



International Journal of Humanities & Social Science Studies (IJHSSS)
A Peer-Reviewed Bi-monthly Bi-lingual Research Journal
ISSN: 2349-6959 (Online), ISSN: 2349-6711 (Print)
Volume-II, Issue-VI, May 2016, Page No. 218-226
Published by Scholar Publications, Karimganj, Assam, India, 788711
Website: <http://www.ijhsss.com>

Socialist Ideas of Samora Machel in Mozambique **Inyikalum Daniel B.**

Department of Political Science, University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria

Abstract

The rise of socialism as a movement and ideology in Africa coincides with the early phases of nationalism and national development. All Africa socialism shared overlapping features that provided bases for nationalism and approaches to post-colonial development and nation-building, Mozambique not excluded. Foundations of socialism in Africa was based on a combination of state ownership, an equitable distribution of wealth, increasing citizen's wellbeing, urgency of conquering underdevelopment, creating relevant non-capitalist institutions that would shape economic development and the creation of a well-balanced social relationships of citizenship that could establish cohesion between people and the state. The first pillar, the economic pillar, is very comprehensive and captures major sectors of the economy including tourism, agricultural, manufacturing, wholesale and retail, ICT as well as the financial sector. To achieve the goals set under each of them, Mozambique must be proactive in her search for an economic and political strategic and ideology that will breed socio-economic within the state. How realistic were socialist ideas in Mozambique, what specific roles were played by Samora Machel and others in fostering the ideals of socialism in Mozambique? Socialism in Mozambique aims to unravel this.

Key Words: Socialism, Mozambique, Underdevelopment.

(I) Introduction: The word 'Socialism' being a stage of development in Marxist theory can be defined as an 'economic and social system under which essential industries and social services are publicly and cooperatively owned and democratically controlled with a view to equal opportunity and equal benefit for all'. The term socialism also refers to the doctrine between the system and the political movement inspired by it. It implies egalitarianism, human solidarity, and cooperation, the material and spiritual liberation of mankind from the oppressions of the capitalist. Regardless of the vague connotation in the meaning of socialism, it was still defined by some scholars. Few amongst all are: According to H. D. Dickson, socialism can be defined as:

an economic organization of society in which the material means of production are owned by the whole community and operated by organs representative of and responsible to the community according to a general economic plan.

According to Paul M. Sweezy, socialism in its primary meaning is:

“a complete social system which differs from capitalism not only in the absence of private ownership of the means of production but also in its basic structure and mode of functioning”.

In a nutshell, socialism is the general principles of that advocates for equal distribution of goods and services in the state. The state in this situation is in charge of all the means of production in the society and ensures that everyone within the state enjoys a fair share of justice within the state. Therefore, socialism is essential for any society that intends to carry her people along in terms of development. In focus to the topic, socialism in Mozambique was an instrument used for the liberation of Mozambique from the colonialisation and imperialism of the Portuguese and for the actualization of equal distribution of the national wealth among the people. Mozambique, one of the colonized countries in Africa by the Portuguese, has its capital located at Maputo. The country is endowed with rich and extensive natural resources such as natural gas, titanium, tantalum, graphite and coal. Its geographical area is 799,380 sq km (308,642 sq mi), which is nearly the size of California; with the population of 23million. The official language in use is Portuguese, although with the existence of some native languages such as Swahili, Makhuwa and Sena. The religious affiliation of the country is rated as follows; Christianity 38percent, Muslim 11 percent and indigenous belief 50percent. The economy of Mozambique is based largely on agriculture. Due to the country's rapid of economic growth, it is recognized as a great potential for tourism.

The arrival of the Portuguese into Mozambique marked the beginning of the country's socio-economic and political destruction before its independence. They initially arrived for the purpose of trade but on the long run, the desire to colonize the country began to evolve. At the early stage of their arrival, Mozambique benefited little from the colonialist, after which their true nature of capitalism began to unravel. The Portuguese established hegemonic colonial dominance over the territory and exploited them through diverse means, leaving behind great damage in the country. Base on this, socialism was introduced by Eduardo Mondlane as the only instrument needed for the liberation of the colonialist oppression and exploitation. Eduardo Mondlane was an educator and nationalist and was born between 1920- 1969. He was the leading figure in his country's independence movement or struggle between 1962 and 1969. Eduardo Mondlane was born specifically on June 20th 1920 in the Gaza district of southern Mozambique. He was a son of a Tsonga chief and was the only member of his large family to receive even a primary education. Later in life he attributed his educational drive to the vision of a very determined and persistent mother.

The colonial education system was almost exclusive for Europeans but Mondlane gained entry into a Swiss mission school and he went from it to an American Methodist Agricultural school. In 1949, the South Africa government declared him an unwanted '*foreign native*' in the white university and revokes his student permit. When he returned to Mozambique, Mondlane was arrested and interrogated about his role in the formation of local Africa student association. In June 1950, Mondlane entered the University of Lisbon as the only African student from Mozambique pursuing a career in education in Portugal. For some year Mondlane had worked with American Protestants and others to funnel scholarship funds to Africans wishing to attend secondary school in Mozambique and to study abroad. It was only consistent; therefore, that he made education a principle concern of *FRELIMO*.

He founded the Mozambique institute in Dar- es- salaam to receive refugee students, to obtain scholarships, and ultimately, to develop a new Mozambique primary and secondary school curriculum. As a politician, Mondlane flew to Dar- es- salaam, Tanzania, where he helped to unite several groups of exiled Mozambique nationalists into the Mozambique Liberation Front (*FRELIMO*). He was confirmed as the movement's first president at a congress held in Tanzania, after which he returned to America to complete his obligations at Syracuse University. *FRELIMO*

sent volunteers for military training to Algeria and the United Arab Emirates, to camp in Tanzania. Although a new *FRELIMO* military front was opened in the Tete district of northwest Mozambique during 1968, Mondlane still warned soberly of a long, costly fight ahead. His leadership came under attack within the movement by would-be rivals and dissidents of the key northern Moconde community.

In the face of Portuguese intransigence and military support for Portugal from western countries, the struggle for independence was proving more costly and slower than some had hoped. Despite criticism related to the difficulties and intrigues of exile politics, the Central Committee convened the second *FRELIMO* congress inside the Niassa district in July 1968. There Mondlane was elected President by an overwhelming majority. Mondlane was a sociologist by profession but worked as a history and sociology professor at Syracuse University. In 1969, a bomb was planted in a book sent to him at the *FRELIMO* Headquarters in Dares salaam, Tanzania. It exploded when he opened the package in the house of an America friend, Betty King, killing him. Many observers blamed his death on the Portuguese Intelligence or the Portuguese secret police and elements of *FRELIMO*. Some of the legacies left behind by Eduardo Mondlane included:

- ❖ *IT CREATED THE PLATFORM FOR MOZAMBIQUE'S INDEPENDENCE*: By the early 1970s *FRELIMO*'s 7,000-strong guerrilla force had wrested control of some countryside areas of the central and northern parts of Mozambique from the Portuguese authorities. The independentist guerrilla was engaging a Portuguese force of approximately 60,000 military. The 1974 overthrow of the Portuguese ruling regime after a leftist military coup in Lisbon, brought a dramatic change of direction in Portugal's policy regarding its overseas provinces, and on 25th June 1975, Portugal handed over power to *FRELIMO* and Mozambique became an independent nation.
- ❖ *EDUARDO MONDLANE UNIVERSITY*: In 1975 the Universidad de Lourenco Marques founded by the Portuguese and given the name of the Portugal's Overseas Province of Mozambique, Lourenco Marques was renamed Universidad EduardoMondlane, or Eduardo Mondlane University. It is still located in the capital city of independent Mozambique.
- ❖ *EDUARDO MONDLANE LECTURE SERIES*: Syracuse University's Africa Initiative hosts the Eduardo Mondlane Brown Bag Lecture Series that invites speakers worldwide to participate in Africana studies.
- ❖ *The first African to gain admission into the prestigious Lisbon University in Lisbon, Portugal*: with the admission he became a scholar in sociology and history and eventually, it prepared him for the battle ahead of him and by extension, a messiah to the people of Mozambique.

(II) Methodology: Generally, data for any specific research can be collected from two main sources; the primary and secondary sources. The primary data also referred to as raw data are data collected from the original source(s) in a controlled experiment. This includes the use of questionnaires, interviews, and observation methods in carrying out scientific research in the social sciences. The primary sources are also the first hand evidence left behind by the participants or observers at the time of the events or incidents. The data employed in this work are from secondary sources with heavy reliance on books; YouTube clips, online news outfits, articles, online data sources, journals, and reports.

Socialism in Mozambique: Socialism as an ideology is an economic and social system that is characterize by social ownership of the means of production and cooperative management of the

economy. Social ownership here may refer to cooperative enterprises, common ownership, state ownership, citizen ownership or any combination of these. Africa generally lacked a political or economic ideology that will help to foster socio-economic development and growth within the state or continent. Therefore, Samora Machel adopted socialist principles that will help liberate Mozambique from the shackles of colonialism that came with extreme poverty, suppression, domination, exploitation amongst others of a common man in Mozambique. Samora Machel was angered by the level of inhuman treatment meted out to his people by the whites (Portuguese). It was in this process of civilizing the Mozambicans that entire Mozambican cultures were wiped out. Mozambicans were forced to think, eat, dress and behave like Europeans as a measurement of their level of civilization. The Portuguese in order to effectively exploit the people of Mozambique adopted the capitalist economic system and the whole institutions such as the civil service, army police, judiciary etc. were established to not only reflect this, but were so instituted as to facilitate the operation of this system which to the aborigines meant exploitation for the benefit of the colonial masters. Being capitalist in nature, the Portuguese privatized the property of the poor mass by confiscating their lands and other possible means of survive. The lands taken by force were subjected to be used for plantation and cultivation of cash crops such as cashew, rice, cotton, plantain etc., of which the output is only used for the expansion of the capitalist industries and development to the detriment of the aborigines.

The issue of force labour was not left out as the Mozambicans were forced to work in the plantations and mine, after the enactment of labour force policy by the chartered companies. At the end of the labour the workers are given stipends or nothing. Also basic social structures needed for the development of the country were not established, only factories used for the interest of the colonial capitalist were erected. The above shows that capitalism was really at work in Mozambique and was an effective tool or instrument that was adopted by the Portuguese to further suppress, dominate, and exploit the people of Mozambique. Socialism therefore being the opposite of capitalism was seen by most Africa leaders including Samora Machel, as the effective tool to counter capitalism. Thus, socialism was adopted because of its role in ensuring equal distribution, equity, social fairness/ justice etc. In other words, while capitalism believed in exploiting and dominating the people of Mozambique, socialism was considered as the only tool that will help counter the exploitative tendencies of capitalism in Mozambique. In essence, the introduction of socialism in Mozambique helped in fostering unity, equality, social mobilization and uneven development. These eventually became the tool that was employed by Samora Machel in not only chasing out capitalism but also in chasing out the whites (Portuguese) too.

Populist– Socialist Ideology of Samora Machel in Mozambique: Populist– socialist ideology as adopted by Samora Machel is a socialist ideology that does not expressly reject or over stress the principles of Marxism. The ideology is peculiar because some of its characteristics which are unique include but not limited to the following:

- ❖ *Radical Nationalism:* This could eventually lead to revolution, struggle and the fight for self-independence and self-preservation from their colonialists.
- ❖ *Anti-capitalism:* By applying this ideology Samora Machel fought or kicked against the exportation of cash crops and other natural and mineral resources to Europe which serves to explain the exploitative tendencies of capitalism as was evident in Mozambique.
- ❖ *Adoption of a moderate socialism or social democracy:* A close look at populist-socialist ideology of Samora Machel under *FRELIMO* shows that it was neither a radical Marxist nor radical capitalism. In other words, the populist-socialist ideology of Samora

Machel had the elements and characteristics of both social democracy and liberal democracy.

- ❖ *Exaltation of the peasantry:* This could best explain the fact that Samora Machel came from a peasant family, and therefore had a firsthand experience of the evils as appropriated by the Portuguese in Mozambique. His family lands were taken away from them; the peasants were made to suffer and therefore made to plant and labour on cash crops that will eventually be exported to developed countries thus providing a source of income for the colonial masters.
- ❖ *Liberation of women:* Prior to the adoption of this ideology by Samora Machel, women were relegated to the background, with regards to politics and having a say in the society in general. He saw it fit to liberate these women from this bondage by insisting that women be given their rightful places in the society. This he considered as one of the fundamental basis for the revolution and drive to independence.
- ❖ *Isolationist principle:* Samora Machel adopted this principle because he cherished the independence of his country, he isolated to some extent from the European countries which include the Soviet Union.

In other words, he excluded himself from associating with other major players in world politics especially due to the colonial experience they just came out from.

Some of the salient reasons why Samora Machel adopted the populist-socialist ideology which served as a basis for the liberation of his country from the shackles of suppression, domination, colonialism and exploitation include but not limited to the following:

- His anger towards the Portuguese due to his observation of the inhuman treatment meted out on the Mozambicans and the damaging effect colonialism had on the socio-economic development of the country. His family was not left out, as their lands were confiscated by the colonialists.
- The ideology inculcated into him during his military training in Algeria (being a member of the first group of *FRELIMO* soldiers sent for the training).
- The psychological effect Eduardo Mondlane had on him as a revolutionary leader. This is basically because he considered Eduardo Mondlane as a role model and by extension the pioneer for the fight towards liberation from the shackles of colonialism and exploitation from the Portuguese.

(III) Results:

Successes and Challenges of Populist–Socialist Ideology in Mozambique: The Successes of Samora Machel's socialist administration in Mozambique includes but not limited to the following:

- ❖ He oversaw the transformation of *FRELIMO* into a Marxist-Leninist party in 1977. This ensured that the tenets of Karl Marx was taught and practiced not just in the *FRELIMO* party but also in the governance of the country as a whole.
- ❖ He emphasized the expansion of the military effort, but insisted that it proceed hand in hand with political effort. Military efforts at preserving the country from external attacks and further negative influences from the West including the Eastern blocs were guided against by the fortification of the military which grew along with the expansion and growth of the political system.
- ❖ He spear headed socialization of services and nationalization of wealth. He ensured that wealth was evenly distributed in the country, such that everyone had a fair share of justice in

the country. The sort of administration that was practiced in Mozambique by the Portuguese encouraged exploitative tendencies which are the benchmarks of capitalism. By adopting this ideology, he ensured that the resources of the state was shared equitably and enjoyed by everyone in the state.

- ❖ Dedicated military and socialist revolutionary measures which presided over the independence of Mozambique from Portugal. The military were dedicated to their responsibility of preserving the state and being uncompromising in the face of challenges via the fight towards independence.

Challenges That Shaped Samora Machel's Administration:

- ❖ Inadequate involvement of women in planning for rural development. Though he strived to offer women a level playing ground in the country which was worst during the colonisation period, this paper believes that a lot still needed to be done.
- ❖ He struggled to unite the many Mozambicans under a single national front. This became pronounced when *RENAMO* came into force in the state. Many who were believed to have joined and or supported the *FRELIMO* were discovered to have decamped to the *RENAMO*.
- ❖ The socialist ideology of Samora Machel lacked the cohesive force that will engender socio-economic development in the state, and therefore, it was unsurprising that it failed.
- ❖ Marxian socialism as adopted by Samora Machel was unable to adequately solve some of the salient issues, problems or challenges that were faced by citizens of the state. This was especially visible in its failed attempts to foster economic developments in the state.
- ❖ *The influence of the RENAMO*: The Mozambican National resistance was a liberation movement turned political party in Mozambique, led by Afonso Dhlakama. It fought against the *FRELIMO* especially during the Mozambican civil war. *RENAMO* was founded in 1975 following Mozambique's independence as an anti-communist political organization, sponsored by the Central Intelligence Organization of Rhodesia. During the Mozambican civil war, the *RENAMO* also received support from South Africa. In the United States, the *CIA* and conservatives lobbied for support to *RENAMO*, which was strongly resisted by the state Department, which would not recognize or negotiate with *RENAMO*.
- ❖ *Lack of political will and efficient institutions that will plan the developmental prospects of the country*: The political will and efficient institutions that help plan the developmental needs and prospects of the country was lacking. This was one of the reasons or factors that gave the *RENAMO* the basis to come in and counter the administration of Samora Machel.

(IV) Discussion:

Factors that Necessitated the failure of Socialism in Mozambique: Despite the significant achievements of socialism in Mozambique and the extraordinary regard that its political leadership enjoyed not just in Africa but in left circles everywhere, its hope to becoming a developed country by 1990 began to collapse resulting from diverse reasons such as:

- ❖ *The Sudden and Precipitous withdrawal of the Portuguese*: The sudden departure of the Portuguese ushered in a period of immense difficulty for the new state as they left with whatever property they could take with them, along with their skills and capital, so that the country was plunged into economic and administrative crisis from its birth. Base on this Mozambique has remained one of the world's poorest and most undeveloped.
- ❖ *Foreign Aggression through Bandit Gangs*: The after effect of this was the Mozambican civil war, which took a lot of lives was blamed on foreign aggression through bandit gangs.

The war lasted between May 30th 1977, – Oct 4th 1992. That is 15years, 4months and 4days. The result of the war included multiparty elections of 1994.

- ❖ *Retention of Colonial Structures Inherited from the Portuguese:* Some of the colonial structures has inherited from the white colonialists were not adequately crushed or destroyed by the self-governing independent country of Mozambique which resulted in the evils experienced during the colonial government rising its ugly head again.
- ❖ *Inability to effectively articulate the needs of the people:* Socialism failed in Mozambique because of its inability to effectively and adequately articulate the needs, desires and expectations of the masses. Mozambicans needed developmental projects and by extension a better life but due to lack of adequate finance/funds which was a feature of socialism...it eventually failed.
- ❖ *Excessive Centralism of Mozambique's Planning and Management:* The government of Samora Machel was not adequately and effectively de-centralized. Power was unnecessarily allowed in the hands of a few individuals in the state.
- ❖ *Some of the Radical Policies of Samora Michel's Government Ushered in a Period of Immense Difficulty for the New State:* In the course of trying to chart a new life for its people, Samora Machel adopted some very radical policies that further served to make life difficult and miserable for the people of Mozambique which eventually ensured the continuous decline of his popularity amongst citizens of the state.

(IV) Conclusion: This paper focused on impact socialism had on not just Mozambique's quest for independence but also the socio-economic development of the country. This paper which particularly lays emphasis on the activities of Samora Machel believes that one of the reasons why socialism succeeded in the early stages of Mozambique's independence was that it had only one party. After independence many African leaders embraced socialism as a political ideology and identity. Africa emerged from colonialism with nothing of its own. As conflicts in former settler colonies have revealed, Africans still have to wage wars to reclaim the land of their ancestors. Independent Africa did not possess a language of its own because the entire system of colonialism was based on the assumption that everything about African was primitive and had to be replaced with 'superior' European cultures. This was the philosophy behind the 'civilization mission' of European colonialism. But, after independence the single party of Mozambique seems to have the full support of a majority of the country's citizens in their quest to overcome shackles of exploitation they experienced during the period of colonialisation. One of the main reasons for Mozambique's unity is the nature of the Portuguese involvement in Mozambique. Mozambique had few mineral resources, and Portugal never invested as much capital there as it did in its other southern African colonies. During its ten years of fighting the colonial administration, *FRELIMO* was able to organize the inland population, and the Portuguese could not undermine the party's strength despite its systematic bombing of liberated areas. *FRELIMO* which was a self-proclaimed Marxist party, and Machel's plans were similar to the policies followed by Tanzania's socialist president Julius Nyerere. The day before he took office, Machel announced to a cheering crowd that the new government's first actions would be to abolish rent, to take over all private medical and legal services, and to nationalize all private and missionary schools. In the course of this work, it was discovered that Machel's first press conference called for a development strategy that relies on the party core to organize the rural population into "revolutionary societies-communal villages-where that population will have an organized life, developing production collectively on the basis of their traditions, and promoting the exchange of knowledge." Machel stressed the need for unity in

Mozambique, for, he said, divisions within society can only thwart Mozambican development. Under *FRELIMO*, Mozambique seems well prepared and singularly well-equipped for a strategy of cooperation with and reliance on the rural sector to combat the problems of poverty, illiteracy, and the lack of skilled personnel that face most third-world nations. Therefore, it wasn't surprising that the areas that were controlled by *FRELIMO* before Portugal's decision to renounce its African colonies were indeed organized on a collective basis, and the villagers were involved in the development of those areas. *FRELIMO* ran schools and hospitals in the liberated provinces even while it was mobilizing to fight the Portuguese armies, and the peasant loyalty it won then seems not to have been eroded.

Recommendations: This paper recommends that African countries adopt the under listed recommendations as it will ensure a smooth route towards political and socio-economic growth within the continent, devoid of any form of over-dependence on the developed nations of the world whose primary concern of aim is simply the exploitation and domination of the continent.

- ✓ Determined effort to rationalize government finances by increasing revenues: African countries and by extension leaders must make a conscious effort to spend and plan based on her income and revenue. This way overdependence on developed economies will be minimized.
- ✓ Tightening up government administration in order to assure the smooth implementation of development projects: Governments of Africa must adopt proactive policies and ideologies that will ensure that developmental projects are effectively implemented.
- ✓ Mobilizing the self-help potential of the people by government participation in development projects based on self-help: The human resources that are inherent in the continent must be adequately harnessed by governments of Africa. People must be involved and carried along with regards to developmental programs of the state, as this will equally help in alleviating the poverty levels of the masses. In essence, the human capacity of the people must be harnessed and channeled towards developmental projects.
- ✓ Transforming the productive potentials of the unemployed into economically useful activities etc.: Governments of Africa must look within and provide or create employment opportunities for the masses. Africa is truly based with abundant mineral and natural resources, and it beholds on Africa leaders to harness these resources as a means of providing the people with a means of livelihood. In essence, Africa is great, but Africa can only get to the Promised Land if she looks within and use her God-given resources to develop herself.

References:

1. Abrahamson. Hans and Ander Nilsson (1995). '*Mozambique the troubled transition from socialist construction to free market capitalism.*' London, England. 2nd books.
2. Anderson, Perry. (1962). '*Portugaland the end of ultra-colonialism.*' New review 15: 83-102.
3. Bowen. Merle. '*The state against the peasantry: rural struggle in colonial and post-colonial Mozambique*', Charlottesville, Virginia: university press of Virginia 2000.
4. Cooper fried rich. (1993) '*Africa and the world economy: peasants labour and the capitalist world system*' by F. Cooper, F. E. Million, S. J. Stern, A. F. Isaac man and W. Roseberry; Madison W. University of Wisconsin press.
5. Crammer-Christopher (2001), '*Privatization and Adjustment in Mozambique*'. A Hospital press.' Journal of South African studies.
6. De veltur, Fion (2009), '*migration and development in Mozambique. Poverty, inequality and survival*'. Cape Town, South Africa; South Africa migration project.
7. Ninety, Albert C. (2006), '*Mozambique Detailed Elections Results*' African elections database retrieved January 20, 2009.
8. Saul John S. (1986), '*The role of ideology in the transition to socialism. Problems of third world socialism*', edited by R. R. Fagan, C. D. Degree and J. I. Carangid. New York; monthly review press.