

Art and Trauma in Africa is an illuminating volume, full of insightful and thought-provoking contributions on the representation of reconciliation in music, visual arts, literature and film. A timely, evocative and engaging book, which is made up of a wide range of well-selected case studies: from music, sculptures and photographs, to stories, documentaries and films. This book sheds fresh light onto old conflicts and the role of the arts in Africa on the long, and often complicated, road towards reconciliation.¹

Jolyon MITCHELL

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Bisschoff and Van de Peer are to be congratulated on bringing together a particularly timely volume, which will provide a valuable and accessible resource for students of trauma studies, reconciliation and peace studies, and African studies. At the same time as drawing to attention the diversity and complexity of conflict situations in Africa, this book also provides testament to the remarkable range of artistic responses that have emerged in post-conflict nations and communities. It provides a powerful and nuanced argument for the potential of creative practice to stimulate a number of empathetic connections, which in turn underpin broader processes of social and political reconciliation.²

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ART AND TRAUMA
IN AFRICA

REPRESENTATIONS OF
RECONCILIATION IN
MUSIC, VISUAL ARTS,
LITERATURE AND FILM

EDITED BY
Lizelle
BISSCHOFF
AND Stefanie
VAN DE PEER

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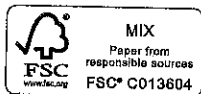
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*This book is dedicated to Tom and
Philma Bisschoff and Edmond Weyn*

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CHAPTER FOUR

TRANSFORMING ARMS INTO PLOUGHSHARES: WEAPONS THAT DESTROY AND HEAL IN MOZAMBICAN URBAN ART

Amy Schwartzott

The *Transforming Arms into Ploughshares/Transformação de Armas em Enxadas* (TAE) project in Mozambique reveals the potency of recycling as a tool in art for post-conflict resolution and investigation. This chapter will explore the impact and importance of the Mozambican TAE project and its artists, who create art from weapons recycled from Mozambique's past wars. Through an expanding framework linking social anthropology, visual culture studies, art and trauma studies, and post-conflict resolution theories, I focus on the materiality of TAE's assemblage art.

The Mozambican civil war (1977–1992) directly followed the nation's battle for independence from Portuguese colonial rule (1962–1975). The civil war was fought between the ruling party, FRELIMO or Front for Liberation of Mozambique, and RENAMO, the Mozambique Resistance Movement. This conflict precipitated economic collapse, famine, nearly one million war-related casualties, and the displacement of several million civilians. Maputo, Mozambique's capital, is a compelling case study site because of its large number of artists using

various recycled materials, its strong network of arts organisations, and its function as the location of TAE.

Theoretical framework of research

Post-conflict resolution has become a developing field of interdisciplinary scholarship following former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's use of the word 'peace-building' in his influential 1992 report *Agenda for Peace*. I investigate connections between TAE's innovative grassroots use of art and recycling to promote peacekeeping and memorialisation to recent theorisations of post-conflict resolution.¹

Recent scholarship indicates recognition of the important role of art in the field of post-conflict resolution and trauma studies. Eminent Africanist political scientist Goran Hyden has commented that 'the use of art as an alternative mechanism (in post-conflict resolution) is an innovation especially appropriate in the light of rapid urbanisation with its more concentrated and accessible audience'.² Scholarship linking art and trauma studies is a developing field in the discipline of art history. Many scholars have begun to look at the importance of art as a tool for dealing with issues of healing the pain of the past using memorialisation and remembrance. While some scholars linking the arts and conflict resolution distinguish between the process and the product in the role of the arts,³ others tend to agree in their focus upon art as a therapeutic device, its role in remembrance of conflict, and how it contributes to the process of community building and reconciliation.

The artists of the TAE project create artworks designed to evoke the memory of Mozambique's long history of war for the viewer, as well as serving as a potent process for the artists, many of whom lived through the civil war in Mozambique and are motivated to promote peace in the creation of their art. The TAE project is innovative in that it adds another dimension to the process of reconciliation through preventing conflict by destroying the weapons and turning them into art. In this way, the artists make the invisible concept of peace visible by creating a spectacle of the unusable weapons – instead of a tool for killing, they become a tool for reconciliation.

The theoretical framework for this research is largely drawn from social anthropology and visual culture studies, specifically the writings of Igor Kopytoff and Nicholas Mirzoeff. Kopytoff's seminal essay 'The cultural biography of things' focuses on an object's transformation from its initial use through its many lives, providing the basis for my analysis of the incarnations of meaning in a recycled object through its transformation into art. Particularly forceful is Kopytoff's important question: 'How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?'⁴ I am interested in the materiality of the original forms of the weapons transformed by TAE, and the fact that initially they were artefacts of Mozambique's protracted conflicts. Kopytoff's emphasis on the object is at the root of the importance this research places on the identity of the object (a weapon of war) and how its intrinsic meaning is maintained despite its destruction and inability to be used again. Whereas the weapons are physically cut to prevent their further use, the recognisable shapes of the parts of the guns remain. The iconic symbolism of weapons as they are transformed into artworks is essential for understanding the meaning of the TAE project's art. The recognisable gun parts' strong visual presence translates memorialisation and reconciliation through its intrinsic symbolism of war and peace. Mirzoeff's assertion of 'the visual as everyday life'⁵ underscores my desire to explore the everyday aspect of recycling in Mozambique and its function as a trope in contemporary African art. Looking at contemporary art in Mozambique through recycled weapons, I investigate how TAE links elements of visual memorialisation, psychological healing and negotiation of the past to rebuild Mozambique through the transformative power of art.

TAE's grassroots approach to post-conflict resolution uses art as an iconic visual reminder, a mnemonic device symbolising the violence of the civil war. A further innovation of TAE's destruction and re-presentation of weapons is the purposeful visual language used in their promotion of peace. TAE's narrative through the sublime imagery of weapons *transformed* presents an alternative identity for contemporary Mozambique. TAE's visual narrative moves beyond Mozambique's past reliance upon socialist revolutionary imagery wherein the pristine, iconic form of the AK47 is employed. TAE artists present

contemporary Mozambican society glorifying peace instead of war – symbolised through instruments of war that have been destroyed and transformed.

William Kelly, American artist and founder of The Peace Project states: 'It has been said that a painting can never stop a bullet, but a painting can stop a bullet from being fired.'⁶ The TAE project of Mozambique proves this statement by ending the violent cycle of the life of weapons through transforming them into powerful art forms that evoke the visceral symbolism of their former lives.

TAE history and mission

TAE is part of the Peace and Reconciliation Commission branch of the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM), which was founded in 1948 and is motivated by a mandate of the church to bring peace. TAE is CCM's largest programme and considered to be its most important and successful. Although CCM is an NGO, it is more often considered a religious organisation, comprised of at least 20 different religious denominations, including mainline churches brought to Mozambique by missionaries and indigenous local churches. TAE, which is donor-based, was founded in 1995 by Bishop Dom Dinis Sengulane. Within CCM it inspired workshops aimed at establishing peace and democracy following FRELIMO/RENAMO negotiations and the General Peace Agreement in Rome in 1992.

The intention of Bishop Sengulane and CCM was to facilitate community dialogue and civic education dealing with reconciliation, memory, healing and forgiveness. A central focus of these workshops was to prepare Mozambican people to return to their homes after many years of displacement by conflict. The primary motivation following the peace agreement was to come together after the war to reunite as a nation. This process included travelling to different provinces and finding out what Mozambicans most feared after the war. Bishop Sengulane explained that a woman in the Nampula province (in northern Mozambique) asked him: 'What are we going to do with so many guns in the hands of the people?' He said that he applied principles he found in the Bible: '... and they shall beat their

swords into ploughshares. And their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.'⁷ His solution was that the Mozambican government and the United Nations should complete the disarmament programme, and then CCM, through the establishment of TAE, would focus on using the idea of transformation as a guiding principle.⁸

Bishop Sengulane's plan for TAE to focus on the principle of transformation did not originally include the creation of art from weapons, but it consisted of a tripartite process: to collect weapons, make them non-usable, and give an instrument of production as an incentive in exchange for the collected weapons. TAE gives incentives to informants who hand over guns and other artefacts of war to them to be destroyed. Incentives TAE offered originally took only three forms: bicycles, sewing machines and ploughs. Over time TAE has become flexible with what they offer as incentives, focusing on confidence building and creating an honest living for an individual who turns in weapons.⁹ Such diverse incentives as farm implements, seeds, cement, zinc roofs, and even tickets for trips to home villages are not unusual. TAE policy stresses the notion of anonymity and lack of involvement of the army or police when weapons are handed over. No names are recorded.¹⁰

Bishop Sengulane and other TAE religious leaders I spoke to stressed that the incentive was never made in terms of money, because TAE never wanted to give the impression that they were buying the guns. Weapons were received from demobilised soldiers, individual civilians, and eventually entire communities, following similar frameworks exchanging weapons for products or services. I had the opportunity to speak with two individuals who turned in weapons to TAE, with very different stories to tell. Their stories are retold here to underscore the point that the weapons TAE receives come from widely diverse areas and people from all sectors of society.

The first individual, Alex,¹¹ discovered an AK47 buried in the ground as he was digging the foundation for the home he was building in Matola. He explained to me: 'I saw on television on Wednesday Siteo making sculpture. When can I find help to pick up gun? I call police and (they) don't show up. I come here – into CCM.' Coincidentally,

this man saw a discussion with Nicolao Luis, TAE coordinator, and Siteo, an artist who participated in a recent exhibition of TAE art, on television. Seeing this broadcast, in addition to the police not showing up to retrieve his weapon, inspired him to contact TAE. I travelled to Matola with the TAE coordinators to get the gun, where we were shown where it was unearthed along with an ammunition box. I saw the family's five children; one child stood out, wearing a makeshift wig of blue foil. An older woman was clearly overjoyed that the gun was taken away. Alex asked to receive a bag of cement that enabled him to continue building his home in exchange for the gun.

The second informant's story is quite different. Arlindo¹² explained why he turned in the weapon to TAE: 'I try to fight like a criminal in the street. I can go into the street to show it (a gun) and that is bad. That is harmful. We know it is dangerous and I give it (to TAE) without questioning it. Is good for me.' When asked about the TAE project and its effectiveness, he responded: 'As you know, I need something to help my life. I receive things that can help my life (incentives) and I (am) helping to save lives. My mind gives me peace (by handing over the weapons).' I travelled to Machava to see the cement blockhouse that he built using building supplies given as incentives by TAE in exchange for the weapon. Arlindo told me that he has friends with weapons who are deciding whether or not to turn them over to TAE. In the course of the guerrilla warfare by FRELIMO and RENAMO troops, many caches of weapons were buried within heavily mined perimeters to protect and maintain these hiding spots. The troops did this in case re-arming was necessary should peace negotiations fail.

TAE works hard to become integrated into the provincial communities where many of the weapons are being found. The organisation gains access to the communities by focusing on traditional grassroots ideals based on trust and the sharing of food, drink and information. After gaining the acceptance of the community, TAE representatives are often led to hidden weapons.¹³ Bishop Sengulane said that in order to convey the dangers of keeping the weapons, he often warns: 'To sleep with a gun in your bedroom is like sleeping with a poisonous snake in your room.'¹⁴ TAE coordinator Boaventura Zita told me that while the response to the TAE project has been great so far, 'the truth

is that there are no numbers on how many weapons existed in the first place'.¹⁵ Whereas TAE has succeeded in collecting some 600,000 weapons since its inception in 1995, many weapons continue to be discovered and turned in to TAE. TAE officials worry how many weapons still remain in Mozambique, and the great danger this poses to maintaining the country's peace.

Art component of TAE: History and present

The process of transformation that Bishop Sengulane envisioned for TAE also involved the question of what was to be done with all the collected weapons. At this point, Bishop Sengulane's reliance on the biblical verse '... and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares' as a source for peace and reconciliation becomes clear. In the Mozambican context, the TAE illustrates the more forceful reliance on the verse in its completeness. A closer reading of the verse reveals not only a desire to promote peace, but also the transformation of these weapons into something constructive. TAE in Mozambique therefore transforms the weapons into art through the principles of recycling.

TAE's initial plan, based on a literal translation of the Biblical verse, was to melt the weapons down and turn them into tools. Ultimately, this process proved too costly and was abandoned. Bishop Sengulane now views the change of plan as 'providential' for it would have altered the visual outcome of the weapons' transformation, permanently modifying and erasing their former identities as destructive tools. By destroying the weapons while maintaining a visual reference to what Kopytoff calls their 'former lives', weapons transformed into art now serve as iconic images. The destruction of destructive tools and their construction into art is more than symbolic. These images reflect the church mandate and focus of TAE 'to bring peace and to forgive, not forget, and keep on touching the wound that is bleeding'.¹⁶ Thus, in the transformation of weapons into art, the peace-building ethos of the TAE project succeeds by disarming bodies as well as minds.

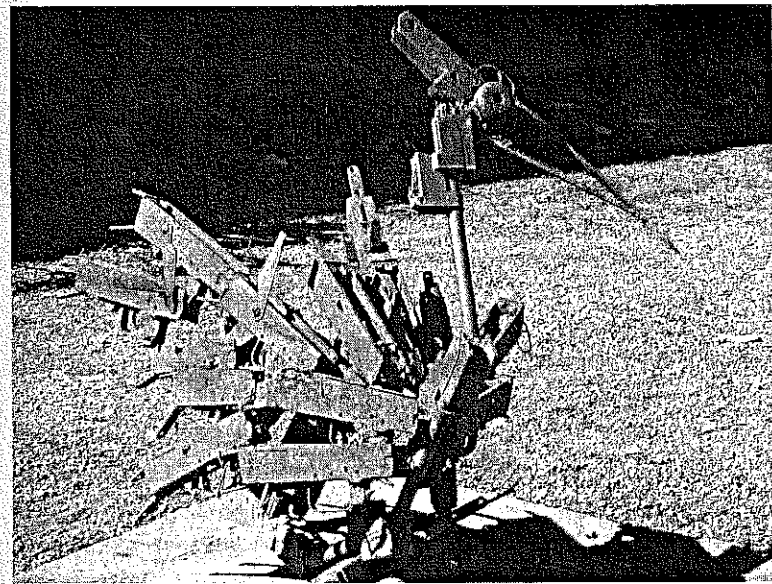
TAE's transformation of destroyed weapons into art did not begin until 1997, two years after the project was established. Bishop Sengulane was striving to glorify peace instead of war, and wanted to

create a visual memorial of it. He realised that historically artists had always created these types of monuments. He forged a partnership with Núcleo de Arte, a long-standing arts organisation in Maputo. Initially fourteen artists were involved in a workshop where Bishop Sengulane challenged them to transform weapons into symbols of peace. The TAE artists' only stipulation was that they use the weapons to create imagery associated with peace, avoiding violent themes. TAE artists were given complete freedom to create. This concept is similar to the grassroots approach to post-conflict resolutions taken in Mozambique to attain peace for the country. Mozambicans believe the approach they have taken now serves as a global model for peace. The church played a major role in the mediation of the peace process for Mozambique, largely taking place within the community of Sant Egidio in Rome, which involved a strong religious presence. Several times I asked the Bishop and other religious figures in TAE leadership where they located their inspirations in post-conflict resolution theory and the development of the TAE project. The responses I received were interesting. Over and over I heard: 'It's Jesus.' 'It's the Bible.' 'It's Micah and Isaiah from the Bible.' When I probed further, inquiring about specific theorists they may have looked to for guidance in creating their successful programme, they said: 'Not only are we collecting weapons, we are awakening ideas in grassroots organising. We don't need fancy theories about conflict resolution. Academics want more, beyond this. Bishop Tutu led programmes – peace talks come from the church.'¹⁷ It is this grassroots approach to peacekeeping and re-conciliation that has inspired the TAE artists to memorialise the past violence of the Mozambican wars through their use of transformed weapons. The TAE artists I have worked with display unique sensibilities in their approaches to invoke the memory of war to move Mozambique and the world forward in peace through remembrance.

Fiel dos Santos was one of the first artists to start creating art for the TAE project when CCM approached Núcleo de Arte in 1997. While many artists have dropped out over the years, Fiel has maintained his connections with TAE, continuing to create works of art from weapons. His relationship to the project is personal. As he explained: 'I grew up during the fighting. Now it's my time to do something for

society. I want to be voluntary to work on this project. I'm working here for my soul.'¹⁸ Fiel's forms evoke his curiosity about nature. He is interested in the relationship of the parts to the whole, often revealing the intricacy of the individual materials in his overall constructions. Sensitive in his treatment of form and placement, his focus on the objecthood of the weapons forces the viewer to intimately connect to the meaning of the weapons and the intrinsic power of violence within each.

The *Tree of Life* is a large-scale artwork made of weapons created through TAE in 2005 by four artists: Fiel dos Santos, Cristóvão Estevão Canhavato (Kester), Adelino Serafim Mate and Hilarió Nhatugueja. International attention has been drawn to this work that has become both a symbol of peace and a symbol of Africa. *Tree of Life* is on display and part of the permanent collection of the British Museum in London. Curator of African art, Chris Spring, commissioned *Tree of Life* in conjunction with the British Museum and Africa05, celebrating African culture and heritage in London in 2005.¹⁹ In addition, The



Bird by Fiel dos Santos, made from recycled weapons. Photograph: Author's own

British Museum's Pentonville Prison Project is an outreach programme aimed at engaging dialogue with prison populations on the subject of violence. Programme director Jane Samuels explained that this project is based on prisoner interactions with *Throne of Weapons*, a TAE artwork created by Kester that travels to English prisons. Constructed primarily from recycled AK47s, *Throne of Weapons*' powerful visual presence is used to facilitate discussions on gun crime, violence and peace. Samuels referred to the *Throne of Weapons* as an 'aggressive symbol' to deal with 'key objectives which are issues of rehabilitation and re-education (on gun crime, issues of peace reconciliation, community rebuilding, amnesty).'²⁰ Both the *Tree of Life* and *Throne of Weapons* underscore the broad diversity of meanings translated through the materiality of TAE artworks, as well as the continuing global impact of TAE's projects using recycled art. It transpires that the TAE project serves as a paradigm for art and reconciliation, and peacekeeping. TAE artists have been contacted by individuals in Angola to train artists there in the hope of instituting a project based on the model of TAE.²¹ Another example of TAE's influence is the Peace Art Project Cambodia (PAPC) that was initiated in 2003. It is often described as being loosely based on the TAE project, using decommissioned weapons from war to create art.

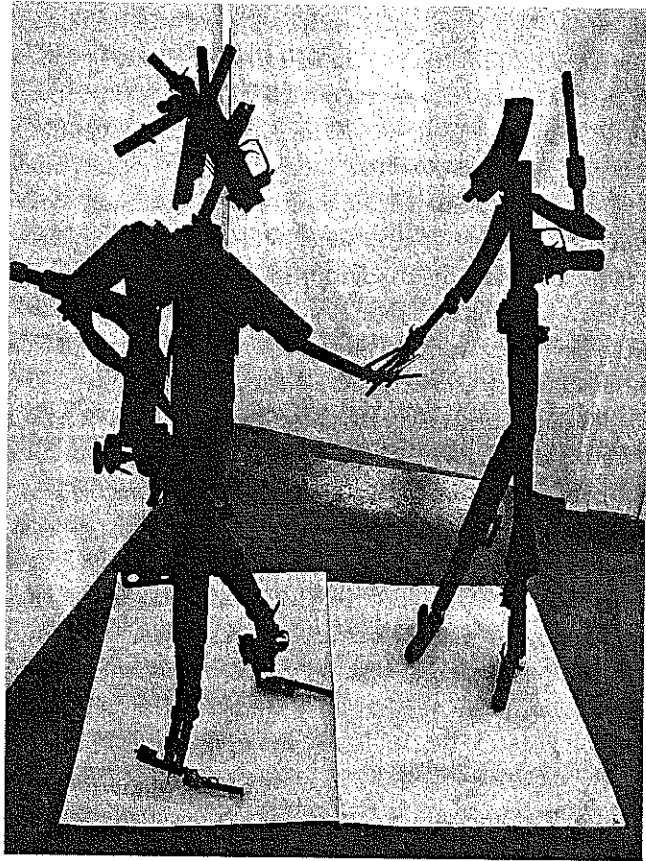
TAE has recently expanded its number of artists creating artworks from weapons. After Bishop Sengulane initially contacted artists in 1997, the number of artists working for TAE first dropped dramatically over the years. It has been one of the hopes of TAE to increase the number of artists working for them and to strengthen their relationship with Núcleo de Arte.²² Collaboration between the two organisations took place in the autumn of 2010 in an effort to install an exhibition commemorating Mozambique's Day of Peace (*Dia do Paz*) from the civil war on 4 October 1992.

Entitled *Fale, Nao Temas, Deus Tem Muita Gente Nesta Cidade; Fale de Paz/Speak, No Fear, God Has Many People in This City; Speak the Peace*, the exhibition was designed to incorporate the ideals of TAE and invite more artists from Núcleo de Arte to participate in the TAE project. Civic education, reconciliation, remembrance and memorialisation were evoked in the artworks displayed in this collaborative

exhibition. Kester was one of the earliest TAE artists, originally working as an engineer. He has continued to create artworks constructed of weapons for TAE. He was responsible for supervising artists from Núcleo de Arte, who were invited by CCM to create works for the Mozambican commemoration of peace exhibition. Commenting on the collaboration and the outcome of the exhibition, Kester said: 'I want to collect the people who want to know about the peace made by weapons and bring the peace to his mind and his heart and bring to his heart what is good ... (the exhibition) brings good results, for people can have knowledge of the peace in Mozambique.'²³ Exhibitions such as this one are essential in spreading the message of the TAE project through the visual power of the artworks. Plans are underway with TAE organisers and Bishop Sengulane for future exhibitions, as well as a plan to create a travelling exhibition of *Throne of Weapons*.

Peace Monument, a monumental public sculpture in progress currently on hold pending funding, is one of the many works Kester has constructed during his tenure with TAE. Kester also created one of the largest and arguably more powerful artworks in this TAE exhibition, *O Abraco da Paz/Embrace of the Peace*. This work represents the figures of Joaquim Chissano and Afonso Dhlakama, president of Mozambique, leader of FRELIMO and leader of the opposing RENAMO party respectively, shaking hands. This work represents an important moment for Mozambicans as it symbolises the moment peace was achieved in 1992 between the two opposing parties of the civil war. Kester creates a powerful form with this artwork constructed from the recycled weapons of the same war. The potent messages of TAE are implicit within this large three-quarter life-size work. Artists from Núcleo de Arte and existing TAE artists spent much time working together creating artworks from weapons in preparation for the exhibition. Artists worked at CCM where they shared tools, space, ideas and electricity.

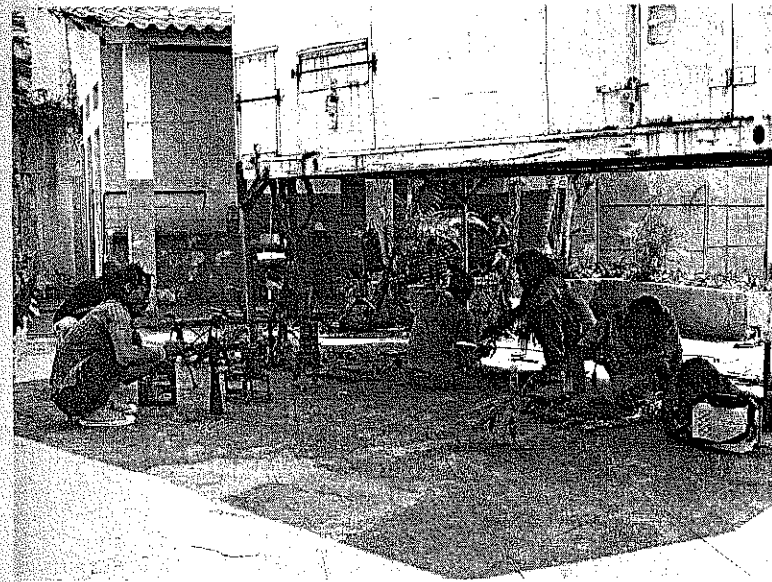
Jorge Jose' Munguambe (Makolwa) is one of the artists from Núcleo de Arte who participated in this collaborative project. His involvement with TAE dates back to 2000. He has intermittently created artworks for them during this time. Asked about his motivation to be involved in this exhibition, he responded: 'It's a nice project to show people that



Abraço da Paz by Kester, made from recycled weapons. Photograph: Author's own

weapons are not a nice thing for the world – killing innocent people like children and old people and destroying everything.²⁴ When asked about his reaction to the collaborative workshop of artists for this exhibition, Makolwa explained: 'We have different experiences. (You can) collect other experiences between you and your friends to show the young people not to use the guns, it is too much danger. If you destroy the guns, we're going to stay in peace.'²⁵

Silverio Salvador Siteo (Siteo) is another artist from Núcleo de Arte that participated in the workshop and the ensuing exhibition. Most



Artists working: TAE/Núcleo de Arte Collaborative workshop.
Photograph: Author's own

of the artists who participated in the collaboration produced two or three artworks for the exhibition. Siteo is distinct, as one of the pieces he created was not welded. He created a work, *Dou-vos a minha Paz/I Give my Peace*, which not only stood out from all of the other pieces, but has also become the basis of the trajectory of theorising by Siteo on the merits of not welding the weapons to create TAE artworks. When I asked him about his inspiration to create a TAE artwork of weapons that were not welded together, he responded: 'In my mind we don't even have money to buy bread - how are we buying supplies, machines to weld?'²⁶

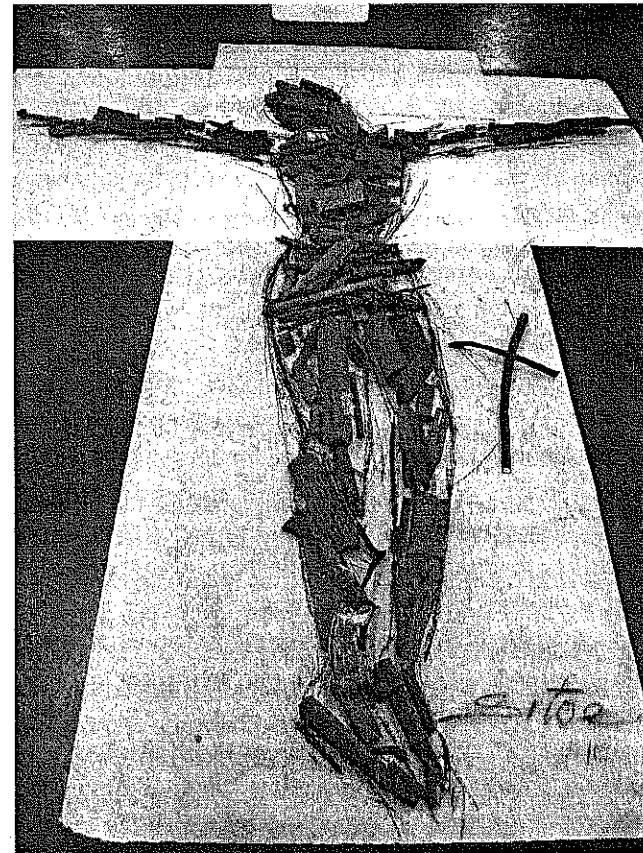
The theoretical framework Siteo is developing around the concept of not welding the weapons to create artworks includes several platforms for expansion of TAE and sustainability of the materials. A few points he outlines include the ability to create quick demonstrations/performance art with strong impact at the site of weapon retrieval, low cost, versatility in creating the artworks (who and how), and the



Artist Makolwa working for Collaborative workshop. Photograph: Author's own



Artist Siteo creating his artwork, *Dou-vos a minha Paz*. Photograph: Author's own



Artwork *Dou-vos a minha Paz* by Siteo, made from mixed media. Photograph: Author's own

ability to recycle the weapons over and over.²⁷ Commenting further in conjunction with his non-welded artwork, *Dou-vos a minha Paz*, Siteo states: "Those weapons have killed people and these people are lying down now. They are bones. If you look at that picture (*Dou-vos a minha Paz*) it looks like people who have died but in a different way, with open arms – (they) embrace me although I'm dead. With these people I'm in peace."²⁸

Siteo's works draw powerful connections between understanding the peace of the present and the conflicts of the past in

Mozambique. His reference linking Mozambicans of the present to those who died in the past wars suggests the effectiveness of memorialisation and remembrance in the continuation of peace-keeping in Mozambique.

TAE community-building projects

Not only has TAE inspired the development of similar programmes that transform arms into arts globally, but within Mozambique new programmes are also being developed. For example, *Water for Weapons* is a TAE initiative that is supported by the Church World Services (an NGO donor based in the United States). This programme has achieved a number of great successes. Inaugurated in 2009, *Water for Weapons* focuses on building wells in areas with limited water supplies. Supplies necessary for well-building are offered as incentives for communities to engage and help with the process of peace-building by collecting weapons left over from the war. This programme is based in areas such as the Niassa and Inhambane provinces, which experienced heavy military action during the war, and where many weapons are still believed to remain.²⁹

Programmes such as *Water for Weapons* exemplify TAE's community-building, where incentives are offered to an entire community rather than an individual, by providing help with the construction of a source for water. Projects such as this one are important for several reasons that extend beyond the realm of TAE's focus on civic education, peace and reconciliation. In addition to eradicating weapons and providing safer and cleaner water, unexpected successes are achieved through this programme. The presence of a well in the village creates more free time for women who would typically spend hours each day locating and fetching water. The presence of a water source nearby allows them more time to attend to other necessary activities. Additionally, children have more free time to attend school. All of these positive attributes lend themselves to the overall goal of community-building and post-conflict development in Mozambique.

The future of TAE

In terms of the future of post-conflict resolution and the arts in Mozambique, TAE continues to expand, but not only in the number of artists it involves in the process of visually teaching about peace through art. Great efforts are being made to increase the visibility of the artworks of TAE and the expansion of the project. TAE coordinator Zita has commented on this: 'We should have more exhibits, more debates on issues of art as an instrument of peace to show pain, expectation and hope.'³⁰ New programmes such as *Water for Weapons* and the development of a sewing project in the Zambezia province indicate the outward growth of TAE and its message of peace and post-conflict resolution at grassroots level.

Further development plans include incorporating additional recycled materials such as metal, pottery and other objects into the creation of artworks, as well as addressing ecological concerns and tackling environmental issues. At the same time, TAE continues to foster and support outreach to other countries for the development of similar projects, such as the one already underway in Angola. TAE coordinators envision a peace institute in the town of Liberdade, outside the capital city of Maputo. This plan includes creating an international institute where scholars will convene to teach, learn and develop ideas surrounding peace, conflict resolution, and the use of art as a tool in this process.

Bishop Sengulane once explained how Dhlakama viewed the TAE project as allowing one to see the end of the life of a gun.³¹ This reminds of Kopytoff's timely question: 'How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?'³² I argue that the TAE project does not represent the end of the life of a gun, but rather an incarnation of its many lives, a culmination made possible by art. This new life represents the gun transformed and recycled from its previous life into a new life - where it serves as an iconic symbol of the past, a site of memorialisation and education for generations in both the present and the future.

Notes

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9. Interview with Bishop Dom Dinis Sengulane, 7 October 2010, Maputo, Mozambique.
10. Ibid.
11. The names and locations of the informants have been changed to protect their anonymity.
12. The names and locations of the informants have been changed to protect their anonymity.
13. Interview with Boaventura Zita, 18 August 2009, Maputo, Mozambique.
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23. Interview with Cristóvão Estevão Canhavato (Kester), 10 October 2010, Maputo, Mozambique.
24. Interview with Jorge Jose' Munguambe (Makolwa), 9 October 2010, Maputo, Mozambique.
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