

**NETWORKS AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS: SOCIOECONOMIC  
TRANSFORMATIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE IN THE CONTEXT OF  
MULTILATERAL RELATIONS**

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MOÇAMBIQUE NO CONTEXTO DAS RELAÇÕES MULTILATERAIS**

**REDES Y DINÁMICAS SOCIALES: TRANSFORMACIONES SOCIOECONÓMICAS  
EN MOZAMBIQUE EN EL CONTEXTO DE RELACIONES DE LAS  
MULTILATERALES**



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**ABSTRACT:** This article analyzes Mozambique's transition to a market economy and the adoption of neoliberal policies under the influence of the Bretton Woods institutions over the last two decades. It explores the challenges faced, such as conflicts, natural disasters, and financial crises, as well as the economic and social reforms implemented to combat poverty and promote socio-political stability. It highlights the importance of diplomacy and foreign policy in the country's reconstruction and development, addressing Mozambique's historical and contemporary relations with the international community, including strategic partnerships with China, Brazil, and India. Using a qualitative approach based on a literature review, the study analyzes retrospectives, achievements, challenges, and perspectives of Mozambican diplomacy. The results suggest that multilateral diplomacy has been essential for conflict resolution, attracting investment, and promoting socio-economic development. Partnerships with China, Brazil, and India have driven growth, although this process has advantages and disadvantages.

**KEYWORDS:** Socioeconomic Development. Mozambique. International Cooperation. Foreign Policy.

**RESUMO:** Este artigo analisa a transição de Moçambique para uma economia de mercado e a adoção de políticas neoliberais sob influência das instituições de Bretton Woods nas últimas duas décadas. Explora os desafios enfrentados, como conflitos, desastres naturais e crises financeiras, e as reformas econômicas e sociais implementadas para combater a pobreza e promover a estabilidade sociopolítica. Destaca a importância da diplomacia e da política externa na reconstrução e desenvolvimento do país, abordando as relações históricas e contemporâneas com a comunidade internacional, incluindo parcerias estratégicas com China, Brasil e Índia. Utilizando uma abordagem qualitativa baseada em revisão bibliográfica, o estudo analisa retrospectivas, realizações, desafios e perspectivas da diplomacia moçambicana. Os resultados sugerem que a diplomacia multilateral tem sido essencial para resolução de conflitos, atração de investimentos e promoção do desenvolvimento socioeconômico. As parcerias com China, Brasil e Índia impulsionaram o crescimento do país, embora este processo apresente vantagens e desvantagens.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Desenvolvimento Socioeconômico. Moçambique. Cooperação Internacional. Política Externa.

**RESUMEN:** Este artículo analiza la transición de Mozambique hacia una economía de mercado y la adopción de políticas neoliberales bajo la influencia de las instituciones de Bretton Woods en las últimas dos décadas. Explora los desafíos enfrentados, como conflictos, desastres naturales y crisis financieras, y las reformas económicas y sociales implementadas para combatir la pobreza y promover la estabilidad sociopolítica. Destaca la importancia de la diplomacia y la política exterior en la reconstrucción y desarrollo del país, abordando las relaciones históricas y contemporáneas con la comunidad internacional, incluyendo alianzas estratégicas con China, Brasil e India. Utilizando un enfoque cualitativo basado en revisión bibliográfica, el estudio analiza retrospectivas, logros, desafíos y perspectivas de la diplomacia mozambiqueña. Los resultados sugieren que la diplomacia multilateral ha sido esencial para la resolución de conflictos, atracción de inversiones y promoción del desarrollo socioeconómico. Las alianzas con China, Brasil e India impulsaron el crecimiento del país, aunque este proceso presenta ventajas y desventajas.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Desarrollo Socioeconómico. Mozambique. Cooperación Internacional. Política Exterior.

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## Introduction

Over the past twenty years, Mozambique has experienced rapid socioeconomic evolution. This development is rooted in the signing of the Rome Accords in 1992<sup>3</sup>, which marked the end of the civil war and the beginning of a trajectory of positive socioeconomic growth. The transition to a multi-party democracy was consolidated with the holding of the first general elections in 1994, following the approval of the 1990 Constitution, marking the transition from a single-party state to a democratic structure. It is important to note that in 1987, reforms promoted by Bretton Woods institutions, namely the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), propelled the country to adopt a market economy policy, replacing the previous model of centralized economy with strong state intervention. Despite Mozambique still being among the poorest countries and dependent on external aid, its economic growth has been remarkable, encompassing political, economic, social, and cultural domains, and meeting the international community's expectations.

Political, economic, and social challenges, both domestically, regionally, and globally, including aggression from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as the Mozambican National Resistance Movement (RENAMO), along with natural disasters and the 1980s financial crisis resulting from escalating oil prices, encouraged the transition to a market economy. This change paved the way for the implementation of macroeconomic policies advocated by Bretton Woods institutions.

Neoliberal policies, adopted from 1987 through the Economic Rehabilitation Program (PRE) and subsequently the Economic and Social Rehabilitation Program (PRES), as well as the Absolute Poverty Reduction Relief Programs (PARPA I and II), focused on combating poverty through socio-political stability, were fundamental to the socioeconomic transformations observed. Mozambique's diplomacy reached a historic milestone after June 25, 1975, with the proclamation of independence, when the country became a sovereign state. However, from the perspective of the pluralist approach to international relations, which recognizes the importance of multiple actors beyond states, national liberation movements such as the *União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique* (UDENAMO), the *Mozambique African National Union* (MANU) and the *União Nacional Africana de Moçambique Independente*

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<sup>3</sup> Rome Agreement or Peace Agreement - As part of the negotiating process in Rome aimed at establishing lasting and solid peace in Mozambique, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mozambique, and Afonso Macacheo Marceta Dhlakama, President of RENAMO, signed on October 4, 1992, in Rome, seven documents that constituted the General Peace Agreement with the aim of ending the 16-year Civil War (Official Gazette of Mozambique, published on October 14, 1994).

(UNAMI), played a crucial role in Mozambican diplomacy, interacting with states and international organizations in pursuit of political, military, diplomatic, and logistical support for the struggle for national independence.

This article examines the role of foreign policy and diplomacy in the development of Mozambique, addressing historical retrospectives, achievements, challenges, and prospects. The debate revolves around foreign policy's impact on internal reconciliation, political stability, and economic growth after the first multiparty elections in 1994, highlighting the influence of the IMF and WB on the country's market-oriented approach. Mozambique's foreign policy, previously influenced by relations with Rhodesia and South Africa during the Cold War, evolved significantly after the Incomati Agreement of 1984 and the end of apartheid<sup>4</sup> in 1993. Mozambique's integration into the Frontline States<sup>5</sup> movement and the African Union represents essential stages in the development of its diplomatic relations, raising questions about the contribution of Mozambican diplomacy to the country's socioeconomic development from the Rome Accords to the present day.

In crafting this text, we draw upon not only international references that have analyzed this theme but also key national authors and documents and official literature produced by the Republic of Mozambique. The methodology adopted in this article favors a qualitative approach, utilizing methods of documentary research and content analysis. Data collection is primarily based on a bibliographic review of a wide range of specialized and non-specialized documents on the subject, including books, scientific articles, official reports, press releases, and other relevant materials (Duque; Calheiros, 2017, p. 107).

This qualitative approach allows for a thorough and contextualized understanding of Mozambique's external relations, considering the history of its bilateral relations with three key states, China, Brazil, and India. The analysis of these relations illustrates different pivotal moments that have shaped each of these countries' foreign policy in Mozambique over time.

By triangulating various documentary sources (Duque; Calheiros, 2017, p. 110), we seek to obtain a comprehensive and multidimensional perspective on the dynamics and factors that have influenced the ties between Mozambique and these strategic partners. This

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<sup>4</sup> Apartheid Regime - It was a racial policy implemented in South Africa, formalized in 1948 with the rise to power of the National Party (NP). Under this regime, the white minority, the only group with voting rights, held all political and economic power in the country, while the vast black majority was obligated to obey segregationist legislation strictly.

<sup>5</sup> Frontline States - The Frontline was the first formally recognized form of regional coordination and integration of Southern African countries, aimed at mobilizing and cooperating efforts to strengthen National Liberation Movements fighting against colonial oppression in the region.

documentary analysis is complemented by a critical review of existing academic literature, allowing us to situate the findings within the broader theoretical and empirical framework of studies on foreign policy and international relations.

## Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

### Conceptual Discussion

The concept of Foreign Policy refers to the activity that a State carries out beyond its political borders, encompassing relations with other States or groups of States with the aim of achieving specific outcomes. According to Rosati (2006), Foreign Policy engages in developing actions with international entities to fulfill its purposes. According to Gomes (2006), the objectives of Foreign Policy are enduring and genuine national goals, adaptable to different historical moments, as opposed to episodic or circumstantial ends. Brownlie (1997) adds that there are universal objectives, such as the survival of the species and the establishment of an organized international society, which include the maintenance of peace, the defense of International Law, the establishment of an international and regional order, global environmental protection, and the fight against hunger and underdevelopment.

However, the implementation of these objectives faces challenges due to the distinct characteristics of States (Vizentini, 2002), which formulate and execute their foreign policies based on their internal realities, affecting their ability to influence and form alliances on the international stage. Foreign policy, therefore, has a range of instruments that can promote balance and power influence among international actors.

Greenspan (2008) highlights that, in the international context, States primarily seek Security and Development, employing a variety of external political instruments that take into account geopolitical and geostrategic conflicts, altering the dynamics of the international system and revealing a condition of international anarchy. Magalhães (2005) distinguishes foreign policy instruments as either peaceful or violent. Peaceful instruments include multilateral and unilateral negotiations, propaganda, espionage, and economic and political intervention. Meanwhile, violent instruments encompass deterrence (military, economic, political), threats, economic warfare, military pressure, and actual warfare.

Thus, the choice between soft power and hard power as instruments of a State's foreign policy in its interaction with other international actors depends not only on political will but



also on domestic factors that can reinforce or counterbalance its positioning in international relations and foreign policy.

## **General Framework of Multilateral Diplomacy**

Multilateral diplomacy was instituted after the First World War with the establishment of the League of Nations, aiming to eradicate conflicts between states in Europe and beyond, promoting peace, stability, and international security. Contrary to the aforementioned, multilateral diplomacy historically emerged with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, not in 1948, marking the end of religious conflicts in Europe, specifically the Thirty Years' War. This agreement was an initial milestone in the development of multilateral diplomacy, which evolved significantly with the creation of various international organizations aimed at fostering the growth of member states.

The current landscape is characterized by conflicts and disagreements among nations, states, and international and regional organizations, which are compelled to adopt joint strategies and mechanisms for the resolution of these challenges. Diplomacy emerges as an essential mechanism for conflict resolution, promoting tolerance, pacification, reconciliation, and consensus among the involved parties, culminating in agreements. Essential to foreign policy, diplomacy plays a crucial role in international relations and states' development. It manifests itself in various domains, including the political, economic, technical-scientific, and socio-cultural, reflecting the policies adopted by states in defense of their interests.

This review seeks to correct historical inaccuracies, clarify the role and evolution of multilateral diplomacy, and highlight its continued importance in international relations and the resolution of global conflicts.

## **Mozambique's Foreign Policy in Historical Context**

According to Covane (1988), the attainment of independence in 1975 marked a crucial period in the definition of Mozambique's foreign policy, privileging the establishment of diplomatic relations with countries that aligned with the Mozambican state in pursuit of its fundamental objectives. In this scenario, FRELIMO committed to establishing diplomatic ties, since the proclamation of independence, with African, socialist, Asian, and European nations that consistently supported Mozambique's efforts in its struggle for national liberation.

From the perspective of foreign policy, Mozambique aligned itself with non-aligned countries and concluded friendship and cooperation agreements with various states, with a particular focus on socialist countries. The country became a member of the UN and the OAU, playing a decisive role in bolstering progressive forces in addressing international issues, standing out for its anti-imperialist character and its commitment to the total liberation of Africa.

The analysis of the principles enshrined in the Constitution reveals that foreign policy was meticulously formulated at the III Congress of FRELIMO, establishing as its main guidelines the unity of African peoples and states, the natural alliance with socialist countries, unconditional support for liberation struggles, opposition to colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism, and a commitment to the promotion of peace and general and universal disarmament.

According to Abrahamsson and Nilsson (1998), Mozambique faced two primary challenges: economic development and political independence. Colonial oppression, seen as a corollary of the Western capitalist economic system, and racism, personified by the regime of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia and the apartheid system in South Africa, contributed to instability in Mozambique and the Southern African region, justifying Mozambique's anti-imperialist and anti-racist foreign policy orientation.

By the late 1970s, discussions aimed at reformulating domestic policy arose, gaining particular attention in the early 1980s. The intensification of armed conflict, the ineffectiveness of national policies such as economic centralization and state control by the party, and the external crisis characterized by the decline of the Soviet Union, exposed political weaknesses and internal alliances, pressuring national decision-makers to seek political solutions to the economic crisis. Adherence to Bretton Woods institutions emerged as a crucial solution.

In this context, in 1983, Mozambique began to approach Western countries, in addition to efforts to join the IMF and the World Bank, during a worsening internal economic crisis and inability to regularize debt service. This approach and adherence to Western financial institutions implied acceptance of various conditions imposed by donors, such as market liberalization, promotion of individual freedoms, stabilization of relations with South Africa, and reduction of Soviet influence.

These events constitute the major milestones that led to the beginning of a shift in national foreign policy, which clearly occurred with the adoption of the 1990 Constitution, changes reflected in the Constitution of the Republic of 1990, which enshrines multi-partyism

and a market economy, with an apparent suppression of Socialist Countries from Mozambique's list of natural allies (Inacio, 2007). Regarding the events, Veloso (2006) argued that by essentially aligning ourselves with the socialist camp to solve our internal problems, relegating and antagonizing the US and its closest allies, we were momentarily losing sight of our national interest:

*According to the 1990 Constitution, in terms of its Foreign Policy, Mozambique is a non-aligned country, establishing friendship and cooperation relations with other States based on the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and reciprocity of benefits, observes and applies the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (Inacio, 2007, online, our translation).*

As stated by Mosca (2005), in the 1990s, Mozambique's national policy needed a new definition that did not focus exclusively on the fight against colonialism and imperialism. This need arose due to the reconfiguration of relations at the regional and continental levels, marked by the disintegration of apartheid and the racist regime of Rhodesia. Moreover, most nations had already achieved independence, demanding a reorientation of national policy.

In the early 1990s, Mozambique was facing a civil war, which culminated in the Rome Peace Agreement in 1992. The country was experiencing a phase of economic fragility, characterized by high external debt and a crisis of foreign investment. In this context, the national priority objective defined by policymakers focused on combating hunger and misery, aiming to overcome underdevelopment.

To achieve these objectives, Mozambique's Foreign Policy has been oriented towards consolidating relations within the Southern African Development Community (SADC), seeking regional integration with member states and increasing engagement with Western countries.

In pursuit of its national interests, Mozambique has adopted a Foreign Policy strategy based on expanding friendships and maintaining and strengthening bilateral and multilateral cooperation ties with various states and international organizations, regionally, continentally, and globally. Examples of this strategy include the CPLP (Community of Portuguese Language Countries), the Commonwealth, and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, among others, aiming to secure support and synergies for the realization of its national objectives.

Within this context of establishing friendly and cooperative relations, Mozambique continues to value mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and reciprocity of benefits. Furthermore, it emphasizes the



observance and application of the principles established in the United Nations Charter and the African Union Charter.

Recently, there has been an intensification of relations between Mozambique and the People's Republic of China. Although these have not yet represented a significant change in the relationship between Mozambique and the West, China's growing focus on Africa, particularly Mozambique, may redefine Mozambican cooperation priorities over a ten-year horizon.

SADC represents the main focus of Mozambique's Foreign Policy regarding regional integration efforts. This is evidenced by the signing of trade protocols aimed at creating a common market and the adoption of a single currency (monetary union). However, this political initiative has not been accompanied by adequate government financial support for economic agents, including small and medium-sized enterprises, transport companies, and hotel units, raising doubts about the effectiveness of this process for the national economy.

### **Diplomatic Relations between Mozambique and China, Their Implications for the Country's Development**

As mentioned by Rosinha (2009), the first encounters between Mozambique and the People's Republic of China date back to the 1960s, when liberation movements in Africa sought to acquire arms and training from their socialist allies. During this period, relations between the two countries began to tighten, with the highlight being Samora Machel's visit to Beijing in August 1971, then President of FRELIMO. Following Mozambique's independence on June 25, 1975, China was one of the first countries to establish bilateral diplomatic relations with the new People's Republic of Mozambique, inaugurating its embassy in Maputo. Since then, regular diplomatic contacts have been maintained between the two countries, marked by high-level visits (Correia, 2010).

In the early years after establishing bilateral relations, China positioned itself primarily as a provider of aid through grants and interest-free loans, especially directed towards infrastructure projects and technical assistance. This cooperation manifested in the areas of health, agriculture, and the textile industry, including the regular dispatch of Chinese medical teams, agricultural technical assistance, support in implementing agricultural and community projects, construction of irrigation systems, hydraulic works, micro-dams, as well as in the rehabilitation and transfer of technology to the light industry.

The visit of Chinese President Hu Jintao to Mozambique in February 2007, marked as the first by a Chinese head of state to the country, boosted bilateral relations, raising the

Mozambican government's expectations regarding the continuity of Chinese support and financing for infrastructure development. During this meeting, Hu Jintao offered a package of aid to Mozambique and concluded several agreements on economic and technical cooperation, reinforcing the guidelines of Chinese policy for Africa announced in Beijing in 2006 (Carriço, 2008).

Considering the country's wealth of natural resources, Beijing has intensified and expanded its ties with Mozambique across various sectors of mutual interest to the Chinese economy.

### **Principles and Objectives of Bilateral Cooperation between Mozambique and China**

According to Chichava (2007), in February 2007, during the visit of Chinese President Hu Jintao to Mozambique, a joint statement was released in which both parties reaffirmed their desire to strengthen cooperation, focusing on the consolidation and advancement of bilateral relations, sustained on four main pillars:

a) Diplomatic: There was a consensus to intensify high-level contacts and reciprocal visits between governments, parliaments, and political parties, highlighting the interaction between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO);

b) Political: Mutual support was established on sovereignty and territorial integrity issues. China acknowledged Mozambique's support for the peaceful reunification of the country, while Mozambique reiterated its commitment to the "One China" policy and its position against Taiwan's participation in international organizations and blocs of sovereign states. Mozambique also appreciated China's support for its national independence and economic development goals. Both countries agreed to continue the commitments of the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in 2006, aiming to strengthen friendly cooperation on international and regional issues of common interest;

c) Economic and Trade Cooperation: At the Beijing Summit of 2006, China had already prioritized cooperation with Africa in areas such as agriculture, natural resources, infrastructure, tourism, technology, health, and human resource development. Bilaterally, the parties agreed to deepen cooperation for mutual benefit and expand interaction in cultural and social domains, recognizing the high complementarity of the Chinese and Mozambican

economies and the significant potential for economic and trade cooperation growth. The establishment of partnerships between Chinese and Mozambican companies was also encouraged, particularly in agriculture and infrastructure development, including technical assistance and the establishment of research centers to enhance agricultural production techniques and train agronomists;

d) Financial Support and Development Aid: The Chinese government pledged to support Mozambique through debt cancellation, increased aid without political conditions, and loans for infrastructure construction. This bilateral cooperation is based on reciprocity and mutual benefits, involving the exchange of Mozambique's natural resources, such as timber, agricultural products, minerals, and fisheries resources, for financing and infrastructure construction by China. The agreement stipulates that project implementation be carried out by Chinese companies, with the possibility of local partnerships. For China, investments in construction, forestry, fisheries, and agriculture sectors represent immediate opportunities, while mineral resources are seen as potential medium-term investments, considering that mining exploration in Mozambique is still in the prospecting phase. Although China entered the investment market in Mozambique late, many concessions for resources such as coal, natural gas, and minerals had already been awarded to other investors<sup>6</sup>.

For Mozambique, China has become a crucial partner in obtaining aid, both in the form of grants and concessional loans, significantly impacting the development of the country's deficient infrastructure. This partnership allows the Mozambican government to diversify its dependency relations with traditional donors and partners.

### **Advantages and Disadvantages of Mozambique in the Partnership with China**

China and India's significant demand for natural resources, energy sources, and food has impacted the African continent. In exchange, in an expanding market, Africa receives investments and assistance (Vizentini, 2002). In recent decades, despite focusing on its development, China has not ceased to assist other Developing Countries. Through the development of assistance projects, debt reduction, technological cooperation, and human resource training, China significantly contributes to beneficiary countries' economic and social

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<sup>6</sup> In this regard, reference can be made to the aforementioned note dated February 7, 2007, entitled: "Country Increasingly attractive to Chinese companies." Available at: [http://macua.blogs.com/moambique\\_para\\_todos/macau/index.html](http://macua.blogs.com/moambique_para_todos/macau/index.html). Accessed in: 10 Jan. 2024.

development ([www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz](http://www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz), accessed in 2016). Until now, China has granted Mozambique more than 70 loans, completed over 20 construction projects, and 18 technological cooperation projects, and provided more than 30 batches of various types of materials ([www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz](http://www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz), accessed in 2016).

The buildings of the Ministries of Justice and the Attorney General, as well as the Zimpeto National Stadium and the Maputo International Airport, erected with Chinese financing, are currently architectural landmarks in the Mozambican capital. These infrastructures not only optimized the working conditions of the Mozambican government but also symbolized the bonds of friendship between the two peoples. Additionally, the Chinese government constructed and donated to Mozambique the headquarters buildings of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, the Assembly of the Republic, and the nation's only major auditorium, the "Joaquim Chissano" Conference Center.

According to Carriço (2008), the constraint arising from cooperation with China primarily manifests in Chinese investment in the management and exploitation of natural resources, due to Mozambique's inability to timely settle the loans contracted with Beijing, whose compensation clauses provide the possibility for the country to amortize the debt through raw materials, natural resources, or concessions for their exploitation<sup>7</sup>. Another aspect is related to the surplus of labor in China, leading Beijing to send workers for the construction of infrastructure in Africa in an attempt to mitigate social tensions generated by increasing unemployment, thereby contributing to the devaluation of local Mozambican human resources. Nevertheless, despite the favorable environment in cooperation between the aforementioned countries, some analysts remain skeptical about the real intentions of the Asian giant in Mozambique, considering the comparative advantages that may arise from the established partnerships.

This skepticism among analysts originates, according to Castel-Branco (2010), from the evidence that Sino-Mozambican cooperation is influenced and determined by the complex framework of relations, pressures, tensions, and competition involving various African countries, emerging economies (notably China, Brazil, and India), and other global economies. This means that understanding Chinese initiatives requires framing them within this complex equation of interrelated relations, tensions, pressures, and multiple competitions that mutually affect each other.

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<sup>7</sup> Available at: <https://macua.blogs.com/>. Accessed in: 10 Jan. 2024.

According to a group of Mozambican economists (Castel-Branco, 2010), the country has been portrayed as a target for significant Chinese expansion. For them, if the news from international and national press were entirely true, Mozambique would currently be receiving over 1 billion US dollars annually in Chinese government credits and private investment. The problem lies in the extreme scarcity, contradiction, and exaggeration, in one way or another, of information about relations with China. The universe of Sino-Mozambican relations is sometimes almost impenetrable, resembling a secret unit.

From a financial perspective, Chinese financing appears quite advantageous, with the yuan devalued and interest rates very low. However, it is also essential to analyze the counterparties of these financings. China is a large economy that needs to consume vast resources to maintain dynamism and economic growth. This voracity for African resources has left negative marks on the continent, implying a rapid depletion of resources without the corresponding financial return (Amaral, 2010).

### **Diplomatic Relations between Mozambique and Brazil and Their Implications on the Country's Development**

According to Oliveira (2005), cooperation between Brazil and Mozambique is defined as a strategic axis in Mozambican foreign policy, driven by factors of historical and cultural identity that promote exchange between populations and closer ties between governments. Since Mozambique's independence, relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation with Brazil have been established, formalized with the inauguration of diplomatic ties on November 25, 1975.

It is noteworthy that in 1981, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joaquim Chissano, made the first official visit to Brazil, marking the beginning of a series of bilateral agreements signed on September 15 of the same year. The formalization of these agreements was somewhat delayed by various internal factors in Mozambique, including dissatisfaction with Brazil's neutrality during the struggle for independence, the adoption of a socialist development model, post-independence economic challenges, and the instability generated by the RENAMO movement, supported by the Republic of South Africa, which propelled the country into a wartime economy.

The relationship between Mozambique and Brazil gained new momentum in 2003 with the election of President Lula da Silva, who prioritized the African continent in Brazilian foreign policy, marking a new era in diplomatic relations. President Lula da Silva's visits in



November 2003, October, and November 2008 resulted in the signing of several cooperation protocols.

Between 2003 and 2008, trade significantly increased, particularly in mining and oil exploration, sectors in which Brazilian companies such as Petrobras and Vale play fundamental roles in various African countries, including Mozambique, Angola, Nigeria, and Tanzania. Large-scale projects, such as the Moatize mine and the coal export terminal in Nacala, reflect Brazil's commitment to the region's economic development.

As highlighted by Oliveira (2005), the Brazilian president's visit in 2003 culminated in the signing of important cooperation agreements in the areas of agricultural research and health. In 2007, an additional agreement focused on strengthening food and nutrition policies was signed, highlighting the diversity and depth of bilateral cooperation.

### **The Impact of Brazil-Mozambique Cooperation on Socioeconomic Development**

As highlighted by Dúran and Chichava (2013), the relations between Brazil and Mozambique are currently at their peak. Following an initial period of mutual unfamiliarity subsequent to Mozambique's independence, a strategic partnership was established in the 21st century. This phase is marked by robust commercial growth and the presence of significant Brazilian economic conglomerates in Mozambique. One of the most emblematic examples of this cooperation is the concession granted to *Vale do Rio Doce* for the exploration of the Moatize coal mine and the involvement of renowned construction companies such as Odebrecht or Camargo Corrêa. Governmental efforts have primarily fostered this strengthening of ties.

Critical cooperation programs, such as the installation of the Fiocruz factory for the production of antiretrovirals and the Pro-Savana initiative aimed at enhancing agricultural development in the Nacala Corridor, not only demonstrate increasing activism but also underscore the strategic importance of Mozambique to Brazil in the 21st-century international scenario. The Brazil-Mozambique dynamic is part of a broader context of transformation in international relations, characterized by the rise of new political and economic power centers in various regions, contributing to a more plural international arena. In this panorama, both Brazil, perceived as an emerging power due to its rapid economic development and global political ambitions, and Africa, which is experiencing rapid transformation reflected in substantial economic growth, arousing a sense of Afro-optimism, assume prominent roles.

In embracing this movement, Mozambique has overcome a history marked by a long period of Portuguese colonization, a prolonged civil war, the failure of the socialist model, and the structural transformations driven by Bretton Woods institutions. With one of the highest global growth rates, propelled by the recent discovery and exploitation of natural resources, notably gas and coal, the country emerges as one of the most attractive and promising destinations in Southern Africa (Castel-Branco, 2013).

### **The Paradigms of Brazilian Foreign Policy and the Technical Cooperation Process**

According to the Mozambique Government Portal (2010), South-South cooperation and technical cooperation are instruments of Brazilian foreign policy. Brazil's emergence as a supplier in the international development context is an integral part of its aspiration to become a global actor, with Brazilian cooperation primarily focused on Africa rather than its traditional sphere of influence, South America (Dúran; Chichava, 2013).

According to Dúran and Chichava (2013), Brazilian foreign policy is conceived as state policy directed towards national development, following a tradition established since the times of Rio Branco. In this sense, when Lula first assumed the presidency of Brazil in 2003, he emphasized that the country's diplomatic actions would be oriented as an instrument of national development.

Among the various strategies to strengthen South-South alliances (Melo; Oliveira; Barbosa, 2018), technical cooperation emerges as the primary mechanism employed by Brazil. This modality of cooperation is characterized by all activities aimed at developing human resources and enhancing their capabilities through the transfer of knowledge and technical skills, without involving direct financial transfers.

### **Essential Trends in Technical Cooperation in Agriculture**

Technical cooperation is often described as an apolitical process based on mere knowledge transfer. However, this perspective is overly simplistic and fails to capture the underlying political nuances and implications. In the case of Brazil as a provider of technical cooperation, this activity is driven not only by the desire to share knowledge and experiences, but also by strategic motivations to assert its regional and global influence (Chichava *et al.*, 2013).

Brazil has a successful track record in the development of tropical agriculture, accumulating vast technical knowledge and relevant skills in this domain. By sharing this knowledge with other countries, Brazil not only projects a positive image of a developing nation capable of contributing to global progress, but also establishes cooperation ties that provide it with diplomatic capital and strategic allies.

Indeed, Brazilian technical cooperation is part of a broader approach to exercising soft power, through which the country seeks to increase its influence and project its values and interests in the international arena, using peaceful and non-coercive means. This strategy is based on promoting an attractive image of Brazil as a reliable and supportive partner, capable of sharing its experiences and knowledge for the sustainable development of other nations.

### **Post-Colonial Relations: Indian Introspection in Discovering the African Continent**

In the final years of the Cold War, internal and regional pressures in India led the subcontinent to a state of introspection. However, the economic liberalization of the 1990s marked a turning point, prompting Indian leaders to recognize the vital importance of foreign policy aligned with their economic aspirations. India's decision to open up to the world catalyzed the strengthening of its international relations, allowing the country to capitalize on its economic and political potential. Similar to China, India's foreign policy after the Cold War aligned with the principles of non-aligned countries and South-South cooperation, aiming to promote a more multilateral world.

India's relations with Africa and the Global South remain robust, based on the sharing of common interests and the fight against global inequalities, driven by a strategy to combat underdevelopment and poverty resulting from an unjust global economic system. Thus, there is a concern with the economy and development, propelling emerging countries towards new markets.

Since its independence in 1947, India has maintained a stable and cordial relationship with Africa, united in the fight against European colonialism and racism since the 1950s and 1960s. Under the leadership of Nehru and Indira Gandhi, India saw Africa as a stage for practicing solidarity. During the Cold War, both were protagonists in the Non-Aligned Movement. During this period, China emerged as a competitor in the African market, intensifying rivalry due to the Sino-Indian conflict of the 1960s.

India's policy towards Africa is based on five fundamental pillars: economic cooperation; support for the Indian diaspora in Africa; combating terrorism; preserving peace; and supporting African defense forces. From an economic perspective, India's strategy, outlined in the early 1990s, focuses on training, technical assistance, and trade exchanges. Bilateral trade flourished after the end of the Cold War, driven by both government and private sector, recognizing the strategic value of the African market.

### **The Presence of India in Mozambique and the Shortcomings of Indian Presence in Africa**

With India's increasing influence in Africa, it becomes relevant to address Mozambique's strategic role recently, both for India and for Mozambique itself. Since 1960, India has maintained relations with Mozambique (Frey, 2017; Haffner; Patel, 2021), significantly supporting its struggle for independence from Portugal. Substantial communities of Indians and Pakistanis reside in Mozambique, playing a crucial role in the country's economy (Horta, 2007).

India has sought to strengthen its presence in Mozambique (Prakash, 2018; Frey, 2019), although with some setbacks. In 2009, it pledged a \$500 million credit to the country. However, in March 2011, Mozambican Prime Minister Aires Ali requested the Exim Bank of India to accelerate the disbursement of funds, which did not materialize.

In January of the same year, the Mozambican government had already alerted the Ministry of Commerce of India that additional concessions in mining would depend on the progress of Coal India in implementing an agreement regarding two blocks in the province of Tete. However, progress has been limited, resulting in Mozambique's rejection of requests for exploration by other Indian companies. Additionally, Ricom Railroad, selected to rehabilitate the Sofala central railway line, has not made significant progress to date, despite the initial completion deadline in 2009 (Horta, 2007).

These examples raise doubts about the seriousness of Indian state-owned enterprises in Mozambique, with Chinese companies often outperforming them. Faced with this reality, Indian governments emphasize the complications arising from the democratic functioning of the country, including the need to negotiate with Parliament and civil society.

According to Horta (2007), India cannot provide billions in loans unlike China due to its internal reality of poverty. However, the author argues that the challenges of democracy do

not fully justify these failures. Countries like Brazil and Australia, both democracies, have been successful in exploiting Mozambican resources, surpassing both China and India.

Indian private companies, such as the Tata Group, demonstrate the ability to succeed in Africa, but without the same level of government support that Chinese companies receive. This suggests that India should encourage more private investment in Africa, diversifying beyond its state-owned enterprises, possibly through diplomatic initiatives (Horta, 2007).

### **Advantages and Disadvantages of Mozambique in Partnership with India**

India has made available a \$500 million line of credit aimed at financing projects in critical areas such as infrastructure, agriculture, and energy in Mozambique. This support also extends to the training and strategic planning of Mozambican institutions, as reported by *Jornal Notícias* on January 11, 2011.

As a strategic partner of Mozambique, India plays a crucial role in Mozambique's political aspirations on the international stage. The goal is to acquire advanced knowledge and technologies from India that can be adapted to Mozambique's culture and needs. This exchange aims to strengthen national efforts to eradicate absolute poverty by empowering the population to convert natural resources into wealth and generate employment opportunities. Additionally, India emerges as an essential platform for promoting Mozambican exports to the vast Asian market, according to Haffner e Patel (2021).

On the other hand, India's investment has been heavily focused on sectors different from those identified as priorities by Mozambique, such as agriculture, primarily focusing on mineral and energy resources. This focus is due to India's dependence on coal as its main source of energy, which compels it to seek large quantities of this raw material to sustain its industries.

India has been facing an internal energy crisis that has affected the country for several years, shifting from being an exporter of raw materials to a producer of manufactured goods. India's energy needs have grown significantly, making it imperative to meet them not only with domestic resources but also through imports, as pointed out by Haffner e Patel (2021).



## Final considerations

Throughout the study, it is evident that Mozambique has shown a tendency to adopt Multilateral Diplomacy as an essential instrument and strategy in its foreign policy, aiming at security and prosperity in the international context. This approach is not limited to conflict resolution but extends to seeking opportunities that favor national development.

Since the struggle for liberation, which culminated in independence in 1975, through the armed conflict with RENAMO to the signing of the Rome Accords in 1992, Multilateral Diplomacy has been a constant pillar in Mozambique's foreign policy. The use of this instrument sought solutions to the prolonged internal conflict and, in the present, in times of relative peace, it continues to be the preferred strategy for establishing new partnerships aimed at combating underdevelopment.

The effectiveness of Multilateral Diplomacy in promoting Mozambique's development is evident through the prominent involvement of multilateral partners, including the United Nations, the European Union, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. These entities have been crucial in supporting the Mozambican government's efforts to overcome underdevelopment, especially in achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

Thanks to Multilateral Diplomacy, Mozambique has made significant progress in sectors such as Education, Health, Agriculture, and Justice, benefiting from substantial investments in healthcare and education infrastructure, as well as improvements in the delivery of social services and socio-economic development. Between 1994 and 2014, Mozambique's foreign policy focused on strengthening relations within the SADC, seeking regional integration and closer ties with Western countries, despite discrepancies between political and economic interests.

Mozambique has prioritized building an extensive network of friendships over antagonisms, cultivating and reinforcing cooperation ties at bilateral and multilateral levels with various states and international organizations. This approach aims not only to strengthen international support but also to promote synergies that contribute to national interest.

Therefore, while China and Brazil stand out as prominent partners with significant socio-economic impacts in Mozambique, due to substantial investments, trade, and technical cooperation, ties with India, despite historical proximity, have not yet managed to generate such deep economic engagement. This apparent discrepancy among the three major emerging powers may diminish as Mozambique continues diversifying its strategic partnerships to drive national development.

In light of these considerations, it is prudent to suggest to researchers, students, and other stakeholders interested in studying Mozambique's post-Accords of Rome foreign policy to delve deeper into research considering: i) the potential of Multilateral Diplomacy in reconciling global interests with world peace; ii) how Mozambique can maximize opportunities derived from its participation in international institutions to attract investments and promote a positive image abroad; iii) the importance of continuing to expand partnerships and diversify the economy to achieve the Millennium Development Goals fully, overcoming the challenges of underdevelopment.

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