

An enquiry into Argentina's foreign policy towards
Southern Africa since 2003 with specific reference to
Angola and Mozambique

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To God, source of love, life, hope and wisdom

*To Nelson Rolihlahla Madiba Mandela, who believed in a closer relationship between
Argentina and Southern Africa*

To my mother Liliana and siblings Celina, Vanina and Mauricio

Abstract

This study investigates the deepening relations between Argentina and Southern Africa with specific reference to Angola and Mozambique. The enquiry notes the early years of the 2000s as the turning point that saw a sea change in Argentina's foreign policy towards these two countries. From nearly non-existent bilateral relations to concerted efforts to strengthen economic ties with the two Southern African countries by Argentina, these changes in Argentina's foreign policy are compelling for consideration as subjects of academic enquiry. The study seeks to understand the key motivations behind this new approach in Argentina's foreign policy, and using a case study approach, the study delves into the historical developments and other politically significant sequences of events in each of the two African countries in question to account for said foreign policy changes.

As a theory of international relations, realism serves as a key anchor of this study, providing a magnifying lens that allows us to uncover economic considerations to be the key motivating factors behind Argentina's foreign policy. Despite Angola and Mozambique being endowed with natural resources, which provides a natural allure for countries such as Argentina to want to exploit, trade remains the key pillar of bilateral economic relations between Argentina and the two Southern African countries. These have been blossoming and reaching new heights. All this was facilitated by political stability in the two countries following a long period of civil wars that left the economies of Mozambique and Angola in deprived and crippled economic conditions.

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Map of Southern African Development Community



Obtained from <http://www.mict.gov.na/38th-sadc-summit>

Map of Angola



Obtained from <https://geology.com/world/angola-satellite-image.shtml>

Map of Mozambique



Obtained from <https://geology.com/world/mozambique-satellite-image.shtml>

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFP	Argentina's Foreign Policy
ASA	Southern Africa and South America Summit
AU	African Union
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DANMO	<i>Dirección de África del Norte y Medio Oriente</i> (Direction of Northern Africa and Middle East)
DIASA	<i>Dirección de África Subsahariana</i> (Direction of Sub-Saharan Africa)
EAAF	<i>Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense</i> (Argentina's Forensic Anthropology Team)
ESAF	Enhanced structural adjustment facility
EU	European Union
FNLA	<i>Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola</i> (National Liberation Front of Angola)
FO.AR	<i>Fondo Argentino de Cooperación Sur-Sur y Triangular</i> (Argentina's Fund for South- South and Triangular Cooperation)
FRELIMO	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> (Mozambican Front of Liberation)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HR	Human Rights
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDEC	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos</i> (National Institute of Statistics and Censuses)
INTA	<i>Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria</i> (National Institute of Agricultural Technology)
INTI	<i>Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Industrial</i> (National Institute of Industrial Technology)
IR	International Relations
MERCOSUR	<i>Mercado Común del Sur</i> (Common Market of the South)
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPLA	<i>Movimento Popular pela Libertação de Angola</i> (Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola)
OHCHR	Human Rights Council of the United Nations
ONUMOZ	Operation of United Nations in Mozambique

OTAS	Organization of the South Atlantic
PA	Pacific Alliance
PRO	<i>Propuesta Republicana</i> (Republican Proposal)
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
RENAMO	<i>Resistência Nacional Moçambicana</i> (Mozambican National Resistance)
SACU	Southern African Custom Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
US	United States
UK	United Kingdom
UN Comtrade	United Nations International Trade Statistics Database
UN	United Nations
UNASUR	<i>Unión de Naciones Sudamericanas</i> (Union of South American Nations)
UNITA	<i>União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola</i> (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)
USSR	United Soviet Socialist Republic
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation
YPF	<i>Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales</i> (Fiscal Oilfields)
ZPCAS	Zone of Peace and Cooperation of the South Atlantic

Chapter I: Unpacking Argentina's bilateral relations with Angola and Mozambique

1.1. Background

The relations between African countries and Argentina cannot be referred to as something “new”, considering that Argentina’s foreign policy (henceforth, AFP) towards Africa goes back to the first wave of the independence of African states in the 1960s. However, AFP to Africa was a sum of spasmodic, disconnected actions that resulted in relations with short periods of clear understanding (Lechini, 2006).

Nevertheless, the road taken by Argentina since 2003 reveals a new approach to Southern Africa. Argentina moved from a directionless political interest towards Africa -mainly focused on obtaining African votes in the United Nations- to a gradual increase in the scope of relations with Southern Africa. The economic aspect is crucial when it comes to Argentina’s interaction with Southern African countries, although other factors such as human rights and health have also received attention during this thesis.

The year 2012 saw the foreign policy of Argentina towards Africa in the spotlight. For the first time in the history of Argentina, after 196 years of independence, a president made an official mission to a Lusophone African country, Angola. Far from being an isolated action, the economic and political mission was part of a series of concatenated actions that the foreign policy makers of Argentina had been implementing long before the mission. Although Argentina’s governments from 2003 to 2018 dedicated energy, time and effort to Africa, it seemed that many of the actions have been overlooked by academics in Argentina. Scarce research was done on the motivations of Argentina towards Southern Africa, a region where the activity was increasing the most. The aforementioned presidential journey to Angola in May 2012, and the opening of an embassy in Mozambique in December 2016 are just two examples of the renewed interest of Argentina towards Southern Africa.

1.2. Problem statement

The efforts of Argentina's *Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) towards Southern Africa during the last years have been remarkable. From 2003 to 2012, fifty-three (53) agreements were signed between Argentina and Southern African countries. The number represents 25% of the agreements signed between Argentina and Southern African states (Morasso, 2015). The period known as *Kirchnerismo* because of the presidencies of Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández (2003-2015) had a clear emphasis on expanding commercial relations with South-South peers, considering Southern Africa a land of trade opportunities. Indications show that Argentina's interest in Africa is far from dissipating, with Argentina's latest president, Mauricio Macri, reaffirming the country's intention to increase bilateral relations with African countries through trade.

Be that as it may, the academic analysis on the subject of AFP towards Africa has been lacking, with only a small-scale group of researchers showing commitment to the study of the relations between Argentina and Africa. Instead of recognizing the growing importance of the African continent to Argentina, intelligentsia and specialists in the field of international relations have placed disproportionate interest in Argentina's relations with the West and a few countries in the Global South like Brazil. Africa has yet to emerge as a significant region to pique the interest of foreign policy specialists in Argentina. Diego Buffa (2008) makes similar observations, arguing that any salient academic research on AFP towards Africa is scarce. Against this backdrop, new academic research is required with the express purpose of developing a deeper understanding of Argentina's interest in Southern Africa as expressed in her foreign policy in recent history.

If Argentina plans to open new embassies in a near future, the foreign office will appreciate any help coming from academics trained in International Relations, in order to improve Argentina's outcomes in the continent. Argentina is aware of the active policy of Brazil in Africa¹, as mentioned by the ambassador Federico Villegas, head of Argentina's embassy

¹ The relation between Argentina and Brazil has been characterized by Senna (1975) as four centuries of rivalry. That being said, many specialists such as Selcher (1985), Bernal (2008), Russell and Tokatlian (2003) agree that the rivalry gave place in the 1970s to a friendly competence which appeals to cooperation between the two nations. However, Lechini (2010) affirms that Argentina pays careful attention to the actions of Brazil

in Mozambique. The fact that Brazil had forty (40) embassies in Africa while Argentina had only eight (8) was something that led to the opening of an embassy in Mozambique in December 2016 (Villegas, 2018).

The lack of awareness of both academics and people in general of what Argentina is doing is surprisingly high, something that can be attributed to the poor media coverage of Argentina's actions in Southern Africa (Manini, 2017), which can also be related to the scarce scientific research on the topic. The situation is regrettable considering Argentina's governmental efforts in the last fifteen (15) years aimed at deepening relations with various Southern African states².

Argentina seems to have singled out Angola and Mozambique for deepening bilateral relations. This thesis seeks to find out why the decision to deepen relations with these two countries and not others. Thus, the intention of this study is to analyse the reasons that have led Argentina's new foreign policy towards Angola and Mozambique.

1.3. Aims and significance of the study

The main aim of the thesis is to understand the foremost drivers of AFP towards Southern Africa, particularly Angola and Mozambique. This academic work explores whether economic interests have had any bearing on the nature of bilateral relations between Argentina and the two African countries. There is a new path in AFP towards Southern Africa and economic opportunities would seem to be the key motivation of this new path. This thesis interprets the nature of this relationship with an IR realist interpretation. The study perceives a sovereign country such as Argentina -member of the international community of states- trying to achieve economic gains that could increase her dominance in South America.

in Africa. It is a matter of time to see if Brazil's new extreme right president Jair Bolsonaro will continue a friendly relation with Argentina.

² Several visits have been made by diplomats of Argentina to countries such as Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia or South Africa. Still, more attention was paid by Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Angola and Mozambique. Chapter 2 will look into the general foreign policy of Argentina towards Southern Africa.

The significance of this particular study is that it helps affirm the premise that a new AFP has been implemented by Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards Angola and Mozambique, motivated by the economic opportunities that these two countries have to offer to Buenos Aires. By looking at the main drivers of AFP towards Angola and Mozambique, the study supports current actions of foreign policy implemented in the field as well as plans for innovative diplomatic actions that Argentina may want to implement.

In line with the aims and the significance of the thesis, the study will place focus on Southern Africa for purposes of specificity. The advances of AFP towards this African region during the last fifteen (15) years include the opening of embassies, official visits and signed treaties, among others actions. The growing importance of the region and the realization of actions on the ground hold promising advances for the future.

1.3.1. Objectives

The *primary objective* of this study is to achieve the following:

- *Find out the factors that have driven Argentina's renewed foreign policy approach towards Angola and Mozambique.*

Going with the foregoing main objective, this study shall proceed to achieve the following two secondary objectives:

- *Examine the past and present of AFP towards Southern Africa by providing an evolution of trends and changes that will help make sense of the recent developments of AFP disposition towards the region as a whole relative to those adopted in the past.*
- *Ascertain why and to what extent Argentina has been deepening relations with Angola and Mozambique.*

1.3.2. Research questions

This study is informed by the quest to answer the following guiding main question:

-What are the main drivers of Argentina's renewed foreign policy approach towards Southern Africa, specially Angola and Mozambique?

To narrow down this research to Angola and Mozambique will help provide a better understanding of the underlying factors that have informed AFP towards Southern Africa. The following supplementary questions serve as a guide to tackle the aforementioned main question:

-What is the extent of the deepening relationship between Argentina and Angola as well as Mozambique?

-Also, of what economic significance are the two countries (Angola and Mozambique) to Argentina?

1.3.3. Hypothesis

To answer the main research question and the guiding supplementary questions, this study argues that Argentina's foreign policy is mainly driven by the country's economic interest in Southern Africa, especially in Angola and Mozambique. Due to political stability after decades of economically debilitating civil wars, the two countries are showing signs of rising from the ashes, with economic opportunities that have become too significant for Argentina to simply ignore and not want to exploit. Although Angola's vast oil deposits and Mozambique's gas endowment remain appealing for Argentina, trade remains at the heart of that country's main foreign policy considerations towards these two African countries.

1.4. Conceptual framework

1.4.1. Conceptualizing Foreign Policy Analysis

As a field of study, foreign policy has been growing steadily since its first appearance in the 1960s, taking many directions relating to the study of international relationships as a whole. Celestino del Arenal (1984) considers that “foreign policy analysis” is the study of the way in which the State carries its relations with other States and is projected towards the outside. It refers to the formulation, implementation and evaluation of external options of a State, as seen from the perspective of the State, without taking into account the international society as such. Another useful definition is the one provided by Enrique Russell (1990), who defines the foreign policy of a state as a public policy that is projected in the external field in front of a wide range of governmental and non-governmental actors and institutions. In order to be analyzed, the foreign policy can be divided into three dimensions: politic-diplomatic, economic and strategic-military. The present work prioritises the economic dimension in accordance with the hypothesis formulated. However, the analysis of the other dimensions has not been left aside when considering important, especially the politic-diplomatic dimension.

The study of foreign policy is not a new phenomenon. As long as there have been political units engaging in relations with other political units, people have thought about and studied the problems of relations with the other foreign group. What is different is the attempt to structure the activities of scholars engaged in the study of foreign policy into a coherent, identifiable field of study. It is important to state that foreign policy analysis had its nascence in the 1960s as a distinct field. Since the 70s, there was the rise of a “second generation” of ideas on foreign policy analysis (Neack, 1995).

1.4.1.1. First generation of foreign policy studies

The development of foreign policy analysis can be divided between a first and a second generation. The second generation follows on the existence of and builds upon the efforts of its predecessor, as well as it is nurtured by and relies upon the strengths of its predecessor. At the same time, a second generation often speaks to those things that have

been overlooked or not completed by the first one. So there are elements about a second generation that can appear oppositional and even accusatory to the first.

The first generation of scholarship was labeled "comparative foreign policy" (CFP) whereas the second generation is referred to as "foreign policy analysis" (FPA). It is important to recognize here that the referred generations frequently overlap temporally. The first-generation had as one of its primary goals to move away from noncumulative descriptive case studies and to construct a parsimonious explanation of what drives the foreign policy behavior of states. This will be done using modern social science techniques and comparative analyses of the behavior of states (East, Salmore, and Hermann, 1978). Along the way, it was hoped that a relatively uniform pursuit of theory about foreign policy would contribute to the establishment of a normal science in Kuhn's sense (Kuhn, 1962).

Many first generation scholars adopted quantitative, positivist models of theory building and methodologies. This disposition toward positivist theory building required that scholars assemble "data" of the FP behavior of states, often in the form of event counts, and explore sources of behaviors through discrete, separate levels of analysis (Azar and Ben-Dak, 1975; Kegley et al, 1975). The explanations produced in this pursuit were intended to be general (even generic) in nature, stressing ideal nation-types, societal characteristics, and behavioral modes, including those linked to systematic decision-making models (Moore, 1974; Rosenau, 1967). The U.S. federal funding opportunities for academics, as well as the abundance of data on the world's countries being generated by the United Nations and the Western states' intelligence apparatuses helped solidify and legitimate this approach to foreign policy analysis.

In Argentina, first generation of foreign policy scholarship led by Juan Carlos Puig had a strong American focus characterized by methodologies that leaned towards positivist thinking. This first generation of the study of foreign policy consequently placed inordinate attention on the relationship between Brazil and Argentina in Latin America and US-UK relations in the case of the West. It is only after the emergence of second generation of the study of foreign policy that focus was placed on Argentina-Africa relations (Buffa, 2008).

1.4.1.2. Second generation of foreign policy studies

Unlike first generation of foreign policy studies, second generation scholarship encompasses a wide array of approaches aimed at broadening the field of foreign policy analysis. Thanks to its emergence that pioneering work such as *Cómo vender en África / How to sell Africa*, by Juan Llamazares (1962), made a case for Argentina to have an Africa-focused foreign policy. Hence, the first generation neglected many theories of IR that addressed foreign policy issues because these were rarely considered methodical in comparative foreign policy. Thus, it ignored some foreign policy contributions of political realism, globalism and complex interdependency/transnationalism. Realist theories, for instance, have discussed alliance behavior (Walt, 1987) or security dilemmas (Jervis, 1978) in ways that speak directly to particular foreign policy behaviors of states. Similarly, Neorealists have discussed the FP of hegemons, challengers, and supporters (Gilpin, 1987). Globalist theories have spoken about foreign policy behaviors and motivations, including discussions of imperialism and imperialist states (Frank, 1981), and discussions of the roles played by the countries of the core, semi periphery and periphery in the capitalist world system (Wallerstein, 1979).

The second generation is more likely to find explanations crafted for certain circumstances or certain actors, recognizing that actors can "substitute" one foreign policy choice for another when pursuing goals. Research that seeks to build such theory may still focus on only one level (e.g., individuals or societies), but that level is generally seen as part of a larger context of action (Katzenstein, 1976). Explanations may be: time, region, or issue bound, allowing for example to note differences between the AFP towards Northern Africa in the 1960's and the AFP towards Southern Africa in 2000.

The roles of actors and their diverse interests are of value in shaping Argentina's foreign policy approach to Southern Africa. Considering them would help to face some questions, such as why the AFP continued to be involved with Angola and Mozambique even after the defeat of Argentina's *Kirchnerismo* in 2015. Considering that the new president Mauricio Macri - and his political party *Propuesta Republicana* - was on the antipodeans of the *Kirchnerismo* experience and had announced a "return to the world" (basically, to

reinforce Western relations), why did the functionaries of Macri pay a visit to Angola? In addition, why was a new embassy in Mozambique inaugurated in 2016? A field of political analysis that identifies multiple levels of players seeking a role may provide explanations for the continuity of the AFP towards Southern Africa. The business opportunities for Argentinian companies -*Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales* (YPF, Fiscal Oilfields), Galileo or Arcor- have to be considered when analyzing Argentina's interest in Southern Africa.

1.4.2. Locating Southern Africa and its geopolitical significance in this study

Against the traditional wisdom proclaim that “the more, the merrier”, a clear distinction of Southern Africa from Africa helps the more specific analysis of AFP, especially when considering the cultural, economic, political and ethnic variety of Africa. In this thesis, Southern Africa comprehends the members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). During the Cold War, the influence of the United States and the Soviet Union divided the region into influence sectors where SADC members were located. However, Southern Africa has experienced since 1991 an economic integration that has helped the states to work in a more coordinated way in comparison to other African blocks (Chazan, 1992).

The member countries of SADC are Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The observation of the relations between Argentina and the sixteen (16) countries insinuates general guidelines of Argentina that influence the new AFP towards Angola and Mozambique. With so many countries making up the region, understanding the economic significance of Mozambique and Angola to Argentina since the formative years of the 2000s warrants an academic investigation that takes note of the current trends against those of old.

The next section examines the application of foreign policy analysis in relation to AFP. The first part of the literature review brings to the fore studies accounting for Argentina's foreign policy. The second part of the literature review places focus on studies accounting for Argentina's relations with Africa. Finally, it zooms-in on studies done on Argentina and the two countries under discussion, Mozambique and Angola.

1.5. Literature review of Argentina's Foreign Policy.

1.5.1. Literature on Argentina's Foreign Policy in general.

Current research on AFP raises a concern about the lack of a systematic and continuing foreign policy towards Africa. This is largely due to the major attention paid from policy makers to Argentina's relations with Europe, United States and Latin America. However, some lines can be drawn in the characterization of AFP towards the world, including Africa as well. Eduardo Giménez (2000) has tried to find out the general principles of AFP. First, AFP is rooted in solidarity and mutual respect for other peoples. Second, the country has a historical attitude to other countries based on justice and fraternity. Third, Argentina identifies itself with principles of international law, in particular with the principles of the Organization of the Americas. Fourth and finally, Argentina is against any form of intervention that could compromise the very sovereignty of the states.

Alejandro Simonoff has written abundantly about the history of AFP (2010a, 2010b). The period between 1810 and 1945 can be divided in two: a first period between 1810 and 1862 where the Argentinian state was in the making (Ozlak, 1999) and a period between 1862 and 1945 where Argentina placed itself under the influence of the United Kingdom (UK). AFP was forged by Argentina's political elite through the state. The foreign policy had as characteristics an alignment to the United Kingdom, an opposition to the United States, a triangular trade among these two countries (exports to the UK, imports from the US), an isolation from Latin America and a regional balance of power (Simonoff, 2010a).

Mario Rapoport (1980) distinguished between "colonial dependence" and "national dependence". The project of the elite of the "1880 Generation" (founder of Argentina's liberal-economic matrix) is a case of "national dependence": the members of the ruling class rationalised the dependent situation with the United Kingdom. Unlike the case of "colonial dependence", the elite managed to impose some limits on the action of the dominant power. Following this line, Rapoport (1980) criticized the perception of the local elites as simple victims of foreign interests, with Argentina aligned to the United Kingdom until the end of the Second World War.

The Cold War brought a different way for Argentina to relate to foreign countries. AFP tried to seek for greater spaces of autonomy under Juan Domingo Perón's presidency (1946-1954 and 1972-1973), trying to find a middle ground between the United States and the Soviet Union. Juan Carlos Puig (1975), who is considered the father of AFP analyses, developed a foreign policy scheme call *heterodox autonomy*. This scheme sought to maximize Argentina's international space to manoeuvre through the diversification of external political and economic ties (Puig, 1975). Heterodox autonomy allows a state (Argentina) to accept the strategic direction of the dominant power of a bloc (United States). At the same time, the heterodox autonomy concept allows a country to have discrepancies with the dominant power regarding three aspects: the internal development model, the international links that are not globally strategic and the demarcation between the national interest of the dominant power and the strategic interest of the bloc (Corigliano, 2009).

During the Cold War, AFP suffered severely from a lack of direction and coherence owing to major changes in the government, which went from democracy to dictatorship. After the return to democracy in 1983, the foreign policies of Argentina navigated between the autonomist tendencies that privileged Latin America and the tendencies of restricted insertion with the hegemonic power. Miranda (2012) states the existence of two tendencies: an *autonomous tendency* and an *alliance/alignment with United States*. As AFP navigated between autonomy (close to Brazil) or alignment (close to US and Europe), Africa became a space that was almost forgotten by Argentina's foreign policy makers. While the 1990s were an example of dependence, the time span known in Argentina as "Kirchnerismo" (2003-2015) which was followed by an autonomist trend with more attention to Africa.

Two other authors have to be mentioned in this literature review on AFP: Carlos Escudé (1989, 1992, 1997) and Enrique Russell (1990, 1998). Escudé is the father of the "Peripheral Realism" and was president Menem's close advisor. Escudé (1989) believed that a dependent country like Argentina must eliminate power confrontations. Argentina should reduce the scope of her foreign policy only to those conflicts that could affect her material welfare (Escudé, 1992). AFP must be calibrated not only in terms of rigorous costs

and material benefits, but also in terms of the risks and possible costs. Autonomy should not be defined in terms of freedom of action (potentially enormous, reaching self-destruction) but in terms of the relative costs of using that freedom of action against a particular problem.

Russell (1990, 1998) has a contrasting point of view to Escudé. Father of the “Peripheral Neoidealism”, Russell opines that a foreign policy defined solely in terms of material welfare, with disregard of International Law, is politically flawed from an ethical point of view (Russell, 1990). An ambiguous AFP undermines the credibility of Argentina and implies potential losses. A peripheral country like Argentina must be prepared to confront when actions of the powers violate principles that affect her national interest (Russell, 1998). AFP during the Kirchnerismo period placed more emphasis in the respect of international law and human rights, something that was used in Argentina’s relationship with Southern Africa.

1.5.2. Argentina’s Foreign Policy towards Africa

AFP towards the African continent was firstly oriented to South Africa and the countries located in Northern Africa, mainly because they were the first African states to be independent (Lechini, 1986). During the 1960s, a wave of decolonization and independence swept across the continent, affecting most African states. Argentina recognized the new African states and established diplomatic relations with them.

Diego Buffa (2008), who has analysed the AFP towards Africa since the 1960s, opines that Argentina’s government encouraged linkages with the Global South and in particular with the African region during that decade. Unfortunately, the variations of the AFP during the second half of the past century reflected the lack of autonomy of the diplomatic services of Argentina with regards to Africa (Buffa, 2003). There was a conflicting attitude towards Africa between the democratic governments and the military regimes in Argentina. While the former tried to encourage an opening to Africa, with a high degree of pluralism, diversification and solidarity, the latter implemented a rigid foreign policy framed in the fight against communism.

Juan Carlos Moneta (1978) affirms that the foreign policy of Argentina's military regimes towards Southern Africa had as its main focus on the geopolitics of the South Atlantic. This led to a foreign policy concerned about having cordial relations not only with Latin American dictatorships but also with South Africa, granting special interest to the Organization of the South Atlantic (OTAS). The sanctions and disengagement of the international community from the South African Apartheid regime also encouraged South Africa to foster its relationship with Argentina, particularly in matters of cooperative defensive actions (Moneta, 1978).

Lechini (2006) agrees with Buffa that the antecedents of Argentina's ties with Africa go back to the first years after the independence of the African countries. However, this first approach was characterized by "*impulses*", meaning spontaneous, weak, spasmodic actions that were taken by Argentina towards the continent. Africa was object of some initiatives of AFP, through foreign isolated actions. After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, African states lost the importance they had had in the East-West conflict. In a more recent work, Lechini (2014) maintains the view that AFP towards Africa after the new millennium has been influenced by a revitalised Brazilian policy towards the African continent.

More related to the 2000s, Victoria Zapata (2010) has found some general guidelines of AFP towards Africa during the *Kirchnerismo* period (2003-2015). The guidelines included an AFP with emphasis on the South-South relations, an adaptable economic logic, a cooperation expressed on policies, a rejection of a "one partner policy" and an approach to new partners (Zapata, 2010). Argentina adapted to the changes of the global order, implementing a multilateral policy for the exercise of foreign policy towards Africa. As a final point, Zapata insist that Buenos Aires has continued defending principles of international law such as non-intervention, self-determination of peoples and sovereignty of the state.

Finally, Rafael Benke (2016) has analysed the government of Mauricio Macri and its position towards Africa. Argentina's latest president devalued the national currency, lifted significant trade and capital barriers, launched conversations with creditors and changed international perceptions towards Argentina. Indicators for 2016 showed a need for pragmatism in the government's foreign agenda. Benke's work (2016) confirms that the

opportunities to progress in the relations between Argentina and African countries have not been pursued extensively enough.

One of the advances in the relation between Argentina and Southern Africa are the negotiations between the Southern African Custom Union (SACU) and the *Common Market of the South* (MERCOSUR). Both regional blocs agreed to a trade agreement that came into effect on April 1, 2016. The vision of Africa as a region for trade and investment is one that needs to be encouraged by Argentina's policy makers. However, African countries should build their own bridges across the Atlantic. A well-structured and well-conceived engagement for expanding and strengthening the ties between both regions could pave the way for fruitful relations (Benke, 2016).

1.5.3. Argentina's Foreign Policy towards Angola and Mozambique

Gladys Lechini (2006) affirms that Argentina's relations with Angola and Mozambique have suffered as a result of the former's inconsistent foreign policy. For example, one of the ways to have better relations with Angola and Mozambique was to be part of the Non Aligned Movement (NAM). Argentina shifted from disdain to admiration towards the NAM owing largely to the start of the Malvinas war in 1982, and the need for African support in various international forums such as the NAM. Surprisingly, Argentina later discontinued her membership to the Non Aligned Movement in 1991, declaring an unconditional alignment with United States³. In these dramatic shifts, the AFP towards Angola and Mozambique became a victim.

Rodolfo Calalongo (2012) enhances the scientific and technological cooperation between Argentina, Angola and Mozambique. The cooperation among the three countries started in 1977 due to the joint efforts of the Economic Commission for Africa and the Economic Commission for Latin America. The major outcome of the joint work between the two commissions was the Conference of the United Nations about Technical Cooperation, held in Buenos Aires in September 1978, which showed a change in criteria to achieve development through national channels. In addition to the United Nation conferences,

³ In the new millennium, the strengthening of South-South cooperation was an objective of AFP. Consequently, Argentina returned to the Non Aligned Movement in 2009 (El Argentino, 2009).

Calolongo (2012) provides examples of cooperation such as the agreement between Argentina and Angola signed in 1988.

Carla Morasso (2015) agrees that in the context of South-South cooperation, AFP towards African countries is of significant importance. Morasso perceived an increasing relation between Argentina and Mozambique when analysing the activities of the *Fondo argentino de Cooperación Sur-Sur y Triangular*, FO.AR (Argentina's Fund for South-South and Triangular Cooperation). Trying to multiply the impact of Argentina's cooperation in Africa, FO.AR developed twenty-nine (29) projects on the continent by 2015; the amount of projects increased substantially considering that in 2012 only six (6) were implemented. Mozambique received the largest number of projects, with Angola and Algeria following behind. These projects reaffirm that cooperation is a defining characteristic of AFP towards Angola and Mozambique.

1.6. Methodology

The proposed research is a qualitative study that will use the case study approach to make deductions. The case study is the intensive examination of different aspects of a social phenomenon, which is studied in order to account for it in detail by seeking its components and the relations among them (Monje, 2011). The logic of this study is framed in the wider vision of qualitative research, aimed at understanding the meaning of the experience: the new AFP towards Angola and Mozambique.

This study seeks to account for the seismic changes in Argentina's relations with erstwhile foreign policy decisions, with specific reference to Angola and Mozambique from 2003 to 2018. Analysing speeches and actions adopted by Argentina's authorities towards these two countries provides the rationale for the recent AFP and the actions that have followed the new stand in relation to Southern Africa.

Both primary and secondary sources will serve to conduct this study, such as official reports of Argentina's *Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). In the specific relationship between Argentina, Angola and Mozambique, the speeches of the presidents of the three countries, their foreign ministers, related officials, as

well as other relevant documentation were the source of data. In order to obtain and analyse trade figures, the author of this thesis collected data from the United Nations International Trade Statistics Database (UN Comtrade) and the *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos*, INDEC (National Institute of Statistics and Censuses). Most literature on AFP is available only in Spanish; the writer of this research, a native speaker of Spanish, has provided an English version of all the excerpts quoted as well as the main ideas of the Spanish sources consulted.

1.7. Research design

The starting point for the analysis is the year 2003. Nestor Kirchner's administration (2003-2007) started to look for different economic partners across the world, taking a closer approach to Southern Africa. The time span analysis will also contemplate the Presidencies of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and Mauricio Macri until July 2018. Nonetheless, the work will explore previous years to 2003 in order to compare both past and present in the foreign relations.

The analytical study of the foreign policy actions of Argentina towards Angola and Mozambique accounts for the increasing relations between the three countries. The actions taken range from meetings of foreign state ministers to upcoming policies in different areas, i.e. health -which Argentina's government fosters at present. In addition, the present work includes a chapter on AFP in Southern Africa because of the different connections and similar topics that cut across different African countries that are of particular interest to Argentina.

The politic-diplomatic dimension of a country's foreign policy is made explicit in the framework of bilateral and multilateral relations of a state actor. This study prioritised bilateral relations, although multilateral areas were considered in which Southern African states participated (South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone, Southern African Development Community). The investigation of the changes in the commercial dimension of a foreign policy will examine the variations of the economic trade between Argentina, Angola and Mozambique, considering the growth and diversification of such dimension.

Two tables will complement this work. The tables reflect the evolution of trade between Argentina and the two Southern African countries in question, Angola and Mozambique. The tables look at the two-way trade volumes between Argentina and the two countries between 1992 and 2017. The source of the data was from United Nations' International Trade Statistics Database and Argentina's National Institute of Statistics and Censuses.

1.8. Chapter outline

The study will be organized in the following order. In the second chapter, an overview of Southern Africa is made, laying out the actions of Argentina's government in the region. In the third and fourth chapters, a more individualized study of Angola and Mozambique is carried out, pointing out their particular features and the development of AFP towards these countries. The fifth and final chapter states the conclusions of the study, explaining the reasons for this new approach of Argentina towards these Southern African countries. A number of observations and conclusions will be made about new paths of actions, considering the reasons that explain the analysed international states relations from 2003 up to the present.

1.9. Limitations

The most important limitation of this study is that it only identifies some of the most salient factors that have contributed to the establishment of a particular foreign policy towards Southern Africa in general and towards Angola and Mozambique in particular. The author of the study decided not to include a wider continental analysis to account for bilateral relations between Argentina and the rest of the African countries. Such a study would require an extension beyond the scope of this thesis.

The research on motives of AFP towards Southern Africa could work as a guideline to analyse the actions of Argentina towards the referred region. This research does not account for the AFP towards other areas in the world. As mentioned, this thesis focuses on finding the motivation behind a new AFP towards Southern Africa, with a special focus on Angola and Mozambique, and the economic opportunities that these countries can offer to Argentina. Although the use of in-depth interviews with diplomats would have been a

complementary research tool for the proposed research, time and financial constraints prevented the researcher from conducting such interviews. The academic committee that evaluated the thesis proposal did not consider interviews as a crucial element for the research development.

Chapter II: Answering Nelson Mandela's call: Argentina's renewed foreign policy approach towards Southern Africa

“We are here to encourage and invite the Argentinian business community to look east. Our far-reaching programme of reconstruction and development, our increasing integration in Southern Africa and our involvement in the rebirth of Africa, all combine to create exciting prospects. Ladies and gentlemen; May I request you now to stand and raise your glasses to President Dr Carlos Menem and the Republic of Argentina” Nelson Rolihlahla Madiba Mandela (Office of the President, 1998)

2.1. Introduction: a new dawn for Argentina and Southern Africa

Following the invitation of Nelson Rolihlahla Madiba Mandela, father of the South African nation, Argentina dared look east and strengthen the ties with Southern Africa. The study of a new approach towards Angola and Mozambique must be seen within the context of Argentina's actions towards Southern Africa in order to have a better understanding of the situation. The approach to Angola and Mozambique cannot be considered as isolated but as a part of a larger focus of Argentina towards Southern Africa. This chapter argues that since 2003 Argentina has changed her approach to Southern Africa due to the implementation of normative and economic principles in her foreign affairs towards this region. The implementation of these principles explains the increase of the actions implemented by Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards Southern Africa. The author tries to perceive the principles, ideas and actions taken by Argentina towards Southern Africa in order to have a better comprehension of AFP towards Angola and Mozambique.

The time span analysis extends from May 2003 to July 2018, contemplating the presidencies of Nestor Kirchner, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and Mauricio Macri. The analysis of governmental documentation, books, academic articles and media reports showed the guidelines and advances made by Argentina in their international relations with Southern Africa.

The path taken since 2003 reveals a qualitative increase in the relations between Argentina and Southern African states. The economic reach of the new relations seems related to a South-South perspective. Still, other aspects –related to health or Human Rights- play an increasing role in the actions of AFP, enhancing the economic opportunities that Argentina has perceived in the south of the African continent.

After this introduction, the chapter continues with a section that tries to state which ones are the general principles that have guided Argentina's foreign affairs between 2003 and 2018. The chapter will end with a general conclusion about how Argentina has been acting towards Southern Africa from 2003 to 2018.

2.2. Delineating the principles of AFP towards Southern Africa

This section states the guidelines that characterize Argentina's international relations when it comes to Southern Africa. The literature review related to AFP (section 1.6) specified the guidelines of Argentina towards the world in general (Eduardo Pablo Giménez, 2010) and Africa in particular (Lechini, 2006, Zapata, 2010). The analysis made at the level of discourse and action shows the following economic and normative principles that Argentina has followed towards Southern Africa between 2003 and 2018:

- Emphasis on economic and political South-South relations, involving economic opportunities in a horizontal relationship between equals, without colonial reminiscence.
- Establishment of new relations in a multipolar world, motivated primarily by the economic growth of states that were previously considered not sufficiently economically viable.
- New ways to foster relations between countries. Technological exchange, humanitarian assistance and human rights became important to strengthen Argentina-Southern Africa connections.

The following paragraphs examine the abovementioned points and how they reflect Argentina's ideas and actions in the south of the African continent. The analysis starts with the idea of South-South cooperation. This thought has not only existed for a long span of time in AFP towards Africa but has taken considerable impulse in Argentina's renewed

approach to Southern Africa. The notion of "south" is, beyond a geographical reference, a concept that groups the states historically peripheral to the development of countries with greater economic and social welfare.

2.2.1. South-South Cooperation

Argentina's presence in Africa, the strengthening of ties and the development of South-South cooperation between sister countries, without paternalism, were some of the new axes of the foreign policy during the *Kirchnerismo* period (2003-2015). Those ideas, expressed by the former Argentina's vice-chancellor Eduardo Zuaín in a Celebration of the Day of Africa on May 29, 2015, have been matched with an increase in actions taken towards Southern Africa (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, 2015).

The deep cultural and identity roots that unite Argentina and the African continent are taken into account by the Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although both African culture and identity may not have in Argentina the salience they do have in Brazil. Nevertheless, Argentina held the first regional conference in the framework of the International Decade of Afro descendants in October 2015, with focus on the AFP approach with Africa. The Palacio de San Martín, ceremonial seat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, continues generating policies that would bring Africa closer to Argentina and achieve greater brotherhood between the African and Latin American peoples.

Many Latin American ideas have been transferred to Southern Africa, which have served for the blossoming of intellectual ideas in the African region. Economic "Cepalismo" (with Raul Prebisch from Argentina as its main intellectual), dependency theory, pedagogical and religious liberationism, to mention the most relevant cases helped enrich the African intellectual heritage and generate new hybridizations in Sub-Saharan thought (Valdés, 2011).

The South-South cooperation helps the economic dimension of AFP. Argentina has been participating in the Southern Africa - South America Summit (ASA) since its creation in 2005 (Lechini, 2010). The ASA led in time to the two Agricultural Meetings between Sub-Saharan African Countries and Argentina in 2011 and 2013 organized by Argentina's

Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries (Morasso, 2015). These meetings reflect a new look at the African continent. Argentina's role was to design programs for the support and promotion of agricultural production and agro manufactures. The Southern African countries role was to identify national priorities in food security, and the need to redefine their agricultural production model with a long time vision. South-South cooperation enabled Argentina to offer its technology to Africans in areas dominated by small and medium producers in need of a qualitative jump in their productions.

South-South relations have gained attention. Speeches given at bilateral meetings, like the Cristina Fernandez's visit to Angola in 2012, placed greater emphasis on South-South cooperation (Casa Rosada, 2012). Fernández referred to South-South cooperation as necessary among emerging countries to achieve inclusive societies with fair wages. In political-diplomatic meetings held in 2013 between Angola and Argentina, there were horizontal cooperation actions supported by the *Fondo argentino para la Cooperación Sur-Sur y Triangular*, FO.AR (Argentina's Fund for South-South and Triangular Cooperation). Argentina stated that international cooperation was part of her national and foreign policy, and that South-South cooperation is distinguished by its horizontal, unconditional and character of solidarity. The relation is not imposed, but shared. South-South cooperation is not an exercise of audits, consultancies or inventories, but an exercise of listening and consensus. The Global-South does not talk about donors and recipients. It talks about partners (Morasso, 2015).

Although the economic opportunities that global South cooperation bring are crucial to understand (and sustain) the process, this cooperation gave Argentina (political and economic) benefits from the realist point of view. Argentina welcomed Africa's support in international forums related to the Malvinas Islands. This support was reflected in the Malabo Declaration of the summit of countries in Africa and South America, held in February 2013. In this forum, Southern Africa recognized the legitimate sovereign rights of Argentina over Malvinas, Georgia and Sandwich Islands (Malabo Declaration, 2013).

Various approaches could be used to interpret Argentina's foreign policy in Africa. However, the realist school of thought is the most useful to explain today's foreign policy because Argentina's current foreign policy seems to place disproportionate focus on the

economic benefits its relations with Southern Africa can bring to the country. The Latin American country is just trying to increase its economic wealth and therefore its economic capabilities. In a selfish perspective, Buenos Aires' motivation towards the SADC countries is based on the gains that Argentina can accrue from the relationship.

Coming back to the South-South cooperation and the benefits Argentina stands to gain from it, the former Chancellor Héctor Timerman represented Argentina in 2013 at the 50th anniversary of the creation of the Organization of African Unity, which became the African Union (AU) in 2002. Argentina entered into the AU in 2009 as an observer, reinforcing a process of growing commercial, political, social and cultural ties with Africa (Telam, 2013). Timerman held working meetings and signed technical cooperation agreements with SADC members such as Namibia and Mozambique.

Timerman made no less than eight (8) trips to Africa during his term as Chancellor. The fear that Argentina might discontinue relations with Southern Africa after Mauricio Macri's assumption to the Presidency in December 2015 was allayed when Chancellor Susana Malcorra visited Angola in August 2016. The visit had a large agenda focusing on fostering economic relations between the countries (La Nación, 2016). Still, in realist traditions, Malcorra was also looking for Angola's vote in the election of Secretary-General of the United Nations (a position Malcorra was aspiring to).

Argentina has deployed a series of actions towards the African countries in the framework of an autonomous foreign policy that promotes South-South cooperation. This has taken place within the framework of a greater multipolarity that had gained momentum since the beginning of the new millennium and intensified with the Financial Crisis of subprime mortgages in September 2007. This 'multipolarism' will be referred to in the next section.

2.2.2. New economic opportunities in a multipolar world

The international system is assuming a multipolar character at the economic and political level, where the emerging middle powers play a prominent role. In this new world outlook, Southern Africa becomes a region with relative weight, with countries such as Angola, Mozambique and South Africa occupying greater visibility at the international level. Many

countries of the region have emerged from serious institutional crises that were affecting them since their independence, having ended military conflicts that made stability (both internal and regional) impossible.

Cristina Fernández de Kirchner affirmed the need for a multilateral policy in her presidential assumption on December 2007, calling for the construction of multilateralism. The reinforcement of an approach to the African region, which had already started with president Nestor Kirchner, unfolded within the framework of a more autonomous foreign policy, which meant a foreign policy unaligned to the United States, searching for a greater capacity of maneuver in Argentina's international relations (Simonoff, 2010). Two points have to be highlighted in order to understand why getting closer to Southern Africa marks a contrast with the past AFP.

First, relations between South Africa and Argentina were solid and important during Argentina's military government known as National Reorganization Process (1976-1983). Pretoria and Buenos Aires shared a common view against the anticommunist struggle. Nevertheless, the return to democracy meant the cooling down of the relationship due to the anti-Apartheid position chosen by president Raúl Alfonsín (1983-1989). He came closer to the Non Aligned Movement seeking the support of African countries in international organizations. The new millennium sees the Pretoria-Buenos Aires relationship thriving. Jorge Taiana, the former Chancellor of Nestor Kirchner, stated that Argentina and South Africa share the principle of multilateralism as a way to solve the problems of the international community (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, 2008).

Second, the government of Carlos Saúl Menem (1989-1999) produced a series of changes in the orientation of the foreign policy. The most notable was the total alignment with the external policy of United States of America. To be in solidarity with the Global South was considered inappropriate in the post-Cold War scenario. This argument justified, for example, the abrupt withdrawal from the Non Aligned Movement in 1991. In the name of "administrative rationalisation" –essentially, the shrinkage of the state bureaucracy- five diplomatic representations in Africa were closed during the first Menem presidency: Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia and Tanzania in 1991, Zaire (today Democratic Republic of Congo) in 1992 and Gabon in 1993 (Lechini, 2000).

After Menem's administration, only the embassies in Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Senegal and Zimbabwe remained in operation. As a result of a deep economic crisis in Argentina on December 2001, the embassies of Kenya, Senegal and Zimbabwe were closed in March 2002 (Lechini, 2010). From 2005 onwards, this process started to be reversed with the opening of an embassy in Angola. Argentina's relations with Angola and Mozambique increased owing to the frequency of political and economic relations between the two countries.

There are many reasons behind Argentina wanting to take advantage of the opportunities that Southern Africa has to offer. African consumer spending will reach US\$ 2.1 trillion by 2025 according to McKinsey & Company (2017). It is true that currency devaluations and a sharp downturn in oil-exporting economies slowed the spending growth in 12 out of the 15 largest markets in Africa between 2014 and 2015. However, two (2) members of SADC were part of the three (3) exceptions: the Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania, with the other third country being Ethiopia.

Angola and Mozambique are among the countries that have grown the most in the first decade of the new millennium (Bauer & Taylor, 2011). Before the global economic crisis in 2009, the economy of Angola had expanded annually more than 15% since the year 2000, whereas Mozambique's figures were about half that Angola. Both countries were affected by a civil war that started soon after they got their independence in 1975. The Cold War aggravated the civil war inside these countries and prevented the states from increasing their growth rates (Manini & Marinsalda, 2014). However, while Mozambique's civil war ended in 1992, the Angolan peace treaty only came into effect in 2002.

Some indicators that support the increase of new African actors and economic opportunities include the MSCI Emerging Markets Index. It calculates which nations have the highest investment potential. Zambia, Tanzania and Angola are among the leading countries of the 2014 survey. The MSCI Frontier Markets Africa Index (2017) included Mauritius as the fourth country in terms of country weight in her group, being this island-state recognized also as the best country in which to do business (World Bank report, 2014). Mauritius's GDP at purchasing power parity (PPP) exchange rate is the second highest in Africa (CIA World Factbook).

Southern African countries have settled on Argentina's external agenda with different levels of intensity, ranging from multidimensional cooperation to purely formal linkage. Argentina has taken note of the increasing importance of Southern Africa and the trade opportunities the region can offer. At the same time, AFP focuses on how to diversify Argentina's trade with Southern African countries, as the next section shows.

2.2.3. Economic diversification and technological advances

Trade diversification is one of the ways in which Argentina is taking advantage of the new economic opportunities that Southern Africa has to offer it. A case within the region is the relationship between Angola and Argentina. The economic crisis of 2001 demanded the pursuit of new economic partners that could boost Argentina's recovery. As soon as Nestor Kirchner took office in May 2003, he started paying attention to non-traditional markets and partnerships. Angola was one of them. In May 2005, Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos paid a visit to Buenos Aires, intensifying the relations between Argentina and Angola (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, 2005). Subsequently the exchanges of officials and technicians were regular, as evidenced by the visits to Buenos Aires of Angolan officials like the Minister of Energy and Mines and the Secretary of State for Industry (Morasso, 2015). The successor of Nestor Kirchner, Cristina Fernandez, signed up thirteen (13) agreements in educational, productive, commercial and political matters with Angola. Argentina-Angola is a clear example of how a search for new partners in Southern Africa evolved into a diverse exchange of products and the signing of agreements that benefits both Argentina and Angola. Chapter 3 addresses more details of this bilateral relationship.

Trade relations with South Africa have also grown and diversified. In 2005, an agreement was signed between Argentina and South Africa. The agreement created a Binational Commission, which would work as a mechanism to analyse progress made in the various areas of bilateral cooperation: political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural, social and others. As an example of the greater interrelation between South Africa and Argentina, Hector Timerman –as Argentina's Minister of Foreign Affairs- and Maite Nkoana-Mashabane –as South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation- presided in

Pretoria the Third Argentinian-South African Binational Commission (BICSAA III) held on October 31, 2012.

The bilateral trade between Argentina and South Africa has grown consistently since 2003, achieving in 2008 the sum of US\$ 1.233 million. Considering that in the year 2009 the exports of Argentina to South Africa were US\$ 668 million and the imports were US\$ 101 million. This surplus was favourable to Argentina by US\$ 567 million. In addition to being an important political benchmark in the continent, South Africa is one of the most significant economies in Africa. That is why in January 2014, Argentina's government presented the *Programa de Aumento y Diversificación de Exportaciones*, PADEX (Programme for the Increase and Diversification of the Exports) which selected fifteen (15) countries to promote national exports. PADEX targeted South Africa and Angola to increase Argentina's exports (Padex, 2014).

Another example of Argentina's quest for new economic partners is Mozambique. On March 8, 2012, Timerman visited Maputo in an official mission. The trip exemplified the shift in AFP, with a new look at the world, seeking societies with increasing economic development and social justice. This new view resulted in a closer approach between African and Latin American countries, in Timerman's opinion (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, 2012).

The meeting between Hector Timerman and Oldemiro Baloi (Mozambique's Foreign Minister) shows that Argentina's advances in Southern Africa were based on the signing of agreements for mutual economic benefit. In addition, Mozambique supported Argentina's claim to the sovereignty of Malvinas Islands. Also discussed was potential for technical cooperation, the need to re-evaluate the international financial architecture, and essential reforms in multilateral organizations. Argentina's delegation included representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Science and Technology, the National Institute of Agricultural Technology, the National Institute of Industrial Technology and the National Bank of Argentina.

The increase in commercial relations between Mozambique and Argentina led Cristina Fernández to establish an embassy in Maputo in July 2013. The decision was part of the

active policy of the government to increase Argentina's presence in Africa. In a reassurance of the importance of AFP to Southern Africa, the administration of Mauricio Macri assigned Federico Villegas -a diplomat with 20 years' experience- as ambassador of Maputo in 2016. Chapter 4 addresses AFP towards Mozambique in extension.

The cases of Angola, South Africa and Mozambique reaffirm AFP priorities in Southern Africa. The economic opportunities are backed up by actions in other fields such as humanitarian assistance and human rights, two areas investigated in the next sections.

2.2.4. Humanitarian aid.

Probably one of the lesser-known issues about Argentina's local population is the use of humanitarian aid as an AFP tool in Africa in general and in Southern Africa in particular. It has become an axis in the relations experienced between Argentina and Southern Africa. Cases such as South Africa and Angola serve to illustrate this position.

Cascos Blancos (White Helmets) is one of the main Argentina's creations given to the international system. Now popularized in many countries through their actions in the United Nations, Argentina's White Helmets depends on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in charge of designing and executing international humanitarian assistance. Under the principles of humanitarianism, impartiality, independence and neutrality, White Helmets acts at the request of the affected state or within the framework of an international humanitarian mission (Colombo, 2014). With twenty (20) years of experience and respect for international law and human rights, the humanitarian organization forms a huge part of the country's policy and a fundamental tool of AFP. Without denying its idealistic principles, White Helmets also encompass the realistic need of Argentina for greater economic capabilities, with missions sent to countries where Argentina wants to engage in order to pursue her national interest.

Argentina's presence in Sub-Saharan Africa through White Helmets has increased considerably in recent years. White Helmets has responded to emergencies and disasters in Sub-Saharan Africa with the delivery of humanitarian supplies and teams of experts. Following the floods that hit Namibia in September 2011, White Helmets -in coordination

with the United Nations Development Program- sent forty-five (45) boxes of water purification tablets to Namibia (Colombo, 2014). White Helmets also provide training in integrated risk management. This enables the construction of capacities and instances of prevention and local management of socio-natural disasters (Mahiques, 2014). The agricultural business is one of the main economic opportunities that Argentina wants to tap into in Southern Africa. Therefore, the humanitarian organization helps farming communities improve their life conditions and manage their crises.

Angola is with Afghanistan the country with the most active antipersonnel mines in the world. As a result, a large percentage of the population has some kind of mutilation (United Nations Development Program, 2012). Faced with this scenario, White Helmets proposed to the Angolan authorities the installation and commissioning of a prosthesis and orthotics workshop in Luanda (Cascos Blancos, 2014). The project provided for the installation of an industrial furnace and the training of technicians to manufacture them, sending volunteer psychiatrists and doctors to design the prosthesis for each patient and carry out rehabilitation plans.

The *Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense*, EAAF (Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team) was created in 1984 in Argentina and has worked in 13 African countries (Dirección General de Cooperación Internacional, 2016). EAAF investigates violations of human rights and provides training to local specialists on health issues, identifying victims and helping in everything related to forensic sciences. While EAAF is a civil society organization (CSO), Argentina's government promotes its activities. The team visited South Africa in October 2012, although EAAF has worked with Pretoria since 1995 in the search for undiscovered victims of apartheid (Fondebrider, 2014). In November 5, 2012, EAAF opened the first School on Human Rights and Forensic Science in Africa, designed to train forensic specialists from nine (9) countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012b).

Argentina sent to South Africa a mission of doctors belonging to the Community Medical Program (PMC) of the Ministry of Health (Mahiques, 2014). This mission, initiated by Argentina's embassy in Pretoria, targeted rural areas with populations thinly scattered over the territory and with difficulties in accessing the health system. The goal was to train all

stakeholders in the sector to achieve the most efficient use of physicians and provide fluid communication with native communities.

2.2.5. Human rights

While commercialism pragmatic elements that prevailed in the 1990s approach remained during the *Kirchnerismo* period (Lechini, 2010), a set of actions and cooperative initiatives were implemented in order to facilitate negotiation and access to the economic opportunities that Southern Africa had to offer. The progress of relations Argentina – Africa saw the attempt to expand Argentina's soft power, which looks for the increase in the attraction of a particular country in order to make a second state to want what the first state wants (Nye, 2004). Human rights issues are one example of an innovative AFP observed in Southern Africa with higher attention to soft power concerns.

A delegation headed by Angolan Foreign Minister George Chikoti visited Buenos Aires in 2013 (Dinatale, 2013). In the framework of a political consultation mechanism, a cooperation agreement in art and culture was signed. One of the main topics was AFP in Africa, in which Argentina held a position of non-interference and commitment to respect human rights and the role of Africans themselves in the consolidation of democracy. Timerman congratulated Angola for having adopted the Universal Periodic Review mechanism of the Human Rights Council of the United Nations (OHCHR) to review the situation of each country in this area (Dinatale, 2013).

Consisting of three meetings held on September 3, October 8 and November 9 respectively, 2014 saw the development of the first seminar "Argentina-Africa: Contributions to building a shared work agenda in Human Rights" (Prensa del Senado, 2014). Besides the common culture elements shared by Argentina and Africa, the seminar stated the importance of human rights issues for the South-South cooperation taking place between Argentina and Southern Africa.

The International Centre for the Promotion of Human Rights (CIPDH), which is part of Argentina's Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, has carried out various activities and meetings on Africa. The CIPDH participated in 2016 in the celebration of Africa Day

(happening every May 25), organized by the Group of Ambassadors of African countries accredited in Argentina (Morasso, 2015). This group held a ceremony in the Auditorium Manuel Belgrano of the Chancellery, with the CIPDH speaking about the importance of advancing cooperation between Argentina and Africa on human rights concerns.

In South Africa, Argentina tried to give impetus to an image of Buenos Aires as a champion on human rights issues. As part of Timerman's official mission in late October 2012, the chancellor spoke at the University of Pretoria on "Human rights policy in Argentina: building a bridge between the future and the past", sharing the stage with the Deputy Justice Minister Andries Nel (Página12, 2012a). Timerman referred to South Africa and Argentina's experiences with regard to human rights, leading both countries to form a natural alliance to cooperate on the matter. Both Andries Nel and Timerman stressed that Argentina and South Africa were respectively the first countries in Latin America and Africa to approve same sex marriage. Both states have a bilateral consultation and cooperation mechanism on human rights, for the exchange of experiences, cooperation and the search of political agreement.

A human rights based foreign policy has also involved Argentina's rejection of certain actions and attitudes held by Southern African leaders. Zimbabwe's situation works as an example. Argentina had promised to send observers to Zimbabwe's presidential and legislative elections of March 2008. These elections lacked conditions to guarantee a free and fair process, with a result that did not reflect the true and genuine will of the Zimbabwe people, according to the then Secretary General of the UN, Ban Ki-Moon (New York Times, 2008).

On June 25, 2008, Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement announcing the suspension of sending observers to Zimbabwe due to the developments in Zimbabwe and given the Presidential Statement issued by the Security Council of the United Nations. In the same statement, Argentina affirmed her commitment to assess the situation in Zimbabwe in coordination with Southern African countries. In 2010, Argentina reaffirmed the importance of human rights for her foreign policy by distinguishing Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights organization with the International Human rights prize "Emilio Mignone" (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, 2011).

2.3. Conclusion

After the analyses of the various themes, the importance of the multiple actions taken by Argentina towards Southern Africa becomes clear. A new approach has been adopted, framed in an international context characterized by a new global order where the growing importance of actors leads to explore new economic opportunities. The strengthening of South-South relations has led to Argentina increasing relations with Southern Africa. These relations are rooted in economic gains –specially related to natural resources-, relations in turn helped by non-economic policies such as the support of humanitarian missions or the strengthening of the rule of law. These actions respond to the economic opportunities that Argentina may want to use to her economic benefit.

The interest directed to African countries, the new position towards Southern peers, and the active role of human rights are elements of the new approach of Argentina towards Southern Africa. These elements not only characterize but also give a proper nuance to this new AFP. Economics may not be the only factor in AFP towards the Southern Africa, but is certainly the chief factor that gives ground to most of the other policies adopted by Argentina. Many experiences cited in this work confirm this proposition. The next chapter speaks to Argentina's foreign policy towards Angola, which highlights some of the economic opportunities that Argentina wants to take advantage of.

Chapter III: Argentina's foreign policy towards Angola: from political actions to economic interests

“I believe that this mission, headed by this female president in Angola, is not casual. (...) In addition to economic interests, we have wonderful opportunities to partnership strategically in science, technology, food, biotechnology, (...) petrol and gas. The big space that is the global south has to find us more united than ever” Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (Casa Rosada, 2012)

3.1. Introduction

Argentina's foreign policy towards the young republic of Angola is a clear example of the new foreign policy of Argentina towards Southern Africa, based on the economic opportunities the region has to offer. Together with Mozambique, Angola helps explain how concrete actions from the Palacio de San Martín⁴ offer a different perception of Argentina in relation to past policies applied to the Southern African region. The analysis of the history of the relation between Angola-Argentina and its comparison with present times reveals a shift in AFP towards Southern Africa in general and Angola in particular.

The analysis done in the current chapter defends the main argument of the chapter: a new AFP has been placed in Angola, based on the economic opportunities that the country offers to Argentina. The history of the Argentina-Angola relation, the characteristics of the relation between 2003 and 2017 and the evolution of bilateral trade figures help support the main argument of this thesis. Due to the relative economic success after decades of civil war, which prompted the expansion of the oil industry and the demand of primary goods, Angola provides economic opportunities which Argentina may want to tap into.

In order to appreciate the new relationship between Buenos Aires and Luanda, four main areas subdivide the chapter. Firstly, there is an oversight of the history of the bilateral relation. This first section addresses important events such as the recognition of Angola as an independent state, the visits in the 1980s made by high-level officials and the changes in AFP between the 1980s and 1990s. Secondly, events from 2003 to 2018 are pointed out in

⁴ Ceremonial seat of Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

order to appreciate how the relationship changed. The study of recent events helps illustrate that a new foreign policy approach, based on concrete economic gains instead of on an abstract solidarity, is on its way. Thirdly, emphasizing the economic dimension of AFP, a comparison is made among the trade figures between Argentina and Angola during the period 2003-2018. The comparison shows if the South-South cooperation defended on both sides of the Atlantic is backed up by concrete actions. The expansion of Angola's oil industry has required the importation of machinery that Argentina has provided. The increase in the welfare of Angola's population has prompted the imports of food -soy, wheat and meat- that Argentina produces as well. The chapter ends with a final reflection on the relation between Buenos Aires and Luanda.

3.2. A brief history of Argentina-Angola relation

3.2.1. Argentina's first steps in Africa: neglecting Angola?

Africa has largely been a forgotten continent by Argentina. The signing of the first agreement between an African country –South Africa- and Argentina happened in 1947: the “Agreement, by diplomatic notes, establishing diplomatic relations” (signed on Washington, September 10, 1947). At that time, Argentina was one of the major wheat and beef producers of the world and wanted to expand her exports to new markets, which included South Africa. The beginning of the Cold War saw Argentina adopting a neutral position that sought to accommodate both the United States and the Soviet Union (Rapoport, 2016), which brought Buenos Aires closer to Pretoria.

Despite the neglect of Africa in the traditional AFP, the 1960s saw a renewal of Argentina's interest towards the African continent because of the wave of independence that was sweeping across Africa. The new interest would lay the foundations for an approach to Angola. Those foundations were present in the “Plan for Argentina's presence in Africa” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1961). The main elements of that plan were:

- a) The interest of Argentina in having universal relations with all independent countries.
- b) The influence of new countries in international organizations such as the United Nations.
- c) The economic opportunities that Africa's market had to offer Argentina.

Before 1962, Africa did not have its own section in AFP making structure (Lechini, 2006). Africa was institutionally divided in two areas inside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: the countries in the north of Africa –inside the section named “*Europa y Oriente Próximo*” (Europe and Middle East)- and Sub-Saharan Africa –in the section “*Commonwealth Británico, Asia y África*” (British Commonwealth, Asia and Africa)-. The increase of the number of independent countries in Africa made Argentina aware of the importance of growing links with the newly formed states (Llamazares, 1962). This led to the creation of the Department of Africa and Middle East in 1962.

Gladis Lechini (2006) has described Argentina’s political actions towards the continent as disconnected, spontaneous and spasmodic:

“There were times when an academic or political fraternity, intellectuals, found that Africa had a particular interest. These were moments when Argentina looked at the other side of the Atlantic and we somehow came closer to Africa. However, those political actions got lost because they did not add up. They were not accumulative [...].⁵ (See untranslated version in the footnote).

The summing up of Argentina’s political actions taken towards Africa shows how Angola had no place of importance for Argentina’s administration in her view towards the African continent during the 1960s and 1970s. Luanda had to wait until 1985 in order to become a matter of importance, years after Angola’s independence in 1975. The first AFP actions towards Africa may be summarized as follows:

⁵“Hubo algunos momentos en que algún sector o político o académico, intelectual, encontraba que África tenía algún interés por alguna causa y entonces había momentos, espacios, donde Argentina miraba un poco al otro lado del Atlántico y nos acercábamos de alguna manera al Africa. Pero todos estos impulsos se perdían porque no sumaban uno sobre otro. No eran acumulativos (...)”. Accessed on the 21/12/2018 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ruOxR96RwVA>.

Year	Affected countries or regions	Notes
1960-1962	Zaire. Somalia. Mission to 8 countries by ambassador Juan Llamazares.	The "Plan for Argentina's presence in Africa" set the bases of AFP towards the African continent.
1965-1968	Ethiopia. Mission to Africa by ambassador Carlos Alberto Leguizamón.	The criterion for the selection of the countries was the perception of which ones were the most important African states.
1974	Mission to Northern Africa (Algeria and Morocco) by diplomat Ramiro Arias.	Argentina embraced Africa as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement.
1978-1981	Kenya. Mission to West Coast Africa.	Africa as an alternative market for Argentina's goods. Wins from cooperation.
1983-1987	Algeria. Morocco. Mission to Sub-Saharan Africa by chancellor Dante Caputo	The claim for Malvinas in global forums gave a renewed importance to Africa.

Compiled by author from Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto (1961, 1986, 2005), Lechini (1986, 2000, 2006), Llamazares (1962), and Morasso (2012, 2015)

Argentina's relation with Angola had to wait until after the independence of the latter from Portugal in 1975. This implied the very dramatic process of the independence war, which became the largest war against African colonialism among the Lusophone countries. Angola joined the international community after her independence in 1975, granted by the Alvor Treaty (which established a coalition government in Angola). Although the 1960s and 1970s saw the beginning of Buenos Aires's concern about Africa, Angola received the attention of Argentina's authorities only after return to democratic rule in 1983.

3.2.2. Argentina-Angola relations under the government of Raul Alfonsín

The military dictatorship known in Argentina as the "National Reorganization Process" (1976-1982) was followed by the democratic regime of President Raul Alfonsín (1983-1989). Africa had never received the visit of a president or foreign affairs ministry from Argentina. That would change with the arrival of Raul Alfonsin to the *sillón de Rivadavia*⁶.

⁶ The seat of Argentina's president.

Angola received more attention by Buenos Aires in an attempt to gain the support of African countries in Argentina's claims at international forums. Alfonsín's foreign policy to Africa aligned as well with a renewed interest in North-South and South-South debates. A more active role of Argentina in the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) tried to strengthen Buenos Aires's position within the developing world, trying to expand her juridical, political and moral position in order to defend Argentina's own interests and objectives.

Argentina's decision to break relations with apartheid South Africa in 1986 had long been wished for by the Non Aligned Movement (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1986). Argentina co-sponsored five United Nations resolutions on South Africa, the fourth being the most relevant for our case of study. Co-sponsored by Argentina, Congo, United Arab Emirates, Ghana and Zambia, the resolution project of November 25, 1987, condemned South Africa for her aggression on Angolan soil. Angola and other African countries favoured Argentina's position by voting Dante Caputo –Alfonsín's Chancellor- as president of the General Assembly of the United Nations for the period 1988-1989 (Lechini, 1988).

Besides Argentina's support to Angola at the United Nations, Alfonsín's references to African countries as friends, brothers and allies gave place to diplomatic missions sent to the continent, the opening of new embassies, the donation of food and scientific cooperation activities. Alfonsín became the first president of Argentina to make an official visit to Africa⁷, visiting Algeria in October 26, 1984. Alfonsín met President Chadli Benjedid in order to expand bilateral economic cooperation. An important outcome of that meeting was the agreement of the construction in Algeria of a nuclear RA-6 research reactor with Argentina's expertise (Invap, 2014).

Alongside the new embassy opened in Harare (capital of Zimbabwe) in 1986, Argentina planned to open a mission in Luanda. However, Angola's civil war made the opening of an embassy impossible. The internal forces battling in Angola were the *Movimento Popular pela Libertação de Angola*, MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the *Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola*, FNLA (National Liberation Front of Angola)

⁷ Although *de facto* president Reynaldo Bignone arrived to Kenya in 1983, this was a stopover going to the New Delhi's NAM summit (not an official state visit). Kenya's president Daniel Arap Moi refused to have a meeting with Bignone because Argentina's position in the NAM was not very clear. Bignone said to the media that they will meet in the future, but this never happened.

and the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*, UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). The civil war did not impede Argentina from establishing foreign affairs with Angola's recognized government of the communist MPLA. Relations established back in September 2, 1977 during the dictatorial government - a small irony since Argentina's military regime was proud of opposing communism.

Dante Caputo became the first Argentina's chancellor to make an official visit to Southern Africa -including Angola- in April 1988. Caputo had already been to Luanda in September 1985 for a preparatory meeting of the Non Aligned Movement summit. In the mission of 1988, from April 8 to April 23, Caputo visited Angola, Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana, Gabon and Cabo Verde. As one example of the results of the mission, it was the signing of the "General Agreement of Technical, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation" between the chancellors of Buenos Aires and Luanda (Lechini, 1988).

Having in mind the complexity of the African continent, Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs restructured the Direction of Africa and Middle East into the *Dirección de África del Norte y Medio Oriente*, DANMO (Direction of Northern Africa and Middle East) and the *Dirección de África Subsahariana*, Direction of Sub-Saharan Africa (DIASA). Nevertheless, AFP did not escape the traditional practices of the foreign policy makers towards Africa. Instead of a coordinated work with the Ministry of Economy and their related institutions – like the Secretary of Industry and Foreign Trade – there was no joint cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in terms of financing exports to Africa, or selecting the countries that would be given priority. Argentina's military regime signed an agreement with Angola on February 25, 1983, named *Convenio Comercial entre el Gobierno de Angola y la Junta Nacional de Granos* (Commercial Agreement between the Government of Angola and the National Grain Board). The agreement had the objective of increasing Argentina's exports of wheat to Angola. Unfortunately, the new democratic government did not deepen the agreement, despite the surplus that Argentina-Angola trade meant for Argentina's global trade balance.

Alfonsin's version of Africa as an important continent for Argentina should have been correlated with a bigger presence of Africa in Argentina's trade figures. Nevertheless, the

data show that the diplomatic effort in attracting Africa to Argentina's support at the United Nations, was not accompanied with a substantial increase in trade. The trade figures of the 1970s and 1980s support this affirmation. During the 1970s, Argentina's exports to Africa represented 4% of the total exported to the world, with a maximum point of 6.23% in 1975. From 1970 to 1979, trade with Africa grew remarkably: from 19 million dollars in the base year, trade skyrocketed to 296 million dollars by the end of the decade (Lechini, 2006). Despite Alfonsín's approach to Africa, during the 1980s the exports to Africa remained at 4% of the total exported to the world, with a peak of 5.4% in 1983.

Although some constructive efforts were made towards Southern Africa (i.e. the new embassy in Harare), Argentina exported more to Northern Africa than to Southern Africa (Lechini, 2010). Angola did not play an important role in the global export figures, even though the main import that Argentina got from Africa was oil (80% of which came from Angola, the DRC, Gabon and Nigeria).

The increase in Argentina-Africa's trade was more related to the activity of private actors than to the concrete efforts of the government to promote trade. The relationship during the 1980s had a stronger focus on the political aspects of diplomacy rather than on a vision rooted in economic gains.

One exception is cooperative relations lying mid-way between the diplomatic and the commercial dimension. Cooperation as a concept emphasizes the importance of deepening relations with developing countries. This highlights how the spread of knowledge and welfare among countries. Technical missions can foster the economic growth from both sides the Atlantic and promote economic exchanges. During the 1970s, the main products of export from Argentina to Africa were meat and cereals. As the years went by, agricultural industrial products gained more relevance in the trade (agricultural machinery, cold stores, bread-making machines, and so on and so forth).

The technical cooperation between Argentina and Angola is central to their relationship (Calalongo, 2012). In September 1978, Buenos Aires held the United Nations Conference about Technical Cooperation, showed a change in criteria to achieve development. As an echo of the conference spirit, Buenos Aires hosted four Argentina-Africa seminars between

1987 and 1988 to encourage horizontal technical cooperation in specific areas, with the support of the Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agrícola, INTA (National Institute of Agricultural Technology) and the Instituto de Tecnología Industrial, INTI (National Institute of Technological Industry). The first seminar dealt with agricultural cooperation. All the countries of the Southern African Development Coordination Community (now the SADC) took part in the first seminar, including Angola. The second seminar was for the French speaking countries, but the third and fourth seminars –relating to agricultural machinery and demographic techniques- were for the Portuguese speaking countries. Unfortunately, the seminars stopped after the end of Alfonsín's government. AFP would follow a more pragmatic direction in the light of the new direction the world was taking.

3.2.3. The end of the Cold War and shifts in Argentina's Foreign Policy

After an early retirement from government, Alfonsín's mandate gave way to a Presidency with a different view towards the world. Carlos Saul Menem (1989-1999) pursued a committed alignment to the United States. Realism rather than Liberalism would guide the new AFP. In the words of Menem's first foreign office minister, Domingo Cavallo:

“The national interest, in the kind of historical circumstances now prevailing, is most dramatically manifested by economic and social demands. Thus, foreign policy will be realistic and seek to create a better political relationship with the friendly countries of the world in order to resolve Argentina's urgent economic and social problems” (Argentina, 1989)

The end of the Cold War made Menem move from the support of the Non Aligned Movement, to Argentina's withdrawal from the organization in 1991. Menem's foreign policy implicated a shift towards the Western countries, in what Escudé has called “Peripheral Realism” (seen in the section 1.5.1). Due to the changes in priorities in foreign policy plus a process of administrative reform of Argentina's state, many of the actions implemented in Africa during the 1980s were lost. The embassies in Ethiopia, Tanzania, Cote D'Ivoire, Gabon and Zaire were closed. Only two embassies in Zimbabwe and South Africa covered the entire Southern Africa region.

The new post-Cold War vision adopted by Argentina did not mean a neglect of Angola. The one tumultuous region of Southern Africa –characterized by guerrilla warfare, military interventions, sabotage actions and state support of external wars- gained stability as a result of the independence of Namibia⁸, the welcoming of open democratic elections in South Africa and the pacification process in Angola. The countries of the region became possible economic partners of Argentina.

Back then, South Africa was already presenting itself as the gateway to Africa, justifying this assertion with her trade experience with the African countries. Nevertheless, in order to avoid a triangulation that was sometimes unnecessary, there was a parallel interest to promote at the same time relations between the new democratic South Africa and other Southern African countries (Melo, 2000).

The Argentina-Angola relation expanded during the 1990s due to the signing of the *Acuerdo general de Cooperación Técnica, Científica y Cultural* (General Agreement of Technical, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation) in 1988 by the chancellors Alfonso van Dunem and Dante Caputo. Argentina's interest in the resolution of Angola's civil war became explicit with the presence of Argentina's head of the mission in Harare, capital city of Zimbabwe, to witness the signing of the Lusaka Agreements (Lechini, 2006). The agreements established the cease-fire between the MPLA and UNITA and resulted in a unity government under the presidency of José Eduardo Santos in 1997. Although Argentina did not have an embassy in Angola, many relations grew naturally from the representation in Harare.

The civil war in Angola slowed down the economic and political rapprochement between Argentina and Angola. However, the year 1995 saw the expansion of Argentina's private business in Angola related to non-traditional exports. A group of high officials of Luanda's Ministry of Economy and Finance and Ministry of Foreign Affairs visited Argentina in a private trip in order to lock a US\$ 40 million deal with an Argentinian company of checks

⁸ Since the end of the First World War, South Africa had a mandate over the territory of Namibia provided by the League of Nations. Instead of giving independence to the country, Pretoria considered Namibia as a part of its territory, making incursions to Angola's territory from Namibia's border. After the latter got its independence, South Africa was unable to continue with this illegal activity. This development allowed a resolution of the civil war, and for Angola to be more peaceful and to relocate resources to other areas.

and bills. Despite the private nature of the visit, Argentina's president Menem welcomed the delegation and invited his Angolan peer, Dos Santos to Argentina. This was one of the clearest manifestations of reciprocal interest between the two countries.

At the end of 1995, a new visit of high-level Angolan officials took place in Argentina. The vice-chancellor João Miranda with the Secretary of the Council of Ministries and other three officials were received by the ambassador Guillermo Gonzalez and the Secretary of the Presidency, Alberto Kohan. The meeting was to deepen the cooperation in diplomatic, agricultural and informatics areas.

Unfortunately, the 1995 actions towards Angola slowed down during the next three years, with the sole exception of the visit in 1996 of João Miranda as a special envoy of Angola's president Dos Santos. However, during May 1999 a multi-sector mission from Argentina visited Luanda. The mission included officials, businessmen and academics and it was another evidence of Argentina's interest in Angola.

The contact with Angola, as well as with Zimbabwe and Mozambique, targeted the countries with the highest profile in terms of economic opportunities for Argentina. Still, the closing of embassies during the 1990s and early 2000s in countries that represented a surplus in trade for Argentina (like the embassy in Harare in 2002) shows that the economic approach was not consistent, systematic or even clear. The increase in volumes of trade between Argentina and the abovementioned African countries owing to Africa's growing interest in Argentina's technological and knowledge know-how in the areas of agriculture and railway during the mid-1990s and early 2000s (Lechini, 2006).⁹

The advance of Argentina made during the 1980s and 1990s in terms of trade and scientific cooperation would be intensified during Argentina's administration between 2003 and 2018. The following section illustrates how the relationship became more important on both sides of the Atlantic.

⁹ These countries are: Angola, Zambia, Botswana and DRC (for agriculture), and Mozambique (for railway technology and management systems).

3.3. AFP towards Angola from 2003 to 2018

The new millennium saw the relations between Argentina and Angola taking shape. The bilateral relations moved from mere political solidarity (seen in the voting behaviour at the United Nations¹⁰) to concrete actions. Curiously enough, the first two years of the new millennium were not promising for either state. The Angolan Civil War continued until April 2002, finishing after the death of Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, December 2001 saw the collapse of Argentina's economy with a steep growth of the levels of poverty, unemployment and financial/political uncertainty. Fortunately, Argentina's political and economic situation showed signs of recovery after the election of Néstor Kirchner as president in May 2003 (Rapoport, 2006). Therefore, the year 2003 is a good starting point to analyse the beginning of a new relationship between Argentina and Angola.

After a devaluation of Argentina's currency – Argentine Peso – by 140%, the country acquired economic competitiveness in the global market and started looking for new markets for her exports (Rapoport, 2006). Besides Argentina's role as a traditional exporter of primary goods –soybeans, beef, wheat-, the new administration promoted a diversification in the exports. Moreover, Angola was one of the most important suppliers of oil, which Argentina needed. .

The year 2004 saw the signing of a letter of intent between officials of Sonangol (Angola's state oil company) and Enarsa (the state energy company created by Kirchner) to work jointly in the oil sector (Clarín, 2005). A Memorandum of Cooperation signed in July 2004 by the ministries of Agriculture turned into a Protocol of Collaboration in the agricultural and livestock area, which aimed to exchange technical assistance in agronomic engineering between Buenos Aires and Angola (Morasso, 2015).

¹⁰ An example of this solidarity was Argentina's vote in favour of the UN Security Council resolution 602, adopted on November 25, 1987, which expressed concern on the continuing military incursions into Angola by South Africa. In return, Angola voted in 1988 for the election of Caputo as the president of the General Assembly (1988-1989 period). The vote of the African countries in favour of Argentina was crucial to defeat the candidature of Barbados, supported by the Caribbean and the Anglophone countries. [El País, 1998].

Moreover, president Eduardo Dos Santos arrived in Argentina in May 2005 (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, 2005). Dos Santos travelled in the company of the chancellor João Bernardo de Miranda and the ministries of Agriculture and Finance, Gilberto Buta Lutucuta and José de Moraes Junior. Angola's president signed together with his Argentinian counterpart a cooperation protocol between the two state companies, with the commitment to increase the technological and commercial exchange between the two countries (El Territorio, 2015). Argentina announced in this meeting her intention to open an embassy in Luanda, the third one from a Latin American country after the ones of Cuba and Brazil.

Néstor Kirchner government ended in December 2007, being replaced by his wife and politician Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner. Not only did she continue the new AFP promoted by her husband towards Angola but also she increased the relationship with Luanda. She signed thirteen (13) agreements covering education, production, technology, trade and political matters¹¹. The exchanges of officials and technicians became regular, as demonstrated by the visits to Buenos Aires of the Angolan Minister of Energy and Mines in 2009, and the Secretary of State for Industry in 2010 (Morasso, 2015). In the year 2011, an Agreement in Science and Technology was signed with the aim of cooperating in biotechnology, food security and scientific infrastructure. In turn, Angolan officials of the National Research Center Scientific Committee had working meetings in 2013 with the *Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria*, INTA (National Institute of Agricultural Technology) and the Ministry of Science and Technology (INTA, 2013).

In 2012, the visit of Héctor Timerman, Fernandez's chancellor, in Angola and Mozambique intensified the presence of Argentina in Southern Africa in general and in both Lusophone countries in particular. In Angola, the chancellor was welcomed by Dos Santos and his peer Georges Chikoti (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, 2012). Two central points of the talk were the Malvinas Islands and the relevance of the Zone of Peace and Cooperation of the South Atlantic (ZPCAS) partly due to the United Kingdom's nuclear presence in the islands in early 2012 (The Telegraph, 2012).

¹¹ Seventy (70) agreements were signed by Argentina with African countries during the period 2003-2011, against eighty eight (88) in the period 1960-2003. The comparison of periods shows an institutionalization of the links and interests between Argentina and Africa (Morasso, 2012).

A milestone for the Argentina/Angola relation happened in May 2012 when the commercial and political mission of Cristina Fernández to Luanda took place. Angola had the honour to become the first African Lusophone country to be visited by an Argentinian head of state. The visit had the clear objective to strengthen the partnership with Angola in order to take advantage of the diversification of both economies. During the meeting between the presidents of Argentina and Angola, Fernández pointed out the complementarity of the bi-national link between the two nations given that Argentina was an emerging country and Angola was a country in reconstruction (Página12, 2012b). Buenos Aires showed a willingness to work with Luanda in the field of oil exploitation, a cooperation that –started at the end of 2004- gained momentum for the nationalization of Argentina’s oil company *Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales*, YPF (Fiscal Oilfields) in 2012.

The presidential mission of 2012 served also for the exhibition of Argentina’s products. A ship with 1.600 tons of goods departed from Buenos Aires for a business fair with more than 400 companies from different sectors for the "Argentina Week in Luanda" (Perfil, 2012). Likewise, Argentina’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs supported the participation of the country in the editions of the International Fair of Luanda. In six consecutive editions, Argentina has been present with ten companies participating in the food, beverage, capital goods and services sectors. In 2012, Argentina mainly exported soybean oil, flour, rice and propylene tubes.

In 2013, a delegation headed by Angola’s chancellor visited Buenos Aires. In the framework of a political consultation mechanism, a cooperation agreement in art and culture was signed. One of the main topics was AFP in Africa, in which Argentina held a position of non-interference and commitment to respect human rights and the role of Africans in the consolidation of their democracies. In this line, Timerman congratulated Angola for the adoption of the Universal Periodic Review mechanism of the UNHRC to review the situation of the country (La Nación, 2013).

December 2015 brought Mauricio Macri to the presidential seat of Argentina. His slogan - “returning to the world”- made many analysts think he would turn his back to the Third World and look for an alignment with Europe and United States. The situation turned out to be different. Susana Malcorra, Macri’s first minister of Foreign Affairs, visited Angola in

August 2017 (La Nación, 2017). Debates have arisen whether Malcorra travelled looking for Angola's vote in the election of Secretary-General of the United Nations. A similar situation happened with Alfonsín's Chancellor Dante Caputo and his intentions to become president of the General Assembly of the United Nations (Lechini, 2006). Nevertheless, the visit was made and a first line official like Malcorra visited Angola.

Cooperation and economic opportunities remained as the main points behind Argentina's approach to Angola. May 2017 saw the arrival to Argentina of Angola's Minister of Health, Luis Gomez Sambo, in the framework of cooperation agreements signed between the health ministries of both countries (Angop, 2017). In June 2017, a mission from Argentina's *Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Industrial*, INTI (National Institute for Technological Investigation) visited Angola and carried out training activities in industrial, scientific and legal metrology in the Angolan Institute of Normalization and Quality (Embajada argentina en Luanda, 2017).

The expansion of trade has been crucial for Argentina's new approach to Angola. In 2015, the "Expo Menongue" became the first international agricultural forum of Angola. Argentina did not lose the opportunity to be present since the first edition. Companies such as Pauny, Pulqui and Yomel sold tractors, sprayers and weeders respectively. Argentina's corporations established a compromise where they agreed not only to participate jointly but also to avoid selling a product that could compete against an Argentinian company (Maquinac, 2015).

The results of the presidential election in Angola of 2017 meant a continuation of the relationship between Argentina and Angola. João Lourenço -candidate of the ruler MPLA and loyal to José dos Santos- won the elections with 64.07% of the votes. Although some events have shaken Angola's political landscape (i.e. the removal of Dos Santos's daughter from Sonangol), Lourenço's government did not initiate any major shift in Angola's foreign policy. As Lourenço mentioned in Spanish, "Angola has natural resources and

Argentina has the specialists and the machinery necessary to profit from them”¹² (Iprofesional, 2017).

An example of the deepening of Argentina-Angola’s relation was the decision of Arcor, one of the biggest food companies in Argentina, to open a factory on Angolan soil in June 2018. Doing an investment with Angola’s group Webcor, the factory would be the first Arcor industrial facility outside Latin America (Punto a Punto, 2018). The total investment is US\$ 45 million, with Arcor paying half of the total. According to Luis Pagani, CEO of the company, the plant will obtain a competitive advantage in relation to the variables of cost and distribution, thus enhancing the sales volumes in Angola (Ambito Financiero, 2018).

A final comment about the relationship between the two countries has to do with the assumption of Jorge Faurié as the highest authority of the Palacio de San Martín (El País, 2017). The fact that he is a career diplomat shows how seriously the current government is taking the foreign policy of Argentina. The new attitude towards Southern Africa, especially towards Angola, has shifted away from vague conceptions of political solidarity as nations of the global South to encompass solid economic relations. Although Macri’s political party places disproportionate focus on developed countries, Southern Africa (as a region) still remains an important consideration for his country’s foreign policy agenda, and Angola in particular, provides the necessary economic allure to justify the continuation of the current foreign policy disposition inside the *Casa Rosada* (the workplace of Argentina’s president)

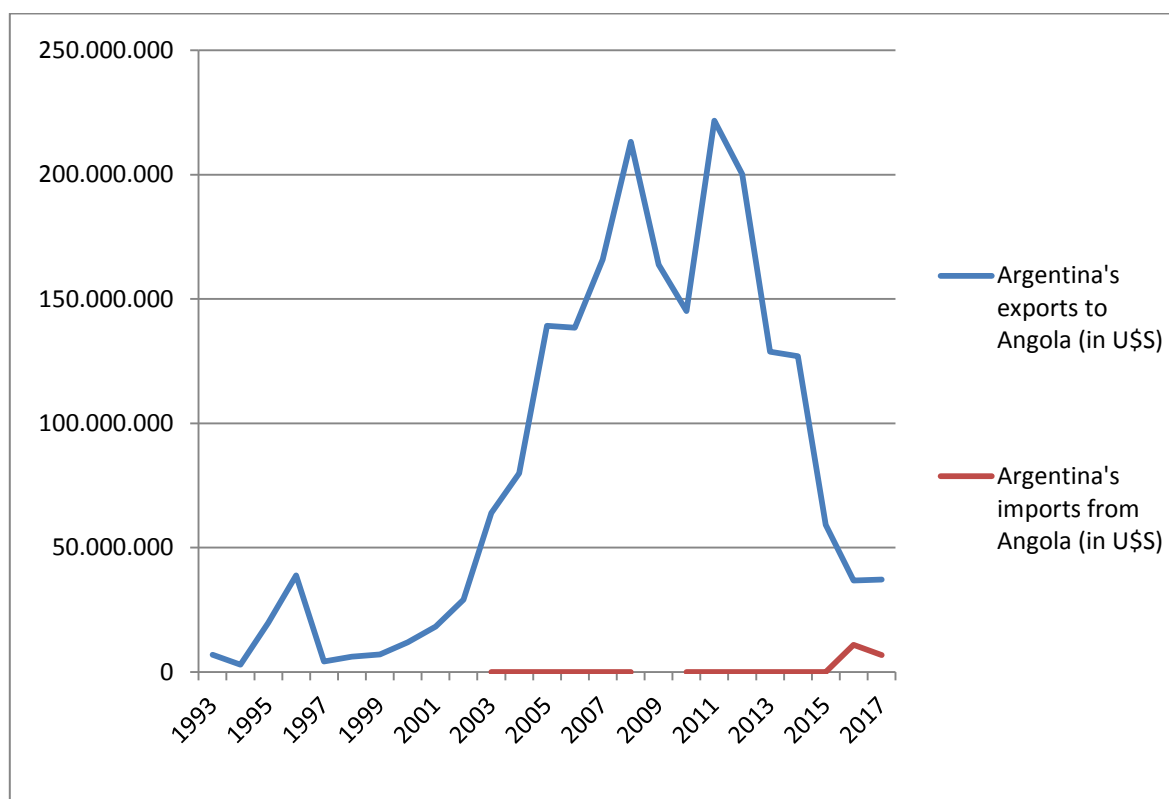
How has the economic relationship developed between Argentina and Angola? Did bilateral trade figures change consistently from 2003 to 2018, considering external factors such as the world economic crisis of 2008? Can the trade figures provide an indication of a new, clear economic approach to justify the actions taken by Argentina until late 2017? Those points will be analysed in the next section.

¹² “Nuestro país tiene la materia prima con sus recursos naturales y Argentina tiene especialistas y la maquinaria”, President João Lourenço (Iprofesional, 2017).

3.4. Argentina and Angola's trade figures

The information for the analysis related to the trade figures between Argentina and Angola comes from two primary sources. The first one is the United Nations International Trade Statistics Database (UN Comtrade). The United Nations Statistic Division collects data from 170 countries -detailed by commodities/service categories and partner countries- and then the data is transformed into a standard format with consistent coding and valuation. UN Comtrade also reflects the evolution of the flows of imports and exports of Argentina and Angola. The second source is the *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos*, INDEC (National Institute of Statistics and Censuses), which provide a more complete and detailed information of the trade figures: individual product, code, weight and the FOB or CIF price in dollars. The cross of the information can be seen in the Appendix A.

Graph 1. Volume of trade between Argentina and Angola since 1993



Estimates compiled by author. Sources: UN Comtrade (1993/2017) and INDEC (1993/2017).

The question on what the main drivers of the new AFP towards Angola are can be answered by looking at the bilateral trade evolution. The graph specifies that bilateral trade has been increasing steadily since 2003 in comparison to the period between 1993 and 2002. Trade has been placed at the core of AFP motivations towards Angola since 2003, with Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs discovering new economic opportunities and encouraging exports to the African state.

If the trade figures between 1993-2002 and 2003-2017 are analysed, the comparison would show that trade was not at the core of Argentina-Angola's relation before 2003¹³. However, trade progressively turned into a key factor and a motivator for a new AFP. The data of 2003 provided by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses also supports the idea that Argentina-Angola trade would diversify in time. Before 2003, Argentina only exported very specific products such as soy refined oil, livestock products, butane gas and tubes/steel for petroleum industry, a situation that would change in the years to come.

There is not much information about Argentina's imports from Angola during the 1990s¹⁴, although there is more data about Argentina's imports since 2002. The value of the imports from Angola has grown exponentially since 2003 although the value of the imports represented a very low figure (US\$ 50) in 2003. Imports escalated to US\$ 28.028 by 2015. In addition, Argentina's imports from Angola were not very diversified.

The implementation of a new AFP towards Angola and the expansion of Argentina's exports towards Angola since 2003 is correlative. AFP played a significant role due to the organization of economic missions and the signing of cooperation agreements. Both the missions and agreements made Argentina's production and technological products better known in Angola. The export expansion of Argentina towards Angola was reflected in the increase of the value and diversification of trade figures. Unlike what happened in the 1990s, Argentina's value of exports to Angola grew consistently since 2003, although in a lineal rather than an exponential way. Exports moved from US\$ 63.879.184 in 2003 to US\$

¹³ The civil war hampered Angola's economy and trade in several ways. That war destroyed not only schools and hospitals but also railways and bridges, central to trade and communication. A massive brain drain (over 500 000 Angolans) happened during the war. A "shadow economy" focused on the internal market was created due to the lack of legitimate institutions and economic opportunities. Finally, the war caused decades of instability, displacing millions and destroying the development the country had undergone (Gyimah, 2018).

¹⁴ Only two years are available of Argentina's imports from Angola in the 1990s: 1994 and 1997.

139.262.085 in 2005. The exports of pipes and hollow structural sections for the oil industry in 2005 serves as one example on how the oil development of Angola proved to be enticing for Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the business community.

Argentina's exports to Angola experienced a peak in 2008. However, the global financial crisis of 2008 negatively affected Angola's capacity to import, with a decrease of the value of the oil barrel from 130 US\$ on October 2008 to 30 US\$ on February 2009 (Angop, 2009)¹⁵. Fortunately, the new AFP focused on promoting the exports to Angola with actions such as the participation in the editions of the agricultural fair "Expo Menongue", or the organization of "Argentina Week in Luanda". AFP played a central role in the recovery of the exports towards Angola. They went up to US\$ 221.635.712 in 2012, with more than 217 different kind of products exported. Regrettably, Angola suffered one more time from the volatility of the oil prices and Argentina's exports went down to US\$ 128.724.560 in 2013 and US\$ 37.202.375 in 2017. Importantly enough, trade was increasingly diversified. It is a matter of time before Angola recovers the value once imported from the land of *tangos*.

3.5. Conclusion

The analysis made on the history of the relationship between Angola-Argentina and the actions encouraged since 2003 by Argentina's bureaucracy on Angola's soil, reveal a paradigm shift in the AFP towards Southern Africa in general and Angola in particular. Starting with Argentina's recognition of Angola, Buenos Aires implemented during the 1980s a foreign policy focused more on political solidarity rather than on economic gains. Since 2003, relations gave place to an approach where economic trade became paramount.

The expansion of the bilateral trade between Argentina and Angola grew on the base of mutual diplomatic recognition (1977), the signing of the agreements (1988, 2005) and the visits of Angola's president José Dos Santos and Argentina's president Cristina Fernández (2005,2012). Economic opportunities justify AFP towards Angola nowadays. The

¹⁵ Argentina's capacity to import was restricted in the long run, mainly for two reasons: the impact of the global financial crisis in Brazil –the main economic partner of Argentina- and the decision of foreign companies placed in Argentina to send their revenues to their headquarters (Gallo, 2017).

investment of Argentina's company Arcor in Angola in June 2018 shows that the relationship is still growing. At the same time, the natural resources of the African country are a significant attraction for Argentina's business community, with a growing accent on new fishmeal industry and the always-present oil production (Ambito, 2015).

The trade figure analysis from 2003 to 2017 back up the assertion that Argentina perceived economic gains from Angola. Starting with bovine products, steel for oil production and soy oil, Argentina realized that the potential of varied goods they could export, from fish and wheat to polypropylene and vehicles. Argentina's exports increased in quantity and quality. Unfortunately, Angola has been experiencing economic difficulties since 2014 owing to a drop in oil prices, the country's main export. This has diminished the import capacity of the African country, giving rise to a host of other economic challenges such as a devalued currency, among others. Although Luanda's current currency challenges may be a cause for concern, they are not enough to dampen the burgeoning economic relations between the two countries on both sides of the Atlantic, the seeds of which were sown by Néstor Kirchner at the turn of the century.

Chapter IV: Argentina’s foreign policy towards Mozambique: exploiting opportunities that come with trade

“Today, I had the opportunity to greet the president of the Republic (of Mozambique) and express the interest of Argentina in deepening the links that bind us and work together in many aspects of international affairs that could bring benefits for our peoples”. Hector Timerman, (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, 2012)

4.1. Introduction

Argentina and Mozambique have a relationship that resembles the one Buenos Aires has with Angola in terms of history and the sequence of major political events. Mozambique became independent on June 25, 1975, in similar circumstances to the ones in Angola¹⁶. Argentina started recognizing Mozambique some years after her independence. The recognition was followed by a cooperation agreement in the late 1980s. In time, a new AFP enhanced Mozambique in virtue of the economic opportunities that the African country had to offer. This chapter argues that Buenos Aires sought to strengthen the relationship with Maputo through trade. Mozambique’s government worked to normalize the political landscape, which made the strengthening of bilateral relations possible.

The chapter, subdivided into four areas, follows a similar structure as the chapter about the AFP towards Angola. Firstly, the history of the relation between Argentina and Mozambique is commented upon. This section addresses significant events in the bilateral relation such as the recognition of Mozambique by Argentina as an independent state in 1981, the visit of Mozambique’s president to Buenos Aires in the 1980s, and the active participation of Argentina in the United Nations military forces in the 1990s. Secondly, events from 2003 to 2018 illustrate the changes in the Argentina-Mozambique relation and

¹⁶ Both Angola and Mozambique had political organizations that started to increase the use of violence in the 1960s to fight for independence. A Portuguese military offensive in the “Overseas Provinces of Portugal” led in time to the Carnation Revolution. This military coup on 25 April 1974 overthrew the authoritarian regime of the Estado Novo. The coup was mainly organized by young soldiers that had suffered while fighting in the colonies, and the realization that Portugal could no longer afford these costly wars. The new government led to the withdrawal of Portugal from the “overseas provinces” and the advent of general elections and democracy (Sanches & Gorbunova, 2016).

help affirm that a new AFP is on its way. The fact that Argentina's embassy in Maputo was the last foreign representation inaugurated by Argentina in Africa shows the *momentum* of the new approach to Southern Africa. Thirdly, a comparison of Argentina-Mozambique's trade figures between 1993 and 2018 emphasises the economic side of the new foreign policy. The fourth and final section ends with a final reflection on the relationship between Buenos Aires and Maputo.

Words and actions should be correlated if a coherent foreign policy is to be implemented effectively. Therefore, the author examines both Argentina's intentions and actions in Mozambique. Just as in Angola's case, the analysis done in this chapter will defend the assertion that a new AFP, focused on economic gains, is in place towards Angola and Mozambique. The gas production and the agricultural sector of Mozambique presented enticing economic opportunities for Argentina. Argentina does not have strong historical ties with Mozambique but the consistent increase in trade and cooperation agreements¹⁷, agreed with Maputo, anchored Argentina's new presence in Mozambique. Enjoying relative political stability, Mozambique provides Argentina with ample economic opportunities. The bilateral relationship the two countries enjoy (including Argentina's humanitarian assistance) has unlocked Mozambique's business potential.

4.2. A brief history of Argentina-Mozambique relations

4.2.1. First encounters

The section 3.2 of the thesis –the history of AFP towards Angola- indicated how AFP makers did not pay much attention to Africa until the 1960s. During that decade, an incipient interest of Argentina towards Africa appeared with the recognition of Africa as a potential market for the export of primary goods, especially meat and wheat (Lechini, 2006). Moreover, the constant increase of African independent states as members of intergovernmental organizations (e.g. United Nations) made Argentina aware of the

¹⁷ Examples of agreements are the *Acuerdo General de Cooperación Científica y Técnica* (General Agreement of Scientific and Technical Cooperation), signed in 1988, and the Memorandum of Understanding between Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Netherlands's Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards a Triangular Cooperation in Mozambique", signed in 2017.

importance of having friendly relations with the newly formed countries. Although the “Plan for Argentina’s presence in Africa” increased the significance of Africa to Argentina (Llamazares, 1962), the relationship between Buenos Aires and Maputo took some time to develop. While Argentina signed her first cooperation agreement with Angola in 1983, the South American country only signed her first agreement with Mozambique in 1988.

The representatives of Argentina had long expressed their opposition to Portugal’s refusal to leave the Lusophone African territories of Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau. During the 1960s, Argentina’s voice was clear about this subject in the Special Committee on Decolonization of the United Nations (Lechini, 2006). This has to be considered in the context of time. While Argentina had long had ties with Spain –not only commercial but also cultural- the relationship of Argentina towards Portugal, had always had a low profile in comparison to Brasilia’s connection with Lisbon. Furthermore, the international community was critical of both the authoritarian regime of Portugal and the last remains of colonialism (Lechini, 1988).

The policy actions implemented by Argentina towards Africa in the past were spontaneous, weak and erratic, and they did not add up to much influence. The AFP towards Mozambique was not an exception. Argentina decided to establish relations with Mozambique in 1981, six years after the African country got her independence. A Joint Communique dating from October 19, 1981 was signed in New York. This document established that the governments, “desirous of promoting a spirit of mutual understanding and strengthening the bonds of friendship and cooperation between its respective countries, have decided to establish diplomatic relations at Ambassadorial level“. After Argentina’s recognition of Mozambique, seven years passed before a treaty was signed in 1988.

Argentina’s decree number 1228/83 created an embassy in Maputo. However, the civil war conditions in Mozambique did not allow the opening of the embassy. The struggle dated way before the 1980s. The independence process proved very intricate due to the different ethnicities present in the country. As stated by Alpers (1974), the most potentially divisive struggle in Mozambique focused not on the politics of race, as had happened in Rhodesia or Zambia, but on the politics of ethnicity. After achieving independence on June 25, 1975, Mozambique was trapped in an internal conflict between two main groups. On the one

hand, there was the Frente de Liberação de Moçambique, FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique) led by Samora Machel. He became president and established a one-party state based on socialist principles, similar to the MPLA-led government in Angola. On the other hand, there was the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana, RENAMO (National Resistance of Mozambique) with a strong presence in the provinces of Manica and Sofala (bordering the then Rhodesia). Sponsored by South Africa and Ian Smith's Rhodesia, RENAMO was part of an anti-communist campaign against FRELIMO. The struggle between FRELIMO and RENAMO would last for several years. However, the Nkomati Accord of 1984-1985 signed between Mozambique's president Samora Machel and South Africa's president Pieter Willem Botha –who committed to stop the economic support to RENAMO- brought a more peaceful time to Mozambique. RENAMO changed from a South African military proxy to an organization with an administrative framework and a political agenda (Manning, 1998).

The successor of Samora Machel, Joaquim Chissano, wanted to forge ties with the West while maintaining strong relations with the Soviet Union. Chissano visited Argentina in March 1988 as president of Mozambique. The aim of the visit was to strengthen the bonds of friendship, solidarity and cooperation between Buenos Aires and Maputo, promoting a cooperation based on equality, reciprocal benefit and mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. The visit resulted in the *Acuerdo General de Cooperación Científica y Técnica* (General Agreement of Scientific and Technical Cooperation), signed in Buenos Aires. The agreement specified that cooperation would focus in economic, technical, technological and cultural areas. A Joint Commission was created in order to foster bilateral cooperation.

Argentina invited Mozambique to attend the “Argentina-Africa seminars” that took place between 1987 and 1988 to encourage horizontal technical cooperation in specific areas. Mozambique took part in the first, third and fourth seminar. The first one referred to agricultural cooperation and included all the members of the Southern African Development Coordination Community (SADCC). The third seminar concerned Argentina's offerings in research, use of, maintenance, and extension of services related to agricultural machinery. African technicians were trained on the use of equipment in their

homelands. The promotion of Argentina's industry was an important element of the seminar. Finally, a fourth seminar devoted to the Lusophone African countries dealt with demographics. It trained participants to use available information and develop new sources of information¹⁸. Unfortunately, changes in the government of Argentina, which saw a shift from the idealism of Raul Alfonsín's administration (1983-1989) to Carlos Menem's realist approach (1989-1999), terminated the cooperation seminars but also changed the character of the bilateral relations between Argentina and Mozambique in the 1990s.

A comparison of AFP towards Mozambique and Angola indicates similarities in both foreign policies applied by Argentina. In both cases, a bureaucratic disconnection happened under Alfonsín's rule, meaning a lack of communication among governmental spheres which could have strengthened the actions of the bureaucracy had they been working in harmony. As stated by Carreño Lara, "global governance requires a deep transformation of traditional bureaucratic organizations, as well as the construction of a flexible and result-oriented organizational culture" (2016:106). Although the actions towards Mozambique and Angola received the close attention of both president Raul Alfonsín and chancellor Caputo, Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Argentina's Ministry of Economy did not agree on the priorities in the implementation of policies or in the financing of Argentina's exports to Africa. The disconnection was reflected in the lack of fluidity in the horizontal and vertical relations between all the agencies interested in Africa. The consequence was the existence of different considerations about the role and importance of the Lusophone African countries in Alfonsín's government and differences among the decision makers at the top and the intermediate level of AFP making. The concern of chancellor Caputo had to do more with the diplomatic-political dimension of diplomacy than with the economic-commercial dimension (Russell, 1990)¹⁹.

¹⁸ In the words of Lechini (2006), the last seminar aimed to "train the participants in the management of basic concepts and in the application of demographic analysis techniques, to take advantage of existing socio-demographic information in the countries and enable the development of new sources that would adapt to the social organization of the represented countries" Translated from Spanish to English

(In Spanish: "capacitar a participantes en el manejo de conceptos básicos y en la aplicación de técnicas de análisis demográfico, para aprovechar la información sociodemográfica existente en los países y posibilitar el desarrollo de nuevas fuentes que se adecuaran a la organización social de los países representados")

¹⁹ Russell affirms that "foreign policy" can be divided into three analytical dimensions: economic, politico-diplomatic and strategic-military. The economic axis relates to financial, commercial, industrial and scientific-technological issues. The strategic-military axis covers the defense and security of a country and

The examination of the 1990s decade shows a watershed moment in Argentina-Southern Africa relations. Argentina interacted with Southern African countries during the 1990s in particular ways, such as the military presence in Mozambique through the Operation of United Nations in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) and Argentina's assistance in the economic reform programs that Southern African states implemented during the decade.

4.2.2. Bureaucratic changes in Argentina and foreign policy implications towards Mozambique

The arrival of Carlos Menem to the presidency of Argentina in July 1989 meant a change in the foreign policy of Argentina. The new government, in the aftermath of the Cold War, quickly changed from an alignment with the Third World to an alignment with the US. Even if Argentina's relation with Mozambique lost the cooperative spirit that was representative of the 1988 agreement, the internal changes in Argentina maintained a bilateral relation with different characteristics. Two cases exemplify the aforementioned statement: the change in the military identity of Argentina through the United Nations peacekeeping missions, and the consequences of the (briefly successful) neoliberal economic policies implemented by Menem.

In a Post-Cold War order, where Communist ideas were no longer the "enemy" to be fought against by Argentina's armed forces, the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations occupied Argentina's military attention. Menem attempted to create a new identity for Argentina's armed forces, directing their attention away from domestic politics. The UN operations offered the opportunity to enhance Argentina's new role in a changing world. Under Menem, peacekeeping meant a tangible image of Argentinian soldiers in uniform and blue helmets protecting people in other nations (Worboys, 2007).

One of the targets of Argentina's new commitment in the United Nations peace missions was Mozambique. The African country signed the Rome General Peace accord in 1992, which heralded the end of the civil war. The Security Council established the Operation of

relates to armies, strategies and alliances. Finally, the politico-diplomatic axis relates to the power of influence. Although the last axis has no material power, it is the planner axis and relates to the decision making process.

United Nations in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) to help with the peace process (Resolution 782). The mission lasted from December 1992 to December 1994.

Argentina started participating in April 1993, with 14 peacekeeping soldiers and 8 military observers. The number of soldiers later increased to 40 peacekeeping soldiers (plus the 8 military observers,) and they all remained in Mozambique until the dismantlement of ONUMOZ. A moveable hospital was set up by Argentina in the district of Matola, which gave assistance especially to pregnant women. A colourful note was that the first Mozambican baby born in the hospital was named “Argentina”.

Menem’s chancellor Guido Di Tella became the first Argentina’s functionary to make an official trip to Mozambique in November 1994. In the framework of ONUMOZ, Di Tella visited Argentina’s hospital in Mozambique. Argentina’s chancellor met Mozambique’s President Joaquim Chissano and Mozambique’s chancellor Pascoal Mocumbi. The chancellors debated matters of technical and agricultural cooperation. Argentina would later on welcome the visit of Leonardo Santos Simão –future Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation- and other Mozambique’s cabinet members in 1997.

Buenos Aires sent observers to the electoral process of 1994, in which FRELIMO won under Joaquim Chissano’s leadership. Far from detaching itself from Maputo, Argentina became part of the post-conflict situation, aiming at shaping Mozambique’s economic prospects by assisting the African country in her state reform program. In 1996, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) approved a three-year loan under the enhanced structural adjustment facility (ESAF) to support FRELIMO’s economic reform program.

Argentina used the “know-how” of her internal public reform process to lecture other countries in the world, especially Mozambique and other Southern African countries. Argentina’s officials made visits to the region in 1998 and advised in matters of state reform, privatization and monetary reform in Mozambique, Zambia, and Angola. Argentina counseled Mozambique on the exploration of gas and oil; the rehabilitation of electric lines; the improvement of communications, transport and ports and privatization of railway lines (Insausti de Aguirre, 1998). Argentina’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs organized an economic mission in 1999, presided by the ambassador Eduardo Sados, Argentina’s undersecretary

of International Economic Negotiations. This mission visited Mozambique, Angola and Cote D'Ivoire. The visit counted on the presence of Argentina's businessmen related to food, pharmaceutical and maritime transport areas (Lechini, 2006).

As a final observation on AFP towards Mozambique in the 1990s, the actions implemented did not have as a core principle the visualization of economic opportunities for Argentina. Apart from Argentina's mission of 1999 in Maputo, Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs actions were in the realm of the functional use of the military forces of Argentina, and the sharing of experiences related to a state reform program. Lechini (2006) states that Argentina's exchange of scientific information with Mozambique and Zimbabwe was requested by them. The new millennium brought changes in Argentina-Mozambique's relation, where the increase of the stability and better macroeconomic figures in Mozambique promoted Argentina's economic interest towards this Southern African country.

4.3. AFP towards Mozambique from 2003 to 2018

The accession of Néstor Kirchner to Argentina's presidency in 2003 implied a shift in the domestic and foreign policy of the South American country. In opposition to the neoliberal economic model implemented by Menem in the 1990s – where the market held sway and the state played a minimal role in the economy – Kirchner adopted a policy called *neodesarrollismo* (neo-developmentalism). This policy was contrary to the instructions of the IMF, an organisation blamed for the 2001 economic crisis in Argentina. Neo-developmentalism considers the state as the coordinator of the public and private spheres, being the main purpose of the state to increase her national income and her social welfare. Internally, the neo-developmental administration of Kirchner promoted a strong state that encouraged development through economic policies and institutional reforms. Externally, Kirchner's administration consolidated an export-oriented economic model with an industrialist pretension and a new geopolitical approach more open to new partners in order to increase trade (Morasso, 2015). In this framework, a new AFP towards Mozambique developed during the years of *Kirchnerismo* political dominance (2003-2015).

As a consequence of the renewed interest of Argentina in Africa in general and Southern Africa in particular, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed in 2006 between Argentina's Secretary of Science, Technology and Productive Innovation and Mozambique's Ministry of Science and Technology. The cooperation and exchange of technological information became a supporting element in the renewed relation between Argentina and Mozambique. The 2006 MOU specified areas for desired cooperation such as agriculture, environmental sustainability, biotechnology, subsoil resources and health.

The 2006 agreement between Buenos Aires and Maputo specified the modalities of the bilateral cooperation, including the exchange of scientists and documentation, joint organization of scientific and technological seminars, granting of fellowships and research and development projects on matters of mutual interest. One outcome of the MOU was the cooperation on bentonite. Mozambique has a big potential related to her mining resources like bentonite, a kind of clay used as a lubricant in the perforation of oil wells, medicine and ceramic and plastic production. Five (5) Mozambican experts in geology travelled to Argentina between 2008 and 2009 to learn about this mineral. The activities were organized by Argentina's Mining Geological Service in line with the 2006 MOU. The activities included lectures, visits to extraction sites, and exchanges with experienced scientists (Ministerio de Ciencia, 2009).

The 2006 MOU recognized agriculture as an area where the Argentina-Mozambique relation could grow. Argentina's Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries and Mozambique's Ministry of Agriculture decided to sign an additional Memorandum of Understanding in 2011. A technical delegation from Argentina visited Mozambique after the 2011 MOU in order to help in the production of wheat, rice and cotton. Argentina decided as well to implement the project Pro Huerta²⁰ in Mozambique. Another tool that helped the bilateral relation was the *Fondo argentino para la Cooperación Sur-Sur y Triangular*, FO.AR (Argentina's Fund for South-South and Triangular Cooperation), a program that intended to strengthen technical assistance to other developing countries. In

²⁰ Pro-Huerta is a food security program aimed at improving access to food by socially vulnerable urban and rural populations, through agro ecological self-production of food. The initiative was developed by the National Institute of Agricultural Technology (INTA) and it has become a tool for the AFP. With projects in countries like Brazil, Haiti and Mozambique (besides Argentina), it has generated more than 650.000 farms.

2012, Mozambique presented five assistance applications that were accepted by Argentina (Dirección General de Cooperación Internacional, 2013). The approved applications give an idea of the many areas where Argentina can have opportunities in Mozambique:

- Livestock production: work with Mozambique’s technicians in the use of technologies for the management of cattle and their food and health care.
- Agricultural production: building of know-how in order to identify suitable areas, assess potentiality and analyse critical points of the production chain.
- Cotton production chain: specialization of technicians in the introduction and use of cotton cultivation and processing technologies.
- Control and eradication of foot-and-mouth disease, allowing the export of meat.
- Pest control of "Batrocera Invadens" in the production of fruits and vegetables.

A milestone that confirmed the renewed interest of Argentina to Mozambique was the visit of Hector Timerman -Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’s chancellor- to Maputo on March 8, 2012. Timerman stated that the closer approach between Latin America and Africa is the result of this new Argentina’s view towards the world (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, 2012b). On the same occasion, Mozambique's chancellor Oldemiro Baloi, described the relations with Argentina as excellent. When received by Mozambique’s president Armando Guebuza, the African leader expressed “*estamos juntos*” (“we are together”) in order to work for the peoples on both continents. The topics discussed between Argentina’s Chancellor and Mozambique’s President were the potential of bilateral technical cooperation, the Malvinas Islands sovereignty -which both countries agreed should be solved through peaceful talks-, and desired reforms in the international financial architecture and multilateral organizations.

During Timerman’s 2012 visit to Mozambique, the chancellor met the Minister of Industry and Commerce, Armando Igorra. Away from an “empty” south-south cooperation idea, Timerman and Igorra identified specific areas where Argentina and Mozambique could work together. One example is the wheat production of Mozambique. The African country imports 94% of the wheat that it consumes, but it has 36 million hectares of fertile soil. Mozambique’s Agriculture Secretary Daniel Miguel Angelo Clemente stated that his country had developed an agricultural plan to increase production. He stressed that

Argentina's cooperation is necessary because Mozambique cannot move forward without technology. Mozambique's economy between 2003-2015 was one of the fastest growing economies in Southern Africa -with an average GDP growth of about 7%- Despite this impressive economic performance, there are still multiple economic opportunities present in Mozambique, such as the aforementioned agricultural sector.

Health remains an important component of the relationship between Argentina and Mozambique. Timerman's mission to Mozambique included representatives of the Ministry of Health and the *Equipo argentino de Antropología Forense*, EAAF (Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team). The chancellors of Argentina and Mozambique had already agreed on fostering cooperation commitments in the field of medicine, food and medical technology. A link exists between the new AFP towards Mozambique and the actions of White Helmets, the organ of Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge of the design and execution of humanitarian assistance programs²¹ (Colombo, 2014). A White Helmets mission in Mozambique was deployed in May 2015, with the support of the International Organization for Migration. The purpose was to participate in the actions of a Disaster Risk Reduction Team in coordination with local authorities of the province of Quelimane. The main contribution of this mission was the development of local capacities, leaving working guidelines for disaster risk reduction.

The existence of a link between "economic opportunities" and White Helmets actions can be found in Mozambique. The medical and safeguards actions of White Helmets in Mozambique have increased the safety of the population and allowed economic development to blossom in rural areas. Besides the aforementioned mission of 2015, in the year 2017 -from August 26 to September 24- White Helmets had a mission in the province of Gaza with the goal of strengthening the local production of food (Casco Blanco, 2017). The activity was coordinated between White Helmets and the Missão São Benedito de Mangundze, with the assistance of Mozambique's government. Mozambican farmers welcome Latino agronomic engineers due to similarities in language between Spanish and Portuguese. The placement of engineers in charge of helping rural communities is a

²¹ At the time when Carlos Menem was giving a new function to the military through the UN missions, he proposed to the UN the creation of a medical organism to assist victims in international conflicts. More information about White Helmets can be found in chapter 2.

remarkable introduction letter for Argentina. In the future, the farmers of these communities may buy Argentina's agricultural machinery in order to increase their production.

A new step was taken in the bilateral relation between Argentina and Mozambique. With the blossoming of the relationship, the economic initiatives of Argentina's companies, and the increase in the trade figures, Argentina's president Cristina Fernández decided to establish an embassy in Maputo. This step was taken in order to follow the alignments of the new AFP and increase Argentina's presence in Africa, according to the 912/2013 National Decree. The decision to open an embassy in Mozambique in 2013 was in tune with the decision of establishing a representation in Angola back in 2005. The perspectives of economic growth in Mozambique after decades of internal war (World Bank, 2007) and a bilateral trade of U\$70 million supported the decision.

The opening of an embassy in Maputo cannot be underestimated. As Berridge states (2012), an embassy is an important tool for the development of high-quality relations among countries. An embassy provides an official representation, which in turn relates to the prestige of a country and shows how important Mozambique is for Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Embassies promote friendly relationships with the elite of the receptor country, something useful to enable the national interests of Argentina. The embassy's commercial section can supply market intelligence and help smooth the way of trade missions. If Argentina's businessmen want to know the latest prospects in Mozambique, an embassy becomes an information tool entrepreneurs can rely on.

After the end of Fernández presidential term, Argentina's relationship with Mozambique remained strong. The administration of Mauricio Macri assigned Federico Villegas - a career diplomat - as the leader of Maputo's embassy in June 2016. Villegas inaugurated the embassy on December 2016 and his work has been remarkable in strengthening Argentina's interests in Mozambique.

In 2017, Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs signed with the Netherlands's Ministry of Foreign Affairs a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for triangular cooperation in the Republic of Mozambique. The purpose of the two signatory countries, Argentina and the

Netherlands, relating to this different new MOU was to promote the coordination of activities in the field of technical cooperation. On 22-23 May 2017, experts from Argentina's *Instituto Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria*, INTA (National Institute of Agricultural Technology) met with Mozambique's General Director for International Cooperation, Argentina's ambassador in Mozambique and members of Netherlands's civil society organization (CSO) Technoserve. The parties agreed to work on the development of no-till farming demonstration plots in the central region of the country. The intention of the project was to show how the implementation of Argentina's production system and related technologies could raise food production levels while reducing environmental degradation.

The 2017 MOU facilitated Argentina's presence in Mozambique through the mentioned FO.AR, taking advantage of sustainable agriculture projects carried out by Dutch cooperation and the CSO Technoserve in Mozambique since 2013. Other activities performed by Argentina's embassy in Maputo included the sponsorship of sport activities (e.g. III Circuito de Rugby de Maputo), the participation in economic fairs (e.g. Baobab fair), and the promotion of Argentina's culture (e.g. Argentina's cinema series).

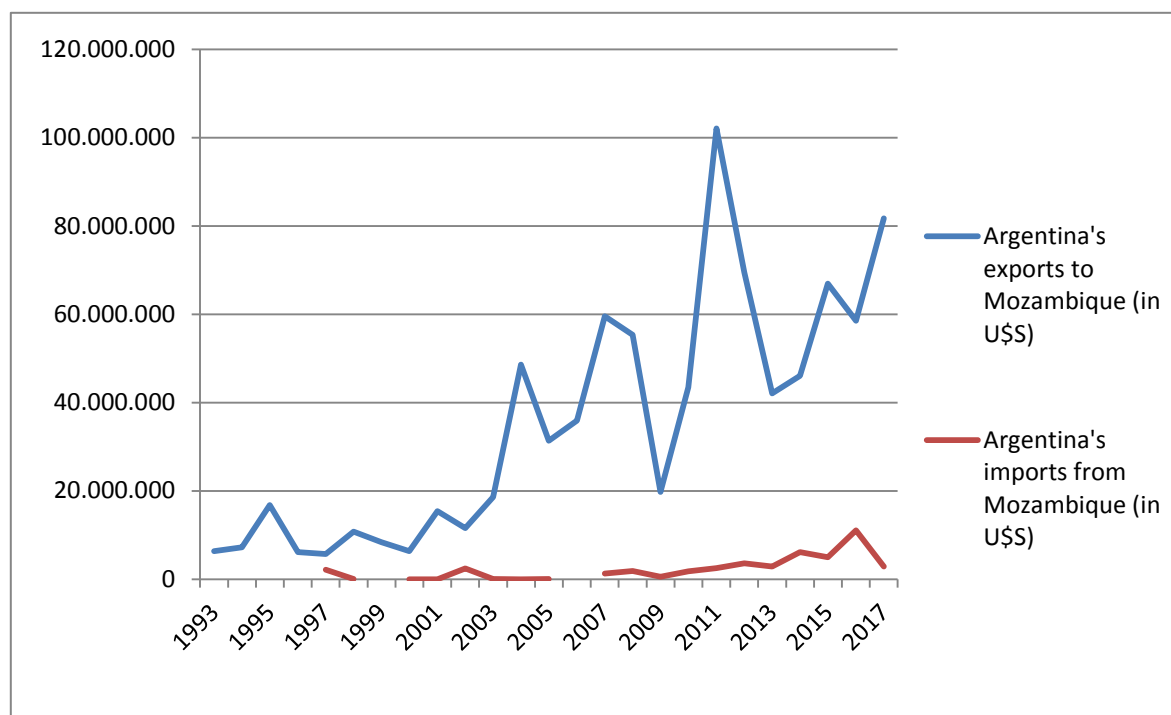
Mozambique keeps on offering economic opportunities for Argentina, even if the growth predictions of the African country are not as strong as in the recent past. Apart from agriculture, hydrocarbons are other areas of economic cooperation Argentina is interested in. The finding of gas in the northern province of Inhambane means a remarkable business opportunity for a state like Argentina. Macri's administration wants to take advantage of Mozambique's gas production with Galileo, one of Argentina's most important companies. For the last thirty years, Galileo has been developing goods and services to produce natural gas, biomethane and hydrogen production, transportation and consumption. Galileo, with activities in 70 countries, has a directory focused on Africa. Gabriel Lorenzi, Sales Vice President of Galileo Technologies for Africa, believes that distributed LNG (liquefied natural gas) production and virtual pipelines can reshape gas-to-power projects in Southern Africa (Galileo, 2018). Argentina's government supported Galileo's presence in the 2018 Mozambique Gas Summit and the company will participate in the sixth Mozambique Gas Summit & Exhibition, to happen in November 2019.

This section has shown Argentina and Mozambique's areas of cooperation and investment, reflected in the trade figures. The next section tries to perceive more links to justify the assertion that the new foreign policy of Argentina towards Mozambique is motivated by additional economic opportunities.

4.4. Argentina and Mozambique's trade relations

The analysis of Argentina-Mozambique trade is made following the same scheme implemented in the Argentina-Angola analysis. UN Comtrade provided information relative to the trade figures divided by years and flow and the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses information about individual traded product and price in dollars. Appendix B shows the fluctuation of Argentina and Mozambique bilateral trade between 1993 and 2017. The fluctuation is represented in the following graph.

Graph 2. Volume of trade between Argentina and Mozambique since 1993



Trade between Argentina and Mozambique since 1993. Estimates compiled by author. Sources: UN Comtrade (1993/2017) and INDEC (1993/2017).

The main driver of Argentina's renewed foreign policy approach towards Mozambique since 2003 is trade. The increase of the trade figures is corroborated by the efforts of AFP towards the African country.

From 1992 to 2003, Argentina's exports to Mozambique fluctuated constantly²². Exports kept their numbers under US\$ 18 million during the 1990s (see Appendix B). However, the trade value grew consistently from 2003 onwards, with a respectable surplus in Argentina's trade towards Mozambique. The year 2011 saw Argentina's exports to Mozambique achieving a value of US\$ 102.058.603. Angola's trade with Argentina showed a similar trend as seen in chapter 3.

Argentina's imports from Mozambique have grown notably, although not as much as the imports from Angola. The imports from Mozambique went up to US\$ 1.303.745 in 2007 and US\$ 11.058.352 in 2016. Still, a closer look at trade estimates indicates that the imports had peaks and valleys, dominated largely by tobacco.

Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs saw agricultural products as a solid foundation from where to expand the trade relation with Mozambique. In 2003, corn and wheat represented more than 2/3 of Argentina's exports. Industrial manufactures were not important between 2003 and 2006. Be that as it may, by 2006 there was an increase in the value and variety of exports from Argentina: the value increased to US\$ 35.929.362 and the trade diversified to 83 different trade codes. The gas sector was taken advantage of by Argentina, exporting gas containers, and instruments to measure or control gas and compressed gas meters.

The exports from Argentina to Mozambique increased in 2007 and 2008, but the financial crisis of 2008 lowered Mozambique's growing prospects. The decline in prices concerning mineral fuels and aluminium affected the import capacity of Maputo, leading to a reduction in value of Argentinian imported goods. Nevertheless, Argentina managed to expand the scope of the exported products. In 2009, there were a total of 99 trade codes of exported

²² The civil war inhibited Mozambique's economic growth in several ways. RENAMO forces attacked the civilians and the infrastructure needed for development. Agricultural productivity was low since there were landmines in the fields. Roads for trade and commerce were destroyed. People in rural areas were displaced. The migration to cities and water shortages resulted in poor sanitation conditions (Dava et al, 2013).

products, including medicines, plastic and propylene tubes. The export figure for 2010 moved up to US\$ 43.442.183. Moreover, in 2011, after years of the South-South cooperation policy, exports to Mozambique more than doubled to US\$ 102.058.603. Exported items expanded to 149 categories, although the biggest numbers remained soy oil and wheat. Soy flour, fishing boats, gas containers, tubes and pipes for gas extraction gained importance. Although Argentina's exports to Mozambique registered ups and downs between 2011 and 2016, exports figures were never below the 2010 value.

Mozambique's economy did not perform in recent years as well as it had since 1992 due to political struggles between the FRELIMO and RENAMO, lack of agreement to explore natural resources, cases of corruption and interruption of international help. On December 2016, an embassy of Argentina opened its doors in Maputo and by the next year the exports to Mozambique went up to US\$ 81.695.328. Within the difficult economic scenario of Mozambique, the embassy had the clear goal of promoting trade with economic interest the main driving force behind the AFP towards Mozambique.

4.5. Conclusion

The analysis made on the history of the relationship between Argentina-Mozambique and the actions encouraged since 2003 by Argentina's bureaucracy in Mozambique reinforces the idea of a change in AFP towards Mozambique, a change based on the economic opportunities that Argentina can achieve in the African country. During the 1980s and 1990s, the political actions of Argentina towards Mozambique were focused on political solidarity, basic cooperation schemes and military help rather than on economic gains.

The Argentina-Mozambique bilateral relationship started with mutual diplomatic recognition in 1981. Worthy of mention for the expansion of the relation are the signed agreements of 1988, 2006 and 2011, the missions of officials of first line -including Mozambique's president Joaquim Chissano and Argentina's chancellor Hector Timerman- and the expansion of trade, investment and cooperation. A similar pattern was seen with Angola, which allowed locating both African countries in the scheme of a new approach of Argentina towards Southern Africa. The participation of Galileo, one of the largest gas companies of Argentina, in the 2018 Mozambique Gas Summit indicates that the bilateral relation is still growing. Mozambique's conditions for agriculture, with 36 million hectares

of productive land but only 4 million hectares currently in use, is a strong attraction for Argentina's agricultural and industrial business community.

The analysis of the trade between Argentina and Mozambique backs up the assertion that Argentina was looking for economic opportunities when approaching Mozambique. The scope of Argentina's exports to Mozambique expanded significantly through the years, with the production of gas that required industrial products from Argentina. Angola's case presents a similar situation: Argentina's exports started first as only primary goods - bovine products, soy oil- and evolved into diverse, industrialized goods for the hydrocarbon industry, such as oil pipes. The years 2016 and 2017 showed a high presence of primary goods in the total of Argentina's exports to Mozambique. This fact coincides with the end in Argentina of the neo-developmental economic view that characterized the cycle 2003-2015 and the elimination of export taxes that affected certain agricultural products.

As already mentioned, since 2015 the prospects of growth in Mozambique –as well as the confidence of the international financial markets- had diminished importantly compared to the figures of previous years. The economic situation has in turn affected the structure of Mozambique's international trade, with imports that are more expensive for Mozambique, due to the devaluation of her currency. In spite of this situation, Mozambique still needs to import agricultural products to meet domestic demand. Buenos Aires came to the realization that Mozambique was an important market for Argentina's agricultural production. In addition, Argentina perceived enticing trade opportunities related to Mozambique's gas deposits in the area of Rovuma. The fact that Argentina managed to export more in 2017 than in the six previous years shows the willingness, efforts and creativity of an AFP towards Mozambique based on economic gains. All of these facts show that the best for Argentina and Mozambique is yet to come.

Chapter V: Conclusion

5.1. Theoretical reflections and economic interests regarding Argentina's foreign policy and her national interests.

The fundamental lesson from this study is that Argentina's foreign policy towards Angola and Mozambique is mainly driven by the country's economic interest in the region. Owing to political and economical stability following decades of strenuous civil wars, the two countries have proven economically enticing for Argentina. Trade remains at the heart of Argentina's main foreign policy considerations with these two countries. In addition, Argentina's approach to Southern Africa in general, and Mozambique and Angola in particular, is intertwined with Argentina's own national interests.

Argentina has tried to increase relations with other nations in order to survive and thrive in the international system. Consequently, the Kirchnerismo period sought Argentina's getting closer to the South American neighbours. An example is the creation of the *Unión de Naciones Sudamericanas*, UNASUR (Union of South American Nations) as a regional organization to integrate twelve (12) countries. The negotiations and signing of a trade agreement between the *Mercado Común del Sur*, MERCOSUR (Common Market of the South) and the Southern Africa Custom Union, SACU, meant the realization that Argentina had to expand her linkages outside South America and see Southern Africa with renewed eyes, looking at the economic opportunities that the region could offer to Argentina.

The continuity of AFP in general was in question at the start of Mauricio Macri's administration due to his clear vision of the importance of an alignment with Europe and the United States. However, events in Europe such as voting in favour of the Brexit in United Kingdom and the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States, kept Argentina focused on her national interest. Argentina realized the need to expand trade with the countries that were friendly to the idea of increased economic interconnectedness through globalization. Buenos Aires continued to seek partners to increase trade and, therefore, the country's well-being. Argentina's attempt to integrate the Pacific Alliance (PA) is evidence of the search for partners.

Three cases exemplify how Argentina searched for partners in Southern Africa. Firstly, the agreement between MERCOSUR and SACU ratified by all the signatory parties. Secondly, the project of having an embassy in Mozambique, opening its doors on December 2016.

Finally, in the X BRICS Summit in Johannesburg (South Africa), Macri stated that “it is time to strengthen global governance, with candour but also with respect; with principles but also with practical solutions” (Casa Rosada, 2018). Highlighting the importance of the South-South relationship in line with a realist approach, Macri added that “multilateralism is not, nor does it have to be, a photo for the press, but rather an insurance against discretionary power and a commitment with the global co-existence we are destined to” (Casa Rosada, 2018).

AFP motivated by the sole purpose of increasing trade is on its way. This foreign policy coincides with a realist assumption of national interest; Argentina is concerned -as a sovereign country- in achieving economic gains that would increase her dominance and make the country thrive in the international system.

5.2. Impressions on Argentina’s foreign policy in relation to Angola and Mozambique

By looking at the number of periods of AFP towards Southern Africa, the author perceives a difference in the approach taken by Argentina’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs in relation to Angola and Mozambique between 2003 and 2018. A period of embryonic contacts took place during the 1970s. However, AFP was spasmodic and volatile due to of the different perceptions and interests that the government administrations had in relation to Southern Africa. From 1983 to 1989, the approach to Angola and Mozambique had some sporadic impetus resulting in the signing of agreements such as Argentina-Angola in 1983, Argentina-Mozambique in 1988. These agreements took place within a framework of political solidarity between Argentina and both African countries. This political solidarity disappeared during the 1990s. From 2003 onwards, a tenable foreign policy became the practice by Argentina in relation to these two countries.

What was the main driver of the new foreign policy towards Angola and Mozambique? The analysis of AFP implemented with the two Southern African countries showed that the economic opportunities the two countries had to offer to Argentina was the motivation behind a renewed foreign policy implemented from 2003 to 2018 by Argentina.

In Angola's case, the agreements signed in 2004 cemented a new relationship between Argentina and Angola based on economic gains. The relationship improved after the visits of Angola's president José Dos Santos to Argentina; a few years later Argentina's president Cristina Fernández visited Angola. The steps taken strengthened the relations between the two countries. Such strength was evident in the different economic missions, promotion of trade, as well as investment and cooperation between the countries. Angola's natural resources have exerted an attraction for Argentina's business community, a fact reflected after the analysis of the trade figures. Trade opportunities have become a milestone in the new AFP towards Angola. Argentina has been able to tap into some of the benefits of this approach.

In the case of Mozambique, the analysis made on the history of the relations between Mozambique and Argentina and AFP actions since 2003 reinforce the appearance of a new AFP rooted in the economic gains that Mozambique offers to Argentina. As with Angola's situation, the foreign affairs of Argentina towards Mozambique gave primacy to an approach where economic trade was fundamental. Such stress on trade is shown in the increased trade figures between the two countries. The new AFP started with the signing of the 2006 agreements with Mozambique, became stronger with the mission of Argentina's chancellor Hector Timerman in 2012, and consolidated with the opening of a new embassy in Maputo in 2016. Angola offered a similar case (with the opening of an Argentinian embassy in Luanda in 2005), making it possible to locate both African countries in the scheme of a new approach of Argentina towards Southern Africa.

The trade figures show that the new AFP towards Angola and Mozambique was motivated by more intense economic activity of Argentina towards these two countries. Argentina's exports moved to diverse, industrialized goods for the hydrocarbon industry. Although the financial crisis of 2008, and the peaks and valleys of the commodity prices negatively affected both Angola and Mozambique, the new economically motivated AFP permitted Argentina's exports to continue.

Some differences about the new AFP towards Angola and Mozambique are worth mentioning. Concerning Angola, the relationship between Luanda-Buenos Aires had an earlier start with the visit of Sonangol officials to Argentina in 2004, followed by the visit

of Angola/s President Dos Santos in 2005. Initially, Argentina focused on primary good exports. Later the country's administration realized that the scope of products Argentina could export to Angola had potential due to the oil industry and its demands for supplies. Argentina's exports increased in quantity and quality, although Angola's critical economic situation from 2014 onwards affected negatively the import capacity of Luanda. However, Argentina's investments in areas such as food production indicate that Buenos Aires is still able to do business with Angola.

In the case of Mozambique, a new AFP motivated by economic gains starts from 2006 onwards, when a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between Buenos Aires and Maputo. Not only was Argentina interested in selling agricultural products, but it was also concerned with the development of the agricultural sector in Mozambique, with the express aim of selling its agricultural technology to Mozambique. In addition, Mozambique's gas production started to require industrial manufactured products that Argentina can provide. The interest in Mozambique by Argentina's gas company Galileo is a reflection of the new AFP towards Mozambique. The fact that Argentina has exported more in 2017 than in the six previous years demonstrates the eagerness, determination and inventiveness of AFP towards Mozambique on the bases of economic gains.

5.3. Points to ponder for future research

Argentina's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has realized that Southern Africa represents a region of opportunities strong enough to motivate a new approach towards Africa. Other researchers might find it useful to study African states other than Southern African countries, as economic opportunities that would benefit any AFP towards Africa. Future research on AFP should consider the underlying factors behind a representation of Argentina in a foreign state, considering trade balance surplus as a factor to ponder.

Related to future research on AFP towards Angola and Mozambique, new studies could explore intervening variables accounting for bilateral relations between Argentina and the two southern African countries. One variable is the presence of Brazil in Africa. Although this thesis focuses exclusively on the actions of Argentina in Southern Africa, future research could analyse how Brazil's foreign policy affects the actions of Argentina towards

the African continent. Another variable to include is the similarity of language between Argentina -a Spanish-speaking country- and Angola and Mozambique –Portuguese speaking countries. This facilitates communication.

Finally, the regional integration processes that the three countries are experiencing with their neighbours can be a fertile area for foreign policy studies, especially considering that the interrelation of different economic regions (MERCOSUR and SACU) which provides new niches of complementary opportunities to the traditional North-South relations.

Further studies on AFP are necessary to perceive new economic opportunities for Argentina's business community. The present study was performed looking at the reasons that motivated AFP towards Southern Africa. Further research should focus on the benefits that different nations of Africa could obtain from a relationship with Argentina.

Africa is a continent Argentina needs to consider in the light of the potential foreign policy opportunities. The present thesis attempts to contribute to this lofty mission.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Evolution of trade between Argentina and Angola during the period 2003-2017. Sources: UN Comtrade (1993/2017) and INDEC (1993/2017).

Period	Trade Flow	Reporter	Partner	Trade Value (US\$)
1993	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$6.954.773
1994	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$2.999.439
1995	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$5.820.516
1995	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$19.774.380
1996	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$38.897.620
1997	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$5.656.630
1997	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$4.175.389
1998	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$6.207.000
1999	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$7.073.848
2000	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$15.365.512
2000	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$11.930.544
2001	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$18.233.979
2002	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$29.101.759
2003	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$50
2003	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$63.879.184
2004	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$107
2004	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$79.915.691
2005	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$46
2005	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$139.262.085
2006	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$14.547
2006	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$138.458.241

Period	Trade Flow	Reporter	Partner	Trade Value (US\$)
2007	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$3.229
2007	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$165.893.860
2008	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$9.457
2008	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$213.165.373
2009	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$163.737.327
2010	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$4.081
2010	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$145.077.390
2011	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$18.458
2011	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$221.635.712
2012	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$6.482
2012	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$200.150.929
2013	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$13.017
2013	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$128.724.560
2014	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$5.250
2014	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$126.933.268
2015	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$28.028
2015	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$59.153.985
2016	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$10.980.451
2016	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$36.826.856
2017	Import	Argentina	Angola	\$6.763.085
2017	Export	Argentina	Angola	\$37.202.375

Appendix B: Evolution of trade between Argentina and Mozambique during the period 2003-2017. Sources: UN Comtrade (1993/2017) and INDEC (1993/2017).

Period	Trade Flow	Reporter	Partner	Trade Value (US\$)
1993	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$5.000.000
1993	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$6.322.129
1994	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$7.212.031
1995	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$1.050
1995	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$16.812.756
1996	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$6.143.733
1997	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$2.128.882
1997	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$5.692.548
1998	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$2.906
1998	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$10.799.347
1999	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$8.340.235
2000	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$666
2000	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$6.307.813
2001	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$289
2001	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$15.427.323
2002	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$2.429.788
2002	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$11.587.122
2003	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$46.764
2003	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$18.593.395
2004	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$235
2004	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$48.614.126
2005	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$68.836
2005	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$31.337.118
2006	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$35.929.362

Period	Trade Flow	Reporter	Partner	Trade Value (US\$)
2007	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$1.303.745
2007	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$59.545.564
2008	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$1.881.661
2008	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$55.365.747
2009	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$547.943
2009	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$19.722.148
2010	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$1.763.761
2010	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$43.442.183
2011	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$2.508.075
2011	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$102.058.603
2012	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$3.583.073
2012	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$69.434.696
2013	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$2.854.707
2013	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$42.083.763
2014	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$6.092.624
2014	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$46.023.096
2015	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$4.972.511
2015	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$66.938.803
2016	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$11.058.352
2016	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$58.536.037
2017	Import	Argentina	Mozambique	\$2.884.161
2017	Export	Argentina	Mozambique	\$81.695.328