RE-CONCEPTUALISING HEGEMONY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: MOZAMBIQUE AS A HEGEMONIC STABILITY ACTOR

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Semester: Spring 2019
Declaration of Authority

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, institution or university other than the United States International University in Nairobi for academic credit.

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This thesis has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my children as an inspiration to them and African scholarship which contributes to the daily development of the continent.
Acknowledgement

I have immense gratitude to all the people that have contributed in their support and knowledge contributions to this body of work. My supervisor Syeda Re’em Hussain for her mentorship and input into this work. I further extend my gratitude to all the USIU lecturers and administration staff that have added to this thesis with special mention to Dr Wamai, Dr Mwangi and Prof Muliro for their guidance. To all the respondents that took their time to meet with me and add to my research. All my colleagues that were of much needed moral support and contributors to this work.

Finally, I would like to thank God, my husband, my children and parents for their love, support and patience. This is our achievement.
## Acronyms and Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRICS</td>
<td>Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>EDM</td>
<td>Electricidade de Mazambique – Electricity of Mozambique</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPA</td>
<td>Economic Partnership Agreement</td>
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<td>ERP</td>
<td>Economic Rehabilitation Programmes</td>
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<td>FAM</td>
<td>Forças Armadas de Moçambique</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>FRELIMO</td>
<td>Frente Liberal de Mozambique – Mozambican Liberal Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPE</td>
<td>International Political Economy</td>
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<tr>
<td>IR</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLN</td>
<td>Landlocked Neighbour</td>
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<td>Moz</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>North American Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Post Colonialism</td>
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<tr>
<td>P-C</td>
<td>Post-Colonialism</td>
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<tr>
<td>REFA</td>
<td>Rethinking Economics for Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAPP</td>
<td>Southern Africa Power Pool</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>Standard Operating System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZANU PF</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Union -Patriotic Front</td>
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Abstract

This study’s proposition is to investigate three hegemony questions. Whilst each question seeks to answer a different question, they are interdependent and a piece of a broader thought. They critically examine the concept of hegemony in a quest to understand the actual power actors of the different African regions.

This study aims to contextualise hegemony by interrogating African features and realities that makes a state hegemonically powerful. Due to the dominance of western interpretations, the westernization of African knowledge is also reflected in its international relations. Southern Africa’s hegemonic theory is identified as hegemonic stability theory. The study invokes the same theory to present a different perspective of contribution to stability. This results in a distortion of the realities of power and influence in the region and continent. Post colonialism is the framework used to interrogate the study, that comprises of Mozambique as the case study. Due to its conceptual and analytical nature, a qualitative study that included field work was the most suitable design. This allowed for enriched and triangulated data that was analysed using a combination of methods which were content analysis, grounded theory and case study to examine and explain a single case.
Operational Definitions of Terms

- **African Hegemony** One which incorporates all the mentioned African features
- **International** Territories abroad, outside of the African space.
- **Power** The ability to influence others into doing what you want (Joseph Nye) with specific reference to soft power.
- **Southern African:**
  - **Geographic** The Southern Hemispheric space of the African continent which is illustrated in figure 4. This space is encompassed by nine states.
  - **Conceptual** The original 1992 nine member states of the Southern African community which consist of; Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe. These nine states are geographically recognised as part of the African Southern hemisphere.
- **State** The modern nation state is comprised of three elements; institutions, in a geographically bounded territory (society) which monopolise rule making within that territory (Hall and Ikenberry, 1989). The ideas of the state stem back centuries to the writings of Plato and Aristotle as reactions to the Greek city state. The modern state emerged as a result of the French Revolution of 18th Century. Philosophers of the period such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant influenced the enlightenment and revolutionary progress in Europe. After the French Revolution adopted the republican system, the conception of a nation state that encompassed the main three elements was established and spread throughout Europe and beyond.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Positions of hegemony in Africa can be argued to be post-colonial in nature due to the structural and geographic inheritances of the former colonial systems. The genesis of the international system was only inclusive of dominant states which was comprised of western states only (Wight, 1978). For this reason, deliberations about terminologies like power, state and the international system exempted considerations of and applicability to the African continent. The concept of hegemony in modern International Relations, mentioned above reflect that of Western conceptualization. Hegemony in Africa reflects the influence of western understandings of state and power which is founded in conceptualisations.

These remnants refer to the modern continuation of colonial centres and to how colonial masters competed for hegemony amongst themselves. This contestation extended to their colonies as satellites of their home countries. For instance, the British, French and Portuguese were in constant competition for resources, value and knowledge (Sharp, 2009). This was depicted in the ship and naval voyage races. Later during colonialism these hegemonic contests played out on African soils as well.

Even though struggles for hegemony played out during the colonial period, the idea of hegemonic struggles in Africa predates modern history (Quinn, 2017). This reverberates that power dynamics were not introduced by the west, quite to the contrary a representative state system that included power dynamics and struggles already existed. Of the various kingdoms that existed in those periods, some kingdoms were considered superior to others. Like Western stipulations these features consisted of military, trade and cultural factors. However, there were other features overlooked by Western scholarship that allowed these African kingdoms to obtain positions of hegemony. This study investigates the historical and contemporary local elements to determine if the Eurocentric hegemonic perspectives sufficiently apply to Southern Africa.

The concept of hegemony has seen a limited evolution in International Relations due to its generalization and servitude to grand post-colonial structures that benefit the Western states. Africa has been a recipient of international relations theories that do not always resonate with the continent’s realities, Thomas Tieku (2013) queries this gap. He questions the theoretical approaches to Africa’s international relations and suggests that new theories that capture the continents realities are needed. Because theories reflect social imaginations - that present themselves as realities – they cannot remain
constant but must change and accommodate experiences. This presents a need and opportunity to expand the hegemony concept and contextualise it to African interactions. Many scholars (Tim Murithi, Thomas Tieku, VY Mudimbe, Sanjaya Baru, Paul Zeleza and Susan Silbey) have acknowledged such theoretical gaps and encourage reconsiderations of westernized philosophies to domestic ontologies. Landsberg (2011) warns the IR discipline of the risks in this kind of generalisations that result in exclusionary and constrained International Relations thought. This study therefore attempts to reveal the dynamics of inter-African interactions which can then be used to develop distinct African indicators of hegemony such as the dependency factor. Contextualising and expanding hegemony (as in the case of agency) opens different considerations of power and African relations which Tieku (2013) argues is to be distinct but not exceptional. Tieku’s assertion however that hierarchy of power in Africa is only relevant in international dealings and not domestic affairs is disputed in this report. The Pan-African ideology may dismiss hierarchy of power opting for equality instead but that has demonstrated to be the idealistic nature of the concept. East Africa currently finds itself in a regional scuffle for emergence. This presents a need to understand the realities of these regional scuffles.

When South Africa sneezes does the rest of Southern Africa catch a cold? This question opens many doors to explore the relations and interactions of Southern African states. A true hegemons domestic situation has a trickledown effect on other nations. This phenomenon is witnessed by the world’s hegemon: United States of America (Keohane, 1984 & Yilmaz, 2010). In Southern Africa this may have been true soon after South Africa’s independence, but this is not the general position of affairs. Therefore, the vast literature on Southern African (and to some extent African) hegemony can be challenged (Ogunnubi and Akinola, 2017).

A simple definition of a hegemon is a dominant state (Yilmaz, 2010) that influences and threatens the existence of other states in its sphere. This understanding of hegemony is negated in this study. It is an orthodox realist interpretation that does not explain the Southern African situation. Yan Xuetong (2018) and Sanjaya Baru (2015) leading geopolitical thinkers point out to the fact that the West establishes the international systems that the rest of the world acts on. They also add that those systems do not always suffice in developing economies. Xuetong (2018) highlights that global order is not homogeneous, therefore different forms of organisation are required in different regions. Presently the models of international organisation are all based on western centric systems due to a lack of alternatives. This extends to the recognised nuances of hegemony. John Ruggie (1998) argues that it is not just the existence of hegemons that is important, but also the type of hegemon matters as well.
Africa’s history and developmental status requires a cooperative type of hegemony that benefits all and does not symbolise imperial rule.

This work seeks to transcend first two of the three levels of world politics, namely; the state, the region and global system. Whilst the global system impacts the relations of the region, the primary focus is on the interactions between the state – Mozambique and its region. The study borrows from Poststructuralism by searching for contextual meaning. Poststructuralism concerns itself with adding new actors, new sites and new conceptualisations (Merlingen, 2013). In this case the pluralization of hegemony or what Antoniades (2008) refers to a multisite-power hegemony that denotes multi-polarity. Whilst multi-polarity implies a balanced power situation, this would be untrue of Southern Africa. The use of multi-polarity refers to the number of significant sites (states). As an expansionist theory, Poststructuralism allows for a larger interrogation of the overlooked yet significant regional actors in the African international system. This thesis proposes Mozambique as a stabilising actor in the Southern African arena.

Literature on the subject of hegemony in Africa only considers the conventional material. South Africa in the South, Nigeria in the West and Kenya in the East emerge as the sub-regional hegemonic states (Alden, 2015 & Ogunnubi, 2016). The works of Chris Alden (2015) and Olusola Ogunnubi (2016 & 2017) amongst others have deliberated widely on this putative position. Contrary to the conventional school of thought, denialists like Kwame Nkrumah, WEB Dubois, Robert Sobukwe and Marcus Garvey debunk the entire notion of hegemony in Africa. They argue that it is a ceremonial title at best. Such polar nuances leave room for new considerations of hegemonic actors and characteristics of such hegemonic interpretations. Ethiopia in the Eastern region has become a recent actor of interest in such discourses as observed in the works of Dustin Dehez (2008), Jan Záhořík (2014) and Sonia Le Gouriellec (2018).

Sabelo Ndhlouvu-Gatsheni (2015) pronounces that Africa was brought into a capitalist Liberal world through the extraction of resources, inclusion into the international state system and imposition to adhere to international law and technology. This happened because the dominant western imperial powers continued to dominate the world after colonialism and assimilated the world to their culture. The African incorporation to the world system, necessitated African states to transform into liberal democracies thereby adopting liberal and Neoliberal policies. The adoption of Liberalism and Neoliberalism as the standard operating system of the continent has put Africa states in Postcolonial perpetuity. This is experienced in theory (literature) and practice (relations). The technicalities and
mechanics of everyday international relations manifests in prescribed western centric notions. The theories used to explain our realities and accepted diplomatic practices are all assimilated norms.

Hegemony is a manifestation that derives great power and this study does not seek to reduce its significance. The study rather aims to offer an extended idea of the concept in the hopes of expanding the African International Relations discourse. This study does not aim to dispute South Africa’s economic hierarchy in the region. The intent is to question its sole significance in the region by questioning the understandings of hegemony that confers it that solitary status. This is because a singular focus promotes a Postcolonial narrative that suits colonial agendas. How can hegemony be understood in Afrocentric nuances which encapsulates the dynamics of the region’s historical relations. Le Gouriellec (2015) echoes the neglect of Africa in IR theoretical approaches. Tieku (2013) refers to the deficiency of contextualising international theories to Africa. Simply put, the study asks what hegemony authentically means and looks like in the Southern African context.

1.2 Problem Statement

The concept of hegemony has its origins in the literature and practice of Western International Relations. This Western literature and practices identify certain features of a hegemonic state namely; the economy, military and soft power. These features are asserted to be what makes a state influential and dominant in a region. This is clearly observed in the West and East, where the regional leaders project such powers.

Literature in Africa emphasizes three sub-regional hegemons: South Africa, Kenya and Nigeria. However, in practice it appears that other states in Africa appear to have more impact in their regions than what is acknowledged. The accepted western classification and restrictiveness of what a hegemonic state is, denies these states hegemonic recognition. This assimilation has limited and finalized the analysis of power dynamics in the continent.

This study seeks to investigate other African-oriented elements of hegemony that appear to make other states like Mozambique dominant in their regions. As such this study questions whether the concept of hegemony as is conceptualised in western literature sufficiently applies to African states and the way they engage each other.

The re-examination of the concept presents an opportunity to negotiate hegemony in Southern Africa, looking at Mozambique as a nominated power actor in the region.
1.3 General Objective

The objective of this paper is to evaluate the realities of hegemonic actors and their influence in the Southern African region.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- To interrogate the contemporary realities of hegemony and its perspectives in Southern African.
- To investigate and identify other understandings of African elements of hegemony to reveal the realities of power dynamics and hegemony in the Southern African Region.
- To analyse and classify Mozambique as a hegemonic actor in the Southern African region.

1.4 Research Questions

i. What are the realities and perspectives of hegemony in Southern Africa?
ii. What are the holistic features of hegemony in Southern African?
iii. Can Mozambique be classified as a hegemonic actor in the region?

1.5 Significance of the Study

There is a plethora of work that deliberates hegemony in Africa. They interrogate the validity of the usual suspects namely Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa as hegemons in their regions and of the continent. However, these bodies of work tend to be very exclusionary of alternative candidates. This is because all the analyses are done under the lenses of prescriptive hegemonic theories. The study thus aims to ‘make the circle bigger’ by adding different approaches to the consideration of hegemony. This much needed remodelling of International Relations theories will make the discipline more contemporary, inclusive and practical (Tieku, 2013).

The distinctness of this study is its aims to expand the discipline not just in text but in practice as well. This work aspires to add to the discussions of most importantly Postcolonialism, Agency, (Soft) Power and Hegemony.

The study’s findings will provide consolidated information to governments which they can use to strengthen their strategic positions and recognition. This study can serve to inform short and long-term strategies and policies, which in turn informs the government’s Grand Strategy. The search for dominant recognition requires a state to emerge itself by using its leverage. The study identifies Mozambique’s leverage as its tool of emergence. The emergence of a state results in positive spill over effects that alter other aspects of its structures and society namely; innovation, production,
technology, trade, laws, livelihoods and knowledge. The culmination of such advancements in turn propels a state’s status.

The effectiveness of parastatals and contribution to the state is the responsibility of the state. Their efficiency furnishes the economy of Southern African states. This study presents the Mozambican parastatal companies’ reflective angles of which to improve operations and competitively enhance the development of the state.

The study impacts foreign investors (especially minerals, heavy manufacturing and agriculture) by highlighting the efficient qualities of the state as a viable economic alternative in the region. The investor-government partnerships provide a symbiotic win: the capital investments will help develop routes and infrastructure whilst the private sector gains more efficient, reliable logistics that has the effect of yielding larger profits.

The available works on hegemony concentrate on it as a concept, its use, western domination, the emergence of the east, America and geopolitics. The domestic work on hegemony is narrow and concentrated on a handful of states disputing the validity of the claim. This study aims to add to those discussions by analysing overlooked complexities and perspectives. In making it a multi-disciplinary discussion, it broadens the field of research to include various angles addressing similar positions ‘making the circle bigger’. It attempts amongst other recent works to direct African international relations to include other unnoticed African players. The study’s expansionist agenda and gaps can lead to other African studies and areas of work beyond the field of international relations. It can also contribute to reframe debates of grand international relations approaches.

The broadening of such discussions encourages the active competition of otherwise shadowed states, which in turn enhances the development of the continent. The West succeeded in rapid and profound development because of competitive development and innovation. The concentration of focus on key obvious players as has become the norm, reduces the realist need of states to prosper and stand out amongst each other as a continent.

On a subliminal note; Africa’s agency as a group has been scarce, the resound call for extended veto states in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has been one of these scarce occasions. With this ambition in mind, discussions about which state would best represent and stand for Africa should start to be held. This representation should be selected based on best in class practices not only economic performance to reduce nefarious interests and decisions. This holistic consideration of fitting states will require interrogations into all the key continental players. On such a basis, studies such as this are also important to the African Union.
1.6 Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 contains the background, introduction, problem statement, objectives: general and specific, research questions, scope of study and organization of the study. This section clarifies the need and importance of the study.

Chapter 2 outlines the literature review with the theoretical framework. The literature review breaks down the main areas of research for the proposal that are; Mozambique historical and contemporary data, Geography and Geopolitics analysis, Theories of Hegemony and Power, African hegemony research, Foreign Policy support. This section focuses on substantiating the gap and relevance of the study through the identification of key literature on the subject matter.

Chapter 3 The final proposal chapter consists of the methodology which contains Target Population or Participants and role, Time Schedule for the Study, Ethical Considerations, Study Resources, Reliability and Validity, References, Appendices. This section relays the feasibility and credibility of the study.

Chapter 4 Is divided into two sections. The first section contextualizes Hegemony as a theory in Southern Africa. It incorporates the features and elements that are present in Southern Africa to interrogate the realities of power. This theoretical section is then followed by an analysis of the Mozambican case study, comparatively qualifying the country to all the elements (both traditional and expanded) that categorise a country as a powerful influencer. These inquiries provide a rich body of work from which to deliberate findings in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 This final section of the report consolidates all the information gathered with the thesis. It is presented as a summary of the study, the findings and recommendations for future analyses of identified gaps.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature review

This chapter reviews both the theoretical and empirical literature that guides, consolidates and validates the study’s objectives. The review navigates the reader through the first section of literature that looks at Hegemony and Power discussions. This is followed by multi-disciplinary reviews that support the impact on international relations and pathed the researcher to the validity of the study. Finally, it analyses Mozambique’s literature and attributes to determine the Southern African dynamics as it pertains to the country. Below are the sections of literature that support the study;

2.1.1 A conceptual Interpretation of Hegemony

Hegemony as an idea dates to emergences of civilisations. In ‘Early Civilisations’ (2019) Prof Henry Gates and other scholars illustrate how Africa is not only the home of great civilisations but also reveal the amount. Albeit not clear, recent African anthropological studies are disclosing the relations within and between those civilisations (kingdoms). The nature of power, its dynamics and contestation are yet to be intensely interrogated by international relations as a field of IR. What emerges clearly is that interactions were present, and some kingdoms were more powerful than others. This difference in power whereby some civilisations were dominant regional players such as the Axum civilisation, exposes the idea of hegemony. This is to say that Hegemony may be a historically modern concept, but its awareness is not new.

Whilst earlier in the paper the generic understanding of hegemony is defined, as a broad concept its examination requires further analysis. What then is hegemony? The Frankfurt school proposed three dimensions of power; Open power, Covert power and Structural power (Gill & Law, 1988). Antoniadis (2008) offers four approaches of hegemony as named earlier. Weber describes three types of powers; Traditional, Charismatic and Legal-rational. All typologies of power are centred around coercion and consent as mechanisms for influence. Yilmaz (2008) expresses hegemony as the dominant and oppressive status of one element over others. This antagonistic perception of hegemony is shared by the likes of Thucydides, Antonio Gramsci, Dr John Mwangi and Robert Cox. The latter expressed how Hegemony permitted the dominants states values to become the norm and thus control the system. This he denoted as imperialism. Whilst Marxists and African freedom fighters may not single out an entity such as a state or group as the imperialist element. They too identify imperialism as hegemony (Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 2019).
Charles Kindleberger, Stephen Krasner and Robert Keohane argue that Hegemony is not only good for the international system but that it is not always antagonistic. Contrary to the above perceptions of hegemony, the hegemonic stability proponents describe it as a benevolent and rational concept. This interpretation of hegemony is purely state-centric and connected to Neoliberalism. Hegemony’s general nature makes it a term that can be expanded to global entity levels, whilst simultaneously constraining it to domestic and cultural levels (Gramscian). Its elasticity makes it a synonym for leadership, which may or may not imply coercion or consent. This is the connotation that the study uses; a leadership predominant position not dominance alone. Min (2003) relays this point that hegemony should not be understood exclusively as dominance. Dominance implies as the above imperialism and uni-lateral benefit (Min, 2003). Dominance fails to account for the other earlier mentioned typologies of power which result in predominant influence.

2.1.2 Rationalizing Hegemony in Africa

Hegemony denotes power and in Max Weber’s various works, he proclaims that power is experienced and felt in all realities. To exempt or belittle Africa from discourses of power, is to suggest that interactions of power do not occur in the continent. In the literature review it was recognised that hegemony is legitimised power: authority (Weber, 1922). If it is established that they are power actors (states) in Africa and some have more authority than others, then hegemony is present and at play.

Gramsci’s cultural hegemony is obvious within African states. The core institutions and structures that operate in the West, brought to Africa through imperialism and globalisation emanate the same hierarchies as denoted by Gramsci. When depicting those hierarchies, Gramsci described their irrationality to society. In Gramscian understandings hegemony discriminates, constrains and restrains subaltern groups from experiencing freedom and achievement as those felt by the privileged classes. Furthermore, he depicted how hegemony reinforces structures of hierarchy in society. An example of how this is education as a structure. The idea that education is the gateway to achievement and class, resolves the illiterate to accept a life of deprivation without putting up any form of resistance because it is the rationally accepted reality.

Whilst Gramsci’s irrationality of hegemony is correct, at state level it becomes wanting because the alternative to a lack of leadership results in chaos of the international system. The consequences of an anarchic international system as promulgated by Charles Kindleberger (1973) are too chaotic to be the rational choice. Kindleberger (1973) supported his findings in his illustrations of the causes of the great depression when America shied away from global hegemony, at a time that Britain had lost its hegemonic status. Kindleberger (1973) argued that this period of anarchy, where the world was without
a definitive hegemon gave rise to global economic chaos. If regions are subsystems and functioning like the greater international system then just like the latter, understanding their local hierarchies is important for the development of rational theories and policies that will maintain a stable system (Lemke, 2002). Since regions mirror the global practices then the stable social order which results from hegemony must be relevant in regions as well. This then requires an understanding and interrogation of these regions’ hierarchies and dynamics.

Whether an international regime is identified as realist or neoliberal a point of conversion is rationalism, the separation point is in the specifications of the utility functions that states seek to maximise (Hasenclever, Mayer & Rittberger, 1997). Rationalists assume that actors’ preferences are stable over time whether it be cooperation or competition they will always maximise their individual utility. Southern African states seek to maximise their utility through cooperation as their rational form of maximization. This been said Southern Africa reveals a game of cooperation whereby rational actors seek to maximise their utility with some contributing more towards the integration than others.

Given the above arguments and the fact that Africa is a real entity that experiences power interactions and dynamics; the rationality of hegemonic discourses to fully understand the true dynamics of power becomes relevant and necessary. Hegemony has become a very diverse global concept with many derivatives; the above analyses establishes the concepts rationality, interrogating grand approaches that most suitably describe the Southern African dynamics facilitates the exploration of a contextualised hegemony. This studies subscription to the rationality of hegemony as a stabilising force does not necessarily agree with authors such as Sandra Destradi (2010) that relate rationality with virtuous moral leadership. On the contrary this study does not focus on the righteousness of hegemony but rather on its presence and reality in the region.

2.1.3 Perspectives of Hegemony in Southern Africa

Hegemony has gained a generalized meaning that implies direct dominance and superiority directly adopted from western manifestations. Whilst the central idea of power over other entities is relevant to all interpretations of hegemony, it remains a loosely applied term which results in a tendency to oversimplify its application. Hegemonic connotations differ in their ideological perspectives and relational usage. Southern Africa exists under a dichotomy of power structures that on one hand benefits all but on the other hand serves some greater benefits (Clapham, 1996). This chapter will consider the different Southern African perspectives and applications of International Relations and hegemony, that have been relevant in modern times.
2.1.4 Hegemonic Paradigms

The University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg has an internal organisation called Rethinking Economics for Africa (REFA) that aims to contextualise understandings of economics to match African realities. Their main point of contention is that the available economic models of study are not directly applicable or useful to the continent. The African continent is as unique as it is dynamic. This dichotomy presents a lot of unpredictability that cannot be accommodated by western-centric models alone. For instance, the World Bank measures of poverty do not consider primitive options of lifestyle that may not meet western standards of comfort but are bearable conditions to Africans. A rural family that sustains itself with local crops and animals is not necessarily in a state of poverty but unexposed to modern agreements of comfort. This been said the similarities between the REFA dilemmas, and this study are apparent. Whereas REFA seeks to develop new models to explain the unique dynamics of Africa, this study relies on the four paradigms of hegemony, that are illustrated in Table and Figure 1.

According to Antoniades (2008) compartmentalising the paradigms of hegemony helps to explain how hegemony operates. By doing so, explaining how power is induced and maintained in the region is facilitated. An additional benefit is that it helps to clarify the intentions of a state. Stately interactions are also explained with these paradigms and finally one is not limited by analysing hegemony as a cause and effect phenomenon. The latter opportunity can be exemplified by the fact that consent does not necessarily affect attraction and vice versa. Just because Southern Africa consents to South Africa’s hegemonic position, it does not mean that attraction is the natural follower. Madagascar’s 2009 political crisis saw the state’s acknowledgement of South Africa as a superior hideaway (democracy and security), yet the attraction for political mediation (ideas) lay elsewhere (Former Mozambican president Joaquim Chissano).

Figure 1 shows the constant interaction and changing dynamics of power. Even though coercion and consent are illustrated as the largest dominant factors, history has shown that attraction can be just as compulsive and a determinant of the former two factors. The United States’ World War II coercive (military) might resulted in its attraction and therefore consensual power into becoming a global hegemon. Life’s everchanging dynamics and unpredictability can also influence the most controlled states into a position of submission or sudden found optimism. Mozambique’s natural gas deposits have exposed the country to large revenue possibilities that can uplift it from a shadow state to a recognised power actor.
The observant Southern African paradigm involves consent, attraction and life as material coercion economically and/or militarily is wanting on all states.

Clarifying the found Southern African power dynamics and hierarchy, allows for a smooth transition into identifying and interrogating the Postcolonial position of the region and how it can be overcome.

Figure 1. Holistic view of Hegemony.

Source: Antoniades (2008)
Table 1. Four dimensions of Hegemony.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coercion</th>
<th>Consent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is a clear hegemon, in terms of an actor (most times a state) that wields overwhelming power. The concepts of the hegemon and hegemony overlap (or are used interchangeably).</td>
<td>There is a clear hegemon – usually the 'ruling class' or a state. The concepts of the hegemon and hegemony overlap but are not synonymous. The term hegemony is most appropriate because the focus is not on what the hegemon is (e.g., her status in terms of military and economic power) but on what hegemony is. In this regard, the hegemon may behave in ways that increase its power/capabilities but undermine its hegemony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a clear pair of actors, the hegemon and the 'others', that is connected through the use of power by the hegemon over the rest of the actors. One-dimension use of power. Hegemony is based on coercion and material power. Thus power refers mostly to material capabilities, is used instrumentally, and operates ‘top-down’.</td>
<td>There is a clear pair of actors, the hegemon and the 'others', that is connected through the use of power by the hegemon over the rest of the actors. Third-dimension use of power. Hegemony is based on consent, and it is defined in terms of the hegemon's capacity to transform its interest into commonsense. Power refers to the capacity of influencing other actors' self-understanding and values. It is used instrumentally, and operates ‘top-down’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The existence and reproduction of the hegemon (and its hegemony) depends on its ability to maintain its advantage and primacy in terms of material power and capabilities.</td>
<td>The existence and reproduction of hegemony depends on the ability of the hegemon to persuade the other members of the system about the appropriateness and desirability of its values and preferences and the legitimacy of its actions.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attraction</th>
<th>Life</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is a powerful state, or group of states, that wields decisive power. Yet it does not aim to dominate in the international system. By its nature, it can co-exist with other powerful actors. The concepts of the hegemon and hegemony overlap.</td>
<td>There is no hegemon; no core, head, or centre of hegemony. The concepts of the hegemon (in terms of an actor that wields overwhelming power) and hegemony do not overlap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is no clear pair of actors that remains connected through the use of power by one actor (the hegemon) over the rest of the actors. Third-dimension use of power. Hegemony is based on consent and co-opt ('power of attraction'). Power refers to the capacity of influencing other actor's self-understanding and values. Yet, power is not targeted to a specific audience, and the hegemony it generates can co-exist with other hegemonic projects.</td>
<td>There is no clear pair of actors that remains connected through the use of power by one actor (the hegemon) over the rest of the actors. Power is construed as bio-power, i.e., the power to produce subjects/subjectivities. It is diffused, decentralized and de-centralized, and operates from within the subjects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The existence and reproduction of hegemony depends on the ability of the hegemon to maintain its 'power of attraction'.</td>
<td>Hegemony is a condition of existence. There is no life beyond hegemony, but specific aspects of hegemony can be resisted and changed. Although it is influenced by her, hegemony does not depend on the existence of the hegemon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Antoniades (2008)
African Hegemony Research

Ogunnubi & Akinola (2017) article mentions South Africa as a hegemon but question its disposition. Like other articles that discuss hegemony in Africa this study uses a western interpretation or model of hegemony. Whilst most studies such as Chris Alden’s ‘South Africa’s symbolic hegemon’ (2015) do not attempt to look outside of the norms, this gap was addressed by scholars like Dustin Dehez (2008) and Sonia Le Gouriellec (2018) that proclaimed Ethiopia in an academic paper as a consideration of a hegemon. Both articles ask pertinent questions about Africa’s hegemonic status with relevance to context and meaning. What Dehez refers to as African Hegemony, questioning its legitimacy and distinction. Dehez and Whilst their arguments are in the context of East Africa and Africa as a whole, albeit certain similar perspectives this experiment looks at the Southern African site. The further opportunity identified for this study is in line with Dehez’s (2008) questioning of hegemonic polarity. This is to say that the study is not an attempt to counter South Africa’s hegemony but to offer alternative considerations of power politics in the region.

2.1.5 Theories of Hegemony and Power

Instead of approaching the arguments of Southern Africa’s power politics from a regional integration angle; the literature presented an opportunity to direct the research towards a hegemonic viewpoint. Andreas Antoniades (2008) director at the centre for global political studies at the University of Sussex, reflects that despite the centrality of hegemony the concept lacks structural analyses. Antoniades (2008) states the re-emergence of particularistic hegemony discussions post 911, that remained traditional. Ideas such as benign, manign hegemonies surfaced which included more states and ideas of hegemony in International Relations discussions. John Mearsheimer (2016) rebukes the notion that International Relations theories are too American-centric. He refutes the notion that American topics dominate academic discourse but that these trending topics are issues that all global scholars care about. The domination he contends is in the American and Anglo-Saxon methods and models of analysis generally used in academia. The three key theories in International Relations; realism, liberalism and constructivism are tied to American scholarship and the most eminent scholars stem from British institutions (Mearsheimer, 2016). This soft cultural dominance is a form of benign hegemony. Mearsheimer’s proposition of a global need to refine and own frameworks of understanding informs this study.

Africa is usually playing catch up in International Relations, western-centric trends are commonly instinctively carried over. Although discussions about hegemony began to emerge in African academic
works, the application of the term remained constrained to conventional believes. Antoniades (2008) presents four approaches of understanding hegemony, that offer starting points for expansion:

Conventional - a condition of disequilibrium of power in the international system, in which one state becomes so powerful that can exercise leadership in or dominance over the international system.

Neoliberal - The neorealist ‘Hegemonic stability theory’ and its advocates, support an open and liberal world economy that requires a hegemonic or dominant power which provides public goods that sustain the international system.

Gramscian – There are two types of political control: domination that is based on coercion and hegemony which is based on consent. Hegemony to Gramsci signifies the process through which the leading group / ruling class of a society transforms its own interests and values into ‘common sense’ for all the members of this society.

Radical - Inspired by post-structuralism, they do not locate the subject of hegemony in any powerful state or group of states, or factor of production, but directly at the level of the individual.

All of which he argues limit the epistemology of hegemony by being IR theory based alone; this study is inspired by the Gramscian approach which calls for a wider spectrum of hegemony but is not grounded on any of the above to not limit the analysis. This study would therefore be best placed as an Agential approach of hegemony, examining the different forms of power that a hegemony can be built on.

Max Weber (1922) defined power as the ability to exercise one’s will over others classified power. He elaborated that power affects all stratospheres of life making it a key point to consider in any discussion of interaction, systems and structures. According to Weber governmental power transcends national borders to the ability to influence international spaces. Whilst power depicts the ability to influence others, authority (which is what hegemony constitutes) is accepted power. Authority according to Weber is power that people agree to follow. He classified three types of authority;

- Traditional – Accepted by historical customs. A long-standing tradition of its authority. For example, chieftaincies
- Charismatic – The personal qualities of the individual compel people to consent. For example, Barack Obama.
- Legal-rational – Legitimated through codification. It is institutionalised power. For example, The United Nations

Weber’s ideas of power and authority set the foundation to the study’s interrogation of power interactions in Southern Africa.
The study is also inspired by Gramsci’s ideas of hegemony and the neoliberal approach neglecting realist ideas of power. Foucault searched for “elaborations of power by challenging the epistemology and ontology of local knowledge which reveals alternative considerations” (Crampton & Elden, 2007). Foucault’s questioning of power, begs the question of who has power? In response to Foucault, Jean-Michel Brabant expressed that political power is not always real power. Historically power has belonged to those who hold the fundamentals of production. This viewpoint ties along with Robert Kaplan and Shirley Jacksons references that a country’s natural power is connected to its strategic geography, which constitutes fundamentals of production that is natural resources.

According to John Allen (2016) Foucault’s account of power as “not unidimensional, accommodative of all entities exercising and being subject to power” opens the spectrum of power actors. Power can be subtle as much as coercive, nevertheless its topological frame still qualifies it as power. Allen (2016) sustains that quiet power can be more insidious as the true nature of a relationship can go by unrecognized, making the subsidiary entity consenting. Based on these accounts of power, one can examine the actual dynamics of Southern Africa’s state of affairs.

2.1.6 Mozambique historical and contemporary data

The study inquiry emerged from a visit to the National port and railway museum in Mozambique. This visit revealed a plethora of literature on the domestic railway company’s significance to the country and region dating back to the colonial era; given that its main purpose was to service colonial commodity trading from the interior to abroad. Malyn Newitt (1981 & 1995) reinforces Alfredo Lima’s (1971) paper which outlines a detailed history of Mozambique’s strategic position and ports & railway infrastructure to reveal how its history forms part of its neighbour’s history. Lima’s expose’ shows how the ports and railways infrastructure has historically connected Mozambique to its neighbours, at times determining foreign policies and cooperation. Additionally; Jamine (2009), Davies (2008) papers identify the role of Mozambique’s rail network to the Southern African region without expanding on its international relations significance and purpose. This proposal attempts to build onto this gap and analyse other key strengths that support contestation.

2.1.7 Foreign Policy support

Foreign policy lists classifications that impact a country’s role in the international system. Whilst the economy and military are of significance there are not the only factors that give importance to a country’s foreign policy (Smith & Dunne, 2008). To that point other factors such as natural relevance that offer longevity (Jackson, 2018) which can be seen to override economic\military might which are
periodic, that is; Iran has historically been classified as a middle eastern powerhouse due to its natural relevance. There are other ways to achieve leverage and register presence over others (Allen, 2016).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Neoliberalism

Of all the available theories, this section interrogates why Neoliberalism is the most applicable international relations theory out of all the others. Table 2 shows the classical International Relations Theories. The table helps to argue why of all the theories, Neoliberalism that is a derivative of Liberalism is the applicable International Relations theory for the thesis of this report. Comparative advantage, self-determination of the state, gradual evolution and other liberal ideas are all notions that are being tested and analysed in this body of work.

Table 2. Paradigms of International Relations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>REALISM</th>
<th>IDEALISM</th>
<th>LIBERALISM</th>
<th>HISTORICAL STRUCTURALISM</th>
<th>CRITICAL THEORY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>‘What is’; History; Status Quo.</td>
<td>‘What ought to be’; Alter status quo.</td>
<td>Freedom (Political and Economic); Gradual evolution of status quo.</td>
<td>Exploitation</td>
<td>Includes: Feminism; Race &amp; Ethnicity; Green Perspectives; Postmodernism; Etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumptions</td>
<td>Belief in universals: Self-Interest; Power. Order is desirable.</td>
<td>An objective understanding of morality is possible and worth striving for (international law); Unless the existing order is just, change is warranted.</td>
<td>Comparative Advantage (we all have something to offer); Principle of Self-determination.</td>
<td>Limited global wealth; individual workers (proletariat) and LDCs are poor due to the exploitative behavior of elites (bourgeois).</td>
<td>May alter all other perspectives on IR theory and practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solutions</td>
<td>Balance of Power; State Sovereignty.</td>
<td>Philosopher Kings (Plato); International Cooperation; International Law; Trans-national solutions.</td>
<td>Free Market; Bretton Woods Institutions: IMF, WB, WTO.</td>
<td>Revolution; UNCTAD and other UN General Assembly aims; NIEO demands.</td>
<td>Education; Policy Change; Methodological Change.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Christopher LaMonica (2010)

Neoliberalism supports the Postcolonial selection for the theoretical framework. If the world is in a Western dictated Neoliberal order and Africa continues to be colonially dependent, then its Postcolonialism can only be of a Neoliberal nature.
The irony of Neoliberalism as the applicable theory to describe the region (and continent) is that it is also the hegemonic global ideology. Whilst this study questions the contextualisation of hegemony, it is premised on western ideas. Neoliberalism overwhelmingly informs the global understandings of international relations and state functions. Neoliberalism eschews coercion as a limited mechanism for alliance. As an ideology and policy model that espouses free markets and non-intervention, its endorsement of a dominant material power would be duplicitous. Keeping the above in mind Neoliberalism does support a benevolent form of hegemony. The theory conveys that the hegemon uses consensual power not material coercion to influence and achieve desired results in an international system. Issa Shivji (2019) describes hegemony as ‘the voluntary acceptance of an ideology’. In his address he describes how Neoliberalism is founded on fictitious commodities, privatisation and (as Gramsci described) perpetuation of its normalisation. Whilst hegemony is not only an ideology, it is also a structure and practice that in modern times maintains its relevance under the patronage of Neoliberalism. Shivji (2019) challenges the normalisation of Neoliberal and hegemonic ideas, an approach that he refers to as counter-hegemony. Adam Habib (2019) shares this notion of developing counter-hegemons to challenge hegemonic ideas. Neither of them refutes hegemony and Neoliberalism as the global standard operating systems (SOP) of international relations.

Post-colonial Africa saw the end of alternative ideologies such as communism and the standardisation of Neoliberalism. This has especially been the case in Southern Africa that saw two previously socialist states transform into liberal followers. There are several reasons for this but for relevance purposes, the influence of the hegemonic regional state being Neoliberal and advancing those requirements for cooperation plays a huge role. The alteration of these states is as Shivji (2019) points out a voluntary acceptance of ideology and the hegemons influence.

Neoliberalism as the SOP of Southern Africa is evident in its umbrella organisation the Southern African Development Community. The policies and agreements espoused by this organisation are not only advised by global international organisations but are also under the jurisdiction of the African Union which advocates Neoliberal beliefs. The neoliberal policies found in SADC give credibility to the western interpretations of authority in the region. The SADC Treaty of 1992 enshrines the SADC common agenda which stipulates policies and strategies that are Neoliberal.

Whilst Realists see the nature of “international relations as a power struggle amongst nations to maximise their interests” (Yilmaz, 2010). This is not the post 1994 situation of Southern Africa. Tones of Ubuntuism and Mfecane (brotherhood and cohesion) are more evident than struggles for power.
This supports the case of describing Southern Africa’s international relations position as one of Neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism’s emergence in Southern Africa was established post-independence in conjunction with democracy. Democracy was laid out as the dominant form of governance. With that governmental system African countries had to adopt liberal and capitalist systems to gain legitimacy in the global community. The adaptation of liberalism and capitalism was also a prerequisite for Western Aid and support that came in the form of social and economic programs known as Structural Adjustment Programs. The Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that accompanied the ideology resulted in under development and poverty as observed by plethora of development experts including Gilbert Rist (1997) and Asad Ismi (2004). As Ismi (2004) conveyed structural adjustment programs covered more domestic areas not just trade and market policies. The below graph shows the spread of donor fund coverage. This coverage evidently leaves little room for agency and Western non-interference.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2.1.5. Sectors in 2014</th>
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<tr>
<td>commitments</td>
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<tr>
<th>0%</th>
<th>10%</th>
<th>20%</th>
<th>30%</th>
<th>40%</th>
<th>50%</th>
<th>60%</th>
<th>70%</th>
<th>80%</th>
<th>90%</th>
<th>100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Production</td>
<td>Multisector</td>
<td>General Programme Aid</td>
<td>Debt</td>
<td>Humanitarian</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OECD-ODA

This meant that most areas of African governance including foreign policy became instructed by the Washington consensus institutions and their affiliates. This not only created a dependency on donor funds but also on their expertise. Drawing from Immanuel Wallerstein’s World Systems Theory (2004), the western expertise and funds come in accordance to western expectations which benefits the core countries and perpetuates Post colonialism. Imperialism did not require the physical presence of the core countries like colonialism did. By maintaining central posts of power that embody and represent the core countries, imperialism and its benefits to the West are maintained. By making alternative ideologies unfeasible, Neoliberalism remains the only viable solution for African states to function. To quote Ian Clark (2011) “Neoliberalism presents itself as non-negotiable”. Through the
advancement of regional integration that requires states to conform to Neoliberal policies, the
neighbouring regional states by reflex beat to the drum of the Neoliberal hegemonic actor. This to say
that Neoliberalism requires a hegemon to maintain the ideology which has Neo-colonial benefits. This
nuance helps to explain why Africa’s Anglo colonial centres of power perpetuate.

A key shortcoming that international relations theories have is that they were developed in a time when
Africa was completely removed from international politics. This was not just because the space was
ignored but the space had western representatives that accounted for it. African international politics
were part of the international politics of the former colonial powers. Neoliberalism can be seen as
another theory that was developed to explain, advance and enhance western ideas. To reverberate
Chipaike & Knowledge (2018) the same way that Dependency theories placed Africa in a periphery
zone, so too did international relations. The relations within and between Africa and the world was set
by colonial perspectives and through being indoctrinated perpetuate as Neo-Post colonialism. “The
solution, according to Ayoob (2002) is to develop IR theories that take into consideration the peculiar
reality of developing states” (Chipaike & Knowledge, 2018)

Therefore, understanding the power trappings of prescriptive hegemons in Africa can lead to true
emancipation. Whereas Neoliberalism explains the ideology that the international Southern African
system is broadly operating on, the available theory that comprehensively describes the regions power
dynamics and hierarchy is discussed below.

2.2.2 Hegemonic Stability Theory

This is the main and most suitable theory applicable to Southern Africa as this section elaborates on.
The theory proposes that the stability of the international system is maintained by a single leadership,
the hegemon, who provides collective goods for the entire system (Min, 2003). In Southern Africa,
South Africa is the obvious hegemonic state that emerges (Habib, 2009). It is a centre of trade,
economically and military strong and sets a cultural lead as well. South Africa’s position in the region
is not in contestation in this study. Alternatively, in alignment with Dehez’s (2008) questioning of
polarity in East Africa, South Africa’s unipolar position as the only regional stability provider requires
further analyses. This study is therefore not a critique of the rationality of hegemonic stability theory,
but it does question the viability of a single hegemonic standing that the theory prescribes.

The question of hegemony as the contributions of Vusi Gumede (2017) stipulate is in contestation in
Africa. This is not only assigned to influential shortcomings on the global scale but also to the
geography of development of the continent. Other regions have clear power players that have global
influence and positioning for instance China and India. Africa on the other hand is only able to have an impact when it works in cohesion. This consensual and coercive ability was demonstrated during the Doha trade talks that collapsed (WTO.org, 2003) as a result of Africa’s strong counter position. The gap of a singular influential force signifies the lack of a definitive continental power player. Africa is the continent with the most countries in it, many of these countries are geographically blessed containing various resources and oceanic access points. This means that despite their current economic situations, many of these countries have the potential to not only be self-sufficient but also stabilising actors. This potential deflates Adam Habib’s argument of an obvious dominant actor and the dependency on a single state to sustainably exist.

Collective goods refer to common interests and the stability theory advocates for economic liberalization and stability aimed at raising absolute levels of welfare (Webb & Krasner, 1989). Webb and Krasner (1989) explain that international economic openness and stability is attained when there is a single dominant state. Min (2003) argues that as much as hegemons stabilise a system, there are reliant on the support and consensus of middle powers. Middle powers can destabilize a system when they default on their role (Cox, 1989). This acknowledgement by Robert Cox presents an ambiguity to the iterations of a single dominant state stabilizing the system. This complexity resonates well with the Southern African situation because whilst the idea of stabilizing leadership applies, the question of Uni-Polarism can also be contested. Given this dilemma, the study proposes the case of Mozambique as an obscured stabilising force in the region.

Out of the many variations of hegemonic stability theory the study identifies the benevolent perspective as the most compatible theory to analyse the Southern region. The Benevolent hegemon is a derivative of hegemonic stability theory, which argues for a hegemonic power that assumes the responsibility of maintaining the international system (Min, 2003). This hegemon provides public goods (collective goods) that stabilise other states in the system. Without this hegemon the system becomes unstable and collapses (Min, 2003). This global role is assumed by the United States of America, however being that Africa is a poor region, one state cannot sufficiently provide all the public goods that stabilise an international system. This has resulted in a strong interdependence of economic and cultural goods to sustain each other. This interdependence naturally has “free riders” (Kindleberger, 1986) but simultaneously will have states that provide more. It is these provisions and the relations that result from them, that the study too interrogates. Through this interrogation other power actors or as Min refers to them ‘middle powers’ begin to emerge.
One must ask what then makes a state a benevolent hegemon? Kindleberger (1986) uses the term benevolent to separate it from an aggressive, dominance seeking actor; benevolence refers to the states use of power for an international collective good that otherwise would result in chaos. He uses the great depression period as an example of how the absence of a hegemon resulted in chaos. Building on Kindleberger’s (1986) example, it can be argued that Africa’s conflict perpetuity is a result of the absence of a definitive hegemon that stabilises the region. This argument becomes stronger when one considers the nature of the Southern Africa international system that contains a definitive hegemon and supporting actors.

Benevolent hegemony is not only practiced using consent and charm. It can be achieved in a coercive manner too. The difference between benevolent hegemony and realist hegemony is in the motive and perpetuation of the hegemony. The apartheid government hegemonic advances of South Africa were realist because not only was the government forcing its power over its neighbours, it was also seeking the perpetuation of coercive fear from the region. This differs significantly from the Nguni historical theory known as Mfecane. Mfecane recognises the amalgamation - through occupation or consensus - of groups by stronger kingdoms for the purpose of creating larger hegemonic societies (Gumede, 2015). An example of this was the Zulu Kingdom amassment. Although the method was mostly antagonistic and coercive, the motive and perpetuation were for a greater good of all amassed communities. In contemporary Southern Africa there isn’t an antagonistic power actor. Regional integration promotes a benign leadership that is currently played by South Africa.

South Africa’s role in the region comes in the impact that it has on foreign investment. Many of its local retail, banks and services companies have expanded into neighbouring states. The likes of Shoprite, Spar, ABSA, Stanbic, Hollard and Mutual & Federal. Whilst the country’s outward investment has been mostly directed towards the Southern African community, the bulk of it has been towards Mauritius (Draper, Kiratu & Samuel, 2010).
The above table shows the large percentile share difference between South Africa’s investment in Southern Africa and Mauritius. The larger the financial input that a country makes towards another, the more influence that country has in the other’s policies and decision making. The above table shows that whilst South Africa contributes to the economic stability of its neighbours, other than Mauritius it is not as impactful as commonly perceived, even to a country within its borders – Lesotho.

Global investment is centralised in South Africa and use the country as an operational base to reach into its neighbours. To be in position to do business with these investors and capitalise from SADC regional integration, the former socialist countries all had to adjust to be liberal economies.

In addition to providing foreign direct investment South Africa also provides a base exchange rate which creates some fiscal order for the region. All Southern African countries accept the Rand as a currency of exchange but except for immediate neighbour border towns will not accept each other’s currencies. The above three factors have made South Africa a facilitator of regional liberalism which Gilpin (2001) stipulates is a key assumption of the hegemonic stability theory.

Whilst South Africa may be the most prominent state providing public goods to the neighbourhood it is not fully dependable and its influence is not dominant. This study analyses this situation by arguing that because many of its neighbours are in strong positions its stabilising capability is embellished. This embellishment is illustrated by the current Zimbabwean crisis, where South Africa has failed to meaningfully make a difference in the political crisis that has resulted into a socio-economic crisis. This inability to coercively influence cannot only be attributed to physical capability but regional
political factors as well; 1) South African political leadership see Zimbabwean leadership as elder figures 2) South Africa has the complexity of its antagonistic apartheid image with which the current government is making efforts to escape.

However, to use Sandra Destradi’s (2010) description; a system whereby the predominant state’s stabilising energy leads to advantages for all is said to be a benevolent system. The SADC’s 1992 treaty preamble which highlights;

- **Conscious** of our duty to promote the interdependence and integration of our national economies for the harmonious, balanced and equitable development of the Region;
- **Dedicated** to secure, by concerted action, international understanding, support and cooperation;
- **Recognising** that, in an increasingly interdependent world, mutual understanding, good neighbourliness, and meaningful co-operation among the countries of the Region are indispensable to the realisation of these ideals;

(SADC.int, 2012)

Entails all member states to act neighbourly and co-operatively. These declarations of partnership counter the idea of hegemony in its traditional sense, which leaves benevolent-benign hegemony as the default position of influence.

Southern Africa can be categorised to be in a benevolent hegemonic position because since the early 90’s, its power actors have not used their influence to aggressively dominate but rather to enhance cooperation for a common good. Previously Zimbabwe sought to use its dominance to annex beneficial parts of Mozambique and South Africa used its might to control and dictate a liberal ideology on its neighbours. Since the end of apartheid in 1994, Southern Africa has relatively been the most peaceful African community in the continent (Abey, 2018).

**2.2.3 Post Colonialism**

The objective of the study is to domesticate the understanding of hegemony to then re-evaluate the realities of the power dynamics of the Southern African region. This shift from the traditional and other notions of hegemony to a framework that fits Southern Africa is informed by Postcolonial theory. Postcolonialism was coined by Alfred Sauvy (Lutfi Hamadi, 2014). According to Edward Said (1978) it depicts a false reality of other worlds (he specifically refers to the East in his ‘Orientalism’ work) which are fabricated by the West. Hamadi (2014) defines Post colonialism as;

A literary theory, which traces European colonialism of many regions all over the world, its effects on various aspects of the lives of the colonized people in general, and its manifestations in Western literary and philosophical heritage.
Postcolonialism’s proponents; Frantz Fanon ‘the wretched of the earth’ (1961) in which he analyses the subjugated colonial identity, Gayatri Spivak’s ‘can the subaltern speak?’ (1988) that looks at the social functions of postcolonialism which she defines as essentialism and many more set the stage for discussions of agency which is the anti-thesis of Postcolonialism. Postcolonialism’s diversity incorporates it into the field of International Relations in its two different ways of understanding; Post-colonialism (P-C) as a geographical and historical period term and Postcolonialism (PC) as a critical theory that challenges western assumptions (Sharp, 2009). This study is centred around Postcolonialism but incorporates Post-Colonial ideas. The concept like the study draws on critical techniques of an interdisciplinary nature (Burney, 2012). Thereby post colonialism theory forms the backbone of this study’s purpose and supports its alterity inquiry. The hegemony ideas of this proposal are inspired by Gramsci that derived his theories from postcolonial thought.

In modern times Achille Mbembe has championed the restoration of African wholeness which he pens out in his popular on the post colony (2001) work (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007). He discusses the role of power in African societies from an internal perspective focusing on group formation and opposition. He argues that Africans have adopted to surviving within and through the legacies of colonial history. On the one hand this study and Mbembe’s outlook differ on the structural systems of discussion; on the other hand, both pieces critique the postcolonial nature of accepted phenomenon’s in Africa be it internal or on the international landscape. Mbembe’s work therefore contributes to this study by enriching the discourse on the operations of power in the postcolonial systems and spaces.

In Coloniality of Power Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) tackles the role of colonialism’s power which he describes as a global Neo-colonial hegemonic model that serves to satisfy the needs of capitalism intended to benefit the West. Likewise, this study reveals how the continued domination of western centric international theories such as that of hegemony reflect and serve western interests.

Post-Colonialism as a geographic and historical period term has a genesis in the liberation years after the years of colonialism, this would be from the 1960s and beyond. Ali Mazrui (1963) presented two schools of African history that debate the impacts of colonialism, namely:

The Epic school comprises of philosophers such as Frantz Fanon, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni. It emphasises the revolutionary if not the civilizational transformation that was introduced to Africa by colonial encounters and colonialism. It highlights how Africa was forced into 1) capitalist world economy through resource exploitation 2) Territorial occupation 3) Incorporation into the international state system 4) Assimilation into world culture that included language and literature 5) The imposition into International law and lastly inclusion into the technological world which facilitated its acceleration into the capitalist economy with the liberal banking money wiring system. All of these, umbrella into the westernization of Africa, which also affected how African regions view each other. (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015)
The Episodic school developed by JF Ade Ajayi as a counter movement to the epic school. It is founded on the historical discipline and sought to debunk recognised accounts of African history. Its central thesis is that European impact on Africa was not profound. It depicts colonialism as a brief disruption. Africans continued to make their own history and to invent themselves as a people with agency. (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015).

Post-Colonialism is a theory within the episodic school and applies to this study because it defines the period boundary that the paper analyses. As a contemporary analysis, the study concentrates on the end of physical colonialization. The geography in this sense relates to the African Southern African space with a prioritisation on the case study state: Mozambique. Although Mudimbe (2012) and Zeleza (2006) argue that Africa is a construction geographically, historically, culturally and representationally. These arguments are centred around the meanings and essentialisms of these factors. African states as has been established by many philosophers are constructs. Their boundaries, people, languages, religion and other forms of identity are conceptions of global powers. As persuasive as these arguments are and should be considered in any work that involves Africana studies, for this study existent physical territories post 1960 will be assessed as states.

“Geography is very important to Postcolonialism” (Sharp, 2009). Colonialism was practiced in spaces and its debunking must therefore occur in those spaces. These spaces are typically geographical, as different regions experienced different practices. Southern Africa is a geographical space that was subjected to colonialism and continues to be described in Post-colonial ways. The study interrogates this space in a postcolonial manner to reveal historical and present features that alter the understanding of hegemony as it relates to the region.

Africa has been described as economically and technologically underdeveloped with traditional mindsets that limits it from utopian ideas. Whilst this generalisation applies to most African spaces, it does not exempt African scholarship from adopting western literature as standard. This study argues that our level of development should reflect our ideologies and practices. This argument presents a case for the domestication of hegemony to reflect African realities and dynamics.

Another school of thought worth noting is that of postcolonial criticism to triangulate, balance and qualify the applicability of the theory in this study. This line of inquiry is not popular in academia and literacy because it is seen as a tactic to preserve the authority of the west. However, it presents an opportunity to qualify a thesis beyond normative interpretations. Criticism of Postcolonialism asserts it as simplistic, overzealous and derelict (Chowdhry & Nair, 2004) which minimises the mobilisation of explanatory ideas and discounts the greater humanity and integration brought about by empires. Postcolonialism to debunkers sets a stereotype of western masters, othering the so-called subjects.
(Chowdhry & Nair, 2004). This study analyses these notions by offering counter arguments of how ideas are minimalized when global affairs are constrained to a unidimensional paradigm.

Whilst this study’s main subject is hegemony, its hegemony premise is agential hegemony. Gramsci became the most eminent hegemon theoretician with his vast literary work whilst he was imprisoned in Italy. Gramsci’s work inspired future interpretations of hegemony that Antoniades (2008) categorized into four approaches explained earlier. This study uses the Agential framework that considers different forms of power that a hegemon can be grounded on, given the nature of this examination.

This study centres more around the Epic ideas of colonialism which incorporates political economy ideas. The study’s aim of domesticating the understandings of hegemony is a response to the Postcolonial discussions of a restoration of African wholeness.

African scholars have not readily embraced Postcolonial theory. This would be expected, given that African intelligencer were the machinery behind anticolonialism. Although African scholars were the initiators of PC scholarship as mentioned above Frantz Fanon, WEB DuBois and so forth, as explained earlier it only gained momentum when it was incorporated by western institutions and academia (Zeleza, 2006). It is this selective acceptance that infuriates African scholars. Quite an ironic situation. This distaste though does not nullify the arguments made about Postcolonial realities. Its meanings are also disputed by those that accept the theory (Zeleza, 2006). This study relies on Hamadi’s (2004) definition.

Mbembe (2001) argues that Africans have adopted to surviving within and through the legacies of colonial history. Adam Habib (2017) says that because of this acceptance, African people have not pushed on maximising their leverage. This he notes is because African leverages are not being adequately identified. This identification will come about with an advanced understanding of power in the continent and internationally.

Despite the formal end of colonial direct control into Africa, colonial structures continue to characterize modern power relations in global politics (Wilkens, 2017). The scholarship that informs global politics is premised on western notions and interpretations. Philosophers like Hans Morgenthau (1985) and Kenneth Waltz (1979) expressed that a history and international politics that references the subaltern spaces which includes Africa would be absurd. Chipaike & Knowledge (2018) proclaim these statements to mean that African issues and their international politics are inconsequential to the discipline. The attitudes of the former philosophers and the deficiency of recognised African concepts not only perpetuates this reality but also reinforces Postcolonialism. The lack of prioritisation in
expanding African knowledge to develop theories will perpetuate the reliance on western theories to explain and examine its own environment. The Liberal ideology and English language hegemony that is used to explain the world finds itself even in African theories which are thought to be free of colonial influence like Ubuntu. Homi Bhabha (1994) reflects on how language is used as a tool of colonization that Postcolonialism exposes. He calls this phenomenon ‘acculturation of the other’. It expands beyond communicating in English to indoctrinating the native into a sense of accepted customary norms that involves thought. The colonialization of the consciousness. Frantz Fanon acknowledges this phenomenon by stating that writing and speaking in another language, supports and assumes the others’ culture (Napolin, 2014).

The current African international politics makes it inevitable to discount Neo-colonialism “the economic and political policies by which a great power indirectly maintains or extends its influence over other areas or people” (Merriam Webster, 2019) from Postcolonial discussions. This is because as Kwame Nkrumah captured in 1961; Africa is continually dependent on its former colonial masters (Wilkens, 2017). The situation that African countries find themselves in, whether it be emerging or developing is based on their Western relations. This study examines the characteristics of the regional power relations as an alternative form of understanding African international politics.

Hegemony from a Gramscian Marxist perspective and Dependency theories refocused attention on Africa’s exploitative situation, but as Chipaike & Knowledge (2018) mention; still as a periphery prey structure outside of the emphasis of global political influence. This re-emphasizes that African international dialogue and relations remains subaltern, in need of focus and prioritisation. By doing this, its dynamics and realities (echoing Adam Habib) will be better understood and leveraged.

African agency has been demonstrated more prominently in recent times. From multilateral intergovernmental negotiations like the DOHA rounds collapsing due to a lack of consensus from the Southern hemisphere. Culminating in bilateral intra-regional negotiations that advance African socio-political interests only. A notable example was the SADC anti human trafficking campaign that was aimed at reducing the alarming trafficking figures from the region. This intra-regional agreement was inspired by the upliftment and recognition of the African life which is the main objective of African agency. These displays of agency are proof that African international politics matter and make a difference to international relations.

Since Postcolonial thought is about questioning the modalities and understandings of imperial episteme (Go, 2016), seeking alternatives is the next step in the interrogation ladder.
2.2.4.1 Manifestations of Post colonialism in Hegemonic Theory

Who says Postcolonial? Paul Fry asks (2009) The assumption that a physical move away equates an end of colonialism needs to be considered. Postcolonial thought emerged in a first wave of anticcolonial literature which included Frantz Fanon, WEB DuBois, Amilcar Cabral and Aime’ Césaire (Go, 2016). The second wave that gave rise to its academic qualification was introduced by Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak and Dipesh Chakrabarty. These literary works formed the basis of anticolonial\Postcolonial studies of the 20th Century. From these works’ variations of Postcolonialism emerged that involve periodic, space, politico-economy and perception considerations. The plasticity of this theory makes it a universally applicable one, that can be used to explain relations and interactions in all the social sciences. For this study Post Colonialism is examined in the international relations field and specifically against norms of hegemony in the Southern African context.

2.2.4 Geopolitical Theory

Geopolitics is an independent field of strategic analysis. A combination of geography, states, civilizations and economics. It expands beyond International relations by going beyond state relations (Dugin, 2019). The center of geopolitics is territorial space. This study looked at the Southern African territorial space at state level as a measure of hegemony. Whilst there are other spatial features to geopolitics, the focus in this case is mainly that of land geography that includes topography and transportation. Human geography plays a role as it pertains to politics and population size, but the physical factors are the main contestation elements.

The foundations of geopolitics are found in human geography, the former was coined by Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904). At the same time Ratzel also developed political geography that investigates the relations between the state (institution) and territory. Both Ratzel’s and Rudolf Kjellen’s (1864-1922) ideas of geopolitics are relevant as foundations for the operational use of the term in this study. Kjellen saw the state as an organic structure that has natural interactions to the earth. Even though Kjellen coined his ideas as Geopolitics. The discipline was only established in the 20th century by British proponent Halford Mackinder. Mackinder used geopolitics to explain Britain’s imperial strategy during its hegemonic era. Dugin (2018) clarifies that Geopolitics was a western intended theory to explain western geostrategies of the time. This alone nurture’s the curiosity to contextualize geopolitics to explain African strategies and dynamics. Mackinder’s Geopolitical phenomenon described the significance of Land power that he assigned to the heartland. The heartland he identified as the central space of the planet between Eastern Europe, the Arab Emirates and Oriental Asia. Mackinder also referenced Rimland - the coastal space between the sea and land – and Sea power and as factors for
dominance (Dugin, 2018). All three powers have a centrality in history. The latter two are constant whilst the former shifts. These three powers will serve to interrogate the Southern African power dynamics based on energy and transport. These sectors incorporate Land, the Rimland and Sea power. According to Mackinder, these sources of power have historically been used to contest power. However, in consensus with Nicholas Spykman (1893-1943), to Mackinder the Rimland is the most significant space to control. Whereby in Mackinder’s explanation the rimland was a specific geographical location that lies beneath the heartland, the disintegration of empire and regional level of analysis makes the coastal space the rimland. The Rimland’s importance is what establishes the thesis for Mozambique as a candidate for hegemony in Southern Africa. Mozambique sits in a strategic space on the Southern African rim. This convenient positioning of the country avails it to be the gateway of commodities and energy transportation to its five inland neighbors. Robert Kaplan argues that the greater Indian ocean region, (which he refers to as the ‘Indian ocean prosperity sphere’ or ‘energy and trade interstate seaway’) will likely define global geopolitics in the foreseeable future. These arguments direct and support Mozambique’s strategic location in the region and its channel that flows into the greater energy and trade interstate seaway. Geopolitical historicism supports the viability of conducting an examination that distinctly uses land, rimland and sea factors as measures of contestation. An approach to African hegemony that exclusively looks at African Geopolitics is an overlooked field in global Geopolitical discourse.

Geopolitical scientist Robert D Kaplan in his ‘Geography and Power in 21st Century’ and ‘Center stage for the 21st Century 2009’ illustrates how International Relations is inclined to disregard a critical departure of the discipline, which is geography and how it impacts power. Stephen Kotkin highlights the significance of Geopolitics as the foundation and reason for International dynamics. In doing so Kotkin is encouraging the rebirth of geopolitical considerations to understand and explain the international realm better. Anita Veihe et al (2006) discuss the complex relation and affinity between geography and power with a hope that it continued to encourage debates on this subject. Heeding to such calls the world society foundation in Switzerland has published recent works on geopolitics. In ‘The return of Geopolitics’ Bergesen & Suter (2018) reflect that whilst geopolitics has re-emerged, there is also an opportunity to expand its meaning and considerations. They argue that Geopolitics in the traditional interpretations as espoused by Halford Mckinder, Friedrich Ratzel and Rudolf Kjellen’s can be extended to incorporate alternative or enhanced meanings. Simply put it is limited to the historical unipolarity of the globe. This gap can be addressed by assessing Geopolitics from the multipolar spheres of influence perspective just as it can be lengthened distinctly to continental
dynamics. This is not to suggest that continents function in isolation however, a narrowed focus broadens the understandings of continental realities.

### 2.2.5 Soft Power

Power is an ambiguous word that originally denotes strength but has evolved to also refer to a state (Wight, 1978). In international relations, power refers to coercive and consensual influence. According to Joseph Nye (1990) hard power refers to coercive military and/or economic power and soft power illustrates the ability to use appeal and attraction to influence outcomes. This study focuses on soft power because as stated earlier, African countries are comparatively deficient when it comes to hard power elements.

Power is discussed holistically in this study as a factor which in the literature questions its allocation and significance. Simultaneously power is the resource with which influence is derived from. In this manner power, specifically soft power is referenced as an international relations theory that enables the negotiation of hegemony.

Post Colonialism and Soft Power in this study are used to provide an emancipatory opportunity for African international relations scholarship as well as African power practices.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Description of study site

Southern Africa has various forms of classification depending on the context at hand. This study looks at the geographical consideration which consists of eleven countries on the southernmost part of Africa. Southern Africa is the most conflict stable (Institute for peace and security, 2017) and therefore economically stable region of the continent. This stability has led to major development and connectivity amongst its states. The study seeks to reveal the realities of that interconnectivity. The study contests the power structure of this sub-region. The case being studied in relation to this contestation is Mozambique. Mozambique is a traditional historic trading route outlet that sits in a pivotal strategic location in the sub-region. 28 years after conflict Mozambique has witnessed rapid growth and has become a key investment destination for major production companies like Sasol. These companies have an interest in furthering the development of pivotal infrastructure which in turn enhances the country’s regional significance (citation). Its strategic location has served the region since the Omani trading era from the 10th century (UNESCO, 2018), through colonialism, its two major wars and contemporary (Newitt, 1995). These two spaces are the study sites, with Mozambique as the primary site and Southern Africa as the secondary site.

3.2 Research Design

The political theory that underlies the study is Pluralism. Pluralism is the teaching of different approaches and schools of thought (Silverman, 2016). It is ideal for this study because it allows for the use of various tools to enrich and analyse the problem. The theory of methodology is interpretive. It generates theory about the social world in an inductive manner (Bryman, 2001). Whilst the traditional use of interpretive research is to generate theory it may also be used to test theory (Bryman, 2001). This study questions the theory of Hegemony and its direct suitability to Africa. This process constitutes the testing of theory. This Pragmatism dictated the methodology that was chosen for this study following Snape and Spencer’s (2003) point that the research method should fit the research questions to ensure coherent results. This study was conducted in a qualitative methodology because interrogating hegemony and Post Colonialism are subjective and difficult to quantify phenomena. The collection and method of analyses will both be qualitative. The type of qualitative research selected was a combination of phenomenological research to compare and combine findings from the study to determine current knowledge of a phenomenon. As well as grounded theory to explain, support and extend the hegemon theory that was generated in the study.
This study involves a case study as the research design which Bryman (2001) refers to as a framework for collection and analysis of data. A case study is an intensive study of a single case with the intention to highlight a larger group of cases (Gerring, 2007). It can also refer to an investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 2003). In this thesis both definitions apply as the country of investigation represents a larger possible class and its real-life context is being analysed. The conceptualization of hegemony is used to qualify the case. The typology of the study will be descriptive and explanatory. It relies on various forms of data collection which in turn required different analysis methods. The main source of data was obtained from documents with the other methods serving as secondary information. This permitted an enriched as well as triangulated information gathering.

3.3 Study Population and Sample Selection

The study focuses on interviews that initially target relevant ministries such as foreign relations, transport and infrastructure. The final respondents list was less ambitious then estimated but still includes individuals from key institutions and professions. These were 6 members from academia, all acting professors and within the fields of interest; History, International Relations and Economics. The other respondents were field professionals. One foreign ministry senior and the other also a senior at the Mozambican Ports and Railway company. The sample selection technique was snowball as each was referred to me by other people in their professions. The total number of respondents were 8 people.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

There is a short amount of available work on African hegemony, especially one’s that expand on the traditional interpretations. Given this reason, the study relied heavily on empirical research. The shortage of ready in similar pluralistic works on Africa required various forms of information gathering and uses of disciplines. The empirical data for this study was obtained through primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through fieldwork that included; expat interviews, face to face interviews and observation. The tools for collection were unstructured interviews and structured observation. Secondary data was obtained from documents such as journal articles, books, other studies and audio-visual materials.

3.5 Data Analysis Methods

A combination of qualitative methods namely, content analysis, grounded theory and case study will be used in an interpretative and pluralistic format to analyse gathered data. Content analysis was used to examine documented information including documentaries and interview transcripts
(Bryman, 2001). Grounded theory helped to deconstruct, explain and alter or build on the hegemon phenomenon (Silverman, 2016). Case study is an intensive study of a single case with the intention to highlight a larger group of cases (Gerring, 2007). Given that this study was purely qualitative and the analysis inductive. The data will be transcribed and read over several times for clear understanding. The data was then be coded to facilitate labelling of themes. The data gathered was triangulated for reliability purposes. Information gained from academic professionals was directly referenced for supportive or argumentative purposes.

3.6 Reliability and Validity

i. Triangulation - various empirical sources were examined for reliability purposes which can then be inferred to be valid.

ii. The researcher ensured that information obtained is from credible and authentic sources for all material.

iii. The researcher undertakes to store and keep sensitive information obtained in their own personal capacity and devices, secured with security codes.

3.7 Ethical Issues

i. Objectivity - The researcher is Mozambican and whilst this may invoke patriotic biases, the arguments are empirically tested for evidence and credibility. The research is not being sponsored or advocated by none other than the researcher themselves.

ii. Integrity – The researcher displayed honesty and consistency throughout the research process.

iii. Consent - All interviews conducted were fully consensual. Participants were given the option of anonymity.

iv. Originality – The ideas and thoughts presented in this study are the original work of the researcher and where borrowed the original work has been cited.

v. Legality – The study does not infringe on legal rules or boundaries as it is assumption based.

3.8 Limitations of Study

African states operate under the guise of diplomacy, in so doing concealing true sentiments towards neighbourly states’ which may affect the validity of relations claimed in the paper. Empirical research will aid in the revelation of contradictions.

Historical liberation dynamics may be the cause (or lack thereof) of economic relations and not necessarily strategic positioning which can dilute the argument of significance. As much of a limitation that it is, it also helps to support diplomatic impact argument.
Accessibility to government and industry figures that can provide primary perspectives and information to further enrich the research with answers to why question, that otherwise had to be relied on secondary empirical data.

Lack of available scientific data of similar studies conducted in the region and greater continent to build from. This shortness of information also denies the study an identical comparative point. Global comparisons were used for context building.
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The conception of African hegemonies suggests that there are differences in the way hegemonies work. Dustin Dehez (2008) questions this, asking if there is something specific about African hegemonies. Dehez (2008) identifies the gaps that African recognised hegemons lack which are present in global hegemons. Firstly, they are not leading their regions, they do not boost the neighbouring economies and do not set standards for the international cooperation system. The above three gaps and other identified elements presented in this study give the conception of African hegemony its distinction. This distinction allows for a further expansion into the hegemonic theory that Africa is operating on which this study argues to be the hegemonic stability theory. The hegemonic stability theory proposes that a hegemon is necessary to stabilise the international system through the provision of public goods. The western based theory offers qualifying elements that as Dehez (2008) points out are lacking in Africa. This alone opens the spectrum of possible qualifiers. This possibility is enabled by the reconceptualization of the workings of Hegemony in Africa.

In the 1940’s Gramsci changed the conceptual ideas previously assigned to hegemony. From leftist interpretations of political governing classes to modern explanations of superstructures. Hegemony is a concept that “originates from half a dozen inputs” (Boothman, 2008) with roots in Thucydides writings, Machiavellian thought and later Marxist literature. The former approached hegemonic thinking from a realist perspective focusing on the utility function of a state. Marxism then expanded the idea to social explanations of the imbalanced relationship between the different classes in the 18th and 19th century. This expanded account gave rise to the popular use of the idea in future literature that analysed and applied Marxist works. Gramsci’s contribution to the term not only further popularised it but significantly advanced a theoretical meaning of the term. That meaning became generalised as “dominance and leadership by force or consent” (Boothman, 2008). This understanding of hegemony exposed it to various uses in different fields to denote power over another (others). In contemporary discussions hegemony of religion, language, academia and more permeate which further contribute to its expansion as a concept.

Modern hegemony discussions question the original attachments of the term as evident in the work of Byoung Min (2003). The contextual re-evaluation of Western theories is emerging in modern Post-Colonial studies. It not only seeks to develop new theories but also to revise existing ones that they be more inclusive of previously unconsidered spaces. Questions of the objectives of states in hegemonic positions also need to be interrogated, the original realist understandings of antagonistic domination
are not always true. Stephen Krasner (1983) argued this in his International regimes’ literature. Beyond this view, there are states’ which are either not aware or shy from the recognition and pursuance of hegemony. These states’ need to be included in discourses of hegemonic power if this science is to be true. Following the teachings of J.S Mill (1982), academic inquiry needs to bring to the fore questions and knowledge that people choose to ignore. The studies purpose fits neatly into this exploration, questioning the contextual understanding and relevance of hegemony in the Southern African space.

This chapter examines the different theories of hegemony and International Relations theories which illustrate the relational dynamics of state interactions and patterns in the region. It discusses the rationales and gaps in the identified theories to assist in the understanding of a new framework for hegemony in Southern Africa. The chapter further explores the hegemonic model that helps to compartmentalise the Southern African state of affairs.

4.2 Contextualising Hegemony to the Region

Hegemony as mentioned earlier is an early civilisation historical principle. Southern Africa’s predominant group of people are the Bantu with many of them being Nguni. Bantu’s are a sub-Saharan people comprised of several indigenous groups that originated from Central West Africa. The Nguni’s are a subgroup of the Bantu people mainly found in Southern Africa. These people speak closely related bantu languages that share generic words. Modern International Relations labelled the principle in accordance to Greek philosophy, but since the beginning of time power hierarchies and influence the world over have always existed. The Southern African adjective ‘Amandla’ means power or strength, but it is derived from its nouns ‘Sinamandla’ ‘Anamandla’ ‘Enamandla’ and other similar expressions that mean powerful. The New Encyclopaedia affirms that Bantu’s are an ancient group of African people and if they had a word that illustrated greater power over others than one can conclude that hegemony was in existence then too. Ayele Bekerie (2017) contends that the “conception of African history ought to be informed by a thorough understanding of the cultures” and their interactions with one another will reveal their power relations and manifestations. The docuseries Africa’s Great Civilisations exposes some of these cultural interactions and their scrambles for power. Destradi (2010) asserts that the conceptualisation of regional hegemonies is flawed. Their motives, capabilities and qualifying features are romanticised to fit Neoliberal ideals. For example, South Africa’s hegemony is described by Maxi Schoeman (2003) as a stabilising authority (accepted leadership). Its position of leadership is one of integration and benevolence. Some will go as far as saying that South Africa shies away from the role, to imply that it is an imposition. This could not be further from the true, shyness can be a strategy. Leaders such as Yoweri Museveni from Uganda, Paul...
Kagame from Rwanda and Pierre Nkurunziza from Burundi all adopt this strategy of unwillingness but imposed upon leadership. Whereby the study supports Destradi’s (2013) argument of a flawed African conceptualisation of hegemony, its only focus is on the elements that should qualify a state. In accordance with Henry Louis Gates (2017) retracing African steps to the early civilisation periods reveals a lot of African elements that are otherwise undermined by hegemonic western literacy. Africa’s great civilisations is an educational docuseries that looks at realities of African history. Amongst other discoveries it retraces early African trade routes, trade markets and empires.

Using Gates’ work in conjunction with other historical scholarly work, this section traces the historical qualifications of African power centres and combines these with contemporary features to offer a more comprehensive aspiration of hegemony in the region.

4.3 Historical elements of hegemony

4.3.1 Location, Location, Location

Fig 2 Ancient African Kingdoms

Source: Handbookblogger.com
Robert Kaplan (2009) highlights the importance of geography’s impact on the power of a state. The United States of America’s powerful position is supported by its semi isolated position and vast size. Its unique geographical position protects it from being vulnerable to opportunistic military attacks and centres it between two oceanic highways, the Atlantic and Pacific. Its vastness gives it various topographical resources which includes energy, agrarian and water properties. Geography as Shirley Jackson (2018) reverberates offers a state longevity of power. Historically a majority of Africa’s great powers such as the Aksum, Ghana and the Zulu civilisations all had key geographical positioning.

In his docuseries Henry Gates and academic colleagues point out what remains to be true in property ‘location, location, location’. Location refers to strategic geographical positioning which is advantageous because:

1. Places a state in a natural resource advantaged area – your commodity is of need to the world; thus, they will have continued interest in having relations with that state for instance The Niger Delta.
2. Situates a state in a key middleman position – this can give a state potential or actual strategic control over access to a place (s) with resources as was with Great Zimbabwe.

Wholly consecrated are those states that have both advantages within their location. This was the case of the Ghanaian empire <830-1235AD> that was situated along the Niger and Senegal rivers with an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean which was the main trade route of the time. Kaplan detailed in his presentation that places such as the East African coasts’ direct access to the ‘Indian Ocean prosperity sphere’ or ‘energy and trade interstate seaway’ will always be in a prosperous trade position. Their strategic geographical position makes them significant contributors to global geopolitical games. These countries’ in and outlet positions makes them attractive to global entities with an interest
Figure 3 shows how the Indian Ocean is the main interchange of oil and more recently natural gas of the world. The main production centres of the world rely on its waters to transport the fuel that they operate on. With the economic and influential enlargement of India and China and the presence of important trade centres situated about the Indian Ocean, the East African seaboard appears to be the prime real estate location of Africa.

This puts countries with a waterway to the great seaways of the world in more strategic positions because they will always have middleman advantages over the landlocked states. Southern Africa’s large coastal countries puts important agricultural and mineral mainland countries in need of its three coastal states.
Fig 4 Map of Southern African countries

Source: Maps-Africa.com
4.3.2 Trade Routes and Markets

Figure 2 shows African early history empires. Southern African empires were all major trading points but there were other key points that were not empires. Kilwa, Malindi, Sofala and Zanzibari were all strategic trading points that served the inlands since the Omani trading era in the 10th century (UNESCO, 2018).

Middleman countries of these routes have always benefitted from the commissions of exchange. The trade market were those empires that were in central regions but possessed a prerequisite commodity such as gold, iron, salt and even education. The wealth obtained from these products gave these kingdoms leverage to expand and become greater by also having influence or access to the outlet.
points. Today countries like Kenya and South Africa prosper from being trade routes and markets between international and local states.

4.3.3 Military Warfare

Empires would have centres that today we refer to as capital cities. These centres of trade attracted lots of people from other areas. The combination of the two gave these empires large military sizes and their wealth allowed for special dedication to advance their weaponry. With the amassment of their military these empires were able to further expand and instil fear from less capable neighbouring states. This fear and capability gave them influence and wealth which made them hegemonic. Aksum, Ghana and Monamotapa are classic examples of such.

4.3.4 Population Size

Vusi Gumede deliberates how one of the main goals of occupation in the early periods was to amass people that would produce more for the kingdom. It is for this reason that those occupations valued the preservation of life. This might also explain the difference in other forms of progressive manufacturing like but not in weaponry advancement. A large population then exhibited dominance, production, military strength hence power as was the case with the Mapugumbwe, Monamotapa and Zulu kingdoms. The leverage of a large population size persists except that in present-day its value is only recognised for market and military worth. Technological advancements have rendered its productive value irrelevant.

4.3.5 Political Influence

The expansion of kingdoms meant an expansion of political control. The ancient kingdoms unlike the colonials (specifically the Portuguese and Dutch) left the occupied to self-rule, they just had influence over rulers. This facilitated management and interactions that were managed by representatives of the king; Indunas. Cementing the kings power entailed operational authority which requires political power. In the Monamotapa empire the occupied chiefdoms had to share an ivory horn out of every pair to the king. This is an illustration of political control.

4.3.6 Natural Resources

Africa is a unique continent in that all its states contain profitable natural resources, be it minerals, agricultural capacity, population, tourism and so forth. This makes it a very attractive commerce destination for raw materials. This is a historical reality as raw materials were the source of trade and
diplomatic relations between African kingdoms and the abroad. During those periods of early civilisations resources like salt, iron, gold, slaves and ivory were the major commodities of interest (Quinn, 2017). The possession or trade of these commodities made kingdoms very wealthy and powerful. It is for this reason that Mansa Musa the world’s richest man to date was able to amass such wealth and with that wealth gain venerable international influence (Quinn, 2017). This makes an argument conceded by Shirley Jackson (2018) that natural resources are longevity power creating factors not just economics alone. Natural resources ensure a state prolonged interest and therefore a need for good relations with that state. This need for good relations can be interpreted as subtle power.

What emerges clearly is that all these elements are connected and consequential of the other. This is also true of the modern elements of power discussed earlier. The difference between the two systems though is that in the past geography was the key determinant and presently it is economic welfare not necessarily brought on by geography. This is what some scholars call leverage. A constructed commodity that presents an advantage that gives one power. Singapore is a classic example of constructed leverage. Its advantage point is that its economic might allow it agency that African countries do not possess. Colonialism and Post colonialism have placed Africa in a position of submission to the west’s economic support that deprive it of the agential leverage most required for the completion of true hegemonic powers. Building on Hlonipha’s Mokoena’s (2019) ‘in the meantime’ syndrome contestation, this dependency is why African regions need to interrogate their powers and dynamics of power to better leverage themselves.

4.4 Negotiating Mozambique’s Role as a Regional Hegemonic Power.

This section lays out and interrogates main factors about Mozambique and the Southern region that impact the type of relations that exist. Charles Kindleberger’s (1973) case for a hegemonic stability theory asserts that a hegemonic power relays public goods to the international system which benefits all at the often case cost to the hegemon. He further added that a hegemon should not only contain national and political power but be able to project these in contribution to international stability. Coupled with a good economy that has dominance at least one of the public goods it provides makes a for strong hegemonic case. This section examines the public goods that Mozambique provides to the stability of the international Southern African system and structure to then determine its case as a hegemonic influence. In accordance with the study’s interrogation, the analyses will incorporate the three traditional elements; Economy, Military and Soft power as well as the Afrocentric features; location, natural resources and political power that are presented in the study.
4.4.1 Historical Implications

4.4.1.1 Omani Traders

Mozambique was one of those African states that once identified by its former host, remained a colony of that specific empire only. Prior to the Portuguese, in the 10th century Arabian traders – the Omani’s – landed on the Northern coastlines of Mozambique but only to trade with the indigenous tribes not capture the territory. Prior to this period Mozambique’s interactions with its neighbouring territories is quite vague, so the Omani period will serve as the early history genesis for analysis.

The Arab traders’ attraction towards the Mozambican shoreline was its fame for gold trade (Newitt, 1995). The gold was sourced from various points of the granite plateau that stretched from Manica all the way to the deserts of the west (Newitt, 1995). Apart from the famous coastal posts like Kilwa and Ilha de Mozambique there were recent historical discoveries such as Manyikeni and Chibuene in Mozambique (UNESCO, 2019). These were known as the Swahili coast posts (Hewitt et al, 2010). The attraction of trade towards these posts needed to be supported by a convenient geographical site. This meant that it had easy access to the sea and connected to the mainland. Although these were the two main magnets during that episode, around the fifteenth century sultans from Kilwa were drawn to the fertile soils of the central region. This fertility was a result of the estuaries known to the Arabs as Al-Kwar from the numerous highland rivers that mouth on the Indian ocean (Newitt, 1995). This led to the foundation of several settlements like Quelimane that were along the mouths of these rivers. This brief history of the Arab kinship period helps to demonstrate the ancient appreciation of the location.
The Omani and other Arab traders were bastions of trade especially by sea as the Swahili coast map illustrates. This meant that they were able to travel to far locations and establish trade ties at various eastern posts.

4.4.1.2 Portuguese Colonialism

After the Portuguese violently took over the Kilwa and Sofala areas, the initial impression is that the old trading system was destroyed. Newitt (1995) notes that the opposite is true, commercial life intensified with the trade of ivory which led to more settlements along the shoreline. The Ilha de Moçambique a former trading post was converted to a naval base to protect the Portuguese trading fleet. This trade soon diversified into other commodities that included slavery and agriculture. Contrary to popular belief that most black American slaves are from west Africa, Prof Henry Gates’ (2012) genealogy expeditions have revealed that majority of the Atlantic slaves have Angolan and Mozambican roots. Whilst Mozambique proved to be a very profitable imperial destination for the Portuguese, it must be acknowledged that the trade was outwardly based.

Whilst the Portuguese state is awarded colonial ownership, most of the colonial Mozambican trade links with the hinterland were done by private concession companies. Out of all of them the most successful ones were the British ran Zambezia, Niassa and a third co-owned central region Company (Newitt, 1995). These companies were responsible for the construction of rail and road links between
Mozambique and former British colonies; South Africa and Zimbabwe. This rapid outlet route established the modern era logistics relations that Mozambique has with its landlocked neighbours. These links can only be attributed to modern periods because as mentioned above, the earlier periods already had their forms of transferring goods from different points. The country’s strategic position was the magnet for the Portuguese in the 15th century. Until the 1900’s, Portugal initially opted to have indirect control through the aforementioned concession system. By 1914 the Portuguese had resolved to full administrative colonialism by establishing a representative government and making it an extra-territory (Alden, 2001). These indirect and direct decades of Portuguese colonialism defined Mozambique’s substantial significance to the region. Cooperating with the neighbouring Rhodesian and Natal governments around the 1850s the Portuguese established Mozambique as a source of labour for the agricultural plantations and in 1867 to the Orange river diamond mines.

4.4.2 Negotiating Mozambique’s Hegemonic Influence

The historical outlining of the countries positioning, and significance presented it’s felt but extraneous reality. After independence until 1997 Mozambique was rated as the world’s poorest country. The country’s GDP maintained at USD 2 Billion (World Bank, 2019) until the country adopted Neoliberal policies and entered into multilateral agreements like the SADC (1997), Commonwealth (1995), the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) (2008) and association of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS). Since 1997 onwards the country’s GDP rose exponentially at a steady upward trajectory. At its highest point in 2014 it reached USD 17 Billion (World Bank, 2019). Following a scandalous debt crisis, the GDP dropped considerable but remains in the double-digit numbers. This growth saw many organisations and experts refer to Mozambique as an economic success story vis-à-vis Africa Rising as reported in a 2011 article in The Economist and UN News Centre (2013) amongst other sources.
Mozambique’s decades of war limited its capabilities and shied the country from its potential impact to the region. During wars the focal interest of a state (or existing structure) is survival. This entails security and food supplies. Simultaneously every production resource is usually destroyed. This puts the country at an impasse and as discussed above dependent on others or another as Mozambique was on South Africa. Since the end of the war and 1997, this dependence has reduced as the country’s potential emerges. Andrew Brooks (2018) expands on the successes that the country has undergone that qualify it as a rising star. The conditions that he offers as development successes are;

i. Transition to a liberal free market – achieved through economic rehabilitation programme (ERP) reforms which require liberal policy adoption. Whilst the transformation to Neoliberalism opened the country to multilateral clubs, the ERPs devastated the populations quality of life. Austerity measures limited the government from providing for an already poor
population. This was mitigated in later years with friendly foreign direct investment (FDI) policies which attracted big projects and medium businesses from various multilateral groups.

ii. Large donor aid to the total of USD 34 Billion between 1992 to 2014 for development projects mostly from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

iii. Political stability as a result of peace and a domination of one-party FRELIMO in a nominally democratic system.

The combination of these conditions resulted in “an open economic and trade space and expansion of market forces” (Brooks, 2018). This steady growth is emblematic to the country’s relevance in the region. The following sections evaluate the country’s key elements to determine its regional stability function and power status.

4.4.2.1 Political Capital and Foreign Policy

The Mozambican government's overall foreign policy agenda is to be a political powerhouse. The Pan African revolutionary goal to emancipate and unite Africa (African Renaissance) remains its doctrine of operation. Its foreign policy remains one of non-alignment (SAIIA, 2013). This puts the state in a position of neutral and flexible in the international arena. During the cold war it received support from the communist side and the liberal side even though they were not content with the country’s communist ideology. This pragmatic direction was led by the national party’s first leader Eduardo Mondlane (SAIIA, 2013). The Mozambican government has always maintained that war was a defence mechanism as its manifesto has always espoused peace and unity. This can easily be misinterpreted with the presence of the AK 47 symbol on its flag and the country’s voluntary participation in other regional conflicts. However, this participation in regional conflict is on the bases of defending this grand vision that the state has. Contrary to the militant imperialistic dominance, Mozambique’s approach to cooperate and reach common goals with its neighbours is a leadership strategy.

Mozambique’s commitment during its revolutionary years and beyond to an African Renaissance has given it the recognition of a political arbitrator (Malache, Macaringue and Coelho, 2005). This has seen the country being continually invoked in the regions political and diplomatic crises dating back to the African independence epoch. Mozambique’s first international interference occurred in Southern Rhodesia, where it sent around 500 troops to assist in the Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe led Zimbabwe African National Union -Patriotic Front’s (ZANU-PF) guerrilla war against British colonialism. As one of the founding states of the former 1975 liberation movements of Southern Africa (FLMSA) that was an association of six nationalist political parties involved in anti-colonial movements in Southern Africa, the country participated in assisting its frontline neighbours achieve
independence from white rule (Arnold, 2006). This diplomatic stature was elevated in its peace negotiation role at the Lancaster house conference in 1980 that saw the enactment of the Lancaster agreement and twenty years of peace and prosperity in Zimbabwe (Malache, Macaringue and Coelho, 2005). This arbitrator role continues until recent times with Mozambique being involved in the Madagascar’s take over and Zimbabwe’s benevolent coup.

Political credit inserts the country into key strategic meetings (a seat at the table) that opens opportunities for development discussions and consideration. This image also drives states to want to maintain friendly diplomatic relations with the state which works in its favour when it comes to trade negotiations. The diplomatic relations between Mozambique and Botswana led to the Pande rail corridor project that will boost the country’s economy and regional centrality. Every project or trade deal that enhances the country’s centrality, increases its middle power hence hegemonic status.
4.4.2.2 Natural Resources

Mozambique is surrounded by six countries, all of which are gifted with resources that attract the international markets to them. Contrary to other African regions, these countries’ resources offer a comparative advantage.

Fig 8. Sub-Saharan Africa Physical Geography

Source: Grossmont College.
The lower Sahel’s physical geography is characterized by its soil fertility. The figure above shows how below the Sahel (exempting the South West tip) the territory is mostly green. Whereas Eastern Africa is famous for specific cash export crops like tea, coffee, cotton, cloves, oil crops, pyrethrum, sugar cane and horticultural crops (Kokwaro, 2014) & (eac.int, 2019). The diversity of resources is more notable in minerals and wildlife. Southern Africa has more diversity of agriculture because of its different landscapes. Wildlife and minerals are also diverse and abundant. The point is that the more diverse the region is, the higher the levels of comparative advantage amongst each other. If a region has similar products, then the international recipients are the beneficiaries. Concurring with Augustus Muluvi’s article (2014) comparative advantage of various products opens the opportunities for cooperation, inter-regional trade and function to member states.

It is this comparative advantage of natural resources that gives Mozambique an edge and important function in the region. According to the Collins dictionary “natural resources are all the land, forests, energy sources and minerals existing naturally in a place that can be used by people. The OECD organization describes it as natural assets (raw materials) occurring in nature that can be used for economic production or consumption”. Mozambique has over twenty noteworthy mineral and energy resource types, but this study will only focus on the impactful and strategic assets that give the country competitive advantage. Its resources now make it the Southern tips most important potential energy exporter.

Possessing significant natural resources gives a state leverage over its recipients that can be translated to subtle power. Maintaining a good relationship with that state is in the interests of the other states to ensure the continuance of supply. This describes the relationship between Mozambique and its six soon to be seven neighbouring states. At this point it is important to note that the minerals found in Mozambique are not exclusive to it. This means that there are alternative sources albeit not as cost effective given the proximity and logistics advantage. So, what and to whom does Mozambique supply these assets to;

Hydroelectric energy – Africa is a well-drained continent, for that reason many countries have hydro dams that generate clean energy. The contestation in this case is that whereby most of these dams are categorized as small plants, Mozambique’s capability is very large. The generic definition of a small hydro plant is one that has 10MW of installed capacity (Adu et al, 2017). The current potential of hydropower resources in the SADC region is 41000 MW (Adu et al, 2017). Mozambique’s generating capacity is around 15 000 MW per year which works out to about 37% of the SADC potential, however it is currently only selling 2100 MW. The Cahora Bassa which is
Africa’s largest hydro dam to date and the two privately owned Revuè dams supplies or is in the process of supplying electricity to South Africa, Zimbabwe, Botswana and the Southern African Power Pool (73% of total generated power) (IRENA, 2012) through a regional interconnector. The Southern African Power Pool is an organisation created in 1995 made up of twelve Southern African electrical utility companies which is aimed at providing electric energy solutions to the represented states (SAPP, 2019). Figure 9 is an illustration of the electric energy spaghetti bowl that powers the Southern region. Out of all these utility firms Eletriciçidade de Mozambique (EDM) has the most interconnections. This figure also emits the current negotiations to further supply South Africa with two thousand Kilowatts to boost its currently inefficient domestic power supply. There are other pipelined hydro dam and LNG projects, planned to raise the local access rates which remain low ever since the war. The reservation of Cahora Bassa for international supply only, will enable many more interconnections within the region. The greater the mass power that Mozambique supplies to its neighbours, the greater its leverage in international affairs.
Fig 9. Southern Africa Power Transfer Grid
Figure 10 is an illustration of the above referred hydro-plants and potential expansion ones as well. Southern Africa’s Kariba Hydro Dam also have large capabilities but its highland position, results in dry periods of river flow that affects its consistency in supply. This makes the Cahora a more appealing source. The two figures show the country’s large supply capabilities.

Fig 10. Mozambican Hydro-Power Plants.

Fig 10 Source: Uamusse 2015.
ii. Solar energy potential – 1.49 million GWh is the annual solar radiation produced, thousands of times more than required.

iii. Coal – The Northern regions of the country have an estimate of three billion tons of coal. Presently the primary customers are East Asian and Western countries.

iv. Natural Gas – At this stage an estimate of three trillion cubic feet of gas are known to be deposited offshore in the North East part of the country. These statistics place the deposits in a global third position (EIA, 2018). Mozambique supplies South African Sasol with most of its Pande and Temane smaller deposits which are in the Southern region. The Northern Rovuma project is still under construction and set to begin exportation in 2022. The consortium has already secured international buyers and is in negotiations with African buyers that includes Kenya. Because natural gas is still a projected income asset whose wealth conversion is dependent on institutional discipline and other forms of capital investment to grow the economy, it can only be estimated as a potential asset. Angola and Tanzania are competing suppliers but are disadvantaged by;

Angola’s focus on oil that undermines its gas exportation

   a. The wide distances and lacking infrastructure between the Eastern and Centrally concentrated SADC states makes it an out of reach supplier (DBSA, 2017). This infrastructural challenge also applies to Tanzania’s gas holds.
   
   b. Angola’s deposits sizes are incomparable smaller. Angola’s is 308 billion cubic metres (OPEC, 2015).
   
   c. Legal and regulatory uncertainties especially in Tanzania which are hampered by progress constraints (DBSA, 2017).
   
   d. The presence of one and other potential regional importers enhances the country’s regional significance and influence.

i. Petroleum – Mozambique is not a petroleum producing nation but is a transit destination of petroleum for its landlocked neighbours.

4.4.2.3 Logistics Corridor

The silk road is an ancient trade route that connected Asia to Rome founded by the Chinese. In recent times this concept is being reinvigorated by the Chinese in the form of a high-speed rail corridor from Iran to China. “This new silk road has many implications to the West’s hegemony in global affairs” (Escobar, 2015). As African trade with the East expands so has the need to create alternative more efficient routes for trade. Africa’s new silk road follows the path of the old Portuguese trade-way that connected the central West of Africa to the Southern East. This new high-speed rail corridor (shown
below) will connect Botswana, DR Congo, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It not only mimics the old carriage route but also the Eurasia silk route which is intended to uplift China’s power and diminish trade reliance on the west. Especially since the corridor is set to be an alternative to South Africa’s major ports. What implications does this corridor have to the power balance of Southern Africa? Firstly, it re-establishes historical Swahili coast routes from the interior that did not include South Africa. It secondly enhances the state relations between the three participating states which excludes the regional powerhouse. Thirdly it connects the three economies of these states and in a way creates another level to the sub region that excludes the hegemon. The alternative means to access goods from abroad diminishes South Africa’s influential power that provides the opportunity for other countries to emerge.

Fig 11 Techobanine Heavy Haul Route

Geographical positioning can be considered as a natural resource, however since states are constructed realities to attach natural to it as a resource is hypocritical at best. Mozambique’s geographical
positioning is its greatest asset. Not only does it benefit from enjoying vast natural resources, but it is also placed in a strategic corner. This positioning exposes it to a lengthy coastline on the east, but its lengthiness also gives it many and short border stretch neighbours to the West. Its additional geographic benefit is that the stretch between the coast and its western borderline is short. The former four advantages are what the Arab traders, colonial rulers and present government have capitalised on. Its narrow width between the seas and borders made it an ideal ferry middleman. This is coupled with the fact that Mozambique has the advantage of natural harbours, which gives it an important role in the region’s maritime economy.

The Mozambican Ports and Railway company is Southern Africa’s first and longest running transportation company. Over the periods of history its cargo has altered from raw materials to slaves to workers and finished products. The significance of the ports and rails was outlined earlier, where it was established that commodities like gold and ivory were transited to the coastal ports from the hinterlands. Malache, Macaringue and Coelho (2005) eloquently lay out the effects of the corridor disruptions to the region during the guerrilla war period. The establishment of the Mozambican corridors as key trading routes sustained the economies of the British ruled states, most of which were in the interior and landlocked. This was evident in the early 1970’s just after the independence war broke out. The Mozambican guerrilla troops were able to advance beyond the natural borders of the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers, spreading the war to the entire country. This led to the destruction of the Beira corridor that was a pivotal funnel for Rhodesia. The destruction of this corridor had a negative impact on the Rhodesian economy.

Mozambique is not only reliant on rail transportation, but it also has many river and water channels that figure 9 illustrates. These waterways are mostly international bodies of water that can serve as an alternative form of a structured transportation system. Their use as a channel to the hinterlands of the region are described by Malyn Newitt (1995); The Zambesi river was responsible for river ports such as Sena and Tete, that were used to navigate the river towards the gold and other treasure markets.

The road system albeit in need of much improvement supplements and further connects the ports to the neighbouring countries. These roads connect the ports to very distant places like Northern Malawi, Zambia and even Democratic Republic of Congo. The plethora of road freight is manufactured and agricultural goods, the World Bank estimates were 70-90% in 2015. The two categories of goods are highly sourced from South Africa; therefore, it will contain the highest volume of traffic in those categories. Since the year 2000 Mozambique’s transportation sector has grown immensely. Several new firms have opened and some of the largest logistics firms have opted to headquarter in the country;
Lalgy, J&J Africa, Supersteel and more with thousands of fleet vehicles in operation (Vilakazi, 2018). These developments divulge the logistical advantages that the country offers. Vilakazi (2018) reveals that over the years, Mozambique has contested routes to the interior leveraging cheaper costs due to the geographical proximity over traditional South African routes. Traders also opt for the Mozambican route because of red tape facilitation (Vilakazi, 2018). The Mozambique – Lusaka route entails one border stop. Durban – Lusaka consists of two border posts, one of which is a foreign territory for both trading partners. So, the rate per Km is cheaper, distance calculations are lower, and customs costs are also reduced. The size and modernity of the port are not as sophisticated as the Durban route, but the cost-efficiency as stated by Vilakazi (2018) is contestable.

The revelations of the logistical value that the country offers the region not just presently but historically too, are significant stability contributors to the Southern African district.

### 4.4.3 Mozambique’s Constraints

Andrew Brooks points out a universally known fact that Mozambique has a weak economy. Whilst its military has been tested in three decades of continual war, its economic position has limited its armament capability. These two factors are the downfall of the country’s international standing. Both factors are sovereign responsibilities but heavily influenced and dependent on lateral affairs.

#### 4.4.3.1 The Economy

Mozambique’s fiscal outlook is low. The World Bank (2014) divides wealth into three types of wealth: *produced capital, natural capital* and *intangible capital* (which includes human capital). Mozambique has natural and somewhat intangible capital such as a youth population and political capital, but this has not been translated into produced capital which keeps the country in high poverty rankings. After eighteen years of steady growth rates, 2016 saw a huge dive that put the state in a fragility status again. Large national debts that were incurred as a result of financial malfeasance triggered a domino economic downfall. Austere measure had to be adopted that halted many development initiatives such as infrastructure projects and institutional funding. The economic slump affected consumer spending in services and agriculture that are reported as the country’s biggest drivers of growth in previous years (World Bank, 2018). The country’s economy is challenged by low industry levels (manufacturing and commerce contributed an average of 10% each to GDP (World Bank, 2018), the private sector’s reduced capacity for growth and low volume of jobs (World Bank, 2018) which are common macroeconomic denominators for healthy growth rates.
Liberalism and Neoliberalism stipulate high economic levels as a requirement for power. Under international relations considerations, a weak economy translates to a weak state. A weak economy means that a state has no pull and push power. It cannot supply a differential amount of a or needed goods, nor does it have purchasing power. Powerful states like India for example have large industrial capacity and can therefore supply the international market with goods that makes it a benefactor state for certain countries. Similarly, its healthy net income rates give it buying power that makes them dependent on India’s disbursement. States like India have a diversification of commodities, but a state can be just as powerful with only one significant commodity such as Nigeria, Angola and the Middle East giants. Up until the discoveries of Coal and Natural gas, Mozambique lacked that pull power. Its major economic contributors were the logistics and services sector. This limited the economic elasticity and therefore growth capability. Its prospects as the world’s third largest LNG exporter combined with other forms of energy supply and expanded port & rail corridors is promising to elevate the countries pull and push power.

South Africa is Southern Africa’s most significant player because of its industrial power that makes neighboring states dependent on it for basic and specialty products. Its supply power alone gives it that leverage not its purchasing power as figure shows. South Africa’s contribution to the GDP of SADC states is most significant in Mauritius, Lesotho and Swaziland. Therefore, in the 1980s and 90s Zimbabwe’s competitive production made it independent of South Africa’s pull factor. This is partly why as attractive as the country is to its neighbors, it does not have the same influential power that western states have over African states. This then limits its hegemonic claim to the region. In saying this, the argument then becomes that in Africa economic fortress alone does not qualify a state to be dominant or most influential over others. The natural resources that most states are enriched with make it so that its biggest purchasers are international states and not domestic ones. This then reduces their co-dependency rate limiting the recognized large economic powerhouses from effective influence over others. This is supplemented by the fact that African liberal states are seen to act on behalf of imperial interests which then makes incidents where there can exert power symbolic.

*Fig 12 Source: IRENA. Regional Trade Centrality 2000-13*
a. World Trade Centrality by Region

Fig 12a shows countries that are listed as trade centrality states by region, the African region which has three SADC members notably excludes Mozambique. This reflects low global partnering numbers.
that countries like Zambia and South Africa have high numbers of especially with China. Therefore figure (b) shows a different image with Zambia at a lower ranking than Mozambique because its exports are not in demand regionally. Regional trade centrality refers to;

A measure that takes into account not only the size of exports for a given country, but also the number of its trade partners, as well as the relative weight of these trade partners in global trade, therefore better capturing the country’s interconnectedness within the web of global trade. It helps to show integration in world trade. (IRENA, 2012)

The figure highlights the fact that whilst Mozambique may have strategic resources and therefore a pivotal role in the region, its economic under performance is a major hindrance in its international integration. This not only overshadows the global perception, but also affects its regional recognition as well. Bad news travels faster and wider than its counterpart. The challenges in manufacturing, infrastructure, corruption, political polarity and weak economy permeate its fragile image that undermine the country’s potential.

Fig 12b however is more contextual and shows that within the Southern region Mozambique and Angola are the two second strongest exporters in the region. This figure also supports the case of Mozambique’s regional significance in comparison to its neighbours excluding South Africa. America is not only a global powerhouse; it is also a regional one because of its significance to its neighbours. The graph shows the import trade significance that the United States has on its NAFTA members. This gives the United States of America dominance over its two northerly region neighbours.

Fig 13. USA Top Trading Partners
For a state to have regional impact, it must be a significant import and/or export partner to its region. Otherwise it may have international recognition but no effective regional power.

### 4.4.3.2 The Military

Mozambique’s long period of war background gives off the impression that it is a military state. The independence guerrilla war of 1964 to 1974 followed by the 1977 to 1992 civil war (twenty-five years) required the prioritisation of the military above all else. In 1975 when the new African government took over, a new national army had to be created, known as the *Forças Armadas de Mozambique* (FAM) translated to English *Armed Forces of Mozambique* (Malache, Macaringue and Coelho, 2005). Malache, Macaringue and Coelho (2005) point out that this proved to be a challenge for government. Deciding on who could be incorporated, considering that many soldiers had served on the colonial side and the structure typology. This resulted in a very small final force of around ten thousand troops only. It was only in 1977 when the former Soviet nation agreed to support the country that the assimilated compulsory conscription enabled a steep trajectory of troops that reached seventy thousand by 1980. This manpower boost was complemented with equipment, devices and destination trainings abroad. This figure is overwhelming given that according to globalfirepower.com (2019) the current active personnel figure sits at eleven thousand however the available power is plus four million.
Malache, Macaringue and Coelho (2005) detail how and why the current defence structure exists as it does. The establishment of the national ministry of defence in 1975 initiated the role and functions of the Mozambican defence structure. The defence policy that was set up clearly outlined that its intent was to consolidate independence and advance unity. Its aim was to defend country not be antagonistic. The ministry’s aim became to transform the guerrilla force into a modern army capable of delivering efficient response against exterior threats.

The modern state no longer aims to have military dominance alone as this can be perceived as imperialistic. Destradi (2010) outlines that “a unilateralist strategy based on the exercise of military power will be referred to as ‘imperial’. This assessment means that as much as military weakness is a constraint because one can be vulnerable, it is not imperative for hegemonic influence. For instance, even though South Africa is an African powerhouse its military capability comes very close to countries like Ethiopia and Zimbabwe despite their economic differences (Habib, 2019). The continents cooperative norms in line with the African Union’s constitutive act article 3 and 4 (2000) which mandates peaceful resolutions and non-interference opposes an aggressive accumulation of artillery.

Mozambique’s artillery shown in figure 14 and spend which ranks as one of the lowest in the world and 18th in Africa (tradingeconomics.com, 2019) reflects the countries weak economic position and passive foreign agenda. Malache, Macaringue and Coelho (2005) reveal that most of this artillery are remnants of the war and not new procurements. This latter statement supports the former proposition.

![Fig 14. Mozambique’s Military Assets](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mozambican Military Asset</th>
<th>Budget spend</th>
<th>Manpower</th>
<th>Airpower</th>
<th>Land Strength</th>
<th>Naval Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Available manpower: 4,629,744</td>
<td>Fighters: 8</td>
<td>Combat tank: 100</td>
<td>Total Naval assets: 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Fit-for-service: 2,453,764</td>
<td>Attack: 8</td>
<td>Armored fight vehicles: 335</td>
<td>Patrol vessels: 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Reaching military age annually: 171,764</td>
<td>Transport: 1</td>
<td>Towed artillery: 260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>Total Military personnel: 11,200</td>
<td>Trainers: 1</td>
<td>Rocket Projectors: 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Total Helicopetr strength: 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Attach Helicopter: 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total Aircraft strength: 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author created table - Global Fire Power (2019)
4.4.4 Consolidating Mozambique’s Position

The World Bank graph shows that when Mozambique adopted Neoliberal economic policies, its progression was very rapid. Several public articles declared the country an example of Africa’s emergence into the 21st century, narratives such as Africa Rising, New Dawns and Rising stars emerged to describe such promising countries (Brooks, 2018). These revelations support the prior argument made that Imperial allegiance through the adoption of Neoliberal policies wins a country economic favour that is currently the main gauge of power and influence in Africa. Whilst Neoliberalism and economic performance is the acknowledged measure of a country’s influence, this study questions those understandings as a simplified and derivative way to assess power in a very complex environment.

It is certain that in the traditional sense of hegemonic understanding, Mozambique is not a hegemonic force. Mozambique is a weak economy, it is highly indebted, has an underdeveloped industrial market, it is defensively challenged, and it has very little impact on the standards of culture. These factors should automatically rule it out of contestation. However, its logistics corridors and energy supply (greater potential) makes it a very significant trade booster to its neighbours including that of South Africa. In modern times countries function on energy, controlling the access to energy places a country in a very key strategic position. Malache, Macaringue and Coelho (2005) illustrate how the closure of the Mozambican ports affect the supply of commodities to the inland neighbours which in turn affects their sustainability. This geographic power coupled with its political capital gives it hegemonic leverage in the Southern region.

The Southern African region has fast growing economies that require high volumes of energy to supply their ambitions. Importing from far out destinations within and outside of Africa proves inefficient. Mozambique has the capability to export locally generated energy and fully leverage its energy wholesale exposure. The below chart shows the generation technology capacity contribution. Hydro and Coal which are key Mozambican commodities make up 80% of the pie. Well positioning the country as a regional energy supplier.
This energy supports development imperatives such as power generation, infrastructure, industrial development and employment (DBSA, 2017). Four out of the five high demand products that the region functions on; Coal 44%, Renewable 39%, oil 14%, gas 2% and nuclear 1% (IRENA, 2019) are elements that are either already being supplied by Mozambique or it has the capability to do so. South Africa is currently undergoing severe level 4 load shedding which refers to the practice of reducing electricity supply to an area (Collins Dictionary, 2019). This has come as a result of cyclone Idai in central Mozambique that damaged electricity transmission lines which supplies South Africa’s electricity utility company (Slabbert & Slatter, 2019). To quote Adam Habib (2019), African states need to well understand their leverages and use these to amass more influence and power domestically and internationally. The combination of energy and logistics supply is Mozambique’s leverage, coupled with its regional political capital its position as a regional stability power is negotiable. Mozambique’s position to supply key resources that are required to fuel the high development rates and basic commodities to the region gives it leverage and stabilising power.

Not a single African state has the capability to fully induce a desired outcome out of another. This study argues that even the so-called hegemons are constrained by imperial powers. This complexity makes their own exertions of power dependent on the consent of their principals. These exertions are not always a result of direct instructions, they can also be an intuition of complicity. Other than Nigeria, the current African hegemons are found to be wanting in this regard (Dehez, 2019). Kenya and south
Africa’s historical cooperation with the imperial western states, has left them with a conspirator legacy that has recently been amplified by recent activities. South African xenophobic attacks that led to the deaths, injury and displacement of thousands of African foreigners reduced its capital as an ally of the continent. Despite its defensive reasoning, Kenya was similarly shunned for partaking in a war against Somalia that was largely seen as an act of its complicity towards the west. These acts and other historical occurrences support the positions that despite their economic superiority, Postcolonialism informs the actions of these states that renders their soft power dubious. Mozambique’s non-alignment and emancipatory foreign policy has rendered the country a principled image which it leverages upon.

Whilst the country has a lot of potential for growth given its natural resources, its historical allures continue to be its present-day strengths. Its landscape and location geography through different phases of history from the Omani trading period to colonialism, the independence struggles to present-day its energy and wholesaler role is its strategic edge in the region. The dependency that results from it, is the hegemonic power that the study argues can be ascribed to the country.
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study’s main objective was to evaluate the realities of hegemonic actors and their influence in the Southern African region. In order to reveal these realities secondary objectives needed to be interrogated; firstly, what the contemporary realities of hegemony and applicable Southern African perspectives are and to identify other understandings of African-oriented features of hegemony. These questions then allow the study to confront the final inquiry which analyses Mozambique as a hegemonic actor in the Southern African region as an implication of the former objectives. The following section summarises, consolidates and concludes these interrogations to present final findings, implications and recommendations for further inquiries.

5.2 Contextualising and interpreting Hegemony in Southern Africa

Hegemony is an age-old concept as observed in the Peloponnesian war that referred to a leader. The original hegemonic idea was purely realistic. Hegemony entailed seeking power through domination over others. In the 1930’s Neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci developed what is today known as the Gramscian hegemony. In his critique of social order, Gramsci depicted how cultural hegemony maintains the capitalist social order that produces and replicates subaltern classes. Gramsci’s writings popularised the concept and its various interpretations began to emerge in scholarly writings. One of the tenets that emerged around the 1970’s was that of Hegemonic Stability Theory. Its proponent Charles Kindleberger proposed that the international system requires a pro-longed hegemon whose purpose is to stabilise the system by providing public goods and influencing the world. South Africa, Kenya and Nigeria are recognised as the three sub-regional hegemons of Africa that provide these public goods to their regions. The current African ‘hegemons’ have many gaps in their influential abilities to solely influence their regions and continent at large. Therefore, what the study found is that Southern Africa (Africa) has an Anchor state that projects public goods (to an extent) onto its region with added stabilizing support from neighbouring middle powers. Whilst these Anchor States are conceived to be hegemons in the Western interpretations of power and leadership. Western manifestations of power and leadership conceal other important considerations of power and leadership.

Of all the existent international relations paradigms namely; realism, idealism, structuralism and Critical Theory this study identifies one suitable Southern Africa’s contemporary ideology has been
identified as generally Liberal with Neo-Liberal economic manifestations. This is evident in the national and the multilateral organisations policies of the region. Liberalism’s DNA is cooperation. This means that if any hegemonic system is operational then it could only be one of cooperation which Hegemonic Stability Theory fosters. The study argues that Hegemony and Neo-Liberalism are western centric concepts that have been imposed on other regions and this adoption and perpetuation of these systems in their original format is Postcolonial.

Neoliberalism invokes Postcolonialism as the latter manifests in the formers’ practices. The machinations of Neoliberalism are Postcolonial in that its subjected Africa into a capitalist world economy; resource exploitation; territorial occupation; incorporation into the international state system; assimilation into world culture that included language and literature; the imposition into International law and lastly inclusion into the technological world which facilitated its acceleration into the capitalist economy with the liberal banking money wiring system. Liberalism ordains the present world and the measures/considerations used to rate and rank countries. Whilst Africa only exists under Neoliberal guidelines, it only concerns itself with current realities, which is not transformational. Hlonipha Mokoena (2019) critiques this and calls it ‘in the meantime’ syndrome. It ignores the future to deal with the present whereby it can only compromise. This she calls complicity to subjugation. Until Africa makes an effort to fully understand itself and adopt self-serving structures, transformation will remain a dictated reality.

Liberal standards list three elements as gauges of influential power: the economy, military and culture that a state possesses. These reductive elements result in many significant and impactful states being rendered ineffective in the international system. Reich & Lebow (2014) assert that Hegemony gives some a claim to leadership whilst summarily dismissing others. It has an effect of buttressing the self-esteem of others which this interrogation argues reduces the competitiveness of the other as they default into relinquishment. Vusi Gumede opts for what he conceptualises as Anchor states which perform similar tasks as Hegemons by providing public goods and a sense of economic and cultural leadership to their sub regions. These states act as support structures to their neighbours, propelling the region along with it. Whilst this is benevolent leadership, it remains imposed leadership in Africa’s case. Due to early adoption into liberalism and/or chosen territory, these Anchors received a head state that leaves other states playing catch up before they can start to compete. The presence of hegemons or anchor states is not instinctively virtuous as it can be counterproductive to collective growth. Anchor states impede on direct FDI to neighbouring countries because technology facilitates the centralisation of commerce in that state and neighbouring countries then are settled as satellite offices. This see’s the anchor state as the taxation and vast development recipient. This debunks the collective developmental
benefits of conceding to such states. Reich & Lebow (2014) and Min (2003) argue that the hegemon will seek to perpetuate the system in order to maintain its power hold which takes away from its benevolent cooperation. This study presents alternatives to the problem of having and focusing on only one central actor and understanding of power & leadership as a more practical and authentic form of influencing stability. Whilst stability and cooperation would be the ultimate goals, competitiveness becomes the means to that end. A similar competitiveness against each other gave rise to the Asian tigers.

Like the birth lottery, the level of focus on a state depends on its former colonial host. These factors coupled with Postcolonial literature obscures the contributions of significant actors in the stabilisation of a region. Hegemonic stability theory proposes that a dominant entity has stabilisation benefits, Mugambi (2015) counters this view by proposing a multi-polar system for Africa given its size, historical factors and general developmental status. Contending to Mugambi’s (2015) position, polarity interrogations are required to bring in more powers and open alternative dialogues of power and hierarchy in Africa.

The two typologies of Postcolonialism, that of the epic and episodic school are all present and relevant in this work. However, of the two the epic phenomenon is more contextual. The study follows the epic school’s emphasis on the continuous cultural and perceptive effects of Colonialism. The alternative considers colonialism as a brief disruption in history and limited to that time period. Beyond that Africa continue with its agency and history. This study proposes that Africa’s assimilation to Western literature and doctrines like Neo-liberalism is Postcolonial. This Postcolonial way of interpreting the world has tainted how the continent views itself. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) reiterates this point in his Postcolonial predicaments. The adoption of western standards has reduced the meaning and significance of its own. This has informed the ready acceptance of inherited central posts and nullified inquiries of alternative understandings. The lack of prioritisation in expanding African knowledge to develop theories will perpetuate the reliance on western theories to explain and examine its own environment.

Expressions such as Sinemandla denoted the powerful. This means that power, struggles for power all existed in early history free of western influences. The study interrogates what features a kingdom had to possess to attain and maintain power. Prof Henry Gates (2017) outlines eight of those elements; Location, Trade Markets, Trade Routes, Geographical Position, Military, Population, Natural Resources, Political Control. Africa’s resource enrichment and developmental situation according to Dustin Dehez (2008) makes a hegemonic assessment that is restricted to Western stipulations lacking.
The traditional criterium will always yield the same historically advantaged candidates that undermines the significant role that other state actors play in stabilising their regions.

In this globalized world, it would be ungentle to think of an Africa that is free of international influence. Globalisation has interlinked and twined the world to such an extent that a viable solution for African international relations and theories would be an amalgamation of worldly and African concepts. This would allow Africa to keep evolving with the times yet retain its fundamentalisms i.e. cultures and structures.

5.3 Main Findings:

5.3.1 Contextualising Hegemony

The study found that ideas of power and powerful states in Africa are pre-historical notions. Henry Louis Gates (2017) presented key features and elements that gave African domains their powerful status. These features he described as location, population size, political influence and natural resources. Strategic location always emerged as the key factor that determined and permitted a domain’s prowess. The size of a domain’s contributing population determined its military, intellectual and trading capacity. The capability to impact the politics of other far and near realms, reflected a domain’s might. This was evident in the Monomotapa, Zulu and Mansa Musa dynasties. These domains controlled the political deeds of their realms. Finally, natural assets such as minerals and waterbodies played key roles on the development of domains. The combination of two or all these factors gave a domain the power to become an empire. Given the absence of the word hegemon then, the dominance of an empire made it a suitable synonym. Bosanquet (2001) asserts that states have always existed because wherever men have lived, that association represented a state. Whilst the listed factors resemble the liberal elements of hegemony. They vary on their economic and cultural focus. Trade was significant to a domain’s ability to display and expand. Capitalism did not exist therefore economic status was attributed to the elite rulers and not the domain at large. This type of hegemonic consideration preserved evaluations from the injustices of external interventions. It was pragmatic. It is this pragmatism that the study uses to reveal a contextualised hegemony. The exclusion of liberal factors that unfairly advantages certain states over others, allows for a more contextualised revelation of the continent’s inherent hegemons.

5.3.2 Mozambique as a Hegemonic Power

Mozambique’s available history is characterised by its colonial heritage. Little is known or explored about its territories prior to colonialism. Malyn Newitt (1995) recorded a detailed account of the
country’s history that stems from the Arab trading days that Robert Kaplan identifies as the Omani trading period. The Omani trading period is the first account of Mozambican territories as international trading posts. Commodities like gold, ivory, spices and even china were traded from posts like Manyikeni and Chibuene in the central routes. This route connected the hinterland kingdoms of Great Zimbabwe and the Lunda kingdom to the Arab traders in the Swahili coasts.

This trade connection was expanded by the Portuguese. They built railways and traded in more commodities with many more sources like the colonial hosts of the neighbouring states. The most lucrative of these commodities being slaves. The two trading periods of the past illustrate the country’s significant logistics role in the region. Mozambique served and continues to serve as a middleman for inland commodities destined for abroad and vice versa.

Mozambique’s good drainage as a result of being the mouth to key waterways such as the Zambesi, Orange and Limpopo rivers makes it a hydropower viable territory. The country has several small hydro dams that produce double digit megawatt power, but its recognition lies with the Cahora Bassa that produces thousands of megawatts and since colonialism its purpose has always been to supply the former British and South African territories. To this day Cahora Bassa remains a main energy supplier to the region through the Southern African Power Pool and direct bilateral arrangements. In addition to this source of energy Mozambique holds large coal and natural gas reserves that it already supplies South Africa and Zimbabwe with. Mozambique also acts as the petroleum distributor to near neighbours like Malawi, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Zambia and soon to be Botswana. The above make the country a significant distributor of energy to the region. The key take from this finding is that energy fuels modern development. Industries, households, transportation and even security rely on energy. Being a source of energy awards a country leverage that can be traded for influence. The study finds that the coupling of its energy and logistical edge gives the country the leverage to contest hegemonic influence.

To gain independence and Post-colonialism the country underwent twenty-five years of war that devastated the country. Institutions were ruined, key infrastructure damaged, economy broken, population and industry significantly depleted. These consequences of war nullified the country’s ability to function, retracting any opportunities for growth. Since this period Mozambique’s legacy remained one of war and deprivation in the international arena. This meant that past 1992 when the country began to turn around rebuilding itself and growing, it was at minimum 25 years behind its counterparts that did not experience pro-longed destructive independence struggles. Majority of the
public discourse on the country concentrates on its Liberal and Capitalist shortcomings, completely dismissing any other contributions or role that the country offers.

The study finds that Mozambique is a deprived Southern African state which is surrounded by high potential countries that enhance its economic weakness. In Neoliberal Capitalist terms the country fails as a hegemonic force. However, the country has been marred and disadvantaged by war which stunted it. This stunting prevented the country from its potential and being recognised as a regional energy and logistics hegemonic actor that it provides to two-thirds of mainland Southern Africa.

5.4 The Impact of Multi-Polarism on SADC’s Regional Integration

Diversification/options/choice are important effects of a free market system that SADC subscribes to. Having an overbearing hegemonic player in a region of fourteen states defies the objective of diversification. The end beneficiaries of diversification of trade are the citizens of Southern Africa. The intermediary benefits of diversity in trade are more manufacturing, more infrastructure, communication networks and markets. All these benefits inspire a need to have more centres of trade and a comparative advantage scenario. Having once centre of power i.e. South Africa only benefits the consumers of that state which defies the purpose of integration. Low cost mass production and importation of Chinese finished products offers African consumers alternative affordable products. The high cost of logistics exponentially drives the end price up countering the point of importing alternatives. Whilst the policy behind these high costs are meant to drive up domestic production of similar goods, the reality is that majority of African countries lack the necessary resources to manufacture in the first place. This results in a continued dependency in one state for basic consumer goods such as clothing, building material and cooking ingredients. Addressing this situation requires more trade and industry powerhouses that will offer traders more options which ultimately reduces the end prices of goods. The added benefit of increasing trade and industry centres is the availability of return loads for transporters around the region (Vilakazi, 2018).

Mugambi (2013) concedes that multipolarity in Africa will also enhance the peace and security situation. Regional destabilisation is also minimised because there are more options to handle conflicts. The intimidation of a cooperative security force that is made up of multiple powers not one lone strong power can serve as a deterrence for conflict within the region and aggression from global players.

Further research to understand the dynamics of power are required as outlined in the recommendations.
5.5 Recommendations

A further study that would add to the understandings of state systems that existed in early African civilisations. These systems included power dynamics and struggles, what defined these properties? How was power attained, maintained and lost in those times. How did these African kingdoms and empires negotiate and recognise power amongst themselves? What were the elements of power and which societies were considered weak and why and finally what were the objectives of acclaiming power? What models of polarity and power can such an interrogation reveal and how functional would it be in a modern Africa? There is a lot of room for further understandings of African power interactions and dynamics rooted in historical configurations.
Appendix

Appendix 1: Map of Southern Africa
Appendix 2: Consent Form

Interview Consent Form

Research project title:

Research investigator:

Research Participants name:

The interview will take ________ mins. We don’t anticipate that there are any risks associated with your participation, but you have the right to stop the interview or withdraw from the research at any time.

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of the above research project. Ethical procedures for academic research undertaken from Kenyan institutions require that interviewees explicitly agree to being interviewed and how the information contained in their interview will be used. This consent form is necessary for us to ensure that you understand the purpose of your involvement and that you agree to the conditions of your participation.

By signing this form, I agree that;

1. I am voluntarily taking part in this project. I understand that I don’t have to take part, and I can stop the interview at any time;

2. The transcribed interview or extracts from it may be used for academic purposes;

3. I have read the Information sheet;

4. I don’t expect to receive any benefit or payment for my participation;

5. I can request a copy of the transcript of my interview and may make edits I feel necessary to ensure the effectiveness of any agreement made about confidentiality;

6. I have been able to ask any questions I might have, and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.

_____________________________________  ____________________
Participant                        Date

_____________________________________  ____________________
Researcher                        Date
Appendix 3: Unstructured Interview Guide

Institutional Respondent

1. What is your role in this organisation?
2. What role has this organisation played in Mozambique’s growth? Historical and contemporary?
3. What contributions has this organisation made to Mozambique’s role in the southern region?
4. What would you say are your institutions weaknesses?
5. How do you see Mozambique in the international sphere?
6. How do you think that Mozambique can grow its visibility and significance in the region?
7. What would you say are Mozambique’s weaknesses?
8. What would you say are its strengths?
9. What are your thoughts on Mozambique being a southern Africa hegemon and what would be your reason?

(may continue into second set of questions dependent on familiarity to theoretical knowledge)

Academic Respondent

1. Power is a concept that has been widely used in academia by social scientists. Philosophers like Foucault, Fanon, Keohane, Weber and many more have extensively analysed its meaning and implication to describe relations and phenomenon. When the term power is mentioned what comes to mind for you?
2. Can you elaborate that to an African context (what is power in Africa)? And why?
3. Scholars like Joseph Nye and Paul Zeleza have called for the expansion and localization of ideas around the globe to contextualise these to the realities of the locations. Do you feel that definitions of IR in Africa should be distinguished from Western centric ones? And why?
4. In your interpretation, explain Hegemony?
5. Is it rational to discuss hegemony in the African context?
6. Who are Africa’s power actors? And why do you identify them as such? What informs your impression?
7. How can hegemony be problematic in Africa?
8. Which hegemonic theory and or international system would you apply to Africa? Why?
9. What have been the positives and negative results of that system?
10. What are your understandings of the dynamics of Southern Africa international relations? Why?
11. Is hegemony postcolonial/post-colonial? Why?
12. What are your broad impressions of competition in the continent?
13. What are your broad impressions of cooperation?
14. What role does geography play in a country's power position?
15. Which African countries do you identify as geographically advantaged? Elaborate?
16. Why do you think that African countries are not maximising on geography?
17. What specific features do you think should be constituted in African hegemonic discussions? Elaborate
Appendix 4: Interview List

The list below consists of career professionals and African scholars to provide African views on power and hegemony for the study.

VC Adam Habib  
Professor of political geography and Vice Chancellor at University of the Witwatersrand Johannesburg. Adam Habib has academic literature Hegemony which analyses South Africa as a hegemonic actor in Africa.

Dr Salvador Forquilha  
Economics Professor at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo and economist at the National Economics Institute. Dr Forquilha used provided key insight on Mozambican economics and general history.

Dr John Mwangi  
Assistant Professor of International Relations at United States University in Nairobi. Dr Mwangi provided insights into perspectives of hegemony and power interpretations in Africa. Dr Mwangi also snowballed information about other respondents that would be relevant to my study.

Mr Vitorino Nhabanga  
Foreign diplomatic relations liaison at the Mozambican Ministry of International Relations. Mr Nhabanga provided neighbourly relational information and operational information about the purpose of the ministry.

Professor Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni  
Historian, Professor of Development studies at University of South Africa Pretoria and head of Archie Mafeje research institute. He has written extensively about Empire, Imperialism, Power and Postcolonialism. Professor Ndlovu-Gatsheni provided insights on Postcolonialism understandings and the history of Southern African relations.

Dr Vusi Gumede  
Professor of Humanities at the University of South Africa. Dr Gumede has written literature on African studies that centres on transformation and political economy. Dr Gumede provided key insights on African hegemony and resolutions for African transformation.
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