Samora Machel's Ideology of the 'New Man' on Mozambican Nation Formation[1]

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ABSTRACT

Samora Machel became President of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) in 1970 and the first President of the People's Republic of Mozambique in 1975. He waged a determined fight against the so-called "enemies of the people," as well as alleged "infiltrators" and "traitors" of the revolution. Central to his political vision was the ideology of the "New Man," conceived as the foundation for building a Mozambican nation committed to social justice and equality, and free from exploitation, tribalism, racism, discrimination, and poverty. This paper examines the "New Man" both as a theoretical political concept (1970–1974) and as a practical governing ideology (1975–1986). It argues that Samora used methods of military command, developed during the liberation struggle, to enforce this vision. Civil society, however, often saw these methods as a form of military dictatorship and authoritarianism, which undermined the broader project of creating a "New Man" and a new society in the post-colonial period. The analysis is based on a close reading of selected speeches in which Samora addressed the idea of the "enemies of the people." These are compared with his deliberative and judicial addresses before and after the signing of the Lusaka Agreement in 1974. The study further includes speeches delivered between FRELIMO's adoption of Marxism–Leninism in 1977 and Samora's death in 1986. These primary sources are examined alongside Samora's own writings, published by FRELIMO's Department of Ideological Work between 1976 and 1983, as well as a growing body of secondary literature on his political biography.

Keywords: Samora, Frelimo, 'new man', authoritarianism.

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Introduction

The liberation struggle in Mozambique was waged against the Portuguese colonial system, which began in 1964 and was led by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), under the leadership of its first president, Eduardo Mondlane.[3] Mondlane was assassinated in Dar-es-Salaam in 1969 in the context of the constant political tension inside the movement, between the continuity of the old colonial system of exploitation, and the new, known later, as revolutionary, without the exploitation of men by men. This political tension was often described as "the struggle between different political ideological lines".[4]

When Samora Machel became FRELIMO's president in 1970, following the assassination of Mondlane, it was not yet decided which political ideology FRELIMO, as a liberation movement in the context of the Cold War between the capitalist and socialist systems, would adopt after independence. It was why Samora was very connected with some of FRELIMO's ideologists, such as Marcelino dos Santos, Sergio Vieira, Jorge Ribeiro, and Aquino de Bragança, who had consolidated experience and relationships with nationalist movements based on socialist ideology in Western countries, until the signature of the Lusaka agreement that ended the liberation struggle in Mozambique in 1974.[5]

The so-called *"revolutionary group line"* within FRELIMO was closely aligned with socialist political ideology. Under its dominance, senior figures whose political views diverged from this orientation were systematically marginalised, expelled, or, in some cases, eliminated. Among those affected were Eduardo Mondlane (assassinated), Urias Simango, Father Mateus Gwengere, Lázaro Nkavandame, Mateus Punda Alipone, Miguel Murrupa, and Manuel da Maia, all of whom were expelled from FRELIMO. This consolidation of power extended to the military sphere. Commanders who either resisted Samora's political vision or fell outside his

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[3] John A. Marcum. *Conceiving: Mozambique.* (Santa Cruz: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2018): 35-42.

[4] Pedro João Lavieque, "Discriminação Étnica em Moçambique: Elo-Base que Exige Eliminação para Paz Efectiva," *REVES-Revista Relações Sociais* 03, no. 3 (2020): 233; Benedito Tomás Muianga, "Sobre o Assassinato de Filipe Samuel Magaia," *Savana: Opinião* (Outubro, 1995): 6.

[5] Maria Paula Meneses, "Xiconhoca, o inimigo: Narrativas de violência sobre a construção da nação em Moçambique," *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 106, (Maio, 2016): 18; Aquino de Braganca and Jacques Depelchin, "From the Idealization of Frelimo to the Understanding of the Recent History of Mozambique," *African Journal of Political Economy* 1, no.1 (1986):167. Daniel Kaiser, "Makers of Bands and Ties: Transnational Socialization and National Liberation in Mozambique," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43, no. 1 (2017):46.

trusted inner circle were removed from positions of influence, sometimes through violent means. Notable cases included Filipe Samuel Magaia, who was assassinated in 1966 under contested circumstances; Paulo Samuel Kamkhomba, who died in combat, and Raul Casal Ribeiro, who was expelled from the organisation. Therefore, the "*revolutionary group line*" represented not only the ideological consolidation of FRELIMO but also a deliberate strategy of centralising authority around Samora Machel and his allies. This process eliminated pluralism within the liberation movement, ensuring unity of command but also suppressing internal dissent. While it strengthened FRELIMO's cohesion during the liberation struggle, it also introduced a pattern of authoritarian decision-making that would later shape post-independence governance in Mozambique.[6]

It has been argued that the "struggle between different political lines" within FRELIMO was not limited to economic issues but also involved ethnic competition for political positions, particularly in the period from its foundation in 1962 until the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane in 1969. From 1970 onward, under the leadership of Samora, class struggle and ideological divisions became more prominent within FRELIMO. Samora emphasised a vision of national unity that rejected distinctions based on race, tribe, or skin colour. This vision was further solidified with the signing of the Lusaka Agreement in 1974, which paved the way for Mozambique's independence in 1975. During Samora's presidency, from 1975 until his death in 1986, FRELIMO continued its efforts to eliminate internal political divisions and to build a new, unified Mozambican society.[7]

The concept of creating a "new man" and a new society in the first republic of Mozambique served as a theoretical ideological platform. It offered an alternative to the exploited Mozambican population under the colonial Portuguese system, whether living in communal villages and producing collectively as free people after

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[6] Marcum, "*Conceiving*", 117-118; Lavieque, "*Discriminação Étnica em Moçambique*", 230-233; Muianga, "*Sobre o Assassinato de Filipe Samuel Magaia*", 6.

[7] Daniel Kaiser, "Makers of Bands and Ties",46; Margaret Hall & Tom Young. *Confronting Leviathan: Mozambique since Independence.* (London: Husrst & Campany, 1997): 30-32; Colin Darch e David Hedges, 'Não Temos a Possibilidade de Herdar Nada de Portugal': As Raízes do Exclusivismo e Vanguardismo Político em Moçambique, 1969-1977," in *Territórios da Língua Portuguesa: Culturas, Sociedades, Politicas,* ed. Glaucia Villas Bôas (Rio de Janeiro: IFCS, 1999): 136-141; Allen Isaacman, "Toward a Biography of Samora Machel: The Making of a Revolutionary, 1933-1970 ca," *South African Historical Journal,* 72, no.1 (2020):73, Meneses, "Xiconhoca", 18; Braganca and Depelchin, "*From the Idealization of Frelimo*", 167; Kaiser, "*Makers of Bands and Ties*", 46.

independence. This platform functioned as a vehicle for political ideology, aiming to mobilise the minds of people from various regions of the country towards national unity. It stood firmly against tribalism, ethnicism, and racism, and guided the course of freedom.[8] Secondly, the conceptual notion of creating the "New Man" was linked to the challenge of defining FRELIMO's political ideology. Thirdly, it was crucial to reinforce the political legitimacy of Samora as the new leader of FRELIMO, particularly in the face of direct political rivals within the organisation. Fourthly, for Samora, the concept of racism was not confined to differences in skin colour — whether white, mixed-race, Indian, or black — but rather concerned the mindset of the people. He believed that the issue of race was not directly tied to the system of colonial exploitation. Transforming people's way of thinking was seen as the first step towards creating the theoretical figure of the "New Man".[9]

Finally, the concept of the "New Man" was intended to transform the mindset of the Mozambican people, who had lived under a colonial economic system founded on private property, racial discrimination, and the exploitation of skin colour. This ideology sought to replace that order with one rooted in class struggle, transcending racial and colour-based divisions, and to cultivate a revolutionary consciousness capable of shaping not only the "New Man" but also a new society.[10]

However, following his death, Samora resurfaces as a symbol of the ongoing struggle for a more equitable society in contemporary times. His ideas, words, voice, metaphors, physical presence, image, and military uniform are invoked through poetry, theatre, popular music, and street culture as powerful symbols of critique

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[8] Michael G. Panzer, "Building a revolutionary constituency: Mozambican refugees and the development of the FRELIMO proto-state, 1964–196." *Social Dynamics,*39, no. 1 (2013): 6.

[9] Joel das Neves Tembe & Napolião Gaspar, "O Contexto Colonial e a Génese do Movimento Nacionalista,"in *História da Luta de Libertação Nacional*, Coord. Joel das Neves Tembe, vol, I (Maputo: Ministério dos Combatentes/ Direcção Nacional de História, 2014):30-37; Joel das Neves Tembe, "Uhuru na Kazi: Recapturing MANU Nationalism through the Archive",*Kronos 39* (November, 2013): 257-267; Bernabé Lucas Ncomo. *Urias Simango: Um Homem, Uma Causa.* (Maputo: Edições Novafrica, 2003): 83-96.

[10] Aquino de Bragança, "O Marxismo de Samora", *Três Continentes*, no. 3 (September 1980): 44-48; Braganca and Depelchin,"From the Idealization of Frelimo", 67, Luís de Brito, "O Poder Entre Utopia e a Realidade," in *Samora, Homem do Povo*, ed. António Sopa (Maputo: Maguezo, 2001):39; Fernando Ganhão, "Samora Machel: um relâmpago no Céu," in *Samora, Homem do Povo*, ed. António Sopa (Maputo: Maguezo, 2001), 123; Meneses, "*Xiconhoca*", 18.

aimed at Mozambique's current leadership, particularly regarding the pursuit of national unity and the fight against the people's hardships. These hardships were commonly referred to as the "enemies of the people.[11] This term was first used during the liberation struggle to describe those who held differing views on how the revolution should be carried out. They were labelled as "enemies of the revolution." Following independence, the term evolved into "enemies of the people," referring to those who opposed the ideology of the "New Man" — the central political ideal in building the new nation. This ideology aimed to establish a society founded on social justice and equality, free from the exploitation of man by man, tribalism, racism, discrimination, bureaucratism, vagrancy, ignorance, illiteracy, hunger, prostitution, incompetence, theft, corruption, black-marketeers, poverty, and all other social ills that "plagued Mozambican society".[12]

According to Samora, combating those social ills of people was the way of the formation of the "New Man" and the "New Society". But those ills got worse today, when the country experimented and implemented the open market economy policy in 1987, and introduced the new Constitution of the Republic in 1990, which ended the civil war in 1992, followed by the materialisation of the first multi-party democratic elections in 1994, which contributed to the failure of the "New Man" project. However, the forms of being Mozambicans in society today are criticised by different forums of scholars, activists, journalists, sculptors, painters, musicians (particularly rap and hip-hop artists), and by the ordinary citizen who finds in Machel's project of the

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[11] Janne J. Rantala, "Hidranisa Samora': Invocations of a Dead Political Leader in Maputo Rap," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42, no. 6 (10 Nov 2016): 1161-1177; Janne J. Rantala, "Rimador Samora: Memória Pública de 'Antepassado Político' no Rap de Maputo," in *Actas de III Conferência Internacional o Centro de Estudos Africanos 2014*: os intelectuais africanos face aos desafios do século XXI, Ed. CEA (Maputo: CEA, 2017):1-19; Janne J. Rantala, "Rapper Azagaia e Seus Críticos: Debate sobre Moçambique," *Kulimar*, 4, (Dec. 2015):130-134; Anna Poysa & Janne Rantala, "Who has the word? MC Azagaia's intervention into past and politics in Mozambique. in: *Lusophone Hip-Hop: Who we are and 'where we are': Identity Urban Culture and Belonging*, edited by Rosana Martins and Massimo Canevacci (Oxford: Sean Kingston Publishing, 2018), 224-232.

[12] Kaiser, "Makers of Bands and Ties", 46; Miguel Buendia, "Samora Machel e a Educação,"In *Samora, Homem do Povo*, ed. António Sopa (Maputo: Manguezo, 2001), 92-93. Helder Martins, "Samora na Luta Armada (1965-1968),"in *Samora, Homem do Povo*, ed. António Sopa (Maputo: Maguezo, 2001), 106-108.

"New Man" a collective civil society struggle in defense of the powerless and marginalised people against those social ills.[13]

This paper analysis how Samora's political ideology of the "New Man" translated into political action for creating a new society in Mozambique after independence. The "New Man" political ideology is discussed in two moments. First, "New Man", as a theoretical political ideology in the context of the liberation struggle (1970-1974), and second, "New Man" as a practical political ideology of governing in the context of the post-colonial period (1975-1986), in how the Mozambican society must be developed socio-politically and economically, following one only political ideology guided by FRELIMO.[14]

This research argues that Samora and the FRELIMO Central Committee applied methods of military command and directive leadership, practices developed during the liberation struggle, against those perceived as undermining the project of building a new society and an independent state. Civil society in Mozambique interpreted this approach as a form of military dictatorship and authoritarian ideology, manifested in the imaginary combat against the so-called "enemies of the people." Such practices ultimately weakened the broader project of creating the "New Man" and a new society in the post-colonial period. By contrast, the democratic process initiated in 1994 has been viewed as one of the possible avenues for realising the social aspirations originally associated with Samoral's vision of the "New Man", [15] An example of this was the policy of socialization of the countryside through the creation of communal villages and production cooperatives, as a model of the imaginary new society that should be constituted and inhabited by "New Men" with a "new" mentality of thinking and being.[16]

The paper is based on an analysis of selected speeches concerning the notion of the "enemies of the people". These speeches were compared with the deliberative and

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[13] Rantala, "Who Has the Word?", 222-239; Rantala, "Hidranisa Samora", 1161-1177; Rantala, "Rimador Samora", 1-19; Rantala, "Rapper Azagaia", 127-140; Manuel Armando Guissemo, "Hip Hop Activism: Dynamic Tension between the Global and local in Mozambique," *Journal of World Popular Music* 5, no. 1, (Jun 2018): 50-70.

[14] José Negrão, "Samora e Desenvolvimento," in: *Samora, Homem do Povo*, ed. António Sopa (Maputo: Maguezo 2001), 56-60.

[15] Negrão, "Samora e Desenvolvimento", 56-60.

[16] For more details, see Arnaldo Caliche, *"Socialization of the Countryside" and its Consequences for Agricultural Production in Manica District-Mozambique, 1975-1987,"* (MA Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2016):34-74.

judicial addresses delivered by Samora before and after the signing of the Lusaka Agreement in 1974. The analysis also includes speeches given by Samora from the time FRELIMO adopted Marxism-Leninism in 1977 until his death in 1986. These speeches were examined in dialogue with writings authored by Samora himself, published by FRELIMO's Department of Ideological Work between 1976 and 1983, as well as with a growing body of secondary literature on Samora's political biography.

The first part of this paper explores the role of Samora's ideological framework of the "New Man" and the "New Society" following his rise to the leadership of FRELIMO in 1970, after the death of Eduardo Mondlane. The second part examines Samora's efforts in political mobilisation to articulate and implement the principles of this ideology, particularly the concept of the "New Man" and the pursuit of national unity, during his presidency from 1975 until his death in 1986. Samora employed this political ideology as a tool to confront the system of colonial exploitation, the domination of man by man, and to propose radical solutions to the injustices embedded in colonial society and its culture. These dimensions are analysed in the context of Samora's discourse on the "enemies of the people" and their role in the construction of a "New Mozambican Society."

The first part of this paper explores the role of Samora's theoretical ideology of the "New Man" and the "New Society" when he achieved the leadership of FRELIMO in 1970 after the death of Eduardo Mondlane. The second part of the research examines Samora's efforts in political mobilisation to articulate and implement the principles of this ideology, particularly the concept of the "New Man" and the goal of national unity, as the president of the republic from 1975 until his death in 1986. He employed this political ideology as a tool to combat the system of colonial exploitation, the domination of man by man, and to propose radical solutions to the injustices of colonial society and its culture. These elements are analysed in the context of Machel's discourse against the "enemies of the people" in the construction of a "New Mozambican Society".

Samora's "New Man" theoretical ideology in the liberation struggle, 1970-1974

Samora Machel's theoretical reflections on the concept of the "New Man" became more evident when he rose to the presidency of FRELIMO in 1970. His political understanding of this idea developed in several distinct phases. The first phase occurred during his guerrilla training in Algeria (1963–1964), where he sharpened his critical awareness of the colonial structures that shaped Mozambican society. His intellectual formation was further reinforced through instruction by Russian and Chinese military trainers and through his study of revolutionary texts, particularly Mao Tse-Tung's writings on the new society and the strategic works of General Vo Nguyen Giap of Vietnam.[17] The second phase of his learning was marked by his encounter with Ernesto "Che" Guevara, who visited the FRELIMO training camps at Nachingwea and Kongwa in Tanzania in 1965. During this period, some FRELIMO guerrillas also received military training in Cuba, which expanded the movement's exposure to international revolutionary practices. These experiences collectively informed Machel's political and military outlook. They shaped his role as chief instructor at the FRELIMO training camps in Kongwa (1964) and Nachingwea (1965), where he used these lessons as guiding principles for forging both a revolutionary army and the ideological foundations of the future Mozambican nation.[18]

Third, he improved his critical thinking from the experience of the first years of the liberation struggle and his ascension as FRELIMO Secretary of the Department of Defence (SDD) in 1966, after the assassination of the first secretary, Filipe Samuel Magaia.[19] Using this position and linking his colonial exploitation life experience in Mozambique with the military training information from manuals and the written press of the Chinese Revolution about the regulations, discipline, organization of the people in villages, collective agricultural production and trade, and punitive and order measures developed during the Chinese Revolution became a basic model of the figure of the "New Man" and new society that was implemented in different front lines among guerrillas and the entire population in the liberated zones. This political

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[17] Meneses, "Xiconhoca", 19-20; Brito, "O Poder Entre Utopia e a Realidade", 39; Ganhão, "Samora Machel", 16-21.

[18] Christian A. Williams, "Living in Exile: Daily Life and International Relations at SWAPO's Kongwa Camp," *Kronos* 37, no. 1 (January, 2011):70.

[19] Gerhard Liesegang, "Samora Moisés Machel: os anos de formação, 1943-1963" *Samora, Homem do Povo*, ed. António Sopa (Maputo: Maguezo, 2001), 34-35.

ideology, though, was massively transmitted to the guerrillas on the front lines from 1970.[20]

Using a good natural environment of fertile lands that Kongwa had in conjunction with an allowance from the Tanzanian government, Samora explained the meaning of the idea of "New Man" to guerrillas from different ethnolinguistic groups and regions through collective agricultural production for self-food supplies, working together. In addition to agricultural production, Samora integrated guerrillas into the local sports competition (soccer) with the local community and other guerrillas from different political organisations such as ANC, MPLA, SWAPO, and ZANU in Kongwa. Playing soccer together was used to explain the practical meaning of national unity. The figure "working together collectively" explains the theoretical ideology of the meaning of the spirit and thought of the "New Man".[21] According to Christian Williams,

> Kongwa camp was explicitly intended as a site for Southern Africa's nascent guerrilla armies, where movements were allotted separate spaces to train and care for the needs of their respective members. By the middle of 1965, more than one thousand people affiliated with SWAPO, ANC, FRELIMO, MPLA, and ZAPU were living at Kongwa camp.[22]

In 1964, the Kongwa military training camp became the first institution to embody Samora's ideology of the "New Man", largely due to the significant cultural and social differences among guerrillas from various political organisations across the Southern African region who resided there. In 1965, the Nachingwea military camp was established as the second such school, this time dedicated exclusively to FRELIMO's guerrillas. In both training camps, the concept of the "New Man" was closely tied to the political ideology of "national unity", which served as a key tool for the political mobilisation of the guerrillas. The notion of the family was employed as a metaphor for political organisation, fostering a shared political identity. At the same

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[20] Steven F. Jackson Source, "China's Third World Foreign Policy: The Case of Angola and Mozambique, 1961-93," *The China Quarterly*, 145 (June 1995): 391-394, 398-399, https://www.jstor.org/stable/655421; Thomas H. Henriksen Source, "Marxism and Mozambique," *African Affairs 77,* no. 309 (October 1978): 443-445, https://www.jstor.org/stable/721959.

[21] Williams, "Living in Exile", 68.

[22] Christian A. Williams, "SWAPO's Struggle Children and Exile Home-Making: The Refugee Biography of Mawazo Nakadhilu," African *Studies Review* 63, no. 3 (September 2020):597, 599.

time, the family as a social institution facilitated the exchange of cultural practices and traditions among guerrillas from different provinces, helping to construct a distinct cultural identity referred to as Mozambican territory, politically represented by FRELIMO. By combining theoretical instruction received during military training with cultural activities drawn from these diverse backgrounds, the guerrillas came to understand the strength and significance of a united people in the struggle against the Portuguese colonial system of exploitation. This unity became a fundamental pillar of FRELIMO's political ideology of mobilisation.[23]

The concept of the "New Man" was promoted by different cultures as a means of fostering national unity through cultural competitions in dance, theatre, poetry, and singing among various ethnic groups during weekends. In doing so, Samora sought to engage guerrilla fighters in the spirit of national identity and collective pride, transcending individual or ethnic differences. The aim was for guerrillas to grasp the significance of "national unity" through these diverse cultural activities. Samora also utilised languages learned from different guerrilla groups, which became key tools for political mobilisation among the fighters and with the local population. Kiswahili, in particular, proved important in this context, as it was widely spoken among guerrilla members, unlike Portuguese, which was less commonly used within FRELIMO. Kiswahili thus became a vital means of communication between different groups within the camps. On one hand, these cultural activities helped transcend ethnic divisions and foster a shared sense of purpose — national unity within a multicultural framework — in opposition to the colonial system of exploitation. This formed part of the vision of the "New Man" with a "new way of thinking". On the other hand, individual and differing political views on how the colonial system should be dismantled were not tolerated if they contradicted FRELIMO's official ideology and principles, which were strictly upheld within the organisation, principally from 1970.[24]

It is evident that the concept of the "New Man" emerged as a distinct political ideology within FRELIMO after 1970, when Samora simultaneously held the position

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[23] Williams, "Living in Exile", 70.

[24] Allen Isaacman and Barba Isaacman. *Samora Machel: Uma Biografia*. (Lisboa: Outro Modo Cooperativa Cultural, 2022):97.

of head of the Department of Defence (DD) and president of FRELIMO. From that point onwards, Samora's political discourse across various fronts was shaped by FRELIMO's strategy of mobilisation, which emphasised unity among its members. This strategy was implemented through various means, including speeches directed at both the Mozambican population and the international community. The messages were disseminated via radio broadcasts from Tanzania, written press releases, caricatures, symbols, and photographic images published in FRELIMO's official magazines: *A Voz da Revolução* and *Mozambique Revolution*, beginning in 1966 (see caricatures 1 to 7 in the appendix).[25]

It was in 1966 that FRELIMO began to publish messages in the Portuguese-language press magazine *A Voz da Revolução*, which had first been issued in June 1965. This magazine followed the earlier *Mozambique Revolution*, launched in English in 1963. However, between 1965 and 1970, only a limited number of photographs featuring FRELIMO guerrillas and their leaders appeared in *A Voz da Revolução*. The few images published in both the Portuguese and English editions primarily depicted FRELIMO's symbols—such as flags, arrows, drummers, joined hands, and artistic figures created by designers and cartoonists. These visuals were intended to convey the significance of national unity as a foundation for building the imagined "New Man" and "New Society" (see caricatures 1–7 in the appendix).[26] These messages were conveyed orally and reinforced by caricatures published in the magazine, which depicted the colonial system of exploitation, the guerrilla's military activities, and the rural population's involvement in the liberation struggle, as illustrated in caricatures one to seven above.[27]

Therefore, strategically, at the outset of the war, FRELIMO combined speeches and press publications to educate the guerrillas in political ideology and to mobilise

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[25] Joel das Neves Tembe, "A Formação da FRELIMO e a Preparação da Luta Armada," in *História da Luta de Libertação Nacional*, ed. Joel das Neves Tembe, Vol. 1. (Maputo: Ministério dos Combatentes, 2014), 53-54.

[26] FRELIMO, *A Voz da Revolução*, No. ? (Abril 1, 1966):1; FRELIMO, *A Voz da Revolução*, No. 6, (Setembro 6, 1966):0-1; FRELIMO, *A Voz da Revolução*, No. 7, (Janeiro 7, 1967):1, 16; FRELIMO, *Mozambique Revolution*, (Oct.-Nov, 1967):0-2.

[27] FRELIMO, "1964-1974: 10 Years of People's War," *Mozambique Revolution*, No. 60 (July-September, 1974):7

both its members and the rural population in areas not under colonial control, referred to as the first semi-liberated zones. In these zones, the messages conveyed focused on national unity as a "new way of being" for the Mozambican people in resistance to the colonial system of exploitation. This theme was prominent in the early editions of the magazine *A Voz da Revolução*, published between 1965 and 1966, which addressed the Mozambican population with persuasive and exhortative language. One of the key expressions used was "Mozambican Brothers" (*Irmãos Moçambicanos*), often accompanied by symbolic illustrations—specifically caricatures one through seven in the appendix—emphasising national unity as the foundation of Mozambican identity and resistance. For instance, in the inaugural edition of *A Voz da Revolução* in 1965, the first page and opening paragraph state:

> Mozambican brothers and sisters, who are today fighting against Portuguese colonialism to liberate your land, to achieve your freedom, and to put an end to slavery and poverty – this bulletin is for you. It is with you in mind that FRELIMO produces this bulletin: to communicate with you directly, to share all that concerns our struggle and our revolution.[28]

To preserve the meaning of the word "brother" and its associated symbols, the message evoked the idea of the exploitation suffered by the Mozambican people in their own land, and FRELIMO as the sole political organisation capable of leading them to freedom from the colonial system of oppression—an organisation composed of individuals with a new mindset. The central message aimed to convey the importance of national unity, represented by the concept of the "New Man", who embodies a new way of thinking about the colonial system. FRELIMO was portrayed as the only organisation spanning from the Rovuma River in the north to the Maputo River in the south, truly representing the Mozambican people. The emphasis was placed on reinforcing national unity. This theme was supported by a message published in the magazine *A Voz da Revolução*, which stated, "*All the Mozambican people … are united on the side of FRELIM, our victory is near.*"[29]

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[28] FRELIMO, *A Voz da Revolução*, no. 1, (01 June 1965): 1.
[29] Ibid.

This message acknowledges the existence of other political organisations within the context of the Mozambican liberation struggle. To counter the idea that alternative political organisations operated within Mozambican territory, it was deemed necessary to transform the Mozambican people from the "Old Man" with a tribal and colonial mentality, to the "New Man", shaped by diverse cultural expressions and a revolutionary spirit rooted in the concept of "national unity". This unity was embodied in the figure of the "New Man" aligned with FRELIMO, the sole political organisation committed to combating the colonial system of exploitation. Within this framework, FRELIMO's political ideology at the time focused on the mobilisation of the people, employing persuasive and exhortative language, such as the use of terms like "brother" and "national unity". These terms were not only intended to inspire and mobilise the population towards the creation of a new society, but also served as enduring tools throughout the entire liberation struggle in Mozambique.[30]

Through caricature images, we can interpret the political messages conveyed to guerrillas and the wider population by FRELIMO leaders, notably Samora. Caricature number 3, for example, illustrates both exploitation and revolution, while simultaneously pointing to the continuity of the colonial system of exploitation—one that must be dismantled through popular unity, as visually articulated in caricature number 1. These caricatures symbolise the critical importance of solidarity in the liberation struggle, emphasising the alliance between the people and FRELIMO's guerrillas as the chosen path of resistance against the Portuguese colonial regime. Caricature number 2 underscores this message by portraying the sound of drumming as a metaphor for invocation, mobilisation, and the call for the population to join FRELIMO. This process of mobilisation culminates in the emergence of the "New Society" and the forging of national unity, as depicted in caricature number 4—both of which express a collective aspiration to overcome the colonial bourgeois mentality and its exploitative system. Furthermore, caricatures 1, 5, and 6 reinforce the idea of

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[30] FRELIMO, *Mozambique Revolution*, no. 2, (January 1964):3-9.

unity and the necessity of pursuing the liberation struggle as a singular, unified effort aimed at eradicating the suffering imposed by colonial exploitation.[31]

The main challenge FRELIMO faced as a political organisation at the time was securing its political legitimacy within the broader liberation movement in Tanzania, as well as expanding its political hegemony within the semi-liberated zones of Mozambique. These zones, although under FRELIMO's control, were often administered by its Chairmen (political commissioners), who were perceived as operating with an "old colonial mentality" rooted in tribal methods of governance from as early as 1966.[32] To transform the mindset and administration of the Chairman, it was necessary to mobilise both the guerrillas and the population under the leadership of Samora. A key step in this process was the integration of women into the liberation struggle, representing another stage in the formation of the "New Mozambican Man and society." The first phase focused on economic production—particularly in agriculture within the semi-liberated zones—to supply food to guerrillas on the front lines and to the wider population, as illustrated in caricature number 7. Women's responsibilities soon expanded beyond agriculture, as they played critical roles in the armed struggle, communication, transportation of war materials, healthcare, education, and as militia members protecting the liberated zones. This was formally recognised during the first Congress of the Mozambican Women's League, held in Mbeya, Tanzania, from 31 May to 4 June 1966. From that point until the first Mozambican Women's Conference, which took place in the liberation zones of Tete Province between 4 and 16 May 1973, women's contributions were increasingly acknowledged as vital to the success of the liberation struggle across all fronts. This marked a further dimension in the construction of the "New Society" envisioned by FRELIMO's political ideology (see photo one in the appendix).[33]

The message conveyed by the caricatures was further reinforced by the press, particularly through the magazine *A Voz da Revolução*, which emphasised the

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[31] FRELIMO, *Voz da Revolução*, (Abril 1, 1966):1; FRELIMO, *A Voz da Revolução*, No. 7, (01 Janeiro, 1967): 16; FRELIMO, *Mozambique Revolution*, (Oct.-Nov, 1967):0-2.

[32] FRELIMO, *A Voz da Revolução*, No. 6, (Janeiro 9, 1966):9-10.

[33] FRELIMO, *A Voz da Revolução*, No. 16, (Março, 1973):5-7.

importance of national unity under the multicoloured flag of FRELIMO. This flag symbolised the eradication of all forms of racism and tribalism among guerrillas and the broader population across the various regions of the country. This argument was supported by a speech delivered by Samora Machel to both the guerrillas and the Mozambican population, and published in FRELIMO's magazine *A Voz da Revolução* in the following terms:

> Let's put aside all tribalism, racism, regionalism, and everything that can divide us. Our fight is fair. It is not only for the liberation of a piece of land called Mozambique, but it is also part of the universal struggle for the complete liquidation of the exploitation of man by man.[34]

To achieve this goal, the Central Committee, in its meeting in October 1967, decided that all FRELIMO members must engage in economic production activities to strengthen the organisation's financial sustainability and support the continuation of the war effort, thereby reducing reliance on international aid and solidarity.[35] The political communication strategy developed by FRELIMO at the time also served as a space for continuous learning for all its members, particularly those in leadership positions, such as Samora. Efforts were made to organise illiterate guerrillas into classes that promoted political discussions and debates, focusing on identifying the enemy of the people and understanding the colonial system of exploitation, racism, tribalism, and the principle of national unity. These discussions were regarded as fundamental to winning the war and eradicating the exploitation of man by man in the pursuit of a new society. Weekend activities were also introduced, including basic reading, writing, and arithmetic lessons, as well as storytelling sessions about Mozambican resistance to colonial occupation in the late nineteenth century. Cultural activities—such as musical performances and dance exhibitions—were conducted to reflect the diverse traditions of different ethnic groups, fostering a shared national identity among the guerrillas and local populations in the liberated zones. Samora viewed these cultural initiatives as essential to the formation of the "New Mozambican Society" and the consolidation of national identity. He recognised the

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[34] FRELIMO, *A Voz da Revolução*, No. 6, (Janeiro 9, 1966):2-3.
[35] *A Voz da Revolução*, No.7, (Janeiro 1, 1967) :5.

critical role of linking local culture and community traditions with the armed struggle as a cornerstone for the revolution's success.[36]

It was in this context that, in 1968, Samora came to understand that the political process of mobilisation, grounded in the concept of national unity to create a "New Society" as developed in the military training camps of Kongwa and Nachingwea between 1964 and 1965, was not sufficient to transform the old colonial Mozambican society into the new one. This transformation required a profound change not only among guerrillas on the armed front line but also among the population in the liberated zones. Therefore, in August 1968, he proposed the purification of FRELIMO's ways to serve the people, aiming to transition from colonial mentalities towards the construction of the "New Society", without the exploitation of man by man within the organisation. He expressed these concerns in his first military report, addressed to the Central Committee of FRELIMO in Dar-es-Salaam. In this report, he highlighted key terms that described the condition of FRELIMO members and the population in the liberated zones, as well as the necessary changes and structures that needed to be implemented.

> There exist various FRELIMO camps, but was difficult to maintain discipline and one common political thought in these camps, namely: Kongwa, Bagamoyo, and Ilala in Dar-es-Saalam...". ".... the borders line was full of the elements of FRELIMO that deserted from the interior camps of Songea, Tumduro, Mbeya and Mtwara...". "...the military were selling their weapons and surrender to the enemy....". "... the military commanders are disputing the control of the liberated zones, due to lack of clarity of their political line...". "... in the liberated zonas, the Chairmen are not prepared politically. They are creating confusion on the control of local production. They abandoned their posts and are not giving food to the military bases. They are reserving it for them".[37]

The words above summarise the challenges that Samora, appointed as the new military commander and president between 1966-1970, identified within FRELIMO as a liberation movement. These challenges were particularly evident among guerrilla

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[36] ARPAC. *Samora Moisés Machel-História de uma Vida Dedicada ao Povo Moçambicano*. (Maputo: Académica, 2014), 76-80; Isaacman, "Toward a Biograph of Samora Machel", 74.

[37] Samora Machel, "Relatório de Samóra Machel, secretário do Departamento de Defesa da FRELIMO ao Comité Central sobre a situação militar," *JSTOR Primary Sources*, (August 1968):3-6, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.pt-tt-pide-d-f1016vv.

commanders and the role of the Chairman, who acted as political commissars responsible for mobilising the peasantry in the liberated zones. According to Samora, the prevailing political ideology and internal functioning of FRELIMO's leadership were inadequate for advancing the liberation struggle, which needed to be grounded in national unity and a single socio-economic and political line of thought. In response, Samora, in his political report, emphasised the need to strengthen military operations, intensify political mobilisation, and cleanse the movement of suspected infiltrators and traitors to the revolution. Military leaders and guerrillas who deserted the war camps, along with the Chairman—accused of exploiting the population in the liberated areas—were among the first to be labelled by Samora as "traitors of the revolution" and "enemies of the revolution". In his view, they were unprepared to contribute to the formation of the "New Society" founded on new political ideologies, free from the exploitation of man by man—a clear departure from the colonial system of governance.[38]

Therefore, as part of the broader process of purifying and restructuring the organization, Samora presented a military report to the Central Committee of FRELIMO in 1968, recommending significant changes. The report outlined a reorganisation of the military structure into distinct sections. Samora also redefined the geographic and strategic organisation of the struggle by dividing the provinces into three types of sectors: liberated regions, semi-liberated regions, and advanced military regions. In a decisive move to centralise authority and enhance coordination, the socio-economic and political mobilisation sectors—previously overseen by the Chairman—were dismantled and brought under the direct control of the DD, which Machel himself led.[39]

However, the ideological differences within FRELIMO regarding how the liberation struggle should be conducted deepened over time. These tensions intensified following the assassination of FRELIMO's first president, Eduardo Mondlane, in 1969. In the aftermath, Samora was appointed as his successor. He

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[38] Samora Moisés Machel, *Fazer da Escola uma Base para o Povo Tomar o Poder*. Estudos e Orientações 6 (Maputo: Departamento Ideológico da FRELIMO, 1979): 23-26.
[39] "*Relatório de Samora Machel*", 3-6.

inherited an organization already divided by what became known as the "struggle between different lines" — a conflict rooted in divergent socio-economic and political ideologies. This struggle also involved internal competition for leadership positions, control over socio-economic activities in the liberated zones, favouritism in the promotion and protection of guerrillas based on regional origin and personal relationships, and individual ambitions for political advancement within FRELIMO.[40]

From that time onward, Samora's political ideology of the "New Society" became increasingly evident. He delivered speeches to the population that highlighted FRELIMO's vision for constructing a "new society"—one shaped by individuals with a transformed mentality, committed to equality in access to social opportunities such as education and healthcare, and active participation in economic production within the liberated zones. This transformation was a direct result of the ongoing liberation struggle and the dismantling of the colonial administrative system, inspired by the principles established at FRELIMO's Second Congress in 1968, which emphasised a process of internal purification. A central theme in Samora's discourse was national unity, which he considered essential for the revolution's success. This idea of unity was closely tied to a singular revolutionary political ideology centered on the people's power, with FRELIMO as its guiding force. During his visits to the liberated zones of Cabo Delgado in 1970, Machel reinforced this political objective, shifting his discourse towards the vision of a "New Society" founded on the creation of the "New Man" and the principle of national unity. His commitment to unity was powerfully expressed in his words to the population:

> "The Portuguese were able to dominate us for a long time because we had not been able to create our unity. We had not understood the importance of our unity".[41]

To achieve the objective of national unification, it was necessary to train both the army and the diverse social classes of the population under a single political

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[40] Meneses, "Xiconhoca", 18; Braganca and Depelchin, "From the Idealization of Frelimo", 167; Kaiser, "Makers of Bands and Ties", 46.

[41] Samora Machel, " Essas São as Armas", *Projeto de Preservação do Património Audiovisual*, Instituto Nacional de Audiovisual e Cultura-INAC, (sd).

ideology led by FRELIMO. For Samora, this training involved transforming the people's mindset, shaping a new mentality that would support and advance the liberation struggle. It was essential for the population to understand that FRELIMO represented their collective interests. Therefore, it became crucial to combat ethnic and tribal divisions. This required raising awareness about the true nature of the colonial system of exploitation. The people needed to identify who the real enemy was. For Samora and FRELIMO, the enemy was never defined by skin colour, race, or religion, but by the colonial mentality that perpetuated the exploitation of man by man.[42] It was in the context of the struggle against colonialism that Samora emphasised his views on national unity during peace talks with Portugal in Mogadishu, Somalia, in June 1974. Addressing members of the negotiation committee and journalists, he stated the following:

> In Mozambique, FRELIMO's continuous political engagement enabled our clear and just political line to be embraced by the entirety of our people, from Rovuma to Maputo. Without distinction, Mozambicans of all races, ethnicities, religious beliefs, and social backgrounds—young and old, women and men—demand national independence. They affirm their full identification with the principles and programmes of FRELIMO.[43]

Samora's argument regarding FRELIMO's principles and programme can be better understood within the context of his political ideology, particularly through the decisions taken during the Second Congress held in July 1968 in Matchedje, Mozambique. This congress identified and condemned the values and behaviours rooted in the mentality of the colonial bourgeoisie, which were seen as obstacles to the liberation struggle and the construction of a new society. In line with these principles, Samora initiated a process of ideological purification within FRELIMO in August 1968, aiming to eliminate remnants of colonial administration characterised by racism, tribalism, corruption, and individualism. Furthermore, from 1970, Samora fought against individuals who retained colonial mindsets and privileges, targeting behaviours considered detrimental to revolutionary discipline, such as prostitution,

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[42] Samora Machel, " *Essas São as Armas*".

[43] Samora Machel, "Frelimo Leader Samora Machel Rejects Portugal's Peace Proposal", OUA Sumit in Mogadishu, June 1974.

drunkenness, drug use, family instability, and indulgence. These practices, viewed as moral decay introduced by Western colonial influence, were symbolically associated with figures like the *mulatto*, the *assimilated*, the so-called *committed to the nation*, and others labelled as "enemies of the people". His vision sought to replace these legacies with the creation of a "New Man"—a citizen of a new society free from exploitation and grounded in collective responsibility, equality, and national unity.[44]

Samora's process of purifying FRELIMO's members lacked transparency in its implementation. Various incidents occurred during this internal struggle, including assassinations and expulsions, particularly among FRELIMO's leadership.[45] Furthermore, many FRELIMO members faced difficulties in interpreting the concepts of capitalism, exploitation, racism, and Western culture—elements that shaped Mondlane's political consciousness, which later stood in contradiction to Samora's vision of the creation of the "New Man".[46]

Empowered by the principles underpinning the creation of the "New Man" and the "New Society," Samora led peace negotiations with Portugal. However, the terms of negotiation accepted by Portugal safeguarded Samora's leadership and its pro-socialist political ideology, leaving no space for political pluralism or power-sharing in the post-independence government. Portugal's negotiating position was weakened by the broader geopolitical context of the 1970s, particularly the decline of colonial exploitation across Africa. Moreover, no political group outside of FRELIMO asserted a role in the negotiation process. Consequently, the peace agreement was signed on 7 September 1974. This situation enabled Samora to centre his political rhetoric and victory speeches on denouncing those perceived as traitors to the revolution, particularly following the signing of the Lusaka Accord.[47]

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[44] Benedito Luís Machava, "*The Morality of Revolution: Urban Cleanup Campaigns, Reeducation Camps, and Citizenship in Socialist Mozambique (1974-1988)*" (PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, 2018), 4; 60-64; Ganhão, "*Samora Machel*", 19-29; Clinarete Victória Luís Munguambe, "*Solidarity and the Struggle for Zimbabwe: Zimbabwen African National Union (ZANU) in Mozambique (1975-1980)*" (Master Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2017), 9-10.

[45] Meneses, "Xiconhoca", 18; Braganca and Depelchin, "From the Idealization of Frelimo", 167. Kaiser, "Makers of Bands and Ties", 46.

[46] Meneses, "Xiconhoca", 18; Bragança and Depelchin, "From the Idealization ", 167. Kaiser, "Makers of Bands and Ties", 46.

[47] FRELIMO, "Statement by the FRELIMO Executive Committee on the Events in Portugal", *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Summer, 1974):58; Paolo Israel, "The Archive and the Fable: Trajectory of a

"New Man": a political ideology of changing Mozambican colonial society to a new one after independence, 1975-1986

After the signing of the Lusaka Peace Agreement between FRELIMO and the Portuguese government on 7 September 1974, Mozambique entered an eight-month transitional period, moving from colonial rule to a postcolonial system of governance, officially proclaimed on 25 June 1975. During this time, both the content of political interventions and the rhetorical discourse of Samora and FRELIMO reflected an acute awareness of the emerging forces of political competition in the post-independence era. This reality made it imperative to consolidate broader support among the Mozambican population, particularly in urban centres such as Beira and Lourenço Marques (now Maputo), where various political organisations and movements had emerged, aspiring to participate in a democratic government after independence.[48] This reality made Samora concerned with preserving the ideological line of the "New Man" and "New Society", central to FRELIMO's political ideology, developed from 1970, founded on the principles of non-racialism, non-tribalism, the rejection of the exploitation of man by man, and the elimination of political differentiation as the path towards national unity in the construction of the Mozambican nation under the guidance of a single party, FRELIMO.[49]

Mozambican Historian", in *A Companion to João Paulo Borges Coelho: Rewriting (Post)colonial Remains*. Vol. 14, Edited by Elena Brugioni, Orlando Grossegesse and Paulo Medeiros (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2020):41.

[48] Different political organizations hopped to compete in democratic elections after Mozambique's independence against FRELIMO were: the Mozambique Liberation Movement (Movimento de Libertação de Moçambique-MLM), created by Henriques Nyankale in 1970; the United Front of Mozambique (Frente Unida de Moçambique-FUMO) founded by Marcelino Nbule in 1972; the United Group of Mozambique (Grupo Unido de Moçambique-GUMO), The Common Front of Mozambique (A Frente Comum de Moçambique-FRECOMO) under the leadership of Joana Simião and Máximo Dias from 1974; the Front for Independence and Continuity with the West (Frente para a Independência e Continuidade com o Ocidente-FICO), created in 1974; The Mozambican Democrats (Os Democratas Moçambicanos), a small pressure group made up of liberal whites from professional classes and university students; National Coalition Party (Partido de Coligação Nacional-PCN) founded by Urias Simango, previous vice-president of FRELIMO expelled from the organization in 1969 after the first FRELIMO president, Eduardo Mondlane assassination in 1969. For more details see Rufino Carlos Gujamo, A Transição Democrática e a Manutenção da Paz em Moçambique entre 1992 e 2004, (Tese de Doutoramento, Universidade de Lisboa, ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Universidade Católica Portuguesa e Universidade de Évora, 2016), 82-84.

[49] Colin Darch, and David Hedges. *Samora Machel: Retórica Política e Independência em Moçambique* (Salvador: EDUFBA, 2018):14-15.

To achieve this objective, FRELIMO employed Samora as a central figure in its ongoing political mobilisation efforts, aimed at transforming the population into builders of a "New Man" and a "new Mozambican society" fundamentally different from the colonial system. However, the elements that had been identified during the liberation struggle as essential to creating this new society needed to be supplemented in the post-colonial period. These measures included the purification of people's minds and thoughts through the control of cultural and religious beliefs, which were perceived as obstacles to achieving national unity and equality among all citizens. In this context, scholars such as José Negrão argue that Samora's enduring legacy lies in his belief in the transformation of the individual into a "new man" — one whose mind is shaped by professional training and the capacity to harness natural resources for national development.[50] An example of this policy in action was the implementation of socialization of the countryside through the creation of communal villages and production cooperatives.[51] However, the desire to implement the "New Man" political ideology was pursued both theoretically and emotionally. Samora argued that "we especially felt that the struggle to create new structures would fail without the creation of a new mentality".[52]

Because of this, Samora believed that the entire Mozambican population should undergo the experience developed in the liberated zones. To achieve this goal, the first actions took place in the socio-economic sector during the first year following Mozambique's independence. To give greater meaning to the liberation struggle, Samora launched the "New Men" and "New Society" programme on 25 September 1976, commemorating the day the liberation struggle began in Mozambique. The programme was inaugurated in the capital city, Maputo, and subsequently implemented across all provinces and districts. This initiative included the opening of collective agricultural production fields and the construction of the first communal villages. These open fields and newly built villages were named "25 September

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[50] Negrão, "Samora e Desenvolvimento", 56-60.
[51] For more details see: Caliche, "*Socialization of the Countryside*", 34-74.
[52] Samora Machel, *Mozambique: Sowing the Seeds of Revolution* (Toronto, 1974): 39.

Communal Village" (Aldeia Comunal 25 de Setembro).[53] At the close of the ceremony, Samora delivered a speech to the entire nation from Umbeluzi, a suburban area of Maputo City, using the national radio broadcaster, Rádio Moçambique. He addressed the people with the following words:

> "Long live FRELIMO, which unites and organises the people. Long live!
> We cannot develop a country by neglecting agriculture. The first step is to eliminate hunger. We must improve agriculture, especially in how we produce.
> We must produce collectively because production is at the heart of our struggle. It is through our work that we correct one another.
> We have come here to baptise you – not with holy water, but with the name of the revolution.
> We name your village: 25 September".[54]

The words highlighted in Samora's speech reflect the fact that the Mozambican population lacked prior experience living in communal villages and working collectively in agricultural production and trade, as had occurred in the liberated zones during the struggle for independence. These practices were introduced as part of the programme to build the "New Society". The phrase, "…we correct each other in the process of our work…" reveals the need for a shift in mentality, symbolised by the figure of the "New Man". The term "baptism" is drawn from religious practice, where a believer is integrated—without question—into the faith from their first encounter, but only after being taught the basic principles and practices of that religion. In the context of the "New Man" ideological policy, one of its central pillars was the promotion of collective agricultural production and trade among the rural population, whose practices had been shaped by colonial systems of agriculture and commerce. This rural population was now being enthusiastically introduced to a new way of working, imposed in the spirit of celebrating Independence Day.[55]

Therefore, Samora used this public gathering to articulate FRELIMO's political ideology of the "New Man". His speech was marked by a strong element of persuasion and an intense focus on moral reform, purification, and the transformation of

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[53] Samora Machel, " 25 de Setembro de 1976", *Ministério de Informação*, (Setembro, 1976).
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.

Mozambican society. He employed the Portuguese language as a crucial tool for political mobilisation and the legitimation of FRELIMO's power. However, the use of Portuguese for reporting, publishing, and public speaking across a population with diverse linguistic backgrounds posed significant challenges for political legitimacy. Despite this, Samora relied on Portuguese to persuade his listeners, to reshape their perceptions, and to facilitate the implementation of FRELIMO's ideological programme. As a skilled public speaker, he understood the context and background of his audience, many of whom were familiar with local realities. He was clear about the outcomes he sought from promoting the "New Man" ideology. Those who opposed or resisted this political vision were later branded as "enemies of the people" and traitors to the revolution and to the creation of a new nation free from the exploitation of man by man.[56]

This argument is grounded in the context of the liberation struggle, which emphasised uniting the population under the concept of the "New Man" as a counterforce to the colonial system of exploitation and the so-called "enemies of the people." These ideas gained significant clarity and relevance as essential components of resisting internal and external threats while advancing Samora's political ideology. The concepts of the "New Man" and the "New Society" came to symbolise both individual and collective participation in the post-independence democratic process, envisioned as the foundation for building an independent state and a transformed society. However, within FRELIMO's political framework—particularly from the perspective of its leadership and Samora himself—these concepts primarily referred to the people's political participation within FRELIMO as the sole legitimate political party representing the will of the nation.[57]

For Samora, popular participation signified a form of *popular democracy* rooted in the principles of socialism, rather than the liberal democratic systems characteristic

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[56] Samora Machel, " 25 de Setembro de 1976", *Ministério de Informação*, (Setembro, 1976).
[57] Brito, "*O Poder Entre Utopia*", 39-40; Darch and Hedges, "*Não Temos a Possibilidade de Herdar Nada de Portugal*", 139-141; Jose Luís Cabaco, "O Homem Novo (breve itinerário de um projecto)," in *Samora, Homem do Povo*, ed. António Sopa (Maputo: Maguezo, 2001), 140-141; Carlos Domingos Quembo, "*Revolutionary Discourse and Policy Process: The complexities of Operation Prodution in Mozambique, 1962-1992*" (PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2020), 70.

of Western capitalist countries. This model emphasized collective involvement in political life through structures aligned with FRELIMO's revolutionary goals. The adoption and dissemination of these ideological concepts—particularly the notion of the "New Man"—were not limited to voluntary adherence. Instead, they were systematically imposed by FRELIMO cadres operating at the grassroots level, extending to all Mozambicans, including those who did not fully subscribe to or support FRELIMO's political vision.[58]

To implement the political ideology of the "New Man" and construct the "New Society" across the country—particularly in urban and rural areas—FRELIMO's leadership advanced a new phase of the liberation struggle through the slogan *"A luta continua"* (The struggle continues). This shift extended the struggle beyond colonialism to internal conflicts over leadership positions and control of socio-economic sectors, intensifying internal contradictions among Mozambicans after independence. To consolidate political power and maintain control, Samora introduced additional ideological instruments: *"people's power"* and *"popular surveillance."*

"People's power" referred to grassroots participation in local governance, including the election of community leaders, communal living in villages, and collective production in agricultural cooperatives. "Popular surveillance," on the other hand, was operationalised through the mandatory use of travel permits (*guias de marcha*), which all citizens were required to present to local authorities when traveling between villages, districts, or provinces—a measure implemented in the context of the civil war with RENAMO (1976–1992). These permits were issued by neighborhood secretaries (*secretários dos bairros*), who were appointed by political commissars and then publicly acclaimed in popular assemblies. This administrative and political structure reinforced the ideological framework of the "New Man" and the "New Society," serving as a tool

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[58] Brito, *"O Poder Entre Utopia"*, 39-40; Darch and Hedges, *"Não Temos a Possibilidade de Herdar Nada de Portugal"*, 139-141; Jose Luís Cabaco, "O Homem Novo (breve itinerário de um projecto)," in *Samora, Homem do Povo*, ed. António Sopa (Maputo: Maguezo, 2001), 140-141; Carlos Domingos Quembo, *"Revolutionary Discourse and Policy Process: The complexities of Operation Produ tion in Mozambique, 1962-1992"* (PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2020), 70.

for consolidating FRELIMO's vision of socialist transformation under Samora's leadership.[59]

The ideological programs of the "New Man" and the "New Society" heightened political tensions among many Mozambicans—particularly those who had not participated in the liberation struggle but aspired to contribute to the governance and development of the newly independent country. In response to growing dissent and the ongoing civil war, FRELIMO, under Samora's leadership, resumed its earlier campaign of political purification, first initiated during the armed struggle. This renewed phase targeted Mozambicans who opposed or did not conform to FRELIMO's ideological framework, which was now being used as a criterion for legitimacy and participation in the post-independence state.

To enforce this vision, Samora launched a programme in April 1983 known as Operation Production (*Operação Produção*). Its primary objective was to "re-educate" individuals regarded as unproductive or ideologically deviant by relocating them from urban centres to rural areas. According to Carlos Quembo, the official discourse surrounding the programme presented its aim as transforming "urban, unproductive and useless people" into "rural, productive and useful people", principally by turning them into peasant farmers capable of sustaining themselves through agricultural labour, rather than contributing to what the regime perceived as social disorder in the cities. For FRELIMO's leadership, the operation also served a broader revolutionary purpose: the creation of a "new" and "developed" urban society—a socialist city, free from the moral and social "vices" inherited from the colonial system.[60]

Beyond this objective, the programme also sought to re-educate and suppress all forms of political opposition, including former adversaries of FRELIMO during and after the liberation struggle. Many of these individuals were expelled, arrested, tried, and either sentenced to death or sent to re-education camps as traitors to the revolution. This was because the "New Man" ideology was regarded as the central political strategy for building the new Mozambican nation, one envisioned as being

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[59] Machava, "*The Morality of Revolution*, 23-25.
[60] Quembo, "Revolutionary Discourse and Policy Process", p. 14-17.

governed by social justice and founded on the principles of equality, without the exploitation of *man by man*, tribalism, racism, discrimination, or poverty.[61]

Among those labelled as "enemies of the people" in the political ideology espoused by Samora and FRELIMO were individuals who were racist, tribalist, or corrupt, as well as *assimilados* and mulattoes (people of mixed race) who maintained a colonial mentality of privilege. These groups were considered exploiters, traitors, and *obscurantists*—those who practised traditional religions—and were seen as obstacles to the nation's progress. Included in this category were also owners of private property, described as bourgeois or capitalist. In addition to these derogatory labels, the pejorative and catch-all term "Xiconhoca" was widely used to denounce the perceived social ills of lazy individuals, drunkards, or lived riotously; those who engaged in bribery, theft, nepotism, individualism, subservience, cronyism, or immorality, and those who caused family conflict, social decay, insecurity, and fear, or who demonstrated bureaucratic attitudes and retained a colonial mindset.[62] Therefore, all of those who had these principles were sent to the re-education camps that were created as a way to transform the new men and new women to be politically conscious, physically apt, and mentally healthy.[63]

Conclusion

The struggle to construct the "New Man" and the "New Society" lay at the heart of Samora Machel's political ideology and provided the guiding framework of his leadership. The notion of the "New Society" emerged during the armed liberation struggle, beginning in 1964, and gained greater prominence when Machel became head of the Department of Defence in 1966. His simultaneous assumption of the posts of head of Defence and president of FRELIMO in 1970 marked a turning point, as his political discourse increasingly centred on the creation of the "New Man" as the foundation for building the Mozambican nation. Following independence in 1975, and throughout his presidency until his death in 1986,

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[61] Brito, "*O Poder Entre Utopia*", 40-44; Munguambe, "*Solidarity and the Struggle for Zimbabwe*, 14-38; Quembo, "*Revolutionary Discourse and Policy Process*", 14-17;

[62] Ganhão, "*Samora Machel*", 19-29; Clinarete Victória Luís Munguambe, "*Solidarity and the Struggle for Zimbabwe: Zimbabwen African National Union (ZANU) in Mozambique (1975-1980)*" (Master Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2017), 9-10.

[63] Machava, "*The Morality of Revolution*, 23-25.

Samora placed this concept at the core of state-building efforts. Central to this project were policies of national unity, the eradication of racism, and the suppression of tribalism, which he regarded as indispensable for dismantling the structures of colonial exploitation and forging a cohesive postcolonial state.

Two key dimensions of analysis highlight the political ideology of the "New Man" and the "New Society" as developed by Samora. The first was the theoretical aspect: a political ideology of mobilisation aimed at uniting the people through military discipline and action during the liberation struggle, in line with FRELIMO's principles. The second involved the practical implementation of this ideology through military directives following independence.

Initially, the ideals of the "New Man" and the "New Society" were realised in the front-line battlefields and the liberated zones, where a strong relationship emerged between guerrilla fighters and the local population. Together, they engaged in agricultural production and trade, as well as education, healthcare, and the transport of war materials. These rural areas, devoid of colonial administrative structures, came to be known as liberated zones—territories under FRELIMO's control. In these zones, the population assumed ownership over the land and their lives, free from colonial rule, as a new system of governance led by FRELIMO was established.

The political consciousness raised by FRELIMO cadres during this period fostered a sense of security and liberation among the people—an experience that contrasted sharply with the reality that followed independence. Moreover, this ideology also involved the expulsion or execution of political opponents during the liberation struggle, a process that contributed to the emergence of COREMO in 1966. After independence, unresolved tensions culminated in civil war, driven by RENAMO's opposition to FRELIMO's postcolonial regime.

After independence, the political ideology of the "New Man" and the "New Society" was implemented through practical measures, but without sufficient time or deep political mobilisation to engage the broader Mozambican population in understanding its meaning. The project was applied in a largely abstract and coercive manner, targeting all those who opposed the ideology as "enemies of the people" and "traitors of the revolution." This approach ultimately undermined the broader

objectives of constructing a "New Man," a "New Society," and a truly "Free and Independent State."

Instead of realising the ideals of liberation, Mozambicans found themselves subject to military-style, dictatorial, and authoritarian orders dictated by political ideologues responsible for implementing the government's ideological programmes. These included key figures such as Marcelino dos Santos, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Sérgio Vieira, Jorge Rebelo, Aquino de Bragança, Mateus Muthemba, Armando Guebuza, Francisco Sumbane, and many others, supported collectively by the members of FRELIMO's Central Committee, under the leadership of Samora Machel.

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A Ideologia do 'Homem Novo' de Samora Machel na Formação da Nação Moçambicana

Resumo: Samora Machel tornou-se Presidente da Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) em 1970 e, em 1975, o primeiro Presidente da República Popular de Moçambique. Empreendeu uma luta determinada contra os chamados "inimigos do povo", bem como contra os alegados "infiltrados" e "traidores" da revolução. No centro da sua visão política estava a ideologia do "Homem Novo", concebida como fundamento da construção de uma nação moçambicana comprometida com a justiça social e a igualdade, livre da exploração, do tribalismo, do racismo, da discriminação e da pobreza. O presente artigo analisa o "Homem Novo" quer como conceito político-teórico (1970-1974), quer como ideologia governativa prática (1975-1986). Sustenta que Samora recorreu a métodos de comando militar, desenvolvidos durante a luta de libertação, para impor esta visão. A sociedade civil, contudo, percebia frequentemente esses métodos como uma forma de ditadura militar e de autoritarismo, que fragilizava o projecto mais vasto de criação de um "Homem Novo" e de uma nova sociedade no período pós-colonial. A análise assenta numa leitura profunda de discursos selecionados em que Samora abordou a ideia dos "inimigos do povo", comparando-os com os seus discursos deliberativos e judiciais antes e depois da assinatura do Acordo de Lusaka em 1974. O estudo inclui ainda intervenções proferidas entre a adopção oficial do marxismo-leninismo pela FRELIMO em 1977 e a morte de Machel em 1986. Estas fontes primárias são examinadas em articulação com os próprios escritos de Samora, publicados pelo Departamento de Trabalho Ideológico da FRELIMO entre 1976 e 1983, bem como com um corpo vasto de literatura secundária sobre a sua biografia política.

Palavras-chave: Samora, Frelimo, 'homem novo', autoritarismo.