º 2, pp. 321-330.

Hayes, Patricia (2014). "Pão nosso de cada noite: as mulheres e a cidade nas fotografias de Ricardo Rangel de Lourenço Marques, Moçambique (1950-1960)," *in* Saúte, Nelson (orgs.), *Ricardo Rangel: Insubmisso e Generoso*, Maputo: Marimibique, pp. 63-84.

Hayes, Patricia (2007), "Power, secrecy, proximity: A short history of South African photography," *Kronos*, N.º 33, pp. 139-162.

Penvenne, Jeanne (2012), "Fotografando Lourenço Marques: A cidade e os seus habitantes de 1960 e 1975," *in* Castelo, Cláudia, Thomaz, Omar Ribeiro, Nascimento, Sebastião, and Teresa Cruz e Silva (2012), *Os Outros da Colonizaçao*, Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, pp. 173-191.

Penvenne, Jeanne (1995), *African workers and colonial racism: Mozambican strategies and struggles in Lourenço Marques, 1877-1962*, London: James Currey.

Pinney, Christopher (2010), "Camerawork as technical practice in colonial India," *in*, Bennett, Tony and Joyce, Patrick, *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn*, Oxford: Routledge, pp. 145-170.

Rancière, Jacques (2011), *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible* translated with an Introduction by Gabriel Rockhill, New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Smith, Shawn Michelle (2004), *Photography on the color line: WEB Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture*, Durham: Duke University Press.