

Country: Mozambique

Years: 1975 – 1985

Head of government: President Samora Moisés Machel

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government and affiliation as FRELIMO. DPI identifies FRELIMO as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing “Mozambique Liberation Front (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*—Frelimo)... At its third national congress in 1977, the front was designated a Marxist-Leninist party (directed by a Central Committee, a Political Bureau, and a Secretariat), but at the fourth party congress in 1983 economic philosophy began to shift toward the encouragement of free-market activity... Frelimo retreated even further from Marxist doctrine at the group’s fifth congress in 1989. The party opened its membership to many formerly excluded groups, such as private property owners, the business community, Christians, Muslims, and traditionalists. The congress also called for a negotiated settlement with Renamo, bureaucratic reform, and emphasis on family farming rather than state agriculture.” Manzano (2017) corroborates that Machel is left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Machel as Left. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Machel’s affiliation is FRELIMO, and identifies FRELIMO as leftist, stating it is “democratic socialist, formerly Marxist-Leninist Communist”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) as 6.0. Lentz (1994) identifies Machel’s ideology as leftist, writing “Machel served as the nation's first president. He attempted to establish Mozambique as a Socialist state.” Rulers.org (2020c) identifies Machel’s ideology as leftist, writing “Eduardo Mondlane, Frelimo's founder and leader, was assassinated in 1969, and Machel succeeded him as leader in May 1970 and led his country to independence in June 1975. Although an orthodox Marxist, once in office he proved himself to be a pragmatist.” The leftist Socialist International (2020) identifies the Frelimo Party as one of its members. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) identifies Frelimo’s ideology as leftist, writing “Samora Machel, a pragmatic military commander, became head of Frelimo in 1970... Frelimo subsequently restructured itself as a Marxist-Leninist party and nationalized land and the professions of law, medicine, and education.” Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) identifies Frelimo’s ideology as leftist, writing “The multiparty elections that finally took place in October 1994 were the culmination of years of effort to reach a peaceful end to the war between Frelimo and Renamo. Frelimo, once a self-described Marxist-Leninist vanguard party and still progressive if not clearly socialist, made several important

concessions to the peace process. Mozambique joined the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1984 and adopted their demands to privatize the economy under a structural-adjustment program.” Griffiths (2006) writes “Frelimo pursued a Marxist-Leninist ideology in 1977 but retreated from this philosophy at its 1989 party congress, adopting a more pragmatic, free-market orientation.” Nohlen et al. (1999) identify FRELIMO’s ideology as leftist, writing “In the years immediately after independence, FRELIMO established a single-party socialist system and declared itself as a Marxist–Leninist Party at its Third Congress in 1977... The Constitution of 1990 represented the abandonment of the socialist terrain, eliminating the leading role of the FRELIMO party in state and society and introducing multi-party politics and the direct election of President and Parliament.” Ortiz de Zárate (2005) identifies Machel’s ideology as leftist and FRELIMO’s ideology as leftist, writing “On June 25, 1962... Chissano participated... in the founding of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), a Marxist inspired movement... In the III Congress, from February 4 to 7, 1977, which marked the conversion of FRELIMO from a liberation movement into a Marxist-Leninist "vanguard" political party, structured in the centralized and vertical way of the communist referents of Europe... Chissano, who until the beginning of 1987 continued to head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, promised to follow Machel's project of building the socialist state but incorporating Western-type reforms... On July 30, 1989, at the request of Chissano, the Central Committee of FRELIMO, meeting in V Congress, approved the abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and assumed democratic socialism, and on August 15, 1990, in resolutions, gave a free way to multipartyism and a free market economy, although in practice the planned economy model had already been neglected in favor of a mixed system.” Waugh (2004) identifies Machel’s ideology as leftist, writing “the Marxist footsteps of other prominent African rebels such as Robert Mugabe and Mozambique’s Samora Machel”. In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-2.632) in 1977.

Years: 1986 – 2004

Head of government: President Joaquim Chissano

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government and affiliation as FRELIMO. DPI identifies FRELIMO as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing “Mozambique Liberation Front (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*—Frelimo)... At its third national congress in 1977, the front was designated a Marxist-Leninist party (directed by a Central Committee, a Political Bureau, and a Secretariat), but at the fourth party congress in 1983 economic philosophy began to shift toward the

encouragement of free-market activity... Frelimo retreated even further from Marxist doctrine at the group's fifth congress in 1989. The party opened its membership to many formerly excluded groups, such as private property owners, the business community, Christians, Muslims, and traditionalists. The congress also called for a negotiated settlement with Renamo, bureaucratic reform, and emphasis on family farming rather than state agriculture." Manzano (2017) corroborates that Chissano is left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Chissano as Left. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Chissano's affiliation is FRELIMO, and identifies FRELIMO as leftist, stating it is "democratic socialist, formerly Marxist-Leninist Communist". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) as 6.0. Lentz (1994) writes "Chissano succeeded Samora Machel as president of Mozambique on November 6, 1986. Chissano's government abandoned Marxism in favor of a free market economy in November of 1990." Rulers.org (2020a) identifies Chissano's ideology as leftist, writing "Chissano... played a key role in reconciling the hardline Marxists with the more moderate pragmatists in the internal struggle within Frelimo after Mondlane's death. He supported Pres. Samora Machel's flexible foreign policies, which enabled Frelimo to retain its good relations with China and develop closer ties with both the U.S.S.R. and Western nations." The leftist Socialist International (2020) identifies the Frelimo Party as one of its members. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) identifies Frelimo's ideology as leftist, writing "Samora Machel, a pragmatic military commander, became head of Frelimo in 1970... Frelimo subsequently restructured itself as a Marxist-Leninist party and nationalized land and the professions of law, medicine, and education." Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) identifies Frelimo's ideology as leftist, writing "The multiparty elections that finally took place in October 1994 were the culmination of years of effort to reach a peaceful end to the war between Frelimo and Renamo. Frelimo, once a self-described Marxist-Leninist vanguard party and still progressive if not clearly socialist, made several important concessions to the peace process. Mozambique joined the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1984 and adopted their demands to privatize the economy under a structural-adjustment program." Griffiths (2006) writes "Frelimo pursued a Marxist-Leninist ideology in 1977 but retreated from this philosophy at its 1989 party congress, adopting a more pragmatic, free-market orientation." Nohlen et al. (1999) identify FRELIMO's ideology as leftist, writing "In the years immediately after independence, FRELIMO established a single-party socialist system and declared itself as a Marxist-Leninist Party at its Third Congress in 1977... The Constitution of 1990 represented the abandonment of the socialist terrain, eliminating the leading role of the FRELIMO party in state and society and introducing multi-party politics and the direct election of President and

Parliament.” Ortiz de Zárate (2005) identifies Chissano’s ideology as leftist and FRELIMO’s ideology as leftist, writing “On June 25, 1962... Chissano participated... in the founding of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), a Marxist inspired movement... As responsible for the diplomacy of a country that embraced the one-party system and the state doctrine of scientific socialism, Chissano was a co-founder of Mozambique's insertion into the orbit of the USSR, a power with which a clientelist relationship of economic and military cooperation was established in the rigid framework of the Cold War... In the III Congress, from February 4 to 7, 1977, which marked the conversion of FRELIMO from a liberation movement into a Marxist-Leninist "vanguard" political party, structured in the centralized and vertical way of the communist referents of Europe... Chissano, who until the beginning of 1987 continued to head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, promised to follow Machel's project of building the socialist state but incorporating Western-type reforms... On July 30, 1989, at the request of Chissano, the Central Committee of FRELIMO, meeting in V Congress, approved the abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and assumed democratic socialism, and on August 15, 1990, in resolutions, gave a free way to multipartyism and a free market economy, although in practice the planned economy model had already been neglected in favor of a mixed system.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-2.769) in 1986, as “Center-left” (-1.088) in 1994, and as “Center-left” (-0.837) in 1999 and 2004.

Years: 2005 – 2014

Head of government: President Armando Guebuza

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies head of government and affiliation as FRELIMO. DPI identifies FRELIMO as left. Political Handbook of the World (2015) elaborates, writing “Mozambique Liberation Front (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*—Frelimo)... At its third national congress in 1977, the front was designated a Marxist-Leninist party (directed by a Central Committee, a Political Bureau, and a Secretariat), but at the fourth party congress in 1983 economic philosophy began to shift toward the encouragement of free-market activity... Frelimo retreated even further from Marxist doctrine at the group’s fifth congress in 1989. The party opened its membership to many formerly excluded groups, such as private property owners, the business community, Christians, Muslims, and traditionalists. The congress also called for a negotiated settlement with Renamo, bureaucratic reform, and emphasis on family farming rather than state agriculture.” Manzano (2017) corroborates that Guebuza is left. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies Guebuza as

Left. World Statesmen (2020) corroborates that Guebuza's affiliation is FRELIMO, and identifies FRELIMO as leftist, stating it is "democratic socialist, formerly Marxist-Leninist Communist". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) as 6.0. Rulers.org (2020b) writes "Guebeza... In the late 1980s he was one of the first Mozambican leaders to advocate the switch to a free-market system. He was elected head of the Frelimo parliamentary group in late 1994. In the elections held at Frelimo's seventh congress in 1997, his popularity was exceeded only by Pres. Joaquim Chissano. He was elected secretary-general of Frelimo on June 18, 2002, and was the successful candidate of the party in the 2004 and 2009 presidential elections." The leftist Socialist International (2020) identifies the Frelimo Party as one of its members. Encyclopedia Britannica (2019) identifies Frelimo's ideology as leftist, writing "Samora Machel, a pragmatic military commander, became head of Frelimo in 1970... Frelimo subsequently restructured itself as a Marxist-Leninist party and nationalized land and the professions of law, medicine, and education." Encyclopedia Britannica (2020) identifies Frelimo's ideology as leftist, writing "The multiparty elections that finally took place in October 1994 were the culmination of years of effort to reach a peaceful end to the war between Frelimo and Renamo. Frelimo, once a self-described Marxist-Leninist vanguard party and still progressive if not clearly socialist, made several important concessions to the peace process. Mozambique joined the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1984 and adopted their demands to privatize the economy under a structural-adjustment program." Griffiths (2006) writes "Frelimo pursued a Marxist-Leninist ideology in 1977 but retreated from this philosophy at its 1989 party congress, adopting a more pragmatic, free-market orientation." Nohlen et al. (1999) identify FRELIMO's ideology as leftist, writing "In the years immediately after independence, FRELIMO established a single-party socialist system and declared itself as a Marxist-Leninist Party at its Third Congress in 1977... The Constitution of 1990 represented the abandonment of the socialist terrain, eliminating the leading role of the FRELIMO party in state and society and introducing multi-party politics and the direct election of President and Parliament." Ortiz de Zárate (2005) identifies FRELIMO's ideology as leftist, writing "On June 25, 1962... Chissano participated... in the founding of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), a Marxist inspired movement... In the III Congress, from February 4 to 7, 1977, which marked the conversion of FRELIMO from a liberation movement into a Marxist-Leninist "vanguard" political party, structured in the centralized and vertical way of the communist referents of Europe... Chissano, who until the beginning of 1987 continued to head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, promised to follow Machel's project of building the socialist state but incorporating Western-

type reforms... On July 30, 1989, at the request of Chissano, the Central Committee of FRELIMO, meeting in V Congress, approved the abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and assumed democratic socialism, and on August 15, 1990, in resolutions, gave a free way to multipartyism and a free market economy, although in practice the planned economy model had already been neglected in favor of a mixed system.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.815) in 2009 and as “Center-left” (-0.839) in 2014.

Years: 2015 – 2019

Head of government: President Filipe Jacinto Nyusi

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. *Political Handbook of the World* (2018: 997) identifies affiliation as FRELIMO. DPI identifies ideology of FRELIMO as left. *Political Handbook of the World* (2015) elaborates, writing “Mozambique Liberation Front (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*—Frelimo)... At its third national congress in 1977, the front was designated a Marxist-Leninist party (directed by a Central Committee, a Political Bureau, and a Secretariat), but at the fourth party congress in 1983 economic philosophy began to shift toward the encouragement of free-market activity... Frelimo retreated even further from Marxist doctrine at the group’s fifth congress in 1989. The party opened its membership to many formerly excluded groups, such as private property owners, the business community, Christians, Muslims, and traditionalists. The congress also called for a negotiated settlement with Renamo, bureaucratic reform, and emphasis on family farming rather than state agriculture.” *Perspective Monde* (2020) identifies Nyusi as Left. *World Statesmen* (2020) corroborates that Nyusi’s affiliation is FRELIMO, and identifies FRELIMO as leftist, stating it is “democratic socialist, formerly Marxist-Leninist Communist”. In the *Global Party Survey 2019*, 3 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) as 6.0. The *leftist Socialist International* (2020) identifies the Frelimo Party as one of its members. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2019) identifies Frelimo’s ideology as leftist, writing “Samora Machel, a pragmatic military commander, became head of Frelimo in 1970... Frelimo subsequently restructured itself as a Marxist-Leninist party and nationalized land and the professions of law, medicine, and education.” *Encyclopedia Britannica* (2020) identifies Frelimo’s ideology as leftist, writing “The multiparty elections that finally took place in October 1994 were the culmination of years of effort to reach a peaceful end to the war between Frelimo and Renamo. Frelimo, once a self-described Marxist-Leninist vanguard party and still progressive if not clearly socialist, made several important concessions to the

peace process. Mozambique joined the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1984 and adopted their demands to privatize the economy under a structural-adjustment program.” Griffiths (2006) writes “Frelimo pursued a Marxist-Leninist ideology in 1977 but retreated from this philosophy at its 1989 party congress, adopting a more pragmatic, free-market orientation.” Nohlen et al. (1999) identify FRELIMO’s ideology as leftist, writing “In the years immediately after independence, FRELIMO established a single-party socialist system and declared itself as a Marxist–Leninist Party at its Third Congress in 1977... The Constitution of 1990 represented the abandonment of the socialist terrain, eliminating the leading role of the FRELIMO party in state and society and introducing multi-party politics and the direct election of President and Parliament.” Ortiz de Zárate (2005) identifies FRELIMO’s ideology as leftist, writing “On June 25, 1962... Chissano participated... in the founding of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), a Marxist inspired movement... In the III Congress, from February 4 to 7, 1977, which marked the conversion of FRELIMO from a liberation movement into a Marxist-Leninist "vanguard" political party, structured in the centralized and vertical way of the communist referents of Europe... Chissano, who until the beginning of 1987 continued to head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, promised to follow Machel's project of building the socialist state but incorporating Western-type reforms... On July 30, 1989, at the request of Chissano, the Central Committee of FRELIMO, meeting in V Congress, approved the abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and assumed democratic socialism, and on August 15, 1990, in resolutions, gave a free way to multipartyism and a free market economy, although in practice the planned economy model had already been neglected in favor of a mixed system.” In V-Party (2020), 6 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Left” (-0.839) in 2014 and as “Center-left” (-0.607) in 2019.

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