



Department of Political Science

Course of International Relations

Why did globalisation lead to the underdevelopment of
Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000?

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ABSTRACT

Globalisation is a long-standing worldwide process that has generated winners and losers. In 1975, when Mozambique and Angola declared their independence, they were automatically and inescapably integrated into economic and political globalisation. However, such integration brought inconveniences for these two countries. In this regard, this study aimed to explain why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000. To achieve this supreme objective, a comparative case study method and an empirical approach to studying international relations were used. As a result of the research analysis, the following critical findings were found. Firstly, globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola due to the harsh policies and programs imposed by the agents of economic globalisation – the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank – on these two countries that abdicated regulatory power to these agents. Secondly, globalisation also led to the underdevelopment of these two States because it placed them in an entangled and deceptive international system that brought economic and political destabilisation caused by agents of political globalisation such as white South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the United States of America, Cuba, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the communist and anti-communist national political movements. These results revealed that, although globalisation led to the underdevelopment of these two states for the reasons found and mentioned above, the ineffectiveness of these countries in formulating practical developmental policies also played a vital role.

KEYWORDS: globalisation, political globalisation, economic globalisation, agents of globalisation, underdevelopment, Mozambique, Angola, post-independence period

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
ANC	African National Congress
BWIs	Bretton Woods Institutions
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GS	Globalisation Studies
IGOs	Intergovernmental Organizations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPE	International Political Economy
IR	International Relations
MAI	Multilateral Agreements on Investment
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSA	Sub-saharan Africa

SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
US/USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

INTRODUCTION

Globalisation is a comprehensive and continuous phenomenon that has existed for decades, and it has generated benefits and drawbacks for all those who are part of it in particular States. In this regard, it was not before Mozambique and Angola proclaimed their independence in 1975 that they were integrated into globalisation as independent and sovereign States. When they declared their independence in 1975 from Portuguese colonialism that lasted for centuries, they also automatically and unescapably opened their countries to be influenced by globalisation forces that led them towards underdevelopment. Instead of leading them to development, globalisation led Mozambique and Angola towards underdevelopment by 2000. So, why did it lead to their underdevelopment from 1975 to 2000?

This has been a pertinent question that many scholars have been searching for an answer to (although in a broader perspective). Akindele and his colleagues (2002) argued that globalisation is not a force of development but of marginalisation of the sub-Saharan African States (SSA), which leads to their underdevelopment. Besides promoting the marginalisation of these SSA States, its institutions – the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) – further marginalise the SSA States. This is partially supported by Ezeonu (2008), who argues that neoliberalism and financial institutions have acted to the detriment of sub-Saharan Africa. Mkandawire (2005) supports the idea that globalisation has led to sub-Saharan African states' underdevelopment due to the failure of policies designed to integrate these States. However, Ajayi (2003) opposes Mkandawire's arguments by affirming that what has led to the underdevelopment of sub-Saharan African States is not integration policies but the isolationist policies of these countries aimed at promoting domestic production and reducing the reliance on globalisation. Schneider (2003) closes this debate by affirming that globalisation has led to the underdevelopment of the sub-Saharan Africa States because of the exploitative foreign relations that these States are subject to by globalisation.

This literature review shows that scholars have tried to explain why globalisation has led to the underdevelopment of SSA in general, but it has gaps to fill in. First of all, their research is extremely broad, so it cannot be used to explain other cases without generalisation problems. Simply put, their research explains why globalisation has led to the underdevelopment of SSA as a whole – and not specific or individual countries. This is the first gap that this research aims at filling. Secondly, their research is not limited to a particular period. This is another gap that this research aims at filling. Therefore, this research fills these

two gaps by focusing solely on two SSA States, Mozambique and Angola, and the 1975-2000 period. Such delimitation will allow the author of this paper to provide more concrete arguments related to the research questions.

This research is essential because it is innovative and original and provides a practical understanding of how and why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of two countries – namely Mozambique and Angola – right after they had been integrated into globalisation. In this respect, this research adds new knowledge to the literature. Besides being an innovative addition to the current relevant scholarly debate, it is also an important step to discuss what kind of policies can be implemented to avoid the problem being researched.

This study has the following main research question: “why did globalisation lead to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000?”. With this research question, this study has the primary objective of explaining why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola in the 1975-2000 period. This research objective is grounded on the fact that globalisation brought development to many countries in the same period, but to these countries, it brought the opposite, underdevelopment and explaining why such a situation occurred is critical both to comprehend it and also provide solutions on how to avoid such a problem in the future. That said, this study has the following three main research hypotheses:

- 1) Globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola due to the inadequate policies provided by the agents of globalisation, namely the IMF and WB.
- 2) Globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola due to their ineffectiveness in formulating practical policies to benefit from globalisation.
- 3) Globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola due to the exploitative nature of the (inter)dependent relations to which these two states were subject to by globalisation.

This thesis is structured as follows. In the first chapter, (i) the author reviews the literature, exposing the main arguments related to his research topic, (ii) then situates his research and (iii) identifies gaps in the literature. In the second chapter, this research discusses methodologies issues, namely, (i) the conceptualisation of crucial variables, (ii) the definition of research methods, (iii) the description of how data is collected and (iv) the delimitation of the research. Finally, the third chapter provides (i) data analyses and (ii) reports on its findings and (iii) respective discussions on the political and economic dimensions of globalisation.

This research adopts a comparative case study method to compare Mozambique and Angola within the limits of the primary objective of this research. Such a comparison is primarily based on qualitative – but also reasonable quantitative – data analysis. Furthermore, this research adopts the empirical approach in such a comparative analysis. It adopts this approach because the objective of this research is not to understand but to explain why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola in the 1975 to 2000 period. The comparative research method and empirical research approach provide the necessary tools to prove the hypotheses of this research.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. THE EIGHT SCHOLARLY DEBATES

Scholars have long sought to understand why globalisation has led to the sub-Saharan African States' underdevelopment. In this regard, the literature reveals that scholars have attempted to sustain their arguments approximately from the lens of the three (3) contrasting approaches to International Political Economy¹: Marxism, economic liberalism, and mercantilism. Succinctly, economic liberalism affirms that globalisation leads to development, but State's power is eroded; Marxism defends that globalisation is a hierarchical process (exploitation) that leads to the underdevelopment of developing nations; mercantilism holds that foreign direct investment can aid development, but it should be regulated and overseen by the State (Jackson, R., Sørensen, G., & Møller, J., 2018). Having said that, how did scholars approach or explain the underdevelopment of sub-Saharan African States from 1975 to 2000, particularly Mozambique and Angola, due to globalisation? How did they try to answer this study's research question? What are their arguments' weaknesses and strengths? Where do they fail to answer this study's research question?

1.1.1. The first and second debates: globalisation as marginalisation and the failure of neoliberalism

The first scholarly debate was advanced by Akindele and his colleagues (2002). They consider the marginalisation of Africa as one of the reasons why globalisation has led to the underdevelopment of [sub-Saharan] Africa (SSA). They argue that the globalisation phenomenon is a new order of marginalisation of [sub-Saharan] Africa; hence, those States have not benefited from that phenomenon. Why do they affirm that globalisation is not a force of development – for example, in the Mozambican and Angolan States – but a force of marginalisation in those States? Indeed, they argue that globalisation has brought voluminous debt to the SSA States instead of prosperity and has paved the way for the current high levels of poverty² in those SSA States. Bofo-Arthur (2003), in his article entitled “Tackling Africa's developmental dilemmas: is globalisation the answer?”, supports the first argument Akindele

¹ International Political Economy, or IPE for short, is one of the fields of International Relations that deals with the interaction between states and markets, that is, between politics and economics on a global scale

² In the 2020 World Bank data, SSA was considered the region with a poverty rate above 40% and without a reduction in this rate from 1997 to 2020.

and his colleagues made. His main idea is that globalisation has brought external debt to African countries rather than wealth.

Furthermore, a massive load of foreign debt on these countries has weakened their ability to cope with domestic issues such as prosperity (Sapem, 1996 cited in Akindele et al., 2002). Is this argument plausible? Why there is a need to investigate this aspect? There is a need to elaborate more on and confirm this hypothesis for two reasons. First, Akindele et al. (2002) and Boafo-Arthur's (2003) arguments use a theoretical and interpretational approach without empirical data. Second, their points of contestation are not confined to the specific African States – in particular, Mozambique and Angola – instead, they are assumed to apply to the African continent as a whole. These two aspects make their theses ambiguous and, to some extent, unsubstantial. On account of that, this present study is essential as it will provide unambiguous and substantial arguments when answering the research question.

The second line of argument put forward by academics in their attempt to (slightly) answer this research's question is the failure of neoliberalism. Ezeonu (2008) is one of the leading scholars who brought this argument of the failure of neoliberalism with the notion of “crimes of globalisation” in SSA. First of all, what is neoliberalism? Neoliberalism has many strands. On the one side, economic neoliberalism is an ideology that advocates an unregulated market, hoping that it will bring economic prosperity (Mammadov & Ziyadhan, 2016). Some of its core values are freedom of trade and capital, minimal State intervention, and a free market. On the other side, neoliberal institutionalism defends the role of international institutions – such as the World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Trade Organisation (WTO) – to promote cooperation between States in order to solve economic and political challenges.

How does neoliberalism deal with this study's research question of why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambican and Angolan States from 1975 to 2000? To put it simply, why have scholars, such as Ezeonu, mentioned neoliberalism as one of the reasons why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola? The crucial aspect to remember from the outset is that neoliberalism is viewed as the driving force of globalisation in this setting. Ezeonu (2003) refers to poverty [underdevelopment] among the three (3) crimes³ of globalisation. His main idea is straightforward. From his perspective, underdevelopment results from harmful consequences of economic policies of the international

³ Ezeonu, in his thesis, points to health, HIV and poverty as the crimes of globalisation fostered by neoliberalism.

financial institutions such as the WB, IMF, and WTO. In addition to these international financial institutions, Akindele & et al. (2002) also point to multilateral agreements such as the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA)⁴, Multilateral Agreements on Investment (MAI)⁵ of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as the West's instruments to destroy or take away [sub-Saharan] Africa resources. From an international law perspective, States are neither obliged to join international organisations nor participate in multilateral agreements. In fact, from a realist perspective, States do so if it is in their own interests. From this viewpoint, if joining these organisations and participating in multilateral agreements have generated underdevelopment in Mozambique and Angola, why have these two States decided to join and participate? Did the Mozambican and Angolan States allow the "spread of underdevelopment" while knowing they were not benefiting from their membership in these organisations and multilateral agreements? This shows that this argument is not convincing and strengthens this research's intent to investigate core reasons why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Angola and Mozambique in a three and half period, from 1975 to 2000.

1.1.2. The third and fourth debates: failure of integration and isolationist policies

The third debate maintains that the integration policies are why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola in the period under analysis. This argument affirms that the cause of the underdevelopment of the States under discussion in this era of globalisation is the failure of those policies designed to integrate them into the global economy. Accordingly, such failure delayed development within the States at issue, as Mkandawire (2005) argued, one of the scholars who have engaged in this debate. This argument may seem appealing, but it is unclear. First, it does not clarify what kind of integration policies have failed. Second, their study does not define a clear timeframe for such an analysis. Simply put, it did not specify when the integration policies at issue failed. These flaws in this argument expose its fragility, thus making it unlikely. As a result, there is a need to conduct an in-depth investigation into this detail, which is what this present study attempts to do.

The fourth line of argument blames Sub-Saharan Africa's isolationist policies for the region's underdevelopment because of globalisation. Ajayi (2003) clarifies this by affirming

⁴ AGOA is a trade agreement adopted by the United States Congress in 2000. It seeks to promote economic growth by encouraging good governance and open markets

⁵ According to the OECD, MAI sought an autonomous international treaty open to both OECD and non-OECD nations.

that many States of that region adopted a closed-economy approach to development, which entailed high tariff barriers and an import substitution strategy. In simple terms, the import substitution strategy means – in this research context – that States should minimise their dependence on external production and rely more on national ones. It is a strategy inclined toward promoting domestic industries to achieve some levels of development. Indeed, the many SSA States that have adopted this strategy did not experience any growth as expected. If Ajayi's (2003) explanation is taken for granted, does it explain why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Angola and Mozambique? His description, which is almost similar to the explanation provided by Schneider (2003), suffers from generalisation problems as it cannot be used to generalise the Angolan and Mozambican States' situations. These countries opened their market between 1975 and 2000. On that account, this research aims to solve such generalisation problems by focusing only on the two States mentioned above.

1.1.3. Fifth and sixth debates: exploitative foreign relations and premature trade liberalisation

The fifth debate states that Africa's exploitative foreign relations and entrapment are why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of many, if not all, States of that part of the world. This argument, chiefly advocated by Schneider (2003), shares some features with the previous one. Schneider (2003) put forward his thesis by dividing Africa into isolated and non-isolated regions. He argues that the African States that were not isolated from the global system were subject to exploitative relations of global integration. If this is the case, why have not those States isolated themselves in the hope that they could avoid the negative impact of globalisation? Schneider (2003) provides the answer to this question. He maintains that those States isolated from the world economy [to prevent the underdevelopment caused by globalisation] have resisted further relations with other states due to their exploitative nature. Accordingly, SSA States have suffered from their isolationist policies, resulting in stagnation of those States in technological development. Is this a convincing argument? This argument fails to consider that the many African States were already integrated into the global economy at the time under analysis. In this case, they were already part of an ongoing process of globalisation which they could not run away or isolate themselves from.

Another point evident in the fifth debate is the fact that many scholars consider globalisation as a form of entrapment for Africa, and that is the cause why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Angola and Mozambique. Supporters of such a contention include

Akindele et al. (2002). They argue that multilateral agreements and international institutions are led by the Western States to the detriment of Africa. From their perspective, this form of entrapment not only leads to the exploitation of the poorer States of Africa by the wealthier States of the global north but also continues to generate a particular vulnerability of those exploited States to foreign parasitic economic management. Is this debate well-founded? Does it provide a solid answer to the research question of this study? This argument of Africa's entrapment as the reason why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Angola and Mozambique is not plausible. Otherwise, it would have to be assumed that these States were still wholly governed by external powers in the 1975-2000 period, which is not veracious as these States do enjoy the principles of independence and self-determination from that period onwards. In simple words, this debate ignores the fact that these developing States are rational and do not relate to other (developed) States without first analysing the costs and benefits. As such, it does not clearly answer this research question, and for this reason, this research will consider these States as rational actors that engage in world relations in pursuit of their interests.

The sixth debate in the literature highlights the premature trade liberalisation of SSA States as to why globalisation led to their underdevelopment. The starting point of this debate is that early trade liberalisation jeopardised the (prospects) of (economic) development in the SSA States under comparative analysis (Sundaram, Schwank & Arnim, 2011). This argument advanced by these academics is not persuasive, as they also fall into the trap of considering globalisation as a process from which the Angolan and Mozambican States can escape. In simple terms, they ignore the fact that globalisation is an abstract process in which the Angolan and Mozambican States cannot decide whether they want to be part of this process or not. In this way, trade liberalisation has already been part of this unstoppable and progressive phenomenon within these two States under discussion since their post-independence period when globalisation began to impact them. Thence, this study does not ignore this fact; instead, it takes it for granted and places the States at issue in this period within this inevitable process. That being the case, the claim that the premature liberalisation of trade is the reason why globalisation has led to the underdevelopment of Angola and Mozambique is vague and refutable.

A further point of the sixth debate is proffered by Mkandawire (2005), who affirmed in his article entitled "Maladjusted African Economies and Globalisation" that [during the post-independence period] insufficient time has elapsed to realise the benefits of globalisation. Indeed, as Mkandawire himself points out, this explanation is questionable. The chief idea of

this explanation is that globalisation did not actually result in the underdevelopment of the Mozambican and Angolan States. Still, the core issue is the time that has not elapsed yet so that the States under discussion can start experiencing development led by globalisation. In a word, this explanation contends that eventually, globalisation leads to the development of the Mozambican and the Angolan States and not the opposite being researched in this study. Why is this explanation implausible? Why does not it explain why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola? This explanation is contentious because its advocates, BWIs (Bretton Woods Institutions), maintained that trade liberalisation should have generated rapid development. However, such an accelerated development claimed by these institutions is identified as “perverse development (or growth)” by Schneider (2003). Perverse growth is the idea that the post-1975 African States experienced development that debilitates, instead of increasing, the economy’s potential for extensive and durable development (Giovanni, 2003).

1.1.4. The seventh and eighth debates: fall in the volume of investment/foreign aid and fragility of state institutions

The seventh debate in the literature attributes the decline in the volume of investment and the volume of trade in Africa as what triggered globalisation to lead to these states' underdevelopment, particularly Mozambique and Angola. Edoho (2001), in his paper entitled “Globalization and Marginalization of Africa: Contextualization of China—Africa Relations”, stated in the very beginning that these two factors, coupled with the decline in the levels of economic aid to SSA and of technical assistance to SSA, had placed these countries in an undesirable or unfavourable position. This is an easy argument to follow. Its core idea is based on the fact that the many SSA States have depended on foreign investment to boost their development. For this reason, an increase in the investment level should have benefited them. However, as Edoho (2003) and Kai & Hamori (2009) argued, these States have received limited foreign direct investment into their domains from the West [and China].

Furthermore, Sundaram, Schwank & Arnim (2011) argue that foreign direct investment in SSA was primarily limited to resource extraction instead of fostering development [in Angola and Mozambique from 1975 to 2000]. Not only that, but also the levels of economic aid and technical assistance to SSA Africa have decreased. This has led to the detriment of Mozambique and Angola, the SSA States, whose development still depends on foreign states'

donations since 1975. Although this argument is appealing, it does not answer this study's research question.

If this argument is taken for granted, there will not be the kind of interdependent inter-State relations defined by globalisation. The crucial principle of globalisation is interdependence between States and not the dependence of some States (Mozambique and Angola) on other States (the Western States and China), as put forward by this seventh debate. Under those circumstances, this argument cannot wholly explain why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola as it neglects the core principle of globalisation: interdependence. Accordingly, this present study attempts to provide arguments without ignoring this fundamental principle of globalisation and will also develop this seventh argument.

The eighth debate in the literature put forward the weak States' structures or institutions as to why globalisation has resulted in SSA States' underdevelopment. In the context of globalisation, Lumumba-Kasongo (2002) maintains that what has led to the underdevelopment of SSA is their weak (or absence of) national structure or institutions. In that, State executives have been confused about creating agenda for social progress for Africa. This argument is related to one of this study's hypotheses. However, this eighth debate is unduly broad because not all SSA States have the same level of (national) structural or institutional weakness. For this reason, this research aims at advancing more narrow arguments in that they will be confined to only two SSA States – Mozambique and Angola.

1.2. FILLING THE GAP: THE SCHOLARLY DEBATES AGAINST THIS STUDY HYPOTHESES

In a word, in the context of this study's research question, eight scholarly debates have been exposed and analysed in this chapter. The first point of contention claims that globalisation has caused underdevelopment in the SSA States because it is not a force for their development but marginalisation. Therefore, it has brought indebtedness and underdevelopment to them rather than development. The second and third arguments attest that neoliberalism and integration policies are why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of SSA States – Mozambique and Angola between 1975 and 2000. To put it simply, this perspective affirms that the policies designed to integrate SSA States into the global economy and international institutions such as the WB, IMF, and WTO have promoted their underdevelopment instead of their development. The fourth point of contention affirms that

sub-Saharan Africa's isolationist approach has caused their underdevelopment in the context of globalisation. The fifth and sixth arguments name the following three factors that have made globalisation a phenomenon of underdevelopment in the SSA States: exploitative foreign relations, entrapment, and premature trade liberalisation of SSA States. The seventh point of contention declares that the decline in the volume of foreign direct investment, trade, economic aid and technical assistance is why globalisation has led to SSA states' underdevelopment. The last argument holds that SSA structures and institutions are why globalisation led to their underdevelopment, particularly in Mozambique and Angola in the 1975-2000 period.

In what context do this study's research question and hypotheses fall into the eight current debates in the literature analysed above? Why does the research question of this study remain at the centre of the academic discussion? Why is it essential to answer this? What are the (possible implications) of this research for the above debate? What is the gap that needs to be filled in?

It is worth pointing out that the above-mentioned scholarly answers (debates) to the research question of this study have some weaknesses. First of all, they all provide arguments for Africa as a whole; they assume that their views apply to each State of Africa. Inevitably, they provide unverified generalisations as to why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of SSA. However, this is unlikely because different causes (their arguments) cannot be generalised to each SSA state. On that account, this present study aims at filling this first gap by being confined to the study of two States, Mozambique and Angola. Second, not all of these scholars limit their analysis to a specific period. This is unlikely to provide accurate results, especially in this case where the critical variable under study is globalisation and coupled with the fact that many of the SSA States are latecomers in the globalisation process. As a result, this research seeks to fill this time-related gap by analysing the two states under discussion, Mozambique and Angola, in a specific period from 1975 to 2000 to answer the research question accurately. Third, much of the scholarly debate is based on interpretive judgments without resorting to empirical data. Thence, a gap must be filled to obtain plausible results (arguments). Therefore, the present study will fill this third gap by providing empirical data to support the ideas presented in this paper.

In a word, the literature revealed that many contentious points had been put forward to answer this research question, but there are still gaps. For this reason, the hypotheses of this

research are situated therein to fill these gaps. Therefore, this research wants to test the following hypotheses (already mentioned in the introduction):

- 1) Globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola due to the inadequate policies provided by the agents of globalisation, namely the IMF and WB, from 1975 to 2000
- 2) Globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola due to their ineffectiveness in formulating practical policies to benefit from globalisation from 1975 to 2000
- 3) Globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola due to the exploitative nature of the (inter)dependent relations to which these two states were subject to by globalisation from 1975 to 2000

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1. CONCEPTUALISATION

2.1.1. Underdevelopment: a traditional concept

Before going any further, to answer the research question of this paper, which is “why did globalisation lead to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000”, it is crucial to clarify the meaning of the critical concepts of this research: *underdevelopment* and *globalisation*. It is essential to clarify these concepts because they will set the stage in which the author of this paper will conduct his study: the framework and limits within which underdevelopment and globalisation are defined, understood and conceived by the author to answer his research question.

To begin with, this study’s notion of *underdevelopment* does not considerably deviate from its traditional meaning. However, there are some key differences worth noting. According to Mead (1962), the concept of underdevelopment refers to a country’s position concerning industrialisation. According to this author, such a position, which is disadvantageous by nature, signifies that industrial development might occur. Although this definition [of underdevelopment] is informative, this research will narrow it. Accordingly, underdevelopment is here defined as a stage characterised by negative changes and backwardness in a country’s different domains, such as social, political, economic, and technological. This understanding of underdevelopment will help achieve this research’s primary goal.

2.1.2. Globalisation: a loaded term

The second concept worth clarifying in this research is globalisation. Globalisation is a broad, contested and ambiguous concept. As a *broad concept*, it has been widely conceived in many different ways by interdisciplinary scholars. As a *contested concept*, scholars have no agreement on what the globalisation process stands for. As an *ambiguous concept*, it has received many academic meanings and definitions, mainly in the field of International Relations (IR), International Political Economy (IPE) and Globalization Studies (GS).

Under those circumstances, how has globalisation been defined? What are the prominent definitions of such a phenomenon? The literature reveals that globalisation has been defined – in four (4) different ways – as:

- a) Intensification
- b) Internationalisation
- c) Liberalisation
- d) Universalisation

What does each of the above definitions imply? What is the gist of each definition?

The definition of globalisation as *intensification* is apparent in Anthony Giddens' writings. In his book, "The Consequences of Modernity", Giddens says that "globalisation can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations that link distant localities so that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." (Giddens, 1999, p.64)

Giddens defines globalisation as the augmentation of global social relations. His core idea of globalisation is based on the fact that what happens in a particular State will eventually influence another State and inversely. The local happenings advocated by Giddens can be driven, for instance, by financial factors or advances in communications. A practical application of Giddens' definition of globalisation is the covid-19 pandemic. When this infectious disease was first discovered and started genuinely hitting only China in early 2020, the Chinese government decided to shut down the country to contain the spread of such viruses worldwide. As a result, many States – the case of Angola and Mozambique – whose economies depended on the Chinese began to suffer the consequences of what was happening in China, even though the covid-19 pandemic had not yet started to affect these two States.

Another definition of globalisation was put forward by Hirst and Thompson (1997), who define it as *internationalisation*. They defend that globalisation is the process of internationalisation. In this vein, globalisation means increasing the number of transactions and interdependence among countries. Some examples of internationalisation could be when investments, people, or ideas cross borders among different countries—their definition advocates for a progressive internationalisation of the financial market (money and capital markets). For example, in the case under analysis in this research, Mozambique and Angola, this internationalisation process would include eliminating or reducing trade barriers in

financial services and opening Angolan and Mozambican financial markets to foreign and non-financial institutions.

Other scholars, such as Scholte (2005), consider globalisation as the process of *liberalisation*. This third definition of globalisation is related to the second one – globalisation as internationalisation. However, some minor differences are worth noting. Globalisation as liberalisation means the reduction of restrictions on the free exchange of goods (and services) between States. It implies the flow of international trade and capital without the interference of the State through barriers. One can think of this concept as the reverse process of protectionism. Considering the cases under analysis in this research, Mozambique and Angola, an application of this definition would entail the removal of Mozambican and Angolan protectionist policies against foreign goods in favour of free movements of the latter. According to this perspective, opening Mozambican and Angolan economies to foreign goods would benefit these States and other States involved in this process. Nevertheless, this was not the case from 1975 to 2000 in these States.

Globalisation is also understood to be *universalisation*. This definition of globalisation is straightforward. According to this perspective, globalisation is the harmonisation, standardisation, normalisation, and uniformisation of worldwide aspects such as values, ideas, politics, culture, legality, objects, economy, and many more.

Assume that each of the definitions of globalisation provided above is taken for granted in the meantime. That being said, the following questions arise:

- a) First, provided that globalisation is conceived as the intensification of global social relations as Giddens does, then why have such worldwide social relations led to the underdevelopment of Mozambican and Angolan nations from 1975 to 2000? In other words, why did Mozambican and Angolan nations not benefit positively from globalisation, but the opposite happened from 1975 to 2000?
- b) Second, if globalisation is defined as the internationalisation process, why did the Mozambican and Angolan States not develop through this internationalisation process (of the financial market) instead of lagging behind in the 1975-2000 period while their counterparts benefited from it?
- c) Third, why did Mozambique and Angola not develop in the 1975-2000 period, considering that globalisation is conceived as liberalisation of the (domestic) markets favouring a global one – free trade?

- d) Fourth, on the assumption that globalisation is defined as the uniformisation of global aspects such as economic policies and values, why did the Mozambican and Angolan States not develop as their developed counterparts from 1975 to 2000 since they all share the same ambition and interest in gaining benefits from globalisation?

Which definition is most convenient for this research purpose? In other words, what does the author of this paper mean when he uses the term globalisation? How does he define it? The use and meaning of the term globalisation in this research do not differ considerably from the dominant ones in the literature, those discussed above, since it embraces them. Therefore,

Globalisation is defined here as the process of political, economic, social and technological integration among the world States. This integration's end process is to intensify relations and interdependence among them. It is worth mentioning that the main objective of such interdependent State relations is the benefit of each State involved.

Considering the researcher's above definition of globalisation in this paper, now it is time to return to the research question: *why did globalisation lead to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000?* In other words, why did political, economic, social, and technological integration lead to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola? Furthermore, why did the interdependent relations among Mozambique, Angola and other States lead to their underdevelopment in the 1975-2000 period?

2.1.3. Globalisation and its agents

Globalisation is not an independent, self-contained phenomenon per se that guides itself around the world. To put it in another way, some actors influence globalisation as a world process, and without them, today's globalisation would not exist per se. As Ani (2003) mentioned, these actors can be States and non-State actors, such as international economic or financial institutions (for instance, the IMF, WB, WTO), civil societies, intergovernmental organisations (for example, the United Nations, African Union, European Union), regional organisations (for instance, SADC, ECOWAS), multinational cooperations, regional free trade associations (for example, AFCFTA) to name a few. These actors are also known as "agents", "forces", or "enablers" of globalisation since they are the ones who promote and bring globalisation to life or existence throughout the world. It is crucial to keep this fact in mind when reading this research.

2.1.4. Globalisation: dimensions and indicators

The author's above definition highlights four (4) essential dimensions of globalisation: political, economic, social and technological. Although there are some other dimensions of globalisation, such as ideological (Steger 2003), and cultural and environmental (Mazilu 2010) dimensions, this study will limit itself to only two (2) dimensions featured in the researcher's above definition of globalisation. In this sense, the researcher intends to answer his research question based on two (2) dimensions: political and economic.

This subsection will examine these two (2) dimensions and their respective indicators. They are essential as they help the author focus on the vital aspects of data analysis and findings when answering the research question. In a word, they will guard the research against possible digression.

a) Political dimension

The political dimension of globalisation deals with the political expansion of political interconnectedness among States. As Steger (2003) states, it refers to the intensification of political interrelations worldwide. This dimension encompasses aspects such as:

- a. The role of intergovernmental organisations and regional blocs
- b. The rule and governance at the global level
- c. The membership of States in regional and international organisations
- d. The devolution of State power to regional or intergovernmental institutions.

How does this paper contemplate the political dimension of globalisation in Mozambique and Angola? The indicators of the political dimension of globalisation to answer the research question of this paper include the following:

- a. Mozambique and Angola's membership in international organisations
- b. Mozambique and Angola's membership in the United Nations
- c. Mozambique and Angola's membership in regional organisations
- d. Mozambique and Angola's diplomatic and political relations with third States
- e. Mozambique and Angola's participation in multilateral agreements
- f. Mozambican and Angolan political movements/parties

In this research, a clear example of the political dimension of globalisation would be the grown impact of Mozambique and Angola's relations with communist countries, such as the USSR and Cuba, from 1975 to 2000. In this dimensional context, the author's research question can be reformulated: why did Mozambique and Angola's ties with socialist States lead to the underdevelopment of the States at issue in the 1975-2000 period?

b) Economic dimension

The economic dimension of globalisation refers to the increase in economic interconnectedness and interrelations among countries worldwide. According to Steger (2003), this dimension of globalisation deals with the following aspects:

- a. The internationalisation of trade and finance
- b. The role of economic and financial institutions
- c. The role of transnational and multinational corporations

It describes the way markets have developed interdependence among States' economies. In the last centuries, this economic interdependence among States has been noticeable with the emergence of international economic (and financial) institutions and regional free trading zones. This has resulted in a new global economic order, as Steger (2003) argued. Some of the leading international economic (and financial) institutions are (i) International Monetary Fund; (ii) World Bank (former International Bank for Reconstruction and Development); (iii) World Trade Organisation (former General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade).

How does this research examine the prevalence of the economic dimension of globalisation in Mozambique and Angola? The set of indicators measuring the economic dimension of globalisation in this research are :

- a. International trade
- b. Foreign direct investment flows
- c. Payments (including donors) received
- d. Free trade agreements and market liberalisation

A precise application of this dimension to this research's case would be the Mozambican and Angolan economies' increased (inter)dependence on Western ones in the 1975-2000 period. As previously defined, globalisation in this context means economic interdependence among States. Interestingly, the alleged economic interdependence between Mozambican and

Angolan economies, and other states, in particular the developed ones, did not bring any (significant) benefit to these two sub-Saharan African States in the 1975-2000 period. Instead, these States were witnessing a progressive increase in their level of underdevelopment and the progressive growth of the States with which they maintained these (inter)dependent economic relations. In light of the author's research question, what drove this zero-sum economic interdependence among them? To put it simply, why did Mozambican and Angolan States not benefit from the economic interconnectedness with other States from 1975 to 2000? Why did such economic interconnectedness lead to these two sub-Saharan States' underdevelopment in the same period?

The following table summarises the core dimensions of globalisation and their respective indicators employed in this research to answer the pending research question.

Table 1: Dimensions and indicators of globalisation relevant to this research

DIMENSIONS OF GLOBALISATION IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA	INDICATORS OF GLOBALISATION IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Mozambique and Angola’s membership in international organisations b. Mozambique and Angola’s political movements and parties c. Mozambique and Angola’s membership in the United Nations d. Mozambique and Angola’s membership in regional organisations e. Mozambique and Angola’s diplomatic and political relations with third States f. Mozambique and Angola’s participation in multilateral agreements
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Foreign aid and donations b. International trade c. Foreign direct investment flows d. Payments received e. Free trade agreements and market liberalisation

Source: Author’s elaboration

2.2. RESEARCH METHODS

As it was clarified from the beginning, this study aims to answer why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000. That said, how will such a question be answered? What are methods to be used in order to answer that question?

Which International Relations approaches will this study adopt? Why such methods and approaches are crucial to answer the question at issue?

A comparative case study method will be adopted to answer this research question. This research method is preferred for the following reasons. Firstly, a comparative case study method will provide qualitative and reasonable quantitative data analysis tools to compare Mozambique and Angola within the limits of this research's primary objective. Secondly, this method will help the researcher discover why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of both States in the 1975-2000 period. Thirdly, this method is vital as it will allow the author to compare these countries sharing similar underdevelopment trends from 1975 to 2000. Not only do they share these trends, but they also are surrounded by similar historical backgrounds. To illustrate, both States were under Portuguese domination for centuries before their independence in 1975. These and other reasons, such as political and economic parallels, are further detailed in the following subchapter of this paper. Finally, these countries also share a crucial, often neglected, political factor. From 1975 to 2000, both countries were ruled by the same political parties (MPLA⁶ and FRELIMO⁷), which brought colonial liberalisation and independence. Accordingly, these states' engagement in world affairs and how they coped with globalisation were shaped by the political agenda and internal policies of these two political parties. This aspect is crucial to verifying and expanding one of this present study's hypotheses. To put it briefly, the comparative case study method will allow the author of this research to compare countries with similar conditions, Mozambique and Angola, to seek potential and practical explanations of why globalisation led to their underdevelopment between 1975 and 2000.

Furthermore, this research will adopt the empirical approach to studying international relations. Generally, in IR, there are two competing approaches in which research is grounded: empiricism and interpretivism. The first seeks to explain the causes of a phenomenon or event; its aim is often to answer the "why" of a particular occurrence or event. The latter seeks to deconstruct the fundamental premises that support the conventional understanding; its goal is often to respond to the "how" of a particular trend. For example, in the context of the present

⁶ MPLA stands for *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (in English, it means *People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola*). This is the Angolan political party under discussion that governed that country from 1975 to 2000. In fact, it still governs that State (to this day since) it is in power. It was founded in 1956.

⁷FRELIMO stands for *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (in English, it means *Liberation Front of Mozambique*). This is the Mozambican political party under discussion that ruled that country from 1975 to 2000. Indeed, it still leads that State (to this day) since it is in power. It was founded in 1962.

study, this approach would aim to understand ideas, values, culture, identity and social meanings related to globalisation discourse in the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola; it would aim at interrogating the positivistic meaning of globalisation discourse on the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola. Nevertheless, this research does not embrace this approach, interpretivism; instead, it favours the empirical one.

The empirical approach will be used in this research as its goal is not to understand but to explain why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola in the 1975-2000 period. Embracing the empirical approach in this research is fundamental for two reasons. Firstly, unlike other traditional approaches, empiricism will allow the author of this research to make empirical observations – through primary data – and explain the underdevelopment trend caused by globalisation in a two and a half-decade period, from 1975 to 2000. Second, this approach will also help the author verify this study's hypotheses (underlined above) through empirical data. All of this will be practical in this study if the empirical approach to the study of international relations is employed.

2.3. DATA COLLECTION

To answer the research question of this study, the author will collect data from three sources. First, he will gather data from the KOF globalisation index, which will allow him to measure the first main variable of this study: globalisation. By measuring this variable through this index, it will be possible to see the level of globalisation that Mozambique and Angola had in the period 1975-2000 to contrast with their level of development. Second, he will also collect data from international organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to measure the second primary variable of this study: underdevelopment. By measuring this concept with data from these institutions, it will be possible to compare it with data collected from the first source on the globalisation index. Third, he will finally collect data from previous research – which are case studies about the same countries as this study – with a topic related to this study; this research is by Hanlon (2004, 2010, 2016), Pycroft (1994), Ferreira (2002) and Cruz (2016). This third source is critical because it will help the author build his arguments and provide a comprehensive, accurate, and straightforward answer to the research question of this study.

2.4. RESEARCH DELIMITATION

As it should have been clear from the beginning, it is essential to state that the scope of this study is delimited by two aspects: one spatial and the other temporal.

This research is confined to the 1975-2000 period on the temporal side. This means that the analysis and findings of this research question will be based on that period; that is, this study seeks explanations of why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000. Why is this period-appropriate to answer this study's question? This period is relevant to achieving the primary objective of this study because it was from 1975 that those States gained independence. As a result, they began engaging in international relations as independent States. By illustration, these newly independent States began pursuing their interests by establishing diplomatic, political, and economic ties with other States, NGOs and IGOs.

Additionally, as they got independence, they had – automatically – to cope with some of the world phenomena occurring for an extended period, such as globalisation, democratisation and so forth. This period is crucial as it can be considered the initial period in which Mozambique and Angola started being impacted by globalisation as independent and sovereign entities. It is essential in this case to explicate why globalisation led to their underdevelopment during their early years of global integration either in the economic, political, social, or technological dimensions.

On the spatial side, this research is confined to the study of only two SSA States: Mozambique and Angola. Why are Mozambican and Angolan States good candidates to answer the research question of this study? In other words, why can such States help the researcher explain why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of those countries and potentially pave the way to describe the same situation occurring in SSA as a whole? These two (2) States have been chosen for this study for the following reasons. First, when they started being integrated into the globalisation process from 1975 to 2000 as independent and sovereign States, they also started experiencing underdevelopment. This aspect makes them a fertile zone to understand why during the 1975-2000 period, globalisation has led to their underdevelopment instead of development. Second, these States share some political and economic features. For example, both were under Portuguese colonial rule until 1975. Needless to say, the period of Portuguese colonialism was characterised by the over-exploitation of Mozambique and Angola's resources. Accordingly, political and economic problems emerged when those countries gained independence in 1975. In addition to that, in terms of international relations, both States were aligned with the Eastern Bloc, in particular the Soviet Union. The diplomatic ties with the Eastern Bloc were particularly predominant during their post-independence period (that is, after 1975) until the period before their democratisation. In

economic terms, these States roughly share the same trends. For example, from 1981 to 2000, both States showed a non-steady and fluctuating economic growth. It is worth mentioning that such fluctuations are regressive in nature in the sense that when there is a decrease in the level of GDP, for instance, it is characterised by a dramatic decline in economic growth, but when GDP increases, there is a slight, inappreciable and unnoticeable economic growth. These trends and features make these States a good fit for this research. To put it simply, these States, which share similar political and economic characteristics from 1975 to 2000, will provide an accurate explanation as to why globalisation led to their underdevelopment in that particular period.

CHAPTER 3: DATA ANALYSIS, FINDINGS, AND DISCUSSION

In this – third – chapter, the author (i) analyses the data, (ii) presents his findings and (iii) discusses them. As this research has two dimensions – one political and one economic – each one has these three subchapters (data analysis, findings, and discussion). That said, the author of this paper does not add a separate –fourth – chapter to discuss the findings only, as this is not a primarily quantitative study but a largely qualitative one. Therefore, for there to be a coherent, precise, and clear development of the research question of this study, it is necessary to have these three subchapters (and not a separate fourth chapter) for each of the two dimensions.

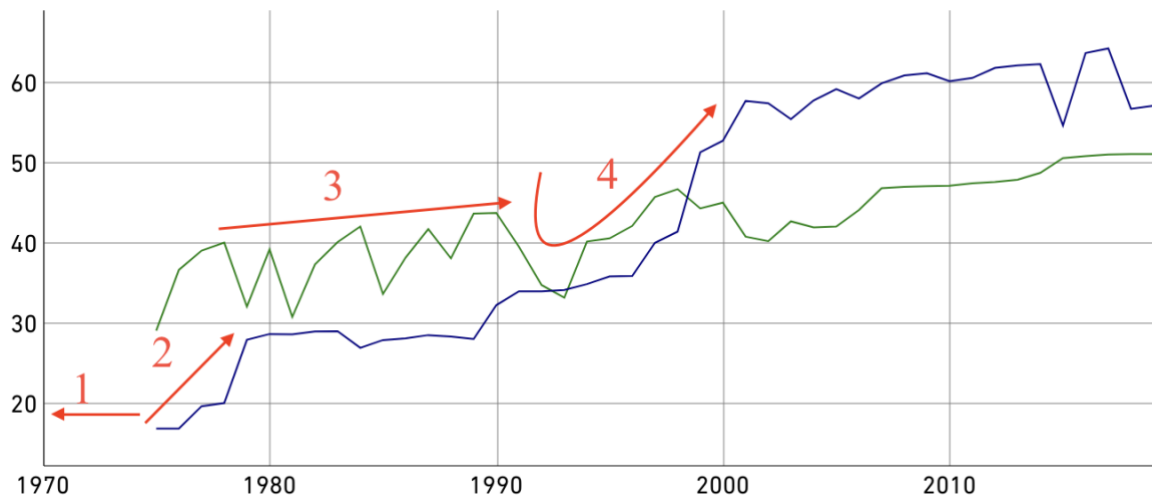
3.1. POLITICAL DIMENSION

This subchapter deals with the political dimension of globalisation of the author’s research question and includes two aspects. On the one hand, he analyses the relevant data – predominantly summarised in figures (graphs and maps) – and presents the respective findings. On the other hand, he will discuss these results to explain the main patterns, trends and relationships observed.

3.1.1. Data analysis and findings

Observe [Figure 1](#) and [Figure 2](#) below. [Figure 1](#) shows the globalisation index in the political dimension (political globalisation, for short). [Figure 2](#) provides an overview of the indicators of political globalisation against underdevelopment. Both figures deal with Mozambique and Angola. Always keep in mind that globalisation and underdevelopment are the main variables of this research, and that is why the data in the figures below needs to be analysed.

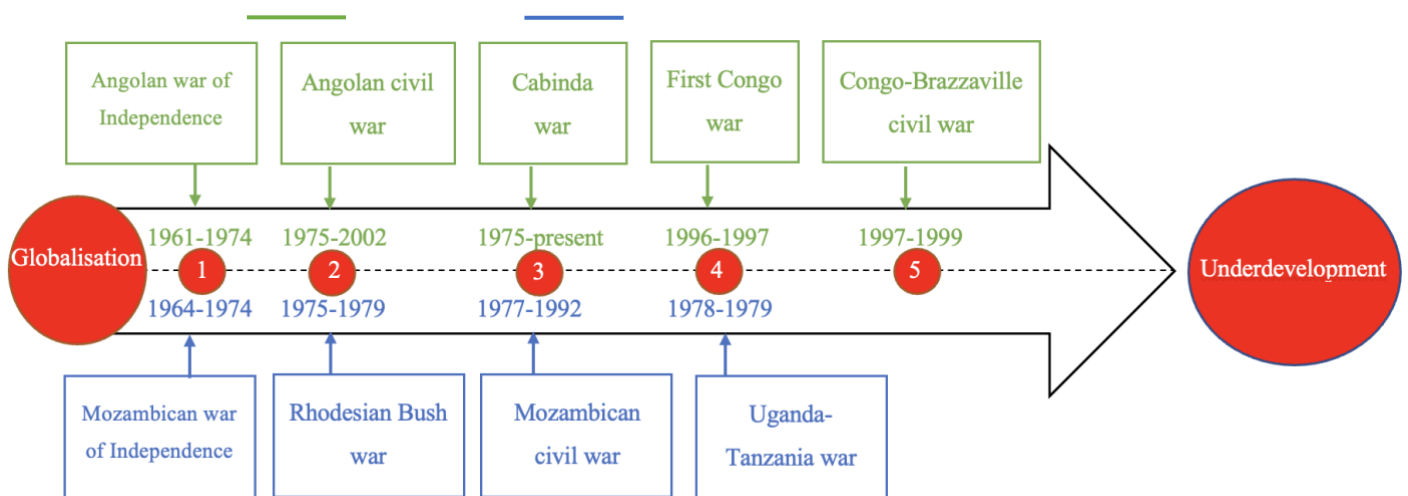
Figure 1: Political globalisation of Angola and Mozambique from 1970 to 2019



Legend: — Angola — Mozambique

Source: KOF⁸ globalisation index

Figure 2: Mozambican and Angolan (political) globalisation agents against development



Legend: — Angola — Mozambique

Source: Author's elaboration based on data from Kalley, Schoeman, and Andor (1999)

Before proceeding, five brief points are worth mentioning in Figure 1 and Figure 2. First, the period of the above globalisation index – in Figure 1 – is from 1970 to 2019; however,

⁸ The KOF Index of Globalisation is an index measuring the level of globalisation in three dimensions economic, political and social. It was developed by Axel Dreher. Higher values of the index denote greater globalisation.

as clarified in previous chapters, this research is limited to the analysis of data from the 1975-2000 period. Secondly, higher values of this index denote greater globalisation and, therefore, the greater the chance of globalisation to lead to the development of Angola and Mozambique, and lower values indicate lower levels of globalisation and, thus, the greater the chance of globalisation to lead to the underdevelopment of the countries under discussion. Thirdly, [Figure 2](#) shows those agents of globalisation that integrated these countries into the global world as soon as they gained their independence and became sovereign states (so this research does not analyse each of the events present in [Figure 2](#), but the main entities within it responsible for bringing political globalisation in these States and how they led to their underdevelopment). Fourth, to read [Figure 2](#), one should start reading it from the left-hand side to the right one; starting from there, one can see political globalisation – in a big red circle – to indicate the fact that this phenomenon did exist in the world even before Mozambique and Angola started their independence wars, but they were not yet part of it until their actual independence in 1975 – and can also contemplate many directional globalisation phases – in small numbered red circles – towards underdevelopment (the last big red circle on the right side). Fifth, (i) [Figure 1](#) and [Figure 2](#) demonstrate how politically globalised Mozambique and Angola were, (ii) how this level of political globalisation paved the way for their underdevelopment, and (iii) why. Having said that, [Figure 1](#) and [Figure 2](#) have four significant findings (each finding is highlighted in red in [Figure 1](#)).

To begin with, before 1975, the level of globalisation for both countries under discussion is nil (see red number 1 in [Figure 1](#)). Why does this figure not show the level of globalisation in Mozambique and Angola? The straightforward answer to this question is the fact that before 1975 these countries were not independent entities; that is, they were colonised entities and therefore did not enjoy the principles of international law of independence and self-determination. This also indicates that these countries were not yet part of political globalisation, but the circled number 1 in [Figure 2](#) indicates that this globalisation existed and, therefore, when these States became sovereign and independent in 1975, they were automatically part of it. The immediate consequence of Mozambique and Angola not being part of political globalisation was the lack of interdependence between them – on the one hand – and other sovereign States – on the other. Interdependence (between entities/states), as explained in the previous chapter, is a crucial principle of globalisation, and without it, the globalisation process cannot occur. To be brief, the first finding of the analyses of [Figure 1](#) and [Figure 2](#) is that neither the benefits (development) nor the consequences (underdevelopment)

of globalisation for these two countries can be seen or explained before 1975 because they were not part of political globalisation. This situation was highlighted by the author of this paper with the red number 1 in [Figure 1](#) and the circled number 1 in [Figure 2](#).

Furthermore, it is observable that Mozambique and Angola, when they gained independence in 1975, started being part of the process of globalisation – on the political dimension side– and experienced some levels of development generated by the globalisation. To illustrate, the globalisation index – in [Figure 1](#) – for Mozambique started from 16.92 in 1975 to 27.99 in 1979 and Angola from 29.12 in 1975 to 40.09 in 1978. Such political globalisation was brought to Mozambique through the agents of political globalisation. If one looks at the circled numbers 2 and 3 in [Figure 2](#), one can see, on the one hand, external agents such as Rhodesia and South Africa that were leading the destabilisation war in Mozambique and Angola and, on the other hand, internal agents that were leading civil wars, namely political movements such as FRELIMO and RENAMO⁹ in Mozambique, and MPLA and UNITA¹⁰ in Angola. In short, the second finding of the analyses in [Figure 1](#) and [Figure 2](#) is that, as the level of political globalisation increased in these countries, it was also – through its agents – leading these countries to underdevelopment due to destabilisation and civil war since 1975 through the early and late 1990s (see the discussion section below for an in-depth interpretation and discussion of this finding).

Although Angola had a high level of globalisation in the political dimension than Mozambique, both convey the same message. In the beginning, both countries experienced a growing level of globalisation on the political side. This situation was highlighted by the author of this paper with red number 2 in [Figure 1](#). What does this level of globalisation include? It includes the number of embassies in these countries and their diplomatic missions to strengthen their relations; their membership in international organisations (for example, Angola was recognised and admitted by the United Nations in 1976 and Mozambique in 1975) and participation in international treaties. If from 1975 onwards, globalisation began to generate some levels of development for these two countries, why is the author of this paper researching why globalisation led to their underdevelopment from 1975 to 2000? The point is that from 1975 to the period before 1980, these countries were enjoying “slight early development

⁹ RENAMO stands for *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (in English, it means: Mozambican National Resistance). It is the second -largest Mozambican political party that founded in 1977 as a political and military movement.

¹⁰ UNITA stands for *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (in English, it means: National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). It is the second-largest Angolan political party founded in 1966.

benefits” from globalisation. This globalization-led development resulted mainly from recognition and initial aid from Mozambique and Angola as sovereign entities. This type of development was unlikely to last for years and decades to come, and for that reason, the level of globalisation began to decline in the following years (see red number 2 in [Figure 1](#)). This decrease is particularly noticeable in Angola, which reached 32.12 in 1979 compared to 40.09 in 1978. Why did these countries experience globalisation in their first years of integration and then a decline? Why did this lead to their underdevelopment? The answer to these questions is the third finding of the data analyses in [Figure 1](#) (see red number 3) and [Figure 2](#) (see the circled numbers 2, 3 and 4). The rationale of this finding is that, during the 1975-1992 period, political globalisation led these countries to underdevelopment, as they were part of Cold War’s proxy wars such as the Angolan and Mozambican civil wars, the Rhodesian Bush War and the Uganda-Tanzania War (see [Figure 2](#)). In this respect, political globalisation led the US to (indirectly) support rebel anti-communist political movements in these two countries and the USSR to support the Marxist-Leninist political movements, and the immediate consequences of this rival support were the destruction of the strategic infrastructure for development in these countries and trade blockade; both outcomes led to their underdevelopment at the end of the proxy wars in 1992. This finding will become apparent in the discussion section, which will be interpreted and developed in more detail.

Last but not least, from 1993 to 2000, both countries experienced slight fluctuating levels of globalisation. However, this is treacherous because although the level of globalisation was increasing and decreasing during this period (see red number 4 of [Figure 1](#)), the level of development was not, and this leads to the fourth finding of the analyses of the data contained in the above two figures. The result is that this period was a transitional period in which political globalisation brought many changes in the political systems of both countries, such as the introduction of the first multi-party elections and new development-oriented policies. However, such changes brought about by political globalisation were offset by the inability of these countries to adopt them effectively. For this reason, these political changes led by globalisation did not bring the envisaged development to these two States. Still, they led to their underdevelopment due to these states’ ineffectiveness in developing practical development-oriented policies. To illustrate, the immediate consequence of their ineffectiveness was the *promotion* of new conflicts in Angola – in this sense, the Angolan civil war resumed after the first multi-party elections in 1992, and the Cabinda war also continued – and the external wars also affected this country (see circled numbers 4 and 5 of [Figure 2](#))

that acted to the detriment of the country's development. In a word, this finding reveals that the problem from 1993 to 2000 was the ineffectiveness of the Mozambican and Angolan governments in dealing with the changes brought about by political globalisation that were for their development but led to their underdevelopment in the end. This will also be discussed in more detail in the discussion section.

3.1.2. Discussion

In the previous subsections, the primary data of this research related to political globalisation and underdevelopment in Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000 were analysed. Now it is time to connect the dots, that is, to interpret the results found in these analyses and, to that end, consider the following lead-in questions. What do these results mean, and what message do they convey? What do the results presented in the previous subsections mean about the objective sought in this research? Do they answer the research question of this paper? To put it simply, what are the reasons why political globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000?

3.1.2.1. Regional destabilisation: the beginning of underdevelopment driven by political globalisation

The starting point of the discussion is that when Mozambique and Angola proclaimed their independence in 1975, they were open to political globalisation as independent states; that is, they became part of world political globalisation – a process in which many countries were part of and could not escape. On the one side, political globalisation pushed Mozambique and Angola into regional destabilisation, leading to their underdevelopment. On the other side, during that period, political globalisation– through its agents – entangled Mozambique and Angola in – what the author of this paper has termed – *deceptive international relations* as political globalisation placed these two independent and sovereign States in a disadvantageous position within the international system which resulted in these States' underdevelopment. This subsection discusses the first aspect, and the following subsection discusses the second one.

Political globalisation made Mozambique and Angola vulnerable to potential political or economic threats and dynamics. That said, one of these threats and dynamics of political globalisation brought to Mozambique and Angola by globalisation itself was the destabilisation and civil wars that set the stage for the underdevelopment of these two countries (Hanlon,

2010). It is worth mentioning that these wars were not rooted in national forces but external ones – known as agents or forces of political globalisation such as States and political movements/parties – that sponsored the former agents to destabilise the political and economic structures driving them towards underdevelopment. What is the starting point of this underdevelopment brought to Mozambique and Angola by political globalisation? As soon as Mozambique and Angola became sovereign entities in 1975 and entered the process of globalisation, they took advantage of this process to spread their ideas of liberation to neighbouring countries, namely: white South Africa¹¹ (including present-day Namibia) and Southern Rhodesia. It seems so far that Mozambique and Angola were not being underdeveloped by globalisation; on the contrary, they were benefiting from globalisation by using it to support the liberation movements in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, isn't it? Well, when Mozambique and Angola took advantage of political globalisation to support the national liberation movements in South Africa (namely movements against apartheid such as ANC¹², and movements struggling for the independence of Namibia such as SWAPO¹³) and Southern Rhodesia (namely, movements struggling for independence such as ZANLA¹⁴) what they did not know was that this very process – of political globalisation – would turn against them and prepare the scenario for their underdevelopment. In this respect, the political globalisation agents – South Africa and Southern Rhodesia – started sponsoring rebel anti-communist political movements in Mozambique and Angola to destabilise the country either in political or economic terms. In Mozambique, South Rhodesia founded RENAMO, Mozambican National Resistance (Hanlon, 2010), and in Angola, South Africa sponsored UNITA, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Pycroft, 1994). Did these national political movements bring underdevelopment, or were they trying to politically and economically stabilise their countries towards development? To put it simply, did the agents of political globalisation – Angolan and Mozambican political movements, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia – lead to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola? The straightforward answer to that question is yes. Why? It is fundamental to bring together other agents of political globalisation - namely the US and the USSR - to comprehensively, precisely,

¹¹ White South Africa, also known as apartheid South Africa, refers to a governing period when the apartheid regime ruled today's South Africa from 1948 to the early 1990s and present-day Namibia from 1916 to the early 1990s. The author of this paper will often call it South Africa for simplicity purposes.

¹² ANC stands for *African National Congress* and is a South African political party founded in 1912.

¹³ SWAPO stands for *South West Africa People's Organization* and is a Namibian political party founded in 1960 as a liberation movement.

¹⁴ ZANLA stands for *Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army* and was an active Zimbabwean liberation front from 1965 to 1980.

and coherently discuss these issues. This marks the beginning of the US-USSR cold war trap for Mozambique and Angola.

3.1.2.2. Mozambique and Angola entangled in deceptive international relations

At the end of the previous subsection, it was possible to observe that political globalisation led to Mozambique and Angola's underdevelopment, not only through civil wars – sponsored by agents of globalisation. These two countries also played a pivotal role in the cold war, mainly in the African foreign affairs, due to their connections with the soviet States (Pycroft, 1994). This shows that political globalisation placed Mozambique and Angola amid a conflicting international situation that they had not provoked, and that led them to pay a huge price from 1975 to 1991. How did such an international situation external to these countries negatively affect them? Political globalisation spread the US-USSR rivalry to these countries and made them choose allies and enemies in international relations. These countries – Mozambique and Angola – chose the USSR as their ally because their government were Marxist-Leninist. However, the US launched its attack to counter these communist countries, and this marked the beginning of the proxy war in these newly independent communist States. Political globalisation unleashed proxy war in these countries fueled by US-USSR cold war rivalry, but did it bring underdevelopment in Mozambique and Angola? If so, why?

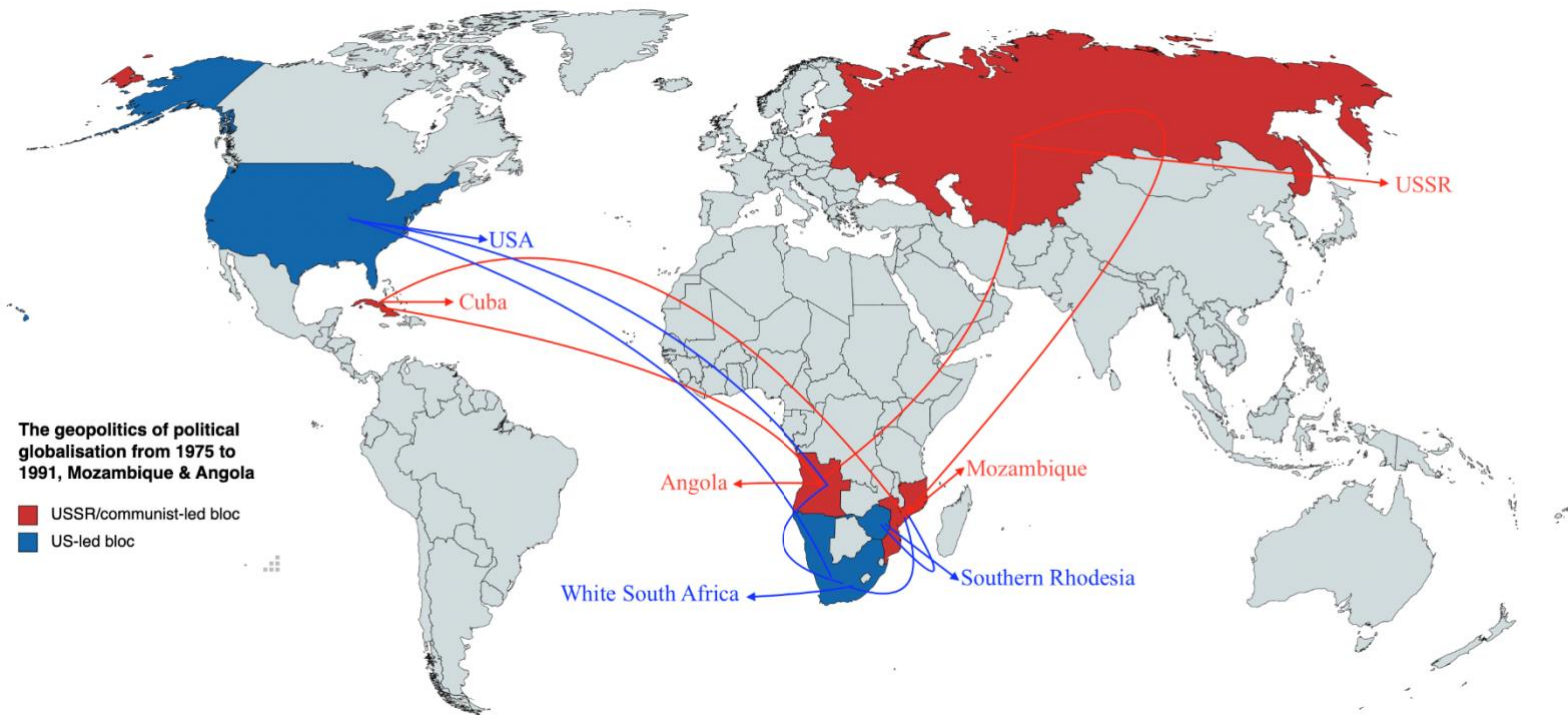
The first move to answer the above questions is the fact that the US – especially under President Ronald Reagan – adopted anti-communist policies against countries sharing ties with the Soviet Union. Mozambique and Angola had links with the Soviet Union (Hanlon, 2010). One of Reagan's US anti-communist policies was to intensify the Cold War through proxy wars in Angola and Mozambique (also in Nicaragua, but it is not important for this research). The US used South Africa as an appropriate means to achieve its anti-communist policies in SSA to the detriment of the countries under discussion led by their Marxist-Leninist liberation parties. How did political globalisation turn against Mozambique and Angola, and why did it pave the way for their underdevelopment? The US supported white South Africa as a potential ally against the spread of communist countries in southern Africa. With such support from the US, white South Africa was given the freedom to *hegemonise* and *destabilise* the Southern African region. Therefore, in Mozambique, white South Africa was enticed to pursue three goals: (i) to impose economic sanctions against Mozambique, launch direct attacks against this sovereignty country and sponsor RENAMO for proxy war purposes (Hanlon, 2010). In Angola, white South Africa was enticed to deploy its troops to Southern Angola (Pycroft, 1994) to

counterattack any potential threat from SWAPO – a liberation movement that Angola’s ruling Marxist-Leninist government supported. White South Africa’s actions – backed by the US to counter communism– resulted in economic and political destabilisation in these independent and sovereign countries. The final outcome was underdevelopment.

What did Mozambique and Angola’s Marxist-Leninist governments do to avoid such underdevelopment driven by political globalisation? How was the political globalisation system characterised in that period of underdevelopment? To answer these two questions, carefully observe 43 below. This map shows – what the author of this paper has coined – *the geopolitics of political globalisation from 1975 to 1991*, and it reveals how political globalisation characterised by entangled and deceptive international relations led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique. These relations – as well as the international system – were represented by two conflicting blocs.

On the one hand, there were those supported by socialists USSR and Cuba, namely, Mozambique’s FRELIMO and Angola’s MPLA – both Marxist-Leninist governments in power. This bloc was led by the USSR and represented by the red colour on the map below. On the other hand, Mozambique’s RENAMO was supported by Southern Rhodesia and white South Africa – with the US assistance – and Angola’s UNITA was supported by white South Africa and the US. This bloc was led by the US and represented by the blue colour on the map below.

Map 1: The geopolitics of political globalisation from 1975 to 1991 – Mozambique and Angola



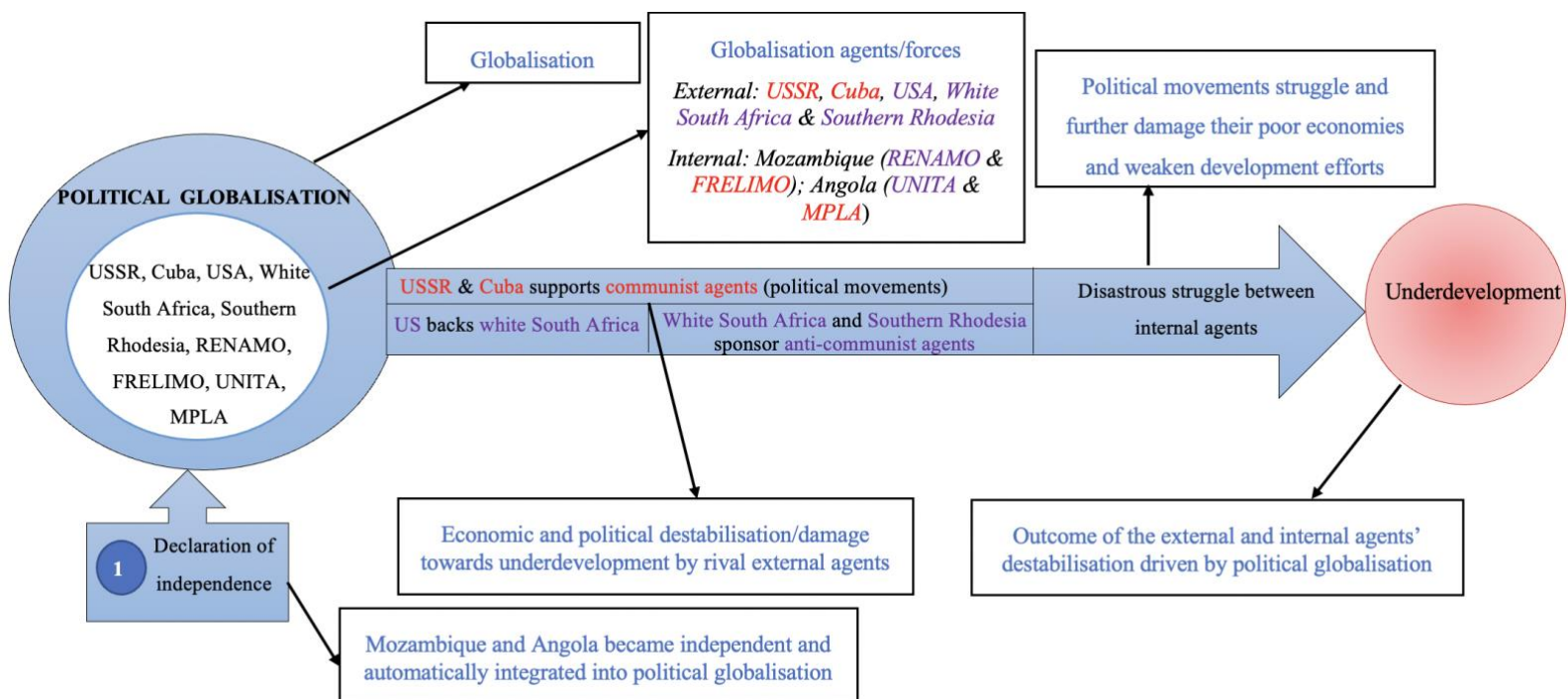
Source: Author's elaboration

Beyond the shadow of a doubt, [Map 1](#) evinces a very entangled and deceptive international system driven by political globalisation. Did all these agents of political globalisation (the blocs just mentioned) want to restore peace in Mozambique and Angola since there was a civil war? And essential for this research, were they taking advantage of the political globalisation in which all actors – internal and external – take part in promoting development in both countries? The fact is that the support provided by the US, white South Africa, USSR and Cuba resulted in continuous conflicts in Mozambique and Angola. Their support did not prevent war escalation; on the contrary, their stimulated war which brought the destruction of primary economic and political developmental infrastructures, that is, it thoroughly destroyed the social and economic infrastructures; this is not to mention the number of casualties resulting therein. In the end, all of these brought the countries to their underdevelopment. In other words, in the early 1990s – as the cold war – was coming to an end, Mozambique and Angola were characterised by underdevelopment and backwardness due to these deceptive relations driven by political globalisation, which brought inflation, a decrease in production, a considerable amount of debt (used to cover their war budget) that made it challenging to meet debt service payment from the soviet countries and traditional (western) allies. To illustrate, Angola had in this period (around the 1980s) a debt of 6.3 billion

dollars (Farnsworth, 1989); this shows that Angola was, indeed, in need of debt relief as this debt was augmenting – instead of reducing – the level of underdevelopment.

This underdevelopment landmark caused by political globalisation began with a dream of two newly independent – but communist – countries hoping to achieve development from political globalisation since their integration in 1975 and ended with an unforgettable nightmare – of their underdevelopment – in the early 1990s.

Figure 3: Political globalisation leading to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to the early 1990s



Source: Author's elaboration

The above Figure 3 provides an overview (a visual representation) of how (channels) and why (reasons) political globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from their independence (in 1975) to the early 1990s (the end of the cold war period). The channels through which political globalisation brought underdevelopment in Mozambique and Angola were the agents/forces of political globalization and were categorised into external and internal agents. The reasons why political globalization led to underdevelopment in Mozambique and Angola are the economic and political destabilisation it brought with it.

All in all, the last 16 years before the end of the cold war, that is, from 1975 to 1991, was a period in which Mozambique and Angola were driven into underdevelopment due to their high exposure to political globalisation (Nesbitt, 1992); the Cold War rivalry between the

United States and the Soviet Union played a vast (if not the only) role in this. Additionally, Mozambique and Angola – due to their immersion in the political globalisation as sovereign entities – played a pivotal position within the Cold war, a position which did not bring any development to them; on the contrary, this disastrous position brought underdevelopment and sponsored rebel anti-communist political movements that further underdeveloped these two countries. These foreign interventions have undermined Angola and Mozambique's development.

3.1.2.3. The transition period: hope for change or further underdevelopment?

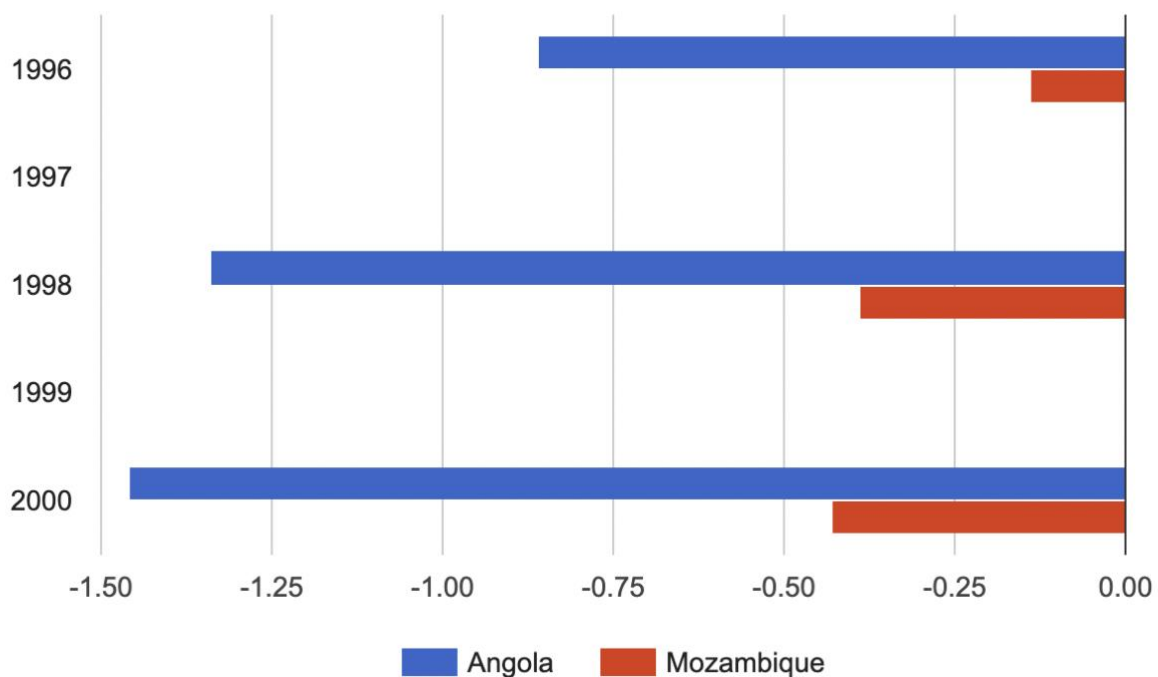
The destabilisation, civil, cold and proxy wars ended, and Mozambique and Angola were underdeveloped. Such underdevelopment was led by political globalisation – through its agents. However, in the early 1990s, both countries decided to sign peace agreements and go to their first multi-party elections. This marked their transition period from one-party governments – which were Marxist-Leninist – to multi-party ones. This transition period was driven by political globalisation as both countries were importing a new political regime into their States. This new regime was called *democracy*, so these countries went through democratisation driven by political globalisation. Did this new regime by political globalisation – from the early 1990s to 2000 – lead to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola or their underdevelopment? If so, why? This new regime did not change the underdevelopment situation in Mozambique (explained in the previous subsection). On the contrary, it intensified underdevelopment in two ways.

Firstly, after the election results in Angola, the civil war resumed, as the then losing political party, UNITA, refused to accept the electoral outcome. This resumption of the civil war, which lasted until 2002, took the country back to the previous situation of destabilisation, but without (much of) the support of the political agents of globalisation (in the 1990-2000 period, the economic - and not political - agents of globalisation were the ones that most played a significant role in both countries, see the following subsection for more). The final process of such a war was underdevelopment. What is the connection between political globalisation and the resumption of civil war in Angola, which leads to further underdevelopment? The fact is that political globalisation brought democracy to Angola, and this country was not prepared to adopt another political regime driven by globalisation, as the first socialist-inspired political regime had an undesirable result, as explained above. UNITA was unwilling to let the winning

MPLA rule the country as it was still being guided by Marxist-Leninist ideologies (although officially, they were no longer being driven by them).

Secondly, both countries were facing the problem of policy ineffectiveness. During this period, both countries could not adopt practical and appropriate policies to stimulate development in their countries. In simple words, political globalisation had the necessary forces to lead to the development of a country, but these two countries – due to their government’s inefficiency – could formulate sustainable policies to lead to their development; on the contrary, their policies were not effective enough to drive these countries out of their underdevelopment. The outcome of this inefficiency was persistent underdevelopment. Data in [Figure 4](#) can support this argument. This figure shows the levels of government capacity to formulate and implement policies. As the author of this paper just argued, both countries had a negative level of government effectiveness in formulating and enforcing policies from 1996 to 2000; in Mozambique, it reached nearly -1.50, and in Angola, it came to almost -0.50 in 2000. This means that these kinds of governments were neither effective nor committed enough to design policies to take advantage of (political) globalisation in order to drive their country from underdevelopment. Their ineffectiveness drove them to further levels of underdevelopment (this is explained in more detail in the next subchapter).

Figure 4: Government effectiveness index (-2.5 weak; 2.5 strong)



Measure: Points

Source: The World bank

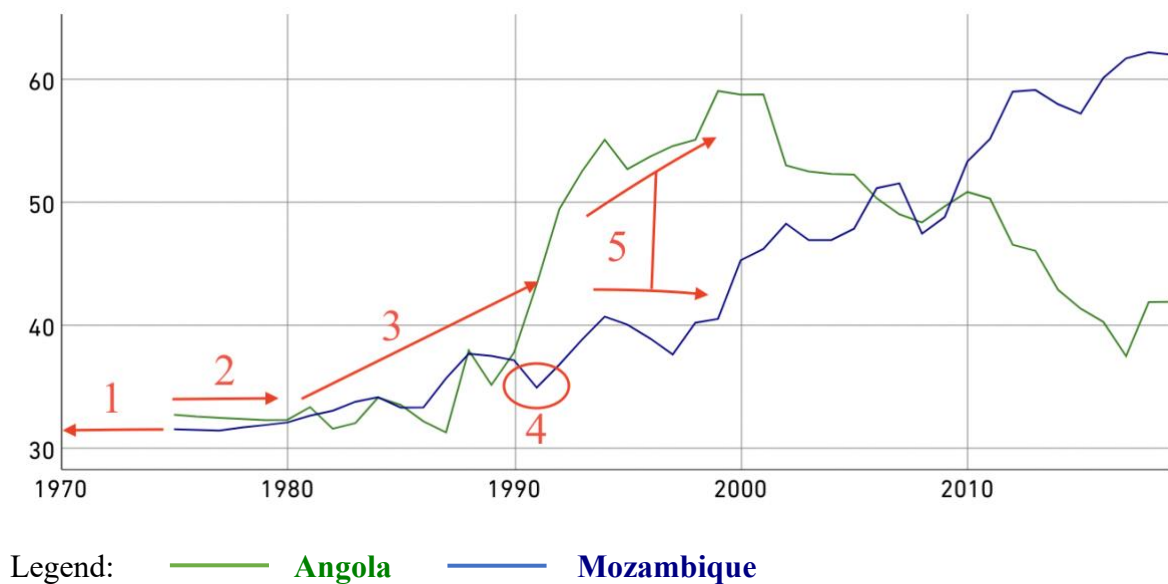
3.2. ECONOMIC DIMENSION

This subchapter deals with the economic dimension of globalisation of the author's research question and includes two aspects. On the one hand, it analyses the relevant data – predominantly summarised in figures (graphs and maps) – and presents the respective findings. On the other hand, it will discuss these results to explain the main patterns, trends and relationships observed.

3.2.1. Data analysis and finding

Observe [Figure 5](#) and [Figure 6](#) below. [Figure 5](#) shows the globalisation index in the economic dimension (economic globalisation, for short). [Figure 6](#) provides an overview of the rate of change in GDP (economic growth) and helps visualise how Mozambique and Angola were developed as part of economic globalisation as sovereign entities. Also, keep in mind that globalisation and underdevelopment are the main variables of this research, and that is why the data in the figures below needs to be analysed.

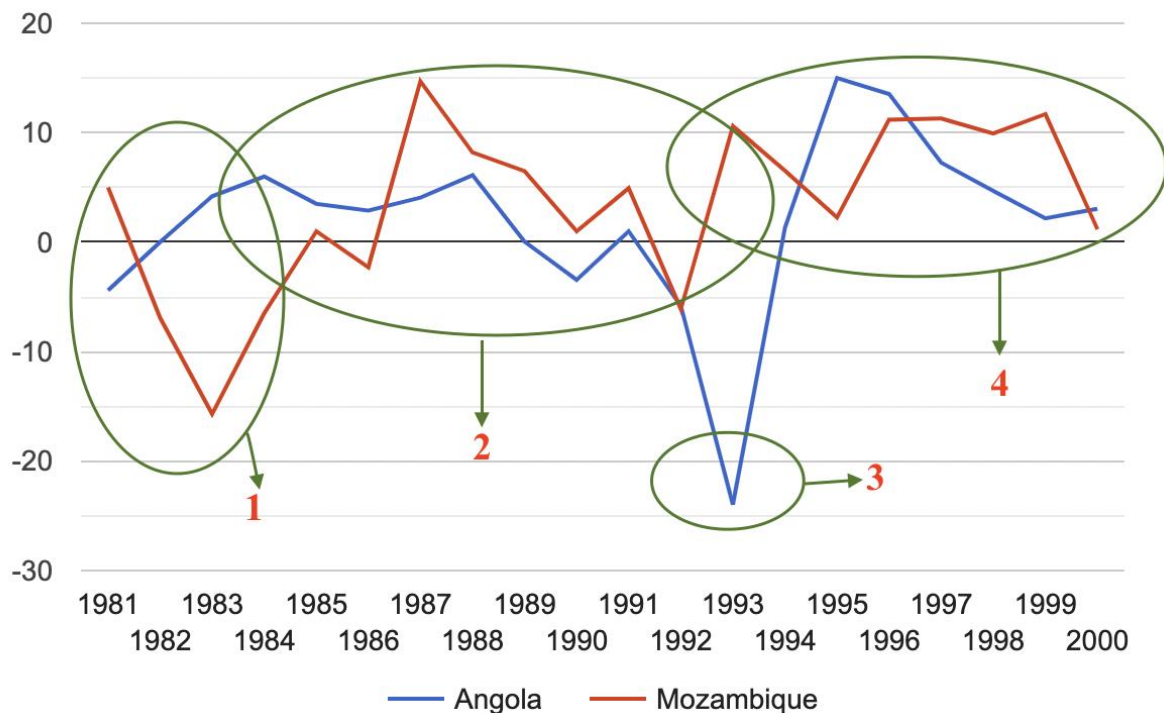
Figure 5: Economic globalisation of Angola and Mozambique from 1970 to 2019



Source: KOF¹⁵ globalization index

¹⁵ The KOF Index of Globalisation is an index measuring the level of globalisation in three dimensions economic, political and social. It was developed by Axel Dreher. Higher values of the index denote greater globalisation.

Figure 6: Economic growth: the rate of change of real GDP from 1981 to 2000



Legend:

- 1. Fall of socialist economic policies
- 2. IMF and WB's dictatorial policies and programmes
- 3. Turning point
- 4. Transition period

Measure: percentage

Source: The World Bank

In advance of going on, keep the following quick reminders in mind. Firstly, [Figure 5](#) (above) shows the index of economic globalisation in Angola and Mozambique from 1970 to 2019. Nonetheless, as this study is limited to the 1975-2000 period, the analyses made in this study are also confined to this period. Second, the main trends to be analysed in [Figure 5](#) and [Figure 6](#) are highlighted therein. With those two points in mind, it is time now to proceed with the analyses.

The first observation – represented by the red number 1 in [Figure 5](#) – simply shows – as in [Figure 1](#) of political globalisation – that a null level of economic globalisation characterised the period before 1975 in Mozambique and Angola, and this is because these two entities were colonies and not sovereign entities, so they did not establish strong economic relations with other independent entities. They started doing so from 1975 – when they proclaimed their independence – onwards. To be brief, the first finding of the analysis of the data in [Figure 5](#) is that before 1975, Mozambique and Angola were not yet integrated into the

global economy as sovereign and independent entities capable of maintaining economic interconnection with other entities and, consequently, economic globalisation did not bring development or underdevelopment until mid-1975.

Following Mozambique and Angola's integration into the global economy (after 1975), [Figure 5](#) indicates that from 1975 to 1980 economic globalisation of Mozambique and Angola was almost steady (see red number 2 of this figure). In this period, the economic globalisation index of the former country was nearly 32, and the latter was 32. This means these countries were not yet fully benefiting from trade, foreign direct investment in their territories, market liberalisation, etc. To put it simply, these two countries were only experiencing some initial level of development due to their exposure to the globalisation process when they were part of this process as independent entities. Both countries implemented socialist economic policies imported from their USSR ally during the first five years. However, these policies, which were spread by economic globalisation into these countries' economies, were not effective enough to lead these countries into development in the long run. Were these socialist economic policies a sign that globalisation was promising development in the following decades for these countries? Do the data shown in [Figure 5](#) and [Figure 6](#) indicate that the level of globalisation in these countries continued to grow and, thus, their development level? The following finding of this study answers all these pertinent questions.

From 1980 to 1990, the economic globalisation index of both countries started increasing (although Angola's was slightly fluctuating, see red number 3 of [Figure 5](#)). While there was a slow increase in economic globalisation for both countries, there was also a decline in economic growth in Mozambique – particularly in 1982 – and a slight decline in economic growth in Angola. To illustrate, from 1980 to 1983, Mozambique's economic growth was negative; it was -15.7% (see red number 1 in [Figure 6](#)), while its economic globalisation index was positive, it was 33.91 (see red number 3 in [Figure 5](#)); in the same period, Angola saw a slight increase in its economic growth, it then declined from 1983 until 1990 when it reached negative economic growth, but its economic globalisation index was growing. As one can see from these analyses, economic globalisation brought underdevelopment – the greater the index of economic globalisation. Also, the greater was their underdevelopment. Why did economic globalisation lead to these countries' underdevelopment? During this period, these countries suffered the consequences of their implemented socialist economic policies imported – solely through economic globalisation – from their USSR ally to them. In a word, the second finding is that from 1980 to 1990, economic globalisation and development in Mozambique were

moving in opposite directions; (i) so when Mozambique started having an increase in its economic globalisation index, it also started having a decline in its economic growth (negative), (ii) and when Angola started having its slightly fluctuating economic globalisation index, it also started having a slight decline in economic growth until reaching harmful levels. This was due to the failure of the economic socialist model brought to these countries by economic globalisation from their Soviet ally from 1975 until their failure.

Moreover, from the late 1980s to 2000, Mozambique and Angola experienced a dramatic increase and a moderate – and unnoticeable – decline in their levels of economic globalisation (see red numbers 4 and 5 of [Figure 5](#)). This remarkable rise in the economic globalisation index points to the solid economic policy role of international financial institutions, also known as the “agents of economic globalisation” – a phrase coined by the author of this paper. However, in the same period, these countries were witnessing a substantial increase in their economic globalisation index, and their economic growth level was negatively fluctuating (see red numbers 2, 3 and 4 of [Figure 6](#)), but it was strongly declining to the point that it even reached negative levels. To illustrate, the globalisation index in Mozambique from 1991 to 1993 was approximately 35.96 (see red number 4 of [Figure 5](#)). In the same period, particularly in 1993, the economic growth of this country was negative -23.98 (see red number 3 in [Figure 6](#)). The same situation holds for Angola; it reached negative growth in 1992. What do these analyses indicate? Were the agents of globalisation responsible for such a negative growth, hence, underdevelopment? Why did economic globalisation produce such negative economic growth in both countries? The third finding is the answer to these questions. It says that economic globalisation agents – the IMF and WB – imposed harsh economic policies on these countries, and for this reason, the more they were implemented, they led to these countries’ underdevelopment.

In addition, during this period, Mozambique and Angola’s donors played a massive role in their underdevelopment, and this leads to another finding. The fourth finding from the analyses of the data in [Figure 5](#) and [Figure 6](#) is that 1992 saw a dramatic decline in economic growth (see red number 3 in [Figure 6](#)), and this was the aftermath of the civil wars in both countries. In the same year, both countries started reaching some peace agreements to end the wars, and for this reason, from 1993 to 1994, there was a transition period. This transition period was characterised by the first multi-party elections in both countries and adopting a “pro-west”/ “pro-donors” economic system. In fact, as [Figure 6](#) shows, in the first months of this transition into a more “pro-west” economic system, economic growth was increasing to the point that it

reached 10% in Angola in 1993 and 15% in Mozambique in 1995; however, such an economic growth started failing from those years until 2000. The result of all this was under development. These two findings will also be interpreted and discussed in detail in the following discussion session.

3.2.2. Discussion

It is time to move from findings reporting (previous subsection) to findings interpretation and discussion (the current subchapter). The last subsection presented the key findings on how and why economic globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000. These reasons why economic globalisation brought underdevelopment to these two countries will be discussed more clearly in this section.

When Mozambique and Angola proclaimed their independence in 1975, they not only automatically became part of political globalisation as described above but also became part of economic globalisation (again as sovereign and independent States). Indeed, one might think that in undeveloped and recently independent countries such as Angola and Mozambique, the best alternative to foster development was to engage in international trade driven by economic globalisation. Additionally, one might also hold that both countries had to adopt globalisation agents the IMF and WB's policies to reconstruct their economies and, thus, foster development. But were these premises the case in the 1975-2000 period? The straightforward answer to that question is no. If so, why did these international trade ties between Mozambique and Angola – on the one side – and other countries and entities – on the other side – lead to the former countries' underdevelopment in the same period? Why did the agents of globalisation – international financial institutions – such as IMF and WB lead to the underdevelopment of these two countries in the period at issue? These two questions are paraphrases of this paper's research question of “why did globalisation lead to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000?” but have been rephrased to address the economic dimension of globalisation (see chapter 2 for more on this). Although the previous subsection has answered these questions with empirical data, this subsection aims to provide a more comprehensive, thorough discussion and interpretation.

3.2.2.1. The spread of socialist economic policies driven by economic globalisation

Following 1975, when Mozambique and Angola became independent, they also became part of economic globalisation. In that period, economic globalisation – driven by its agents such as the IMF, WB, donor States, and NGOs – was a viable way to boost development. In light of such engagement with economic globalisation, these two States decided to take advantage of it by taking the socialist policies of their USSR's ally into their economies. This is because both countries were ruled by Marxist-Leninist political movements, FRELIMO and MPLA, that brought colonial liberation. These two Marxist-Leninist governments turned their economic and political system into a socialist one to resemble their socialist allies (FRELIMO 1976, 1977; Lei Constitucional de Angola, 1975), particularly the USSR. The first point to bear in mind is that economic globalisation brought with it a socialist economic structure to Mozambique and Angola – this structure was imported from their socialist allies, particularly the USSR. What are the main features of such a socialist economic structure drawn from its socialist allies through economic globalisation? Did this socialist economy imported first and foremost through economic globalisation to the two countries bring with it (i) prosperity, growth, and development or (ii) poverty, backwardness and underdevelopment? If so, why? (This last question is the core of the author's research question of why globalisation – through its agents and forces – brought under development and not development to the countries under discussion).

As one can see (from the last paragraph), to discuss this research question, there is a need to provide some foundations. The first one describes Mozambique and Angola's socialist economic structure/policies brought by economic globalisation. The first feature of such an economic structure spread by economic globalisation – from the socialist allies of Mozambique and Angola to their territories – was the nationalisation of private companies. The goal was to transform private companies into State-owned ones. The rationale behind such transformation is, to some degree, because many of these companies were abandoned by their owners. To illustrate, nationalisation in Angola continued until 1991 (Ferreira 2002). It is worth mentioning that such nationalisation made it difficult in both countries to accept private industrial sectors as the goal was to limit and finish with private industrial ownership.

The second policy implemented by Mozambique and Angola was to place the industry and agriculture as the leading drivers to positively transform their economies towards development (Frelimo 1976, 1977; Lei Constitucional de Angola 1975). Some of the objectives

of such socialist industrialisation – common to their socialist allies – were to (i) increase coordination among the various industrial sectors; (ii) have a long-term industrialisation plan. Did these socialist countries intend to achieve development from those economic policies imported from their socialist allies due to economic globalisation? The objective, as they outlined, was to consider agriculture and industry as the ground for their country's development.

Did these socialist economic policies driven by economic globalisation bring development to these two countries as they had envisaged? Was, in this situation, the socialist economic structure brought by economic globalisation – from USSR to these two countries – a success story of development? A straightforward answer to that question is no. By 1981/1983, the developmental unsuccessfulness of the enterprises' nationalisation started to manifest (Ferreira, 2002; Cruz et al., 2006). In the case of Angola, this was notorious through the decline in industrial production levels among different sectors (Ferreira, 2002). Following this failure, a new policy was adopted in Angola (around 1981) and Mozambique (about 1983); this policy was called the *import substitution industrialisation* to foster socialist industrialisation by promoting domestic production. However, this policy was also a failure.

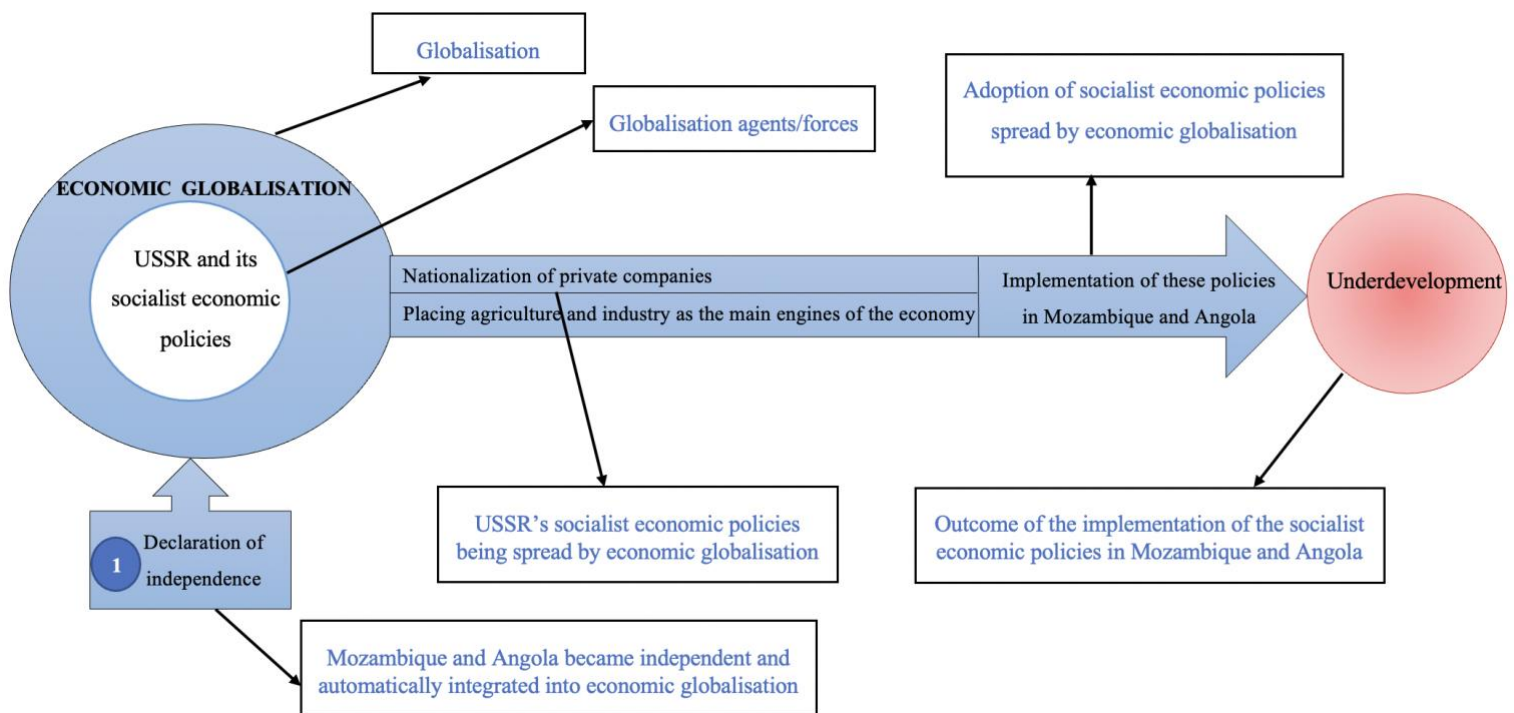
Although these Marxist-Leninist States were already experiencing underdevelopment caused by their failed socialist policies, they were, to some extent, still significantly intervening in the market. In light of such failure of these policies, they started considering less State intervention in the market. To illustrate, in Mozambique, between the mid-1980s, the country started considering the possibility of having private investors as its partners for the first time. However, it was insufficient, and the country nearly collapsed. These two States claimed at the beginning that their economies were to be agricultural and industrial based to develop (typical of a socialist country); however, what was aimed at leading these countries to their development, later on, turned into their nightmare. The industrial production of both countries significantly declined (Ferreira, 2002; Cruz et al., 2006), GDP lowered (which was the lowest one achieved in 1986 when compared to those of pre-independent Mozambique), and the agricultural sector – which was supposed to be one of the main drivers to sustain their socialist economies – was only sufficient to sustain families and not the economy as a whole. The immediate consequence of this was their underdevelopment.

Why did these socialist policies fail? Factors such as the high level of foreign indebtedness, civil war in both countries, lack of insufficient funds to sustain their long-term

industrial development plan, and the impracticability of these socialist policies implemented by these Marxist-Leninist States were the reasons behind such a failure from 1975 to mid-1980s. This show that the alleged “industrial development” story of their ally, the USSR, due to socialist policies which were then spread by globalisation (and implemented) by these two socialist States, were not bringing development; on the contrary, underdevelopment. [Figure 7](#) provides an overview of this.

This marked the beginning of the fall of socialist economic policies brought by economic globalisation that led to the underdevelopment of these countries – that without hesitation implemented them in a misleading view of bringing development.

Figure 7 : Economic globalisation leading to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola by spreading socialist economic policies from 1975 to the early 1980s



Source: Author’s elaboration

[Figure 7](#) (above) summarises what has been discussed in this section. On the one side, it shows the *channels* through which economic globalisation brought underdevelopment to Mozambique and Angola; these *channels* (mentioned in this section) are labelled globalisation agents (and can also be termed “forces”) in this figure. On the other side, it shows the *reasons* why economic globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola; these

reasons (mentioned in this section) are the ineffectiveness of the economic socialist policies spread by economic globalisation and adopted in these two countries.

3.2.2.2. The forced turn to the agents of economic globalisation and their vicious cycle

Following the failure of the socialist economic policies brought to Mozambique and Angola by economic globalisation, which led to these same countries' underdevelopment, a viable mechanism was needed to solve this underdevelopment problem. What other forces of globalisation could have moved these countries from their underdevelopment since the first globalisation force – USSR's socialist policies – was a failure as it led to underdevelopment and not to the development of the countries in question? These countries had to reassess their position in economic globalisation and look for new developmental alternatives. The immediate alternative in economic globalisation sought by both countries was the Bretton Woods institutions, the IMF and WB, which are referred to by the author of this paper as the agents of (economic) globalisation (see chapter 2 for more on this). Did these economic globalisation agents bring development or underdevelopment to Mozambique and Angola? If so, why? (Again, in this regard, this is the core of this research question of explaining why these agents of globalisation – the IMF and WB – driven by economic globalisation brought underdevelopment to Mozambique and Angola.)

The starting point is that when Mozambique and Angola started experiencing declining economic growth, stagnating output and underdevelopment (see [Figure 6](#)), these States changed their external economic policies. First of all, they slowly started reconsidering their international economic relations with their socialist allies in favour of fruitful western relationships. They have witnessed that these policies brought by economic globalisation from their socialist partners did not work and wanted to change the strategy to avoid underdevelopment. Second, both countries started seeking western help to recover their economies and boost development; they sought such assistance from the Bretton woods institutions – IMF and WB in the 1984-1989 period.

Did these two States willingly join the IMF and WB? The straightforward answer to that question is no. On the one hand, as was pointed out by Hanlon (2010), Mozambique joined these institutions due to external pressure it was receiving – which was caused by the fact that this State was part of economic globalisation. In this regard, Mozambique's traditional donors purposely stopped providing food aid for a while (Hanlon, 2004), consequently allowing

Mozambique to experience times of famine, worsening the development situation and increasing the need for western partners. Hanlon (2010) defended that the goal of these traditional donors was to pressure Mozambique to turn to the west by joining the IMF and WB.

To put it simply, at the beginning of the 1980s, Mozambique faced an international relations paradox: either turning to the west with the promise of receiving development aid or refusing to turn with repercussions concerning famine and further underdevelopment. If one follows the realist's rational choice perspective, then the rational choice (the practical one) was the first one. Once Mozambique fulfilled its traditional donors' development aid conditions in 1984, then they, the donors, resumed and increased their development aid to this country (see [Figure 9](#) below). On the other hand, Angola's case had a different pressuring pattern. Angola was facing a substantial external debt problem. Pycroft (1994) observed that by 1990 Angola had a foreign debt of \$8.775 million, and unsurprisingly the largest share of such debt came from Angola's USSR ally. In other words, Angola was also facing an international relations paradox in the mid-1980s: either turning to the west with the promise of having debt relief and development aid or refusing to turn with repercussions concerning colossal debt burden and further underdevelopment. Therefore, Angola had to turn to the west to build economic and political ties to relieve itself from such a debt burden. Did these countries give in to pressure? When they saw an unprecedented increase in the level of underdevelopment, they had no other way than to team up with the IMF and WB to gain access to their assistance.

How have the IMF and WB assisted Mozambique and Angola's developmental goals? Did these agents of globalisation assistance bring development or underdevelopment? If so, why? Before joining these institutions, some initial conditions were imposed on them. These countries have to transform their socialist economy into market-oriented ones. This implied that they had to make some economic structural adjustments (which were not fully completed until their first multi-party elections, see the following subsections for more).

For this reason, both countries developed their economic restructuring programmes (also known as economic rehabilitation programmes) – Angola in 1988 and Mozambique in 1987 (Ferreira, 2002; Cruz, 2016). It is essential to say that these programmes were implemented in these years, but their design or formulation was before that because their goal was to pave the way to join the institutions under discussion. That said, Mozambique was admitted to joining these institutions in 1984 and Angola – following objections from the US

– joined in 1989. Although this condition to transform their economies was moderately fulfilled, this was not enough for these institutions.

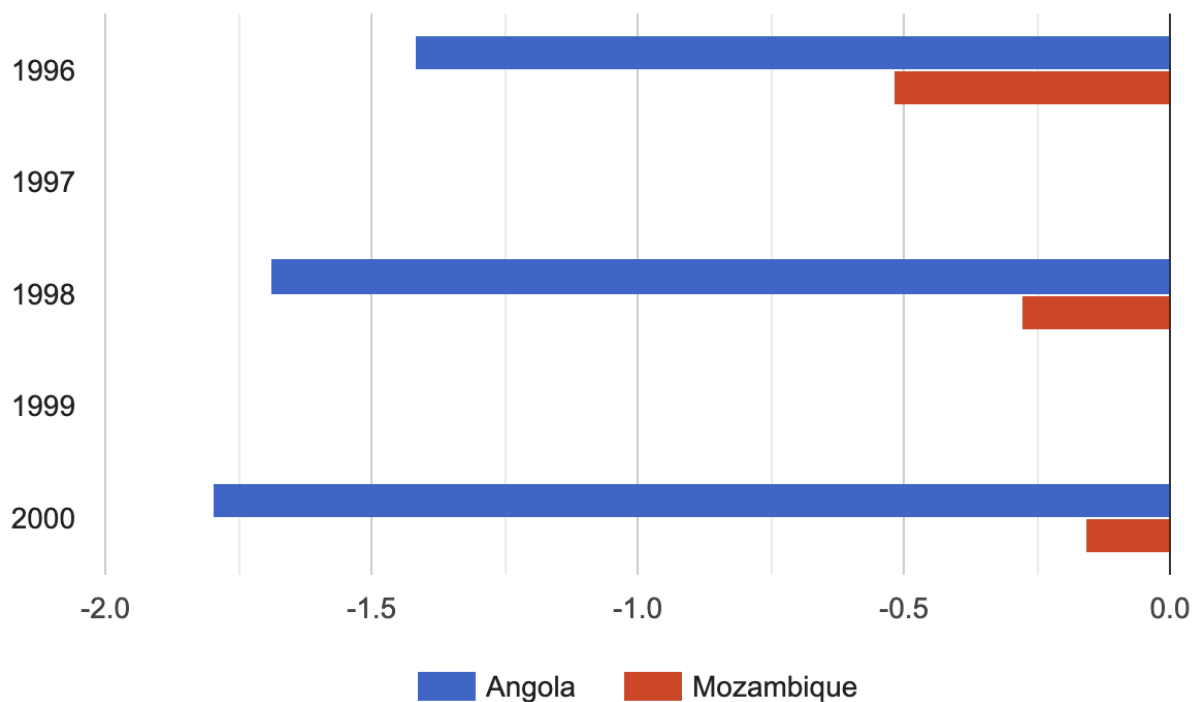
These institutions – particularly the IMF – imposed dictatorial and disadvantageous economic adjustment policies. Firstly, in Mozambique, the IMF introduced policies to reduce government spending, economic credit, and real wages (Hanlon, 2010). As a result, these policies led to a decline in GDP – hence, underdevelopment – in both countries (see [Figure 6](#)) and increasing inflation from 1987 to 1991 (Hanlon, 2004). It is worth pointing out that these IMF policies were not aligned with the countries' economic policies under discussion. To illustrate, when the IMF was trying to impose these harsh policies on Mozambique's economy, the government of this country implemented economic policies that led to a growth of GDP (although slight in 1987, see [Figure 6](#)) and a decline in inflation. To put it simply, IMF's and Mozambique and Angola's policies were moving in opposing directions: while the IMF was imposing policies towards underdevelopment, these countries were implementing policies towards development.

However, the former policies were strong enough to outweigh the latter, and this meant that this agent of globalisation and also the WB strongly shaped the developmental status of these countries: from underdevelopment due to the failure of economic socialist policies (as described in the previous subsection) towards further underdevelopment due to dictatorial adjustment economic policies. Secondly, from the late 1970s to 1992 for Mozambique and 2002 for Angola, these States were still in destabilisation and civil war sponsored by external actors to destabilise these countries' political and economic dynamics (see the previous subsection on political dimensions for more). As a result of such economic and political destabilisation, these States were experiencing high levels of underdevelopment and wanted aid to suppress such levels. However, the IMF imposed some limitations on aid. As Hanlon (2016) strongly affirmed, it argued that post-destabilisation war reconstruction aid would bring inflation.

Nonetheless, as the States could not have taken any significant economic or regulatory measure to change the developmental fate of their nations – because it was in the hands of these agents of globalisation – underdevelopment was still prevalent during this period as a result of these agents' prescriptions (see [Figure 8](#) and [Figure 6](#)). The belief of these agents of globalisation at the beginning of the 1990s was to have less State intervention in the economy. However, such a prescription to have minimal government only led to the underdevelopment

of these countries (see Figure 8). Figure 8 shows the capacity of the Mozambican and Angolan governments to design and enforce effective policies. As can be seen, this regulatory capacity was weak from 1996 to 2000, and this is not only because these governments were inefficient at that time (see Figure 4), but mainly because the agents of economic globalisation – the IMF and WB – were the ones that formulated and imposed tight (development) policies. This, as a consequence, left these countries without significant power to regulate their economies (and as can be seen in the figure in question, the regulatory quality index was negative). Unsurprisingly, in the same period, the economic growth of both countries was in decline (see Figure 6) because of the excessive regulatory power that the IMF and WB had over these two countries.

Figure 8: Government regulatory quality index (-2.5 weak; 2.5 strong)



Measure: points

Source: The world bank

3.2.2.3. Back to donors and an entirely new economic system

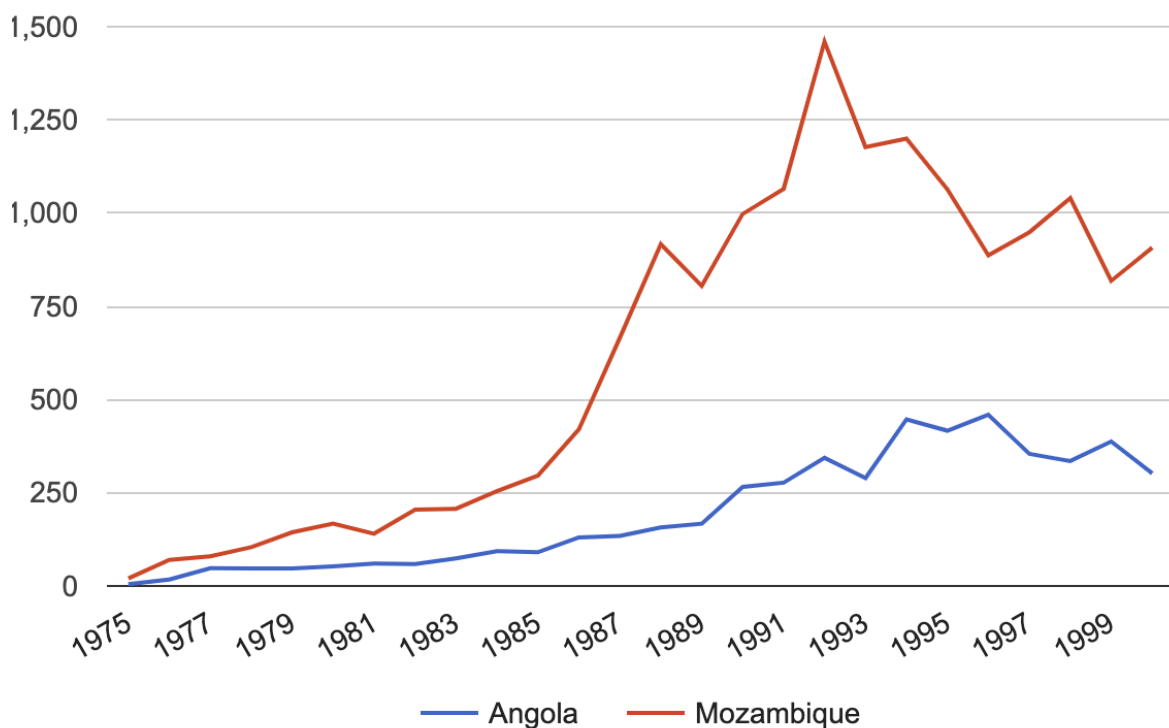
Seeing that the agents of globalisation, IMF and WB, were failing to achieve these Mozambique and Angola’s goals, the countries turned again to their traditional donors to get out of underdevelopment. Who are the donors? These donors referred to those agencies, the European Union and individual countries that provide aid to Mozambique (Hanlon, 2016) and

Angola through their governments. That aid was channelled to individual ministries or country development programmes. That said, the donors were not as benevolent as it might seem; they imposed other conditions on Mozambique and Angola (apart from those that required them to join the IMF and WB in the 1980s) to provide aid. To put it simply, as it was analysed in the previous paragraph, donors made conditional their developmental aid until these countries – in particular, Mozambique – joined the WB and IMF. However, these conditions were no longer sufficient in the 1990s. They wanted now the country to completely shift to a capitalist economy (although these countries had already slightly started transitioning toward market-oriented economies throughout the 1980s). This was caused by the fact that– until the 1990s – these countries were still being led by Marxist-Leninist governments. This meant that if these governments wanted aid to lead their countries towards development (and not underdevelopment), they had to transition from a socialist economic model to a western economic model (and all free-market policies). One way to transition was to have a multi-party-political system; these countries had to move from one Marxist-Leninist party government to a multi-party one.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Mozambique and Angola started to prepare themselves for their first multiparty elections. After signing the peace agreements to end civil wars in both countries, elections were held in 1992 in Angola and Mozambique in 1994. In both cases, the same Marxist-Leninist governments won the polls and ruled the country. With this, a transition to a new economic system was established. If in the beginning, when Mozambique and Angola became independent and adopted a socialist economic model brought by economic globalisation from the USSR, in the 1990s, economic globalisation spread to these countries with another economic system model from the west. What benefits did this new economic system driven by economic globalisation bring to Angola and Mozambique? Did it bring development or underdevelopment? If so, why? Underdevelopment is the answer to the first two questions. In Angola, inflation increased from the year this new economic system – driven by economic globalisation – was established until 1999 (Ferreira, 2002) to the level that it reached hyperinflationary levels. Its annual growth rate was negative from 1992-to 1993, and in 1994 its growth level was not negative but insignificant, and from 1995 to 1999, the annual growth rate (GDP) started declining (see [Figure 6](#)). Not only that, but Angola's external debt increased (Ferreira, 2002). In a word, the new system brought by economic globalisation from the West led to underdevelopment in Angola.

Why, with the new political system – inspired by democracy and the establishment of a pro-western economic model, did the aid from donors not help? As was pointed out by Hanlon (2004), these donors favour formal democracy but are not concerned about how well it works. These donors essentially demanded market reforms from these governments, and as long as there were market reforms, they further gave development aid, as seen in [Figure 9](#). Here, the problem is twofold. On the one hand, here, one can argue that the reason for State’s inefficacy is what led these countries to their underdevelopment. These States’ inefficacy on how to design appropriate policies to face the new economic system brought by globalisation is what led them to underdevelopment. On the other hand, one can also argue that the problem is also with the donors – economic globalisation agents – because although they keep giving aid to these States, these States’ development status does not change. Look at [Figure 6](#) and [Figure 9](#), and you can see that as the development aid increases, economic growth declines (rarely, aid increases and also, economic growth increases).

Figure 9: Foreign aid and official development assistance received



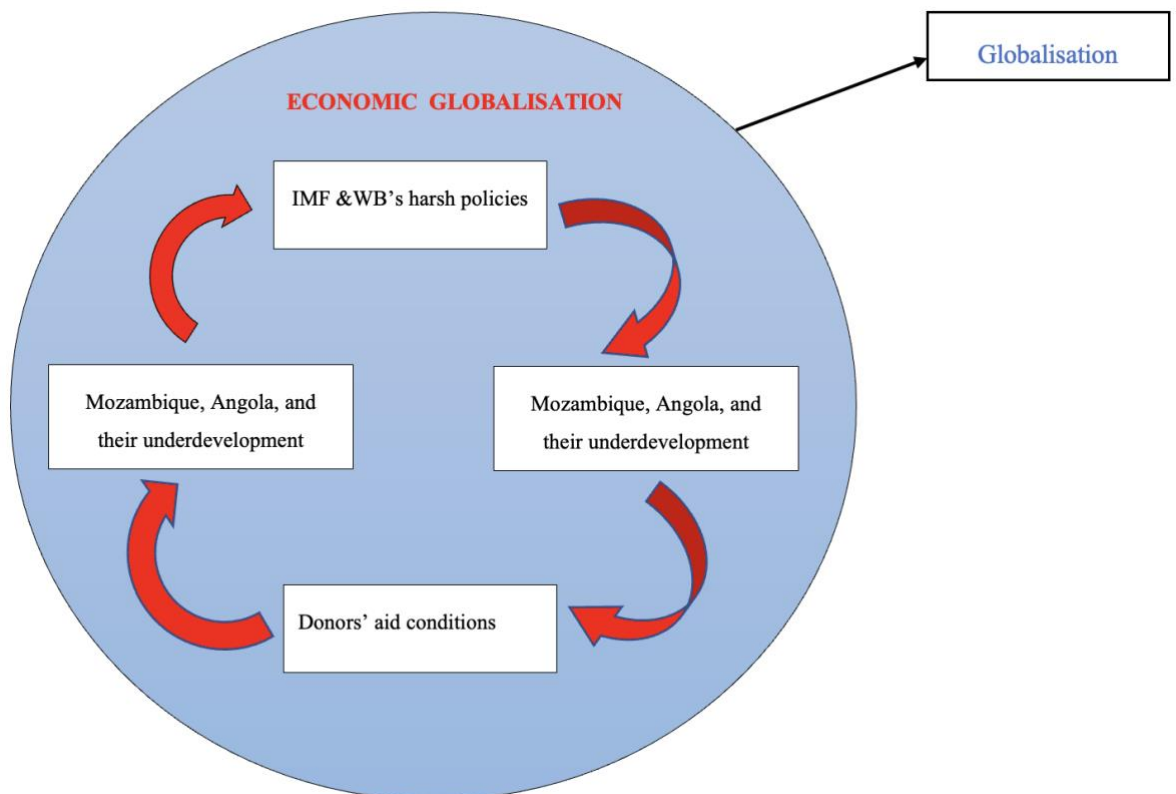
Measure: million US dollars

Source: The World Bank

On the whole, these agents of economic globalisation – IMF, WB, and donors (in particular States) – led Mozambique and Angola to enter a vicious cycle of underdevelopment from 1975 to 2000 (see [Figure 10](#)). This is because, in the 1980s, donors conditioned the

channelling of aid to these countries until they joined the IMF and the WB. After Mozambique and Angola did so, the IMF and WB did not make life easier for these countries; on the contrary, they made harsh economic policies and programmes that they imposed to their detriment (intentional or not), which resulted in their underdevelopment. As both countries were economically – rather, developmentally – unsustainable due to these financial institutions, they turned to their donors to ask for aid. Still, these donors imposed other conditions that aimed to completely reform the economic systems of Mozambique and Angola to resemble theirs (the donors). These countries, in need of development aid, fulfilled the aid conditions. Still, the final process was underdevelopment due to the growing power of the IMF (and the WB) with the new economic system. The result of this process was again underdevelopment, so it was a vicious cycle of underdevelopment promoted by economic globalisation – through its agents – to the detriment of Mozambique and Angola.

Figure 10 : Economic globalisation driving the vicious cycle of underdevelopment from 1975 to 2000



Source: Author's elaboration

Overall, all the hypotheses presented in the introduction to this research are confirmed and can be substantiated by all the empirical data and empirical points/arguments discussed here.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this research aimed to explain why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola in the 1975-2000 period. Globalisation led to the underdevelopment of these two States through its agents such as the IMF, WB, political movements, and States. In this regard, adopting a comparative method in this research made it possible to have the following findings of this research aim.

On the political dimension, this research has found that the first reason why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola in the 1975-2000 period is that the agents of political globalisation influenced these two countries – States and national political movements. They economically and politically destabilised their countries. Such destabilisation was a two-stage process. In the first stage, white South Africa and Southern Rhodesia feared the influence and assistance the newly independent Mozambican and the Angolan States provided on liberation movements against them. To avoid further impact and assistance, white South Africa and Southern Rhodesia sponsored political movements – named RENAMO in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola – to destabilise the economic and political structure of Mozambique and Angola. These two countries were vulnerable to such destabilisation because they were automatically and inescapably part of political globalisation since their independence in 1975. In the second stage, political globalisation drove Mozambique and Angola to the US-USSR cold war, where the USSR supported Mozambique and Angola because they were Marxist-Leninist countries. The US backed white South Africa to counter these communist countries and avoid their influence on other countries to become communist. Mozambique and Angola were attacked, imposed economic sanctions and destroyed fundamental social and economic infrastructures were. All this – driven by political globalisation through its agents – led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to the early 1990s. The second reason is that political globalisation brought in the early 1990s a new political regime and democracy in the Mozambican and Angolan States, and this new regime made Angola resume civil war – following electoral results – and formulate and implement ineffective development policies; these two factors resulted in these countries' underdevelopment.

On the economic dimension, this research has found that the first reason why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola in the 1975-2000 period is the failure of the socialist economic policies brought by globalisation from the USSR to these countries.

When these two socialist countries implemented these socialist economic policies – spread by economic globalisation – from their USSR did not bring the envisaged development. Instead, they have led Mozambique and Angola to experience underdevelopment from 1975 to the mid-1980s. The second reason is the harsh policies and programmes imposed by the economic agents of globalisation – the IMF and WB – on Mozambique and Angola. These dictatorial policies and programmes promoted by economic globalisation through its agents left Mozambique and Angola with no power to regulate their own economies. As a result, their annual economic growth levels decreased, and these States could not do enough to prevent that. This has resulted in unprecedented levels of underdevelopment. Moreover, donors, other agents of economic globalisation, also played a massive role in Mozambique and Angola’s underdevelopment because they were made conditional any aid to these countries upon their membership to IMF and WB and also to change their economic system. However, such prescriptions brought Mozambique and Angola into a vicious cycle of underdevelopment from the mid-1980s to 2000.

This research is significant as it contributes to the scholarly debate to understand why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola in the 1975 period. It is also a practical foundation to gain insights into how such a problem might be avoided in the future. To illustrate, States should reduce the IMF and WB’s power over them and make these institutions accountable; otherwise, underdevelopment will be a recurrent problem in many States – particularly those that are inefficient.

Future research would be appreciable to investigate why donors – one of the agents of economic globalisation – always provide aid to these ineffective States even though they are developing. In fact, as was empirically explained in the research as the donors provide more aid to these States, more levels of underdevelopment these countries are experiencing. So the leading questions for future research are (i) “why do donors, agents of economic globalisation, continuously provide aid to Mozambique and Angola even though these States are neither fully democratic nor economically effective?” and (ii) “why is there more underdevelopment in these states when more aid is provided by their donors?”

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THESIS SUMMARY

Author: Fernando Gimo Simango

Thesis title (research question): why did globalisation lead to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000?

1. Research objective and thesis structure

Globalisation is a long-standing worldwide process that has generated winners and losers. In 1975, when Mozambique and Angola declared their independence, they were automatically and inescapably integrated into economic and political globalisation. However, such integration brought inconveniences for these two countries. In this regard, this study aimed to explain why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000. This research objective is grounded on the fact that globalisation brought development to many countries in the same period, but to these countries, it brought the opposite, underdevelopment and explaining why such a situation occurred is critical both to comprehend it and also provide solutions on how to avoid such a problem in the future.

The thesis is organised into three chapters and their respective subchapters. In the first chapter, (i) the author reviews the literature, exposing the main arguments related to his research topic, (ii) then situates his research and (iii) identifies gaps in the literature. In the second chapter, this research discusses methodologies issues, namely, (i) the conceptualisation of crucial variables, (ii) the definition of research methods, (iii) the description of how data is collected and (iv) the delimitation of the research. Finally, the third chapter provides (i) data analyses and (ii) reports on its findings and (iii) respective discussions on the political and economic dimensions of globalisation. The following short sections of this thesis summary will summarise each of these three (3) chapters concisely and straightforwardly.

2. Chapter 1 summary: literature review

In the context of this study's research question – “why did globalisation lead to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola from 1975 to 2000” – eight (8) scholarly debates have been exposed and analysed in this chapter. The first point of contention claims that globalisation has caused underdevelopment in the sub-Saharan (SSA) States because it is not a force for their development but marginalisation. Therefore, it has brought indebtedness and underdevelopment to them rather than development. The second and third arguments attest that neoliberalism and integration policies are why globalisation led to the underdevelopment

of SSA States – Mozambique and Angola between 1975 and 2000. To put it simply, this perspective affirms that the policies designed to integrate SSA States into the global economy and international institutions such as the World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Trade Organisation (WTO) have promoted their underdevelopment instead of their development. The fourth point of contention affirms that sub-Saharan Africa's isolationist approach has caused their underdevelopment in the context of globalisation. The fifth and sixth arguments name the following three factors that have made globalisation a phenomenon of underdevelopment in the SSA States: exploitative foreign relations, entrapment, and premature trade liberalisation of SSA States. The seventh point of contention declares that the decline in the volume of foreign direct investment, trade, economic aid and technical assistance is why globalisation has led to SSA states' underdevelopment. The last argument holds that SSA structures and institutions are why globalisation led to their underdevelopment, particularly in Mozambique and Angola in the 1975-2000 period.

In what context do this study's research question and hypotheses fall into the eight current debates in the literature analysed above? Why does the research question of this study remain at the centre of the academic discussion? Why is it essential to answer this? What are the (possible implications) of this research for the above debate? What is the gap that needs to be filled in? The above-mentioned scholarly answers (debates) to the research question of this study have some weaknesses. First, they all provide arguments for Africa as a whole; they assume that their views apply to each State of Africa. Inevitably, they provide unverified generalisations as to why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of SSA. However, this is unlikely because different causes (their arguments) cannot be generalised to each SSA state. On that account, this present study aims at filling this first gap by being confined to the study of two States, Mozambique and Angola. Second, not all of these scholars limit their analysis to a specific period. This is unlikely to provide accurate results, especially in this case where the critical variable under study is globalisation and coupled with the fact that many of the SSA States are latecomers in the globalisation process. As a result, this research seeks to fill this time-related gap by analysing the two states under discussion, Mozambique and Angola, in a specific period from 1975 to 2000 to answer the research question accurately.

3. *Chapter 2 summary: methodology*

In this chapter, the author began by outlining some *conceptualisation issues*; he provided and operationalised the fundamental variables to be measured. In this regard, the study has two

essential variables: globalisation and underdevelopment. The author of this paper defined/operationalised the first variable, *globalisation*, as the process of political, economic, social and technological integration among the world States. This integration's end process is to intensify relations and interdependence among them. It is worth mentioning that the main objective of such interdependent State relations is the benefit of each State involved. This variable, *globalisation*, has two dimensions: economic and political. The second variable, *underdevelopment*, was defined as a stage characterised by negative changes and backwardness in a country's different domains, such as social, political, economic, and technological.

The author also discussed three aspects in this chapter: research methods, data collection, and delimitation. Regarding the *research methods*, in order to conduct the research, a comparative case method was adopted and allowed the author to compare Mozambique and Angola, countries that share similar vast conditions such as historical and economic ones. This research method was preferred in this paper for the following reasons. First, it was used because it provided qualitative and reasonable quantitative data analysis tools to compare these two countries within the limits of this research's primary objective. Second, it made it possible to compare these States' similar development trends from 1975 to 2000. Finally, it made it possible to compare these two countries that were – at that period – communist and why their relations with other communist and non-communist States within globalisation affected their underdevelopment. Furthermore, this research adopted the empirical approach to studying international relations. This approach was used in this research as its goal was not to understand but to explain why globalisation led to the underdevelopment of Mozambique and Angola in the 1975-2000 period.

Regarding *data collection*, this study's data was collected from three different sources. The first data collection source was the KOF globalisation index, which allowed the author to measure the first primary variable of this study: globalisation. By measuring this variable through this index, it was possible to see the level of globalisation that Mozambique and Angola had in the period 1975-2000 to contrast with their level of development. Second, data were also collected from international organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to measure the second primary variable of this study: underdevelopment. By measuring this concept with data from these institutions, it was possible to compare it with data collected from the first source on the globalisation index. The third data collection source was data from previous research – which were case studies about the same

countries as this study – with a topic related to this study; this research is by Hanlon (2004, 2010, 2016), Pycroft (1994), Ferreira (2002) and Cruz (2016). This third source was critical because it helped the author build his arguments and provide a comprehensive, accurate, and straightforward answer to the research question of this study.

Regarding *research delimitation*, the study was delimited by two aspects: one spatial and the other temporal. On the spatial side, this study was confined to the study of only two SSA States: Mozambique and Angola. On the temporal side, this study was limited to the 1975 to 2000 period because it was from 1975 that those States gained independence. As a result, they began engaging in international relations as independent States. By illustration, these newly independent States began pursuing their interests by establishing diplomatic, political, and economic ties with other States, NGOs and IGOs. This period was crucial as it can be considered the initial period in which Mozambique and Angola started being impacted by globalisation as independent and sovereign entities. It was essential in this case to explicate why globalisation led to their underdevelopment during their early years of global integration either in the economic, political, social, or technological dimensions.

4. Chapter 3 summary: data analysis, findings, and discussion

Following the discussion of the research methodology chapter, the author then moved to another chapter. In this chapter, the third one, the author (i) analysed the data, (ii) presented his findings and (iii) discussed them. Since his research has two dimensions – one political and one economic – each had these three subchapters/aspects (data analysis, findings, and discussion). The following two sections will summarise these two dimensions with their respective aspects.

4.1. First subchapter of chapter 3 summary: political dimension (data analysis, findings, and discussion)

The first subchapter of chapter 3 dealt with the political dimension of globalisation of the author's research question and included two aspects. On the one hand, it analysed the relevant data – predominantly summarised in figures (graphs and maps) – and presented the respective findings. On the other hand, it discussed these results to explain the main patterns, trends and relationships observed.

Following data analysis of the political dimension, the following were the main findings. The first finding is that neither the benefits (development) nor the consequences

(underdevelopment) of globalisation for Mozambique and Angola can be seen or explained before 1975 because they were not part of political globalisation. The second finding is that, as the level of political globalisation increased in Mozambique and Angola, it was also – through its agents – leading these countries to underdevelopment due to destabilisation and civil war from 1975 through the early and late 1990s. The third finding is that political globalisation prompted the US to (indirectly) support rebel anti-communist political movements in these two countries and the USSR to support the Marxist-Leninist political movements, and the immediate consequences of this rival support were the destruction of the strategic infrastructure for development in these countries and trade blockade; both outcomes led to their underdevelopment at the end of the proxy wars in 1992. The fourth finding is that from 1993 to 2000, there was a transitional period in which political globalisation brought many changes in the political systems of both countries, such as the introduction of the first multi-party elections and new development-oriented policies. However, such changes brought about by political globalisation were offset by the inability of these countries to adopt them effectively. For this reason, these political changes led by globalisation did not bring the envisaged development to these two States. Still, they led to their underdevelopment due to these states' ineffectiveness in developing practical development-oriented policies. In simple terms, this finding reveals that the problem from 1993 to 2000 was the ineffectiveness of the Mozambican and Angolan governments in dealing with the changes brought about by political globalisation that were for their development but led to their underdevelopment in the end.

Following the reporting of these findings, the author discussed them. The main discussion points were as follows. The author's first discussion point in his attempts to interpret the above results dealt with *Southern Africa's regional destabilisation as the beginning of underdevelopment driven by political globalisation in Mozambique and Angola*. The starting point of this results' interpretation is that when Mozambique and Angola proclaimed their independence in 1975, they were open to political globalisation as independent states; that is, they became part of world political globalisation – a process in which many countries were part of and could not escape. On the one side, political globalisation pushed Mozambique and Angola into regional destabilisation, leading to their underdevelopment. On the other side, during that period, political globalisation– through its agents – entangled Mozambique and Angola in – what the author of this paper has termed – *deceptive international relations* as political globalisation placed these two independent and sovereign States in a disadvantageous position within the international system which resulted in these States' underdevelopment.

What does it mean? Political globalisation made Mozambique and Angola vulnerable to potential political or economic threats and dynamics. That said, one of these threats and dynamics of political globalisation brought to Mozambique and Angola by globalisation itself was the destabilisation and civil wars that set the stage for the underdevelopment of these two countries. Such underdevelopment brought by political globalisation was driven by the agents and forces of political globalisation. These agents were: national communist political movements in both countries, national anti-communist political movements in both countries, USSR, Southern Rhodesia and white South Africa. The second discussion point of the above results' interpretation dealt with the entanglement of Mozambique and Angola in deceptive international relations from 1975 to 1991. These deceptive international relations (the international system) were characterised by political globalisation spreading the US-USSR rivalry to these countries and making them choose allies and enemies in international relations. These countries – Mozambique and Angola – chose the USSR as their ally because their government were Marxist-Leninist. However, the US launched its attack to counter these communist countries, which marked the beginning of the proxy war in these newly independent communist States. The US supported white South Africa as a potential ally against the spread of communist countries in southern Africa.

With such support from the US, white South Africa was given the freedom to *hegemonise* and *destabilise* the Southern African region. Therefore, in Mozambique, white South Africa was enticed to pursue three goals: (i) to impose economic sanctions against Mozambique, launch direct attacks against this sovereignty country and sponsor an anti-communist rebel movement for proxy war purposes (Hanlon, 2010). In Angola, white South Africa was enticed to deploy its troops to Southern Angola (Pycroft, 1994) to counterattack any potential threat from a liberation movement that Angola's ruling Marxist-Leninist government supported. White South Africa's actions – baked by the US to counter communism– resulted in economic and political destabilisation in these independent and sovereign countries. The final outcome was underdevelopment. In a word, in the early 1990s – as the cold war – was coming to an end, Mozambique and Angola were characterised by underdevelopment and backwardness due to these deceptive relations driven by political globalisation, which brought inflation, a decrease in production, a considerable amount of debt (used to cover their war budget) that made it challenging to meet debt service payment from the soviet countries and traditional (western) allies.

4.2. Second subchapter of chapter 3: economic dimension (data analysis, findings, and discussion)

The second subchapter of chapter 3 dealt with the economic dimension of globalisation of the author's research question and included two aspects. On the one hand, it analysed the relevant data – predominantly summarised in figures (graphs and maps) – and presented the respective findings. On the other hand, it discussed these results to explain the main patterns, trends and relationships observed.

What were the main findings of the analysed data? Following the analysis of data, the author found the following. The first finding of the data analysis (in the economic dimension) is that before 1975, Mozambique and Angola were not yet integrated into the global economy as sovereign and independent entities capable of maintaining economic interconnection with other entities and, consequently, economic globalisation did not bring development or underdevelopment until mid-1975. The second finding is that from 1980 to 1990, economic globalisation and development in Mozambique were moving in opposite directions; (i) so when Mozambique started having an increase in its economic globalisation index, it also started having a decline in its economic growth (negative), (ii) and when Angola started having its slightly fluctuating economic globalisation index, it also started having a slight decline in economic growth until reaching harmful levels. This was due to the failure of the economic socialist model brought to these countries by economic globalisation from their Soviet ally from 1975 until their failure. The third finding is based on the fact that economic globalisation agents – the IMF and WB – imposed harsh economic policies on Mozambique and Angola, and for this reason, the more they were implemented, they led to these countries' underdevelopment from the 1980s to 2000. The fourth finding is that, during this period, Mozambique and Angola's donors played a massive role in their underdevelopment because they demanded these countries change their economic systems to adopt a system that resembled theirs, and this marked the transition period (in economic terms, but also political terms). In the first months of this transition into a more “pro-west” economic system, economic growth was increasing to the point that it reached 10% in Angola in 1993 and 15% in Mozambique in 1995; however, such an economic growth started failing from those years until 2000. The result of all this was underdevelopment.

What do all these findings mean? How can they be interpreted? The first discussion point dealt with the failure of socialist economic policies driven by economic globalisation. When

Mozambique and Angola gained independence in 1975, they implemented socialist economic policies from their USSR ally. However, these policies were a failure. By the mid-1980s, by these policies brought by economic globalisation, the industrial production of both countries significantly declined (Ferreira, 2002; Cruz et al., 2006), and GDP lowered (which was the lowest one achieved in 1986 when compared to those of pre-independent Mozambique), and the agricultural sector – which was supposed to be one of the main drivers to sustain their socialist economies – was only sufficient to maintain families and not the economy as a whole. The immediate consequence of this was their underdevelopment. The second discussion point concerning interpreting the above results was based on the forced turn to the agents of economic globalisation and their vicious cycle. The main idea of this point is that these agents of economic globalisation – the IMF and WB – imposed harsh policies and programmes on Mozambique and Angola. To illustrate, in Mozambique, the IMF introduced policies to reduce government spending, economic credit, and real wages (Hanlon, 2010). As a result, these policies led to a decline in GDP – hence, underdevelopment – in both countries and increasing inflation from 1987 to 1991. The donors also contributed in this respect. They made conditional their developmental aid until these Mozambique and Angola – in particular, the former – joined the WB and IMF. However, these conditions were no longer sufficient in the 1990s. They wanted now the country to completely shift to a capitalist economy (although these countries had already slightly started transitioning toward market-oriented economies throughout the 1980s). This meant that if these governments wanted aid to lead their countries towards development (and not underdevelopment), they had to transition from a socialist economic model to a western economic model (and all free-market policies).

What benefits did this new economic system driven by economic globalisation bring to Angola and Mozambique? Did it bring development or underdevelopment? If so, why? Underdevelopment is the answer to the first two questions. In Angola, inflation increased from the year this new economic system – driven by economic globalisation – was established until 1999 (Ferreira, 2002) to the level that it reached hyperinflationary levels. Its annual growth rate was negative from 1992-to 1993. The final finding is that these countries also had some problems: inefficiencies. State's inefficacy is what led these countries to their underdevelopment. These States' inefficacy on how to design appropriate policies to face the new economic system brought by globalisation led them to underdevelopment.