

Full Length Research

Analysis of the adopted Foreign Policies in Mozambique 1975 - 2017: Determinants, Principles, Objectives, Actions and Predominant International Theoretical Frameworks

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Accepted 28 February 2018

This paper analyses of the adopted Foreign Policies in Mozambique 1975 - 2017: Determinants, Principles, Objectives, Actions and Predominant International Theoretical Frameworks. An influence of the liberation struggle in Mozambique was verified on the basis of the formulation of the foreign policy after the proclamation of the independence in 1975. The influence was notable in three dimensions, the Systemic Level (International System) also considered the External factors, the State level (domestic or Internal Factors) and the individual level (leaderships and policy makers). From the influence of the three dimensions, we verified a migration from a coalition making orientation to a non-alignment orientation as a strategy adopted by Mozambique. This strategy, was an evidence of the rationality of the state (Realist theory), seeking to survive in a hostile structure (international system during the cold war), after facing its influence in form of proxy wars (civil wars and constrains to the national security). From these lessons, Mozambique adopted the multilateral approach, in order to diversify the partners but primarily, was seeking to preserve the national sovereignty (national security and survival), operationalization of the national interests, supporting also the region to avoid a domino effect and the effect of proxy wars. Those elements were patent on the adopted 3 constitutions and they were implemented fully under a realistic perspective, in what concerns to the guiding international theoretical framework.

Keywords: Survival, Adaptability, Sovereignty, National Interest, Pragmatism, Self Help, Mozambique, Foreign Policy, Frelimo, War, Cold war.

Cite this article as: ANDRE, C and PHARLES, S (2018). Analysis of the adopted Foreign Policies in Mozambique 1975 - 2017: Determinants, Principles, Objectives, Actions and Predominant International Theoretical Frameworks. Int. J. Polit. Sci. Develop. 6(2) 52-59

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Mozambique is a country located in Southern Africa, sharing borders with 6 countries, namely

South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Malawi, ([portal do governo.gov.mz](http://portal.do.governo.gov.mz)). This country

exists since 1975, when a nationalist movement FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique) proclaimed the independence after a war against Portugal, the colonizer.

From the creation of the movement in 1962, assuming that the world was divided in two blocs (west and east), it had challenges to mobilize supports for its struggle against the colonizer, mainly because of the membership of Portugal, considering this fact, in a bipolar structure, Frelimo had a natural alliance with USSR and its allies, such as China, from where it got all the necessary support successfully until getting the independence in 1975. The country was named as The Peoples Republic of Mozambique, and renamed in 1990 as the Republic of Mozambique after the adoption of a new constitution. This support, determined the way Mozambique entered, acted and changed on the international system, influencing and leading to the adoption of a foreign policy, considering some contextual internal and external elements later expressed in this paper.

About the topic, analytically, some researchers (Abrahamsson, H and A, Nilsson (1995). Otto, L and A, Lalbahadur, (2013). Zeca, E (2015), gave their contribution on the subject of the Foreign Policy of Mozambique, pointing elements from the history of the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique, they discussed about the Cold War effects on the formulation of the foreign policy of Mozambique, the reasons behind the pragmatism of Mozambique, and the foreign policy adopted in 2010 (under the constitution of 2004), respectively, agreeing that as a new state, Mozambique had to adopt a foreign policy influenced by the nature of acquisition of independence (liberation struggle with a concept of "allies and enemies") as well as by lessons from the cold war effects on the international system, the domestic influences and pressures and from the vision of the leaders.

But a gap was left regarding the analysis of the foreign policy from the conceptual perspective of foreign policy, from the verification and explanations of the principles objectives, actions based on the assumptions of the international theoretical frameworks, in line with the 3 constitutions, while legal framework and the depository of the foreign policies, holding the guiding principles, objectives and orientation of the foreign policy of Mozambique.

Therefore this paper seeks to be an input on the way it is analysed the foreign policy of Mozambique considering also the gaps left, from the legal framework and international relations frameworks points of view.

METHODOLOGY

In what concerns to the methodological approach, this study is a qualitative, in a form of a historical–

comparative research, this approach was used because the paper relies on past events and has an interpretative perspective, the authors, were checking the influences from the internal and external events and actors for the formulations and adoptions of the foreign policies of Mozambique discussed on the paper, as well as the analysed the concordance between what was written and specific actions, and their explanation based in international relations theoretical frameworks.

Regarding the data collection and processing, the paper relied on secondary sources, the authors have chosen available books based on their relations with the topic, but due to their scarcity, they had to rely also on the information from websites and news online, on the three constitutions of the Republic of Mozambique (where the State expresses the guidelines of the foreign policy) as well as on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mozambique (the implementation body). Concerning the processing data, since the constitutions and some of the assessed books are only available in Portuguese (Official Language of Mozambique), the authors had to translate them, as they can also speak Portuguese.

The information was analysed and interpreted based on the assumptions of international relations theoretical frameworks seeking causal explanations, also, these assumptions enabled the accuracy check, from the match and analysis of the events on the international system and in Mozambique.

They also faced limitations related to scarce literatures about the matter.

RESULTS

Basis of the Foreign Policy and shaping determinant factors (1975 – 2017)

According to Paul (1963) and Neack (2006) the foreign policy is considered to be part of national policy which the states adopt to guide the diplomatic relations with other sovereign states, assuming states as integrants of the international system (connected and associated states). This relationship, depends upon three elements, first element is the sovereignty of the state which determines the principle of safeguarding the territorial integrity of the states, the second element is the interdependence which relies on the necessity of the principle of bargaining in foreign policy as the States endeavour to achieve the maximum possible advantages under all circumstances and the third element, the domestic and international circumstances. In addition, three levels of analysis can be associated to the elements above stated to clearly discuss the analysed case "MOZAMBIQUE", which are: the influence of the International System (External Factors), Domestic Situation or State level (Internal

factors) and leadership or individual level (policy makers), in a certain time and environment, as stressed below:

Influence of the International System on the basis of the Mozambican Foreign Policy (Cold War)

The basis of the foreign policy of Mozambique were set and started in 1962 with the process of liberation war when the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), a nationalist movement started to seek for support for its war, in the same year, at the systemic level, the world under the cold war had witnessed one of the historical events on the International Relations, the Cuba missile crisis, between the USSR – Cuba and USA, fact characterized by the confrontation the parties previously mentioned divided in West and East, This fact, considering that Portugal, the colonizer was member of the west (led by USA), challenged and limited Frelimo support from west, having as unique alternative in a bipolar structure, the Soviet Union and allies (Abrahamsson, H and A, Nilsson, 1995, Irungu, 2014, Kumar, A, 2017) .

The previous paragraph, showed one of the, most important factors to the clear understanding of the Future foreign policy of Mozambique. After getting the independence in 1975, Mozambique as a State entered on the International System in 1975 under the designation of The Peoples Republic of Mozambique, and since the world was divided in two groups (west and east) Mozambique had to shape its foreign policy, considering the natural alliance and identification with the east ideology led by USSR.

Along the time, Mozambique lived the effects on the world bipolar conflict (proxy war), from the financing from west countries (Zimbabwe under Ian Smith Regime, South Africa under Apartheid regime and USA under Reagan administration) to the armed rebel group (RENAMO- Mozambique National Resistance) in Mozambique to initiate a civil war from 1977, two years after the independence to oppose the governmental powers, as a response to its active role orientating the foreign policy towards the Coalition Making and Alliance Construction embracing the USSR ideologies and values of the anti-capitalism, Anti-imperialism , Anti-racism, verified from the support given to the nationalist movements in neighbour capitalist countries, such as the support to African National Congress in South Africa (under Nelson Mandela Leadership) against the Apartheid regime, supporting the ZANU- PF from Zimbabwe (under Robert Mugabe Leadership), in that journey having the continuous to support from the USSR and its allies in terms of Military logistics, training, and health, among other types of operational support (Abrahamsson, H and A, Nilsson, 1995, mg.co.za 2013, Zeca, 2015)

Since one of the key aspects from the bipolar conflict,

was the control of the spreading of the opposing bloc ideology and influence worldwide, it facilitated the RENAMO to mobilize support to destroy the threatening Socialist influence on from the Reagan administration, what made the conflict from 1977 only reach one peace agreement in 1992 (mg.co.za, 2013).

Another key aspect in terms of International System that influenced the basis of the Foreign Policy of Mozambique, was the exclusion of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique from Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Led by USSR) due to the failure of national production, because the council rely on the exchange. Therefore, Mozambique was forced to seek alternatives and began looking for the west, that lesson was important to understand the future leadership view of the need to diversify its partnerships, in face of that, Mozambique had to set, adopt and adapt new strategies in order to maintain and preserve its national interest, sovereignty and development, one journey initiated by President Samora Machel with the set of the pragmatic non-alignment as orientation, vision shared by the following presidents (Joaquim Chissano, in office from 1986, after the death of Samora Machel, up to 2004, Armando Guebuza 2004-2014, and Filipe Nyusi from 2004 up to the present), (Abrahamsson,H and A, Nilsson, 1995, www.minec.gov.mz).

In summary, the cold war and the international structure bi-polar influenced in large scale the foreign policy of Mozambique from its basis, what we see today is a result of lessons extracted from the liberation war of the nationalist movement to the independence, and on the following period of instalment and construction of the Mozambican State.

State level (domestic / internal factors) influence

The state level allows to examine which social and governmental factors contributed to the formulation of a certain foreign policy of a state, taking into account also the institutional arrangements of a State, such as the relationship between the power organization structures (legislative, judicial and executive) influence foreign policy, or even the organization of government bureaucracy, economic conditions, emphasizing the way that certain internal factors determine the parameters in which leaders can act, in the case of Mozambique, understanding the way in which it got its independence, we can assess the domestic influences for the Foreign Policies (Paul, 1963, country studies. us, Politcsmania.express.com, Wanjohi, 2011, Kumar, A, 2017), considering these facts

- Historical and National Values: the history of Mozambique was characterized by resistance to external domination against oppressors since the

17 (XVII) century and this heroic attitude of seeking independence was the mobilization tool to attract people to support the liberation war, used as motto of the Charismatic leaders (those who brought the independence). From the independence time (1975) collectivists values, the feeling of belonging, the pride and self-esteem, good behaviour and moral, hardworking and nationalist spirit were spread along the country reflecting on the way the leaderships (charismatic) addressed their selves before the world, another thing internally was the state notions of friends and enemy, based on the history (supporting friendship countries, allies and partners).

- Geography: the privileged geography played a key role influencing the country's foreign policy because as Mozambique has access to sea, many hinterland countries depend on it to survive.
- Public-Opinion: the public opinion under the euphoria of the independence and resistance against external dominance fuelled the way they guided the foreign policy with support.
- The Structure of Society: after the independence, majority of the people were homogeneous in terms of morale values and social conducts, trying to harmonize the gap between rich and poor, trying to eliminate the religions influence, but of course they were those who did not agree with the organization structure.
- The Political Organization: also, one of the key points which played a key role was the political organization of the country, the Party-State system, aggregating and conferring the majority of power of the central committee of the party and the leader of the part, so he could literally influence at his individual level the foreign policy making.

Individual level (decision makers) influence

The individual level focuses on the action of decision makers, on how they do them, what perceptions and misconceptions they have and the ways they interact in small, high-ranking decision-making groups, also considering their personalities. In the case of Mozambique, President Samora Machel, was a Charismatic revolutionary leader, and as the head of a State of a Pro-Socialistic country he was the face of the Foreign Policy and on his public appearances he should address his speeches aligned with his ideologies, so being president of the party and the country, he had powers to judge, condemn, and run any other measure against someone who was opposing the revolution (ibid).

The Leadership vision of Samora Machel (First President) about the social and economic problems, commons in a new independent country, such as lack of expertise or educated people, lack of basic needs and services to address the peoples demands, the mobilization of the productive forces to work to develop the country and protect the Sovereignty of the new and independent State from National potential threats and at the international level influenced by the world bipolar conflict, was shaped considering the worlds scenario of friends and enemies, and he had to balance that in order to survive within a hostile structure, same was adopted by the following presidents, Joaquim Chissano, Armando Guebuza and Filipe Nyusi (Otto, L and Lalbahadur, 2013, Abrahamsson, H and A, Nilsson. 1995, www.minec.gov.mz).

Adopted Foreign Policies in Mozambique from 1975 – 2017

Mozambique foreign policy considering, the influences from the international system and domestic levels tended to behave in accordance with time and environment, exploring bilateral and multilateral relations with other States, taking into account regional and global problems and interactions, historic ties and the national aspirations and interests, as a result of the relationships between the international system and the state level (called two-level games), the decision makers tried to balance international and national pressures, and set the Foreign Policy in line with those aspects (Wanjohi, 2011, Kumar, A 2017). After adopting the policies, these guiding principles are written on the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique (the guardian of the legality). In this section, aiming to facilitate the comprehension of the foreign policies during the period from 1975-2017, we also analysed the guiding principles, objectives and orientations of the adopted foreign policies as well as we gave a look at some actions and evidences to understand the implementation of the stated in the guiding principles, in addition, we analysed those actions under the international relations theories. The documents under verification are the three constitutions adopted and used in Mozambique, namely from 1975, 1990 and 2004.

Principles, Objectives, Orientation and actions of the foreign policy of the Republic of Mozambique (1975 – 1990)

This section will be analysed taking into consideration the constitution of 1975 matched with key actions to assess if there was a match between them, as well as the analysis under the International Relations Theories.

Principles

From the Foreign Policy Section of the constitution, was verified that Mozambique adopted these principles (Constituicao da Republica Popular de Mocambique, 1975):

- **Article 20:** The people's Republic of Mozambique fight against the exploitation of man by man, against imperialism and colonialism, the unity of African peoples and States, on the basis of respect for the freedom and dignity of these peoples and States and your right to political progress, social and economic. The People's Republic of Mozambique pursues a policy of strengthening relations of friendship and mutual help with the young States, committed to the same fight to consolidate national independence and democracy and use recovery and control of resources the natural people.
- **Article 21:** The People's Republic of Mozambique supports and is in solidarity with the struggle of peoples for national liberation.
- **Article 22:** The People's Republic of Mozambique consolidates and develops the solidarity with the socialist countries, their natural allies, solidarity forged in the struggle for national independence. The Republic of Mozambique shall establish and develop friendly relations and cooperation with all democratic and progressive forces in the world.
- **Article 23:** The People's Republic of Mozambique establishes relations of friendship and cooperation with all States on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, non-interference in the internal affairs and reciprocal benefits. The People's Republic of Mozambique accepts, observes and applies the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.
- **Article 24:** The People's Republic of Mozambique upholds the principle of General and universal disarmament of all States.

The People's Republic of Mozambique upholds the principle of transformation of the Indian Ocean in nuclear free zone and of peace.

The People's Republic of Mozambique pursues a policy of peace, only resorting to force in the event of self-defence.

Orientation: Coalition Making and Alliance Construction in this field, the Governments was seeking to construct permanent diplomatic

coalitions or military alliances, making commitments to help or be supported by other states which were face similar external problems/enemies (colonization) or sharing similar objectives (socialism).

Objectives: was verified that Mozambique seeks the affirmation on the international System, Sovereignty Survival and maintenance, cooperation for development (national interest), realism (Shurong, 2017).

Actions:

- 1974-1975 formal adhesion of Mozambique the Front Line a military and strategic cooperation channel to support the nationalist liberation movements of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa from the imperialists – support of countries liberation (Institute for security studies).
- 1980s after the formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which was formed to promote their own development and free themselves from South Africa's economic hegemony. The formation of SADCC added to the isolation of South Africa (*apartheid*) from the international community- promotion of development (*ibid*).
- Fight against RENAMO, from 1977 – 1992 – was asserting to force to self-defence.
- In this period, in 1984, Mozambique seeking the survival from external and domestic aggression (*apartheid* and RENAMO) President Samora Machel visited President Reagan to discuss about the peace in the region, to be seized to support to RENAMO.

Theoretically: In terms of theories of international relations, was concluded that the national interest, survival and sovereignty are the key aspects of the foreign Policy (Shurong, 2017) of Mozambique, although the country was using some assumptions from Marxism-Socialism, the Foreign policy was guided by a realistic perspective, seeking the maximization of the state's benefits (rationality) and survival because was patent that in an environment composed by threats without a military cooperation to free the neighbours the country couldn't survive. One of the key points to justify the understanding of use of realism, was the visit of President Samora Machel to USA in 1984, what culminated with the admission of Mozambique of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund in 1984, after the exclusion of Mozambique from Council for Economic Assistance (led by USSR) in 1981 and the starvation verified in Mozambique in 1981, forcing

Mozambique to seek for alternatives to survive. (Abrahamsson, H and A, Nilsson, 1995).

Principles, Objectives, Orientation and actions of the foreign policy of the Republic of Mozambique (1990 – 2004)

This section will be analysed taking into consideration the constitution of 1990 matched with key actions to assess if there was a match between them, as well as the analysis under the International Relations Theories. Before, we discuss the issue, is important to refer that this constitution changed the designation of Mozambique from Peoples Republic of Mozambique to Republic of Mozambique as a result of the peace agreement between the Government and the rebel Group (RENAMO) in 1992, what led to the adoption of a multiparty and democratic system in Mozambique, what culminated with the division between the party and government in terms of leadership and the realization of the first elections in 1994 (Abrahamsson, H and A, Nilsson. 1995).

Principles

From the Foreign Policy Section of the constitution, was verified that Mozambique adopted these principles (constituicao da Republica de Mocambique, 1990)

- **Article 62. 1:** The Republic of Mozambique, non-aligned country, establish friendly relations and cooperation with other States on the basis of principles of mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, interference in internal affairs and reciprocal benefits.

2. The Republic of Mozambique accepts, observes and applies the principles of the charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

- **Article 63. 1:** The Republic of Mozambique in solidarity with the struggle for unity among African States and peoples on the basis of your freedom, dignity and the right to economic and social progress.

2. The Republic of Mozambique seeks the strengthening of relations with countries committed to the consolidation of national independence and the recovery of the use and control of natural resources for the benefit of their people.

3. The Republic of Mozambique is partnering with all States in the struggle for the establishment of a just and equitable economic order in international relations.

- **Article 64.1.** The Republic of Mozambique supports and is sympathetic to the struggle of peoples for national liberation.

2. The Republic of Mozambique shall grant asylum to foreigners persecuted because of your fight for peace, for

democracy, for national liberation and social and human rights.

Article 65. 1. The Republic of Mozambique pursues a policy of peace, only resorting to force in the event of self-defence.

2. The Republic of Mozambique defends the primacy of the negotiated solution of conflicts.

3. The Republic of Mozambique upholds the principle of General and universal disarmament of all States

4. The Republic of Mozambique calls for the transformation of the Indian Ocean in nuclear-free zone and of peace.

Orientation- Non-aligned

Objectives – survival, seek adaptability in the international system, economic development, protection of the national interest

Actions

From the non-alignment, Mozambique was able and flexible to continue to get the support successfully from the Chinese Government, Russians, Americans (mainly after Mozambique accepted to hold the Democracy adopting a new constitution in 1990 and signing an agreement with the RENAMO the rebel group in 1992), Western Europeans and Scandinavians, among other state and non-state organizations (Otto, L and Lalbahadur, 2013, Abrahamsson, H and A, Nilsson, 1995 and Nationalencyclopedia.com).

Theoretically- mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and reciprocal benefits, these assumptions are patent on the realism (Shurong, 2017).

Principles, Objectives, Orientation and Actions of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Mozambique (2004– 2017)

This section will be analysed taking into consideration the constitution of 1975 matched with key actions to assess if there was a match between them, as well as the analysis under the International Relations Theories.

Principles

From the Foreign Policy Section of the constitution, we can see that Mozambique adopted these principles (Otto, L and Lalbahadur, 2013, Constituicao da Republica de Mocambique, 2004)

Article 17 (International relations)

1. The Republic of Mozambique establishes relationships of friendship and cooperation with other States on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and reciprocity of benefits.
2. The Republic of Mozambique accepts, observes and applies the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the African Union.

Article 18 (International law)

1. International treaties and agreements, validly approved and ratified, apply in the Mozambican legal order after their official publication and as long as they link the state of Mozambique internationally.
2. The rules of international law have in the internal legal order the same value as the infra normative acts emanating from the Assembly of the Republic and Government, depending on their form of reception.

Article 19 (International solidarity)

1. The Republic of Mozambique sympathizes with the struggle of African peoples and States, unity, freedom, dignity and the right to economic and social progress.
2. The Republic of Mozambique seeks to strengthen relations with countries committed to consolidating national independence, democracy and recovering the use and control of natural riches in favour of their peoples.
3. The Republic of Mozambique shall be associated with all States in the fight for the establishment of a fair and equitable economic order in international relations.

Article 20 (Support for peoples ' freedom and asylum)

1. The Republic of Mozambique supports and is sympathetic to the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and for Democracy.
2. The Republic of Mozambique grants asylum to foreigners persecuted on the grounds of their struggle for national liberation, Democracy, peace and the defence of human rights.
3. The law defines the status of the political refugee.

Article 21 (Special links of friendship and cooperation)

The Republic of Mozambique maintains special ties of friendship and cooperation with the countries of the region, with the Portuguese-speaking countries and with the host countries of Mozambican emigrants.

Article 22 (Peace Policy)

1. The Republic of Mozambique is pursuing a policy of peace, only using force in the case of self-defence.
2. The Republic of Mozambique defends the primacy of the negotiated solution of conflicts.
3. The Republic of Mozambique defends the principle of general and universal disarmament of all States.
4. The Republic of Mozambique advocates the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a nuclear and peace zone.

Orientation: non- aligned and pragmatism - The principle is reflected in the government's first white papers on international co-operation since independence, which were published in June 2010 and outline a strategy of 'making more friends, promoting more partnerships' an evident aspiration of the will of promoting the economic development and attract investments (Otto, L and Lalbahadur, 2013, Constituicao da Republica de Mocambique, 2004).

Objectives: Economic development and people's wealth, national security and defense (Constituicao da Republica de Mocambique, 2004)

Actions: In terms of actions, this led to a cooperative and multilateral approach, that fact was verified from the adhesion or participation on the following international organizations (Zeca, 2015)

1. Organization of the United Nations
2. African Union
3. SADC
4. Community of Portuguese-speaking countries
5. Commonwealth
6. The Association of the Indian Ocean fringe countries for Regional cooperation (IOR-ARC)
7. Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC)
8. Movement of Non-aligned (NAM)
9. Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP's)
10. World Health Organization (WHO)
11. International Labor Organization (ILO)
12. World Intellectual Property Organization
13. UNESCO
14. World Trade Organization (WTO)
15. International Fund for the Development of Agriculture-Tura (IFAD)
16. World Food Programme (WFP)
17. Red Cross International
18. Peace and Security Council of the AU
19. Pan-African Parliament
20. African Development Bank (BAD)
21. International Monetary Fund (IMF)
22. World Bank (WB)
23. Islamic Bank for the development

24. International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL)
25. Oceanographic International Organization (OIC)
26. International Maritime Organization
27. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
28. New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)

In addition, concerned with the security, Mozambique purchase in 2013 in France, an Arsenal composed by surveillance and coast controlling vessels and boats against piracy, as well as for fishing purposes, so having a double use, national security and economic development, (www.portaldogoverno.gov.mz).

Theoretically

In terms of International Relations Frameworks, was observed that the Realist perspective prevails, because Mozambique promoted its national interests in rational basis, in this era the country took advantage of a multipolar structure, and free markets (liberalism) to participate on the international trading, attract investments and promote the national economic development, many non-state actors have space to contribute for the development of the country, but they are still realists "rational, self-help and survival", (Shurong, 2017, Paul, 1963)

Short paragraph: In line with the principles above stated from 1975 to 2017, the Government is proceeding with the materialization of its objectives under the evaluation, proposal and advisory of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation to President of the Republic as leadership, head of State and conductor of the foreign policy (www.minec.gov.mz).

Discussion under International Relations Theoretical Frameworks

After assessing the historical events and current situation, available on the read books, analysing under international relations classical theories, was concluded that, Mozambique foreign policy is guided by realistic a perspective (realpolitik), seeking to survive on the international system, and as tool, they used the non-alignment pragmatism as a way while a rational actor seeking to maximize its own interests, and the pragmatism was also used to minimize to vulnerability and dependence to one entity, a lesson extracted from the cold war after the refusal to join the Council of Mutual Assistance. As members of an international system, acting as a State, Mozambique remains a unitary actor, acting on behalf of the people's voice and seeking to

preserve the national security in several occasions, such as on the conflict with RENAMO, acquisition of surveillance boats, etc.

Although the foreign policy is guided in realistic basis, were verified also the effects imposed by the structure (the influence of the United States of America, after winning the cold-war) to Mozambique adopt a liberal perspective in order to ceased the military support directed to the rebel group (RENAMO) during the civil war (1977-1992), throughout the adoption of the liberal values, such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, free markets and other civil rights. Mozambique as a rational state needed to accept those measures to survive in a hostile international system, to attract more support for its national interests on the western societies and to have a peaceful domestic environment to put into practice the agenda of development.

In summary, by the adoption of those measures, Mozambique was a rational state (realism), looking forward to survive in an hostile structure, while being challenged also by the social and economic problems commons in a new independent country, such as lack of expertise or educated people, lack of basic needs and services to address the peoples demands, the mobilization of the productive forces to work to develop the country and protect the Sovereignty of the new and independent State from National potential threats and at the international level influenced by the World Bipolar conflict, having the necessity to survive from the proxy wars, they had to adapt to the environment and preserve its national interest, taking actions to preserve its sovereignty and even with the fall of the bipolar structure, Mozambique is still pursuing the same realist agenda.

CONCLUSION

During the study we could conclude that many factors contributed to determine the foreign policy of Mozambique, and on the countries priorities, were, Realist theory Features, such as: the survival, preservation of sovereignty and promotion of development. While a country, along the history had to adapt new strategies to fit in a very hostile structure, while allegiances dating back to the liberation struggle remain relevant, Mozambique's foreign policy has become increasingly pragmatic. The twin pillars of Mozambique's foreign policy are maintenance of good relations with its neighbours and maintenance and expansion of ties to development partners. In addition, Mozambique's foreign policy focuses on friendship and cooperation with surrounding states. Relations with other countries tend to be overwhelmingly positive but also is member of many international organizations and accepts development aid from numerous different countries and

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