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SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COURSE CODE: INR 342

**COURSE TITLE: SOUTHERN AFRICAN IN GLOBAL
POLITICS**

**COURSE
GUIDE****INR 342
SOUTHERN AFRICA IN GLOBAL POLITICS**

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INTRODUCTION

Welcome to INR 342: Southern Africa in Global Politics. For all students in International Studies, this two-credit unit course is compulsory. The course provides a reader-friendly account of the role of Southern Africa in global politics. For the first time, some of us shall now begin to differentiate, properly, the country “South Africa” from the region “Southern Africa.” Beyond this, at the end of this course, we shall all, in our own little ways, become experts in Southern Africa.

Students are therefore encouraged to take the pain and read the main course work, not just for the purpose of passing prescribed examinations, but with minds attuned to a search for knowledge. The presentation is generally simple but not necessarily simplistic.

WHAT YOU WILL LEARN IN THIS COURSE

The things you will learn in this work may be grouped into four major scholarly areas, each contained in a module thus bringing the work to four modules, viz:

1. The concept of global politics and the location of Southern Africa
2. The history and political economy of apartheid in South Africa
3. Southern Africa in global politics: analysing the Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana
4. Future of Southern Africa: International Organisations, Political Economy, Globalisation and HIV/AIDS.

It is the submission of this Course Developer/Writer that given the scope of the four modules surveyed above, students who take the pains to study the main course work shall all come out as promising experts in the scholarship of Southern Africa, as a field of study in International Relations.

COURSE AIMS

The aims of this course, *inter alia*, are to widen the intellectual horizon of students on the scholarship of Southern Africa in relation to global politics. In doing this, efforts were made to ensure that all issues raised and positions taken can withstand the rigours of theoretical verifications and empirical validation.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

The work is divided into four modules. Each module has five units. For each unit, efforts were made to state very clearly, the objectives of that particular unit, which sums up to what, in precise terms, the student is expected to know at the end of that specific unit. This is a micro analysis of the objectives of this work. At the macro level, at the end of this intellectual inquiry, students will be more informed on the role of Southern Africa in global politics with specific references to: the Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana.

WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

Each unit begins with an introduction and specific objectives of that unit. This is followed by the main content, self-assessment exercise and conclusion, summary and references/further reading materials.

The presentations are logical, flowing from one frame of mind to another in a coordinated and systematic manner.

COURSE MATERIALS

There is a main course material attached to this guide. Students are encouraged to read the material and also keep it safely for future references.

STUDY UNITS

The arrangement of all study units are such that the thematic preoccupation of each unit complements the preceding unit and also provides a fillip for intellectual comprehension of the next unit. All units must be read by students.

REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

The hallmark of erudite scholarship is humility. This is often expressed through responsible academics and proper acknowledgement of diverse sources of information. This is ideal because no scholar is an intellectual hegemony. Accordingly, references were properly given in this course work. There are some areas where there are very little or practically no published works. In such circumstances, we have to rely on social media by visiting the internet. In doing this, however, efforts were also made to ensure that all relevant websites and allied references were cited. Relevant contributors were acknowledged as in the case of the review by Janice Love of recent books on Southern Africa by three scholars. More fundamentally, books were suggested for further reading.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Immediately after the main content on each study unit, one will find a self-assessment exercise. Students are expected to illuminate on these exercises and find answers to them from the main content, conclusion and summary. Answers were not provided in a strait-jacket form because of two reasons: one, many issues in this course work are not like Mathematics where one plus one is two. They are social science related matters where one plus one may not necessarily be two. This is essentially because, in social sciences, there is a lot of emphasis on sound reasoning, logical arguments, originality of thoughts independence of judgment and clarity of expressions. The other is the issue of space constraints. Accordingly, students are encouraged to exercise the trinity of sound reasoning, originality of thoughts and independence of judgment and provide answers for the exercises.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

Facilitators shall guide students on how and when to write Tutor-Marked Assignment. Students are encouraged to attempt and answer these assignments on their own.

FACILITATOR/TUTOR AND TUTORIAL

Students are encouraged to attend all facilitation classes and if possible organise themselves into tutorial groups for the purpose of cross-fertilisation of ideas.

WHAT YOU WILL LEARN IN THIS COURSE

- a. Read the main course work from page one to the end.
- b. Apply all the techniques you learnt in your study guide.
- c. Be current. Read newspapers. Listen to news. Visit relevant internet websites. Read some of the reference books.

But, to a large extent concentrate on this course work. This is extremely very important.

COMPUTER-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

There will be eighty objective questions which you must answer in four installments of 20 each. The computer will score and give you your results immediately. If you read the main course work thoroughly you will pass this computer based TMA in excellent grades.

EXAMINATION

You are required to sit for a written examination at the end of this course. To pass the examination, you have to study this course with all seriousness.

CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

This is not the course work for the study of *Southern Africa in Global Politics*. This is a course guide. Read the main course work which follows and study it with a mind attuned to critical inquiry. All we have done in this guide is to outline the aims, objectives and overall modus operandi of this course. Studying the main course will enable you pass the TMA and prescribed examination. It will also serve as a useful reference material on Southern Africa even after you may have graduated. This is essentially because, in relation to Southern Africa in Global Politics, the course work has explanatory value, analytical utility, descriptive merit and prescriptive capacity. Now, aspire to become an expert in Southern Africa in Global Politics. Welcome-on-board!

**MAIN
COURSE**

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**MODULE 1 THE CONCEPT OF GLOBAL POLITICS
AND THE LOCATION OF SOUTHERN
AFRICA**

Unit 1	The Concept of Global Politics and Definition of some Terms
Unit 2	The World and the African Continent
Unit 3	General Overview of Southern Africa
Unit 4	Contemporary Reviews of Southern Africa
Unit 5	Theoretical Framework of Analysis

**UNIT 1 THE CONCEPT OF GLOBAL POLITICS AND
DEFINITION OF SOME TERMS**

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2.0	Objectives
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary world system, particularly with the advent of globalisation, many countries are moving away from confrontation, conflicts and wars. In contrast, they are embracing compromise, cooperation and collaboration. In doing so, however, each country wants to protect her core-values referred to as national interest. The above scenario raises the tempo of what is generally referred to, in political science as global politics.

In Nigeria, scholarly interest in global politics, with specific reference to Southern Africa, stems from the fact that one of the countries in the region, the Republic of South Africa, is the largest economy in Africa and one of the richest countries in the world. The interest in Southern Africa as a subject of intellectual enquiry was also given a fillip by the

recent state visit to South Africa by Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, during which the president highlighted the place and role of Southern Africa in global politics. At Cape Town where the president of Nigeria addressed the South African parliament and the Nigerian - South African Business Forum respectively on Tuesday May 7, 2013, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan and the president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma signed nine Memorandum of Understanding thus reaffirming the relevance of South Africa in particular and the Southern African region in general in today's world politics.

Before we attempt a far reaching discussion of the thematic preoccupation of this course work, let us first of all begin with conceptual clarifications.

This unit attempts to present definitions of concepts and terms relevant for a clear understanding of the scholarship of global politics as a course unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define the concepts of politics, global politics, international relations national interest and foreign policy
- define concepts relevant for a good understanding of global politics such as power, authority, democracy, racism, fascism, capitalism, socialism, communism, imperialism and so on
- identify the driving force behind global politics.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Politics

The word politics is derived from a Greek word polis which can be translated into English as city-state. For the Greek, the polis was the most meaningful organisation of the people beyond the family level. Politics was limited to the activities of the state and its major institutions such as government. Politics therefore include the exercise of governmental power (Ball, 1983; Nzekwe, 1995).

Politics as a concept goes beyond the distribution and exercise of power in the state to embrace any activity at all levels of human relationships which elicit power and authority.

From the above intellectual position it can be said that apart from the level of national government, politics also exists at other levels such as within trade unions, corporate organisations, community associations, organised interest groups, academic institutions and in fact in virtually all group activities including family, religious groups and among students.

At the global level, politics also exists. We call this global politics. Students of Political Science usually have appreciable understanding of the dynamics of global politics.

To refresh our memory, it is important to recall that the study of politics, domestic or global, is a scientific effort. In this context, the word science suggests that politics is a science. Science here “indicates simply that there exists an academic tradition of the study of politics, a discipline communicated from teacher to pupil, by speech and writing, for 2,500 years now. It does not mean that this discipline claims to be a *natural science* or that it could be improved by copying the methods of Physics and Chemistry.

There are many definitions of Political Science. Some of the definitions are too vague for our purpose. Some are too concise to be useful. Many are clearly misleading. Example: American Political Scientist Harold Lasswell argues that Politics is “who gets what, how and when?” Alfred de Grazia suggests that political science “is the study of events that happen around the decision making centres of government. Charles Hyneman contends that the focus of attention in political science is that part of the affairs of the state that centres on government and that kind or part of government which speaks through law (Nzekwe, 1995: 20).

3.2 Global Politics

Global politics is premised on the instrumentality of international relations based on the foreign policy objectives of the country concerned. Foreign policy objectives of a given country are defined by the national interests of that country. National interest of a country is the sum total of core-value of a state for which that particular country can declare war either immediately or ultimately in order to defend.

3.3 International Relations

Global Politics is played within the contextual configurations of international relations. International relation is the framework on the basis of which a country relates with other actors in global politics. Critical issues in international relations may include diplomatic ties and other forms of relationships in the spheres of culture, education, trade,

tourism, military, science and technology, etc. The framework of a country's foreign policy defines its stands in international relations and global politics.

3.4 Foreign Policy

The Foreign Policy of a given country is the sum total of the positions a country may have chosen to take in her relations with both state and non-state actors in global politics. Such issues may include trade relations, cultural exchange, military co-operation and many others. By state actors we mean countries, for example, Great Britain, France, Germany, Ghana, Namibia, etc. Non-State actors are organisations in the International System such as United Nations, European Union, Red Cross, Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, etc. A country's foreign policy is a product of its domestic policy. The essence of this relationship is to protect the country's national interest.

3.5 National Interest

The whole essence of global politics by state actors in the international system is an effort by these countries to protect their national interests. National interest is one for which a country is willing to go to war either immediately or ultimately in order to defend itself. National interest is very critical to the very existence of a country because national interest projects the core-values, the security and well-being of a country.

A nation is secured to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice its national interests if it wishes to avoid war and is able if challenged to maintain those national interests by victory in such a war (Galtung, 1965; Imobighe, 1983). In reality however, national interest is the interest of the ruling class. Whatever the ruling class says is in national interest is usually accepted to be so even though, sometimes, this may be purely personal interest.

3.6 Definition of some Terms in Global Politics

We shall in this sub-unit examine and define some concepts relevant for our understanding of the dynamics of global politics as well as the methodology adopted by this writer. Understanding these concepts will also, generally, widen our intellectual horizon with reference to some of the concepts often used in the study of politics.

Power

Power is the ability of A to compel B to do something which B would not really like to do. Power is also the ability of A to compel B to refrain from doing something which B would really want to do. There are several strategies A may use, namely, brutal force, threats, reward and punishment, deception, intimidation, etc. The crucial point to note is that the power at the disposal of A is not legitimate. This distinguishes power from authority.

Authority

If I say to you: Get away from here or else I will throw you out through the window. One of your possible reactions may be to quietly move because of fear that I may execute my threat. In this respect, what did I exercise over you; power or authority? The answer is power. Not authority. Even though I have displayed a measure of power over you, there is still nothing to convince you that I have the right to throw you out through the window. In other words, authority is the recognition of the right to rule or to do something etc. Authority is exercised within a network of clearly defined rules. Those who obey authority feel they have the obligation to obey.

Max Weber has distinguished three types of authority, namely, traditional authority, charismatic authority and legal/rational authority. Traditional authority is the authority whose legitimacy is derived from the traditions and the value systems of a people as in the case of religious leaders, Chiefs, Emirs, Obas, etc. Charismatic authority derives its legitimacy from distinguished personality traits known as charisma. Well known charismatic leaders, in historic perspective, include Ghandi, Kennedy, Zik of Africa, etc. Legal/rational authority is derived from political and legal processes as in the case of Presidents and Governors that emerge after recording victory in free and fair elections.

Legitimacy

What distinguishes power from authority is legitimacy. Authority is equals to power plus legitimacy. Legitimacy may be defined as the recognition that a particular display of power is legal and justified. It is this recognition, this legality and justification that transforms power into authority.

Sovereignty

Sovereignty may be defined as the highest power that belongs to a particular state or country – which guarantees to the country a reasonable measure of independence, self-government and self-

determination. Usually, the Head of State is regarded as the sovereign because he represents that supreme power which belongs to the people but held in trust by the government on behalf of the people.

Democracy

Etymologically, the word “democracy” comes from the Greek word: “demo-kratia”, which means, “rule of the people. Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as a government of the people by the people and for the people. The form of democracy practiced in Greek elicited mass participation of virtually all adult male citizens in decision making processes. In modern times, this is no longer possible due to problems of organisation and logistics and also, because of the specialised nature of modern governments and administration.

We can therefore define modern democracy as ‘a system which gives to individuals maximum freedom and periodical opportunities to choose their leaders and programmes ... an arrangement in which different individuals and parties compete in free and fair elections and the citizens use their franchise to determine who shall be their rulers for the period. At the end of that period there will be another election. If the leaders perform well, they will be re-elected but if they do not, another set of leaders would be chosen’ (Nzekwe, 1995: 21).

Seven major features of a democratic society include the following:

- There must be more than one political party or individual competing for power.
- There is no president for life. Elections come up periodically.
- Elections must not only be free but must be seen to be fair.
- There is Universal Adult Suffrage.
- Civil liberties and fundamental freedom of the people and the mass media should be guaranteed.
- There should be no fear of victimisation or persecution.
- The doctrine of separation of power is strictly adhered to.

Monarchy

Monarchy is a form of government in which political power is vested in one person, called a king or a queen (like the present Queen of England) or a Chief, and Emir or an Oba as obtained in Nigeria. We have absolute Monarchs who command full political power like the former King of France, Louis XIV and Constitutional Monarchs who serve as figure heads and share power with elected officials.

Oligarchy

Oligarchy may be defined as a government by a few for the interest of that few. This form of government is bad. It is selfish. It is not acceptable to the modern world system.

Autocracy

This is government by a ruler who has an unlimited power and has no respect for the opinion and aspirations of the subjects.

Aristocracy

Aristocracy may be defined as government by a few but for the interest of all.

Anarchy

Anarchy as a political theory suggests that government and laws are undesirable and that the need for control should be discouraged in favour of disorder and confusion. In reality, no modern state in the contemporary world system conducts its affairs in consonance with the principles of anarchy.

Tyranny

Tyranny is used to describe the use of political power with total disregard for fairness, equity, justice and good conscience. A tyrant is often very wicked and usually obtains power by the use of force.

Dictatorship

Dictatorship is derived from the word dictator. A dictator is a ruler with absolute power – and often such power is usually obtained through illegal and unconstitutional means. A dictatorial government issues orders and gives command to the people with total disregard for the ideas of justice and Human Rights.

Republicanism

Republicanism is derived from the concept of republic. A republic simply put means a country with a system of government in which the elected representatives of the people are supreme, with an elected head – the president. A republican is one who supports the principles of republicanism, that is, the ideals of equal rights and privileges, etc.

Revolution

A revolution is a well-articulated uprising organised by revolutionaries who have theoretical and ideological clarity – and who are also supported by formidable organisations, disciplined leadership, and a high sense of responsibility. Revolution is not the same as adventurism or terrorism. It is a form of insurrection aimed at overthrowing the entire state system and all the attendant super-structures. A revolution usually removes the oppressors (bourgeoisie) from positions of state power and replaces them with cadres from the oppressed (proletariat). In the words of Mao Tse-tung, “a revolution is not the same as attending a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be anything so refined, so leisurely, so gentle, so temperate, so kind, so courteous, so restrained and so magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another” (Nzekwe, 1995: 23).

Racism

Racism suggests discrimination based on race or colour. When a Blackman, for example, is called “a black nigger” or thoroughly searched in an airport and a white man is allowed to pass with a simple wave of the hand, the actions suggest racism.

Fascism

Fascism is almost the opposite of democracy. Fascism is a political theory which attempts to strengthen the dictatorship of a tyrant. It does not recognise the ideals of justice, freedom and human rights. In a fascist state, the leader is supreme, all rights and authority originate from the leader, the leader is the source of all laws but he himself is above the law, the duty of the leader is to maintain and extend the powers of the state while those of the citizens are to obey the leader without questioning; the state is supreme and any person can be killed to achieve the greater good of the state; and the good of the state is determined by the leader.

Fascism is the Italian name for a system of totalitarian dictatorship which arose in Italy under Benito Mussolini.

Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism is a system of government in which all aspects of life is controlled by the government. There is strict control and regulation on the life of the citizenry. Even matters relating to family and religion are supervised by the government. In reality, the citizen has no right, no privilege, and no privacy.

In a totalitarian state, there is an official ideology, a single mass party, strict control of the mass media, frequent use of coercion, government monopoly of instrument of violence, etc.

Capitalism

Capitalism is a system of government based on private ownership of means of production. In a capitalist system, the forces of demand and supply are left to regulate the economy and state intervention in economic matters is usually discouraged. The motive behind production is to ensure profit maximisation and private capital accumulation for the capitalist class. Workers are exploited, repressed and abandoned. State policies are usually formulated to benefit the bourgeoisie. The capitalist system encourages survival of the fittest.

Socialism

The socialist system of government originated from the thinking of Karl Marx. Essentially, this system encourages state intervention and control of all major economic activities in a country. Production is not geared towards profit making but towards satisfaction of human needs. The dignity of labour and the rights of workers are respected. The poor and all the disadvantaged members of the society are treated with a great deal of sympathy. There is emphasis on justice, fairness, equity, human rights and good conscience. Usually, it takes a revolution to attain scientific socialism.

Communism

Communism is a system of government in which there is no more exploitation, repression and man's inhumanity to man. It is an advanced form of socialism where there is no more poverty, no oppression and consequently, the state withers away. In reality, no country has attained the communist stage of development in the strict sense of the term.

In the Marxist analysis of historical materialism, feudalism witnessed two major classes – the *Lords and the serfs*. The struggle between these two classes eventually led to the bourgeoisie revolution which brought about the dawn of capitalism. The contradictions in the capitalist system led to a revolution by the workers which led to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a socialist system of government which will eventually fade away for communism – a system of government characterised by justice and good life.

Imperialism

The highest level of capitalism is referred to as imperialism. At imperialist stage, capitalism has come face to face with insurmountable oddities and absurdities. This may be expressed in terms of fall in profit margins, escalating inflation, low investment, unemployment, general cyclical crisis in the economy and sometimes a revolution.

At this stage, finance capital is internationalised and exported in form of multinational corporations, MNCS, in search of profit elsewhere, particularly in Least Developed Countries, LDCs. In modern times, this is called globalisation. The political economy of globalisation is imperialism in its neocolonial configurations.

All we have done in this subunit is to give you the intellectual background to study politics, in this context global politics. This is very important.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Differentiate the following concepts: Global Politics, International Relations, National Interest and Foreign Policy?

4.0 CONCLUSION

It is essential to note that what is generally referred to as global politics is not remarkably different from what happens at the frontiers of domestic politics. The strategy may differ. But the logic is the same: a struggle over “who gets what how and when” Laswell (in Nzekwe, 1995: 20). What is very important to our understanding of global politics is that whereas in domestic politics the motive may be to satisfy individual self-actualisation need, in global politics, the driving force is the protection of core values referred to as national interest, a quest for which state actors sometimes go to war in order to protect.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit we have dealt on the definition of global politics and related concepts such as international relations, foreign policy and national interest. We have also examined other relevant concepts to widen our intellectual horizon in our quest to become political scientists and experts in International Studies.

Before we move into the intellectual domain of the next unit, always remember that politics is a struggle over “who gets what how and when”

and that this struggle, sometimes, takes international dimension in the form and context of global politics.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Define the concept of global politics?
2. Differentiate between domestic politics and global politics?
3. What do you understand by the concepts of international relation, foreign policy and national interest, respectively?
4. What do we mean by the following concepts: racism, fascism, Nazism, totalitarianism, capitalism, socialism and communism?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 THE WORLD AND THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

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 - 3.2 Continents in the World
 - 3.3 List of African Countries by Region
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 - 3.3.4 Southern Africa
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- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Some people, particularly those who are not conversant with issues in International Studies, Political Science and current affairs, at times, confuse the region; Southern Africa with the country: South Africa. This should not be so.

The implication of the above scenario is that even though the thematic preoccupation of this course unit is on Southern African region, we must, necessarily, begin with a brief overview of the structure of the entire world and that of the African region. This should not make us loose grasp of the real subject matter: Southern Africa. The whole essence is to internalise in our consciousness the appropriate intellectual background, geo-political framework and psychological mind-set desirable for in-depth study and analysis of Southern Africa.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define the world
- list all the continents in the world
- enumerate all the regions in Africa
- list all the countries in Africa, by region

- understand the difference between South Africa and Southern Africa
- write out all the countries in Southern Africa.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Definition of the World

Scientists suggest that the world is made up of geographical entities called continents. A continent is one of several very large landmasses on earth. They are generally identified by convention rather than any strict criteria, with seven regions commonly regarded as continents.

3.2 Continents in the world

From the largest continent in size to the smallest, the seven continents are:

1. Asia
2. Africa
3. North America
4. South America
5. Antarctica
6. Europe
7. Australia

3.3 List of African Countries by Region

3.3.1 Eastern Africa

Burundi
 Comoros
 Djibouti
 Eritrea
 Ethiopia
 Kenya
 Madagascar
 Malawi
 Mauritius
 Mayotte
 Mozambique
 Reunion
 Rwanda
 Seychelles
 Somalia
 Tanzania, United Republic of

Uganda
Zambia
Zimbabwe

(Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe have also been grouped under Southern Africa by experts as shall be explained later in the definition of Southern Africa at the end of unit 3.1.4.).

3.3.2 Middle Africa

Angola
Cameroon
Central African Republic
Chad
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo, Democratic Republic of the
Equatorial Guinea
Gabon
Sao Tome and Principe

3.3.3 Northern Africa

Algeria
Egypt
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
Morocco
South Sudan
Sudan
Tunisia
Western Sahara

3.3.4 Southern Africa

Botswana
Lesotho
Namibia
South Africa
Swaziland

Some schools of thought suggest that there are five or six continents in the world. But the generally accepted position puts the number of continents at seven.

3.3.5 Western Africa

Benin
Burkina Faso
Cape Verde
Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)
Gambia
Ghana
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Liberia
Mali
Mauritania
Niger
Nigeria
Saint Helena
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Togo

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Name all the continents in the world, all the regions in Africa and one country from each of the African regions?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Even though the subject matter of this course unit is limited to Southern Africa, a broad-based geo-political overview of the entire world, with emphasis on the entire Africa, has been surveyed to prepare our mind-sets for deeper international studies with emphasis strictly on Southern Africa.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have presented a geo-political framework for easier understanding of global politics in general.

Before we proceed to examine Southern Africa, it is very important to bear in mind, at all times, that Southern Africa is a region in the African continent quite different from South Africa which is just one of the countries in the Southern African region.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. List the continents in the world?
2. List the countries in Southern African region?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Definition and Location of Southern Africa
 - 3.1.1 General Definition
 - 3.1.2 Definition of Southern Africa as United Nations Scheme of Geographical Region and SACU (Southern African Customs Union)
 - 3.1.3 Definition of Southern Africa as SADC (Southern African Development Union)
 - 3.1.4 Definition of Southern Africa from the Perspective of the South of Cunene and Zambezi Rivers
 - 3.2 Geography
 - 3.3 Economy
 - 3.4 Environment
 - 3.5 Culture and the People
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

What are the countries in Southern Africa? This may be a simple question but not truly simplistic. Perhaps, no other United Nations region in the world elicits so much passion and sometimes confusion in terms of naming the countries in that region more than Southern Africa. This unit shall address this problematic as well as brief overview of Southern Africa's geography, economy, environment, culture and people.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define Southern Africa
- define Southern Africa from the perspective of SACU
- define Southern Africa from the perspective of SADC
- define Southern Africa from the geographical perspective of South Cunene and Zambezi Rivers
- discuss the controversy of the defining Southern Africa

- explain briefly the geography and political economy of Southern Africa
- explain briefly the environment of Southern Africa
- explain briefly the culture and people of Southern Africa.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Definition and Location of Southern Africa

3.1.1 General Definition

Southern Africa is the southern-most part of the African continent. Southern Africa is variably defined by geography or geographic. Expert opinions suggest that within the Southern African region are numerous territories including the Republic of South Africa which all over the world is simply referred to as *South Africa*.

3.1.2 Definition of Southern Africa as United Nations Scheme of Geographic Region and SACU (Southern African Customs Union)

Defined from the above cited perspective, Southern Africa comprises of the following countries:

- Botswana
- Lesotho
- Namibia
- South Africa
- Swaziland

It is important to note that the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) also comprises the five countries in the UN sub-region of Southern Africa.

3.1.3 Definition of Southern Africa as SADC (Southern African Development Community)

SADC was created in 1980 to facilitate co-operation in the region. If we are to define the Southern African region from the perspective of SADC, the countries are:

- Angola
- Botswana
- Democratic Republic of the Congo
- Lesotho

- Madagascar
- Malawi
- Mauritius
- Mozambique
- Namibia
- Seychelles
- South Africa
- Swaziland
- Tanzania
- Zambia
- Zimbabwe

The SADC organisational backdrop, therefore, explains why, sometimes, writers include as Southern African countries, such states as Angola which is part of central Africa in the UN scheme. It also explains why Comoros, Madagascar, Malawi, Mayote, Mozambique, Reunion, Mauritius, Seychelles, Zambia and Zimbabwe are, sometimes, analysed in the content or context of Southern Africa.

Further, it is interesting to note that the Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania, though more commonly known to belong to Central and Eastern Africa, respectively, are occasionally included in Southern Africa.

3.1.4 Definition of Southern Africa from the perspective of South of Cunene and Zambezi Rivers

In this geographic expression, the portion of Africa south of the Cunene and Zambezi Rivers are designated as Southern Africa:

They include:

- South Africa
- Lesotho
- Swaziland
- Namibia
- Botswana
- Zimbabwe
- Mozambique

It is interesting to note that this geographical definition of Southern Africa cuts Mozambique into two, bringing just one part into the league of Southern African countries. The part it brought in is that which lies south of the Zambezi Rivers.

The above definition is most often used by the people of South Africa, one of the countries in Southern Africa, for natural sciences and particularly in guide books such as Roberts' Birds of Southern Africa, the *Southern Africa Bird Project* and Mammals of the Southern African sub-region.

It must be clearly emphasised that this definition is not used in political, economic or human geographical contexts because this definition cuts Mozambique into two.

The Controversy of Defining Southern Africa

It is appropriate to take a firm position on which countries are truly located in Southern Africa. First, we have noted countries in Southern Africa when earlier in this work; countries in Africa were grouped region by region. We have also defined Southern Africa in the contextual configurations of SACU, SADC and the geographic of South of Cunene and Zambezi River, respectively. All these geographical and institutional definitions if divorced from economic and socio-political linkages in the region may not help us underscore countries which are correctly Southern African States.

Experts are generally of the opinion that any conception of Southern Africa which does not appreciate these linkages as well as states described by African nationalists as “frontline states” is incomplete. In this regard, to be included as Southern African countries are Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe beside Malawi and Zambia.

In fact, experts in Southern Africa contend that at worst, we can afford to leave out Angola, Tanzania and Congo Democratic Republic without any debilitating effect but leaving out Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Zambia misses the point, weakens the analyses and sometimes introduces confusion in the definition of Southern Africa, the researchers of this work, at the backdrop of the scholarship of political economy, concede to this argument. Accordingly, acceptable definitions of Southern Africa must necessarily go beyond, institutional claims, geography and geographic to capture the economic and socio-political linkages in the region with the Republic of South Africa at the epicenter.

3.2 Geography

The terrain of Southern Africa is varied, ranging from forest and grassland to deserts. The region has both lower – lying coastland areas and mountains.

In the sphere of natural resources, the region has the world largest resources of platinum and the platinum group elements, chromium, vanadium and cobalt as well as gold, iron, titanium and diamonds (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/southern/Africa>).

3.3 Economy

The region is distinct from the rest of Africa; with some of its main exports including platinum, diamonds, gold and uranium, but it is similar in that it shares some of the problems of the rest of the continent.

The problems arising from colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism are not immune to Southern Africa. In fact the trinity of poverty, corruption and HIV/AIDS is walking tall and fast across the countries of Southern Africa.

South Africa is a strong country in Southern Africa which no nation state in the world can reasonably afford to ignore. This is in terms of abundant natural resources, technology and human capital development. Experts suggest that South Africa has a nuclear arsenal. But compared to major powers such as United States, Russia, China, France, Great Britain, etc, South Africa and indeed all Southern African countries combined are dispensable strategic levers, particularly in the sphere of technology (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/southern/africa>).

3.4 Environment

Africa has a wide diversity of eco-regions including grassland, bushveld, Karoo and savannah. Even though considerable disturbance has occurred in some regions, from habitat loss due to human over population, there remains a significant number of various wild-life species including White Rhino, lion, leopard, impala, blue wild beast, monkey and elephant.

It has complex plateaus that create massive mountain structures along the South African border (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/southern/africa>).

3.5 Culture and the People

Southern Africa is a home to many cultures and people. It was once populated by San, Namaqua and pygmies in widely-dispersed concentrations. Due to the Bantu expansion which edged the previous peoples to the more remote areas of the region, the majority of ethnic groups in this region including the Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Northern Ndebele, Southern Ndebele, Tswana, Sotho and Shona people, Balunda, Mbundu, Ovimbundu, Chaga and Sukuma, speak languages which bear

common Bantu language traits. The process of colonisation and settling resulted in a significant population of European (Afrikaners, Anglo–Africans, Portuguese Africans, etc) and Asian descent (Cape Malays, Indian South Africans, etc) in many South African countries.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Attempt a definition of Southern Africa from three different perspectives of your choice?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Several definitions of the geographical region referred to as Southern Africa have been given in this unit. This exercise, to large extent, will give this work explanatory value, descriptive merit, predictive capacity, etc. As a point of departure, the first definition, premised on SACU shall be given emphasis in this course work.

Briefly, the economy, environment, culture and people of Southern Africa were also examined. The issues raised and positions taken, in these sub-sections, are not meant to be the very last words on Southern Africa but a preface to a more elaborate study.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has given a brief overview of Southern Africa as an intellectual pivot for further studies. What comes out of this unit, very clearly, is that when people say “Southern Africa”, our minds should quickly ask the question: “*which Southern Africa*”? Are you referring to SACU or SADC? This indeed is the reality of Southern Africa in global politics.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Define the Southern African region from the perspective of SACU?
2. Define the Southern African region from the perspective of SADC.
3. Briefly describe the geography, the economy, the environment, the culture and people of Southern Africa?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

See: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern_Africa)

The Oxford Compendium to the English Language.

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See also Southern African Customs Union (SACU) official website and Southern African Development Community (SADC) official website.

Love, Janice (2005). *Southern Africa in World Politics: Global Aspirations and Local Entanglement*. Cambridge: Westview Press.

UNIT 4 CONTEMPORARY REVIEW OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Allan D. Cooper
 - 3.2 Sara Rich Dorman
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Studies in Political Science, just like those of other terrains of scholarship, are usually based on current and contemporary literature. The essence is to enhance the analytical value of the study. In the context of Southern Africa in global politics, there are some insightful works including Janice Love's: *Southern Africa in World Politics: Local Aspirations and Global Entanglements*.

Love (2005) in this path-breaking work examines the dialectics of globalisation and localisation in the context of Southern Africa. She theorised on the military, political and economic globalisation putting some of these problematic in their historical contexts.

Even though love has been commanded for an in-depth research, *she has also been severally criticised* for lack of theoretical rigour arising from a historical analysis. Several reviewers, however, have diverse opinions on Love's work. This unit surveys two of such reviews, namely, those of Allan D Cooper and Sara Rich Dorman, respectively.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- appreciate the imperatives for using contemporary literature in analytical studies in Political Science and other fields of learning
- analyse the contemporary relevance of Janice Love's contributions to the study of Southern Africa (2005)

- describe some notable journals that have reviewed the study of Southern Africa including Africa Today and Africa Study Review
- identify prominent reviewers of Janice Love, such as Allan D. Cooper and Sara Rich Dorman.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Allan D. Cooper

Allan D. Cooper has offered a brief but insightful review of Janice Love's book: *Southern Africa in World Politics: Local Aspirations and Global Entanglements*. Cooper (2006: 129-131) suggests that Love's work on Southern Africa is one of the latest study of the region. In the words of Cooper:

Janice Love's analysis of southern African politics is the latest in a series of studies that focus on the challenges and promises of this region of the world. Beginning with Potholm and Dale's edited essays on southern Africa (1974), following with Carter and O'Meara's (1982) study, and then Saul's insightful examination of neo-colonial influences in southern Africa (1993), we now have with Love the first general text that explores southern Africa in the aftermath of apartheid and colonial rule. Love's work emerges at the same time that Gretchen Bauer, another leading scholar of southern Africa, has published a summary analysis of the region (in collaboration with Scott D. Taylor).

Love's book differs from others in that it avoids the case-study approach of describing a region country by country, and instead creates a narrative examination of the region as a whole. Although her attempt to explain why southern Africa constitutes a distinctive region is short on specifics, her study should serve as a well-organised and innovative review of the political history of the region, one that will be valuable to any student wishing a comprehensive introduction to southern Africa. Love summarises the historical context, accounting for why Europeans settled in the region, how Africans resisted these colonial endeavours, why the United States and the Soviet Union came to compete against each other for influence in the region, how African political elites came to power, and how southern Africa fits into the global world economy. She discusses the economic dilemmas facing the region, and the threat posed by the AIDS pandemic.

Love's overview of the region works best when she is describing macro-level interactions between southern Africa and external nodes of power. She offers a thorough explanation of how transnational economic forces have shaped the political development of southern Africa, and how

global patterns of financial exchange affect policy options facing current leaders in the region.

When Love attempts to explain the more minute details of micro level phenomena, the facts frequently get distorted and confusing. For instance, she claims that during the colonial era, "most economic exchange occurred between imperial nations and their colonies" (p. 13). This assertion is not accompanied by evidence, and is contrary to many scholarly studies on the subject of the economics of empire. Also, in a discussion of racist ideology as a type of cultural globalisation, Love states that in southern Africa, Africans and whites have only rarely socialised with each other (p. 43). This statement follows a well-developed explanation of how mestizos and the "Coloured" population arose in Portuguese colonies and South Africa respectively (pp. 27–32), and is followed by a description of how Portuguese men intermarried with African women and supported these families during colonial rule (p. 46).

Although Love does an admirable job of describing the major events that are shaping the history of southern Africa, she does so at the near exclusion of any analysis of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland, and Lesotho. Her references to Namibia include several inaccuracies and confounding arguments. For instance, she states that the League of Nations assigned South Africa to hold Namibia as a mandate territory (p. 40); in reality, the League of Nations offered this mandate to Britain, which in turn assigned the administration of its South African dominion. A misspelling appears for Namibian leader Toivo ja Toivo (p. 73) on a chart on which Love argues that North Korea was a primary ally of Namibia during the struggle for independence, overlooking the key role played by Cuba. Love suggests that SWAPO never quite succeeded in its goal of broadening its base beyond the majority Ovambo population, but offers no evidence to support this suggestion. Namibia has already had two prime ministers from the Damara community, a vice president from the Nama ethnic group, and several Herero are in other high positions of government. SWAPO has won considerable votes from all... (SOURCE: Allan D. Cooper (in) *African Today* Vol .53, No. 2, Writer 2006, pp.129 – 131,

<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/at/summary/v053/53.2cooper.html>).

3.2 Sara Rich Dorman

Sara Rich Dorman's review of Janice Love's book: *Southern Africa in world Politics: Local Aspirations and Global Entanglements* is also useful preface. Dorman (2005: 224 – 225) in her own words said:

Analysing the impact of globalisation in southern Africa, Janice Love provides a thoughtfully written text that surveys both a large geographical area and a substantial time period. For the most part this is done successfully, although at times the emphasis on thematic issues leads to some very odd leaps in time and focus. Love has an appealingly discursive writing style; the content, however, seems chosen for an audience with little background knowledge, providing more generalisations than new insights, few references, and little engagement with current academic thought, arguments, or debates. Probably a good way to get new students interested in the issues, but not satisfying or challenging enough for those at a more advanced level.

The book begins with an overview of theories of globalisation and localisation, followed by chapters on military, political, and economic globalisation. The discussion of military globalisation focuses mainly on the Cold War and its interaction with national liberation struggles. Although the account is more than adequate, I have always found it problematic to teach this period without comparative reference to other regions—the Horn and/or Western Sahara, for example, which saw quite different trajectories. The chapter on economic globalisation provides a fairly contemporary discussion of the region's political economy, with a now-standard emphasis on trade, liberalisation, debt, and development. In contrast, the chapter on political globalisation links together a diverse series of interventions: SADCC, peacekeeping, the TRC, and transnational advocacy campaigns (the Campaign to Ban Land-Mines and the Sant'Egidio community). This latter material is by far the most creative and thought-provoking in the book.

Dorman also in her own words gives a critique:

The downplaying of religious changes in particular is disappointing because they link southern Africa into South-South patterns of globalisation (Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East), in addition to the North-South dynamic. The Evangelical and Pentecostal churches have also been significant in that they "export" personnel and ideas within the region and to the North. Love makes the point that Gandhi's ideas of passive resistance are a South African export to the world (54), but she seems less interested in these contemporary equivalents. Given her academic engagement in this area (although formerly in international relations, Love currently teaches in a religious studies department), this omission is baffling and disappointing.

As a consequence, only part of the story of globalisation in southern Africa is told, emphasising formal institutions and the impact of force and power. Indeed, the text sets up a distinction between "old" globalisation, which is primarily coercive (imperialism), and "new"

globalisation, which is "cooperative, competitive or forceful" (20). This downplays the extent to which even imperial and settler power was buttressed, through processes of enculturation and indigenisation, by the transfer of norms and values that have proven remarkably resilient and powerful. It also seems to side-step the impact of "modernity" in southern Africa and the complex ways in which modernity and tradition continue to interact and influence the region's development. (Source: Sara Rich Dorman (in) African Studies Review, Vol. 48, No. 3, Dec. 2005, pp. 224 – 225,

http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/African_studies_review/v048/48.3dorman.htm/.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Which reviewer criticised Janice Love's book: Southern Africa in World Politics: Local Aspirations and Global Entanglements from the point of view of theoretical framework of analysis?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Janice Love's work on Southern Africa in global politics is certainly not the last word on Southern Africa in the context of globalisation but one of the very first words. As students of International Relations, we shall continue to build on her analysis.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has offered a bird's eye view of a path-breaking work on Southern Africa thus providing a preface for another view based on a different theoretical praxis.

Before we proceed to the next unit, the very essence of the present unit must be internalised in our consciousness. In any serious work of scholarship, contemporary researched works should be reviewed and appreciated and where previous reviews are relied upon, such reviews must be properly acknowledged. In all, Janice Love's book: Southern Africa in World Politics: Global Aspirations and Local Entanglements remains a contemporary and useful contribution to the study of Southern Africa in global politics.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSISGNMENT

1. What is the relevance of review of contemporary literature in intellectual studies?
2. What are the contributions of Allan D. Cooper and Sara Rich Dorman in our understanding of Janice Love's book: *Southern Africa and World Politics: Local Aspirations and Global Entanglements*.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Love, J. (2005). *Southern Africa in World Politics: Local Aspirations and Global Entanglements*. Cambridge: West View Press.

Allan, D. Cooper (2005). Review in *Africa Today*, Volume 53, Number 2, winter.

Sara Rich Dorman (2005). Review in *African Studies Review*, 48.3.

UNIT 5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Relevance of Theory
 - 3.2 Southern Africa in Global Politics: Theoretical Framework of Analysis
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Every scientific study, ideally, should be premised on the pivots of a verifiable theory. In this way, issues raised and positions taken can be assessed against the backdrop of a known body of knowledge. The actual problem with some studies is not the dearth of theory but the absence of one that can withstand the rigours of analytical verification and empirical validation. This is a pitfall that must be avoided in any serious analysis.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

- write a clear understanding of the significance of theoretical clarity in political analysis
- give evidence of theoretical analysis
- explain the relevance of the political economy approach in the study of Southern Africa in Global Politics

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Relevance of Theory

The problems of analytical utility of a theory can, again, be assessed at the backdrop of Janice Love's book: *Southern Africa in World Politics: Local Aspirations and Global Entanglements*. Let us review the work, again, in the light of appropriateness of theory or otherwise.

In the words of Bram Buscher:

If one wants to understand the Southern African region, one needs to look at the interaction between ‘global entanglements’ and ‘local aspirations’. This is the subtitle and the central message of Janice Love’s book ‘Southern Africa in World Politics’. For the military, political and economic fields she convincingly shows how global involvements influence what happens in the region and that these can have both positive and negative effects. In chapter four on ‘political globalisation’ she illustrates the positive effects by pointing at the enormous contributions of the international anti-apartheid lobby to end the white minority regimes in the region. In chapter three and five on military and economic globalisation respectively, she shows the negative effects by pointing at the protracted wars in Angola and Mozambique due to cold war world-power meddling and the influence of global neoliberal policies that have as of yet done little to decrease the enormous economic disparities in the region.

These and many other examples of where the global meets the local in Southern Africa are carefully traced through history, whereby Love distinguishes between various phases of globalisation, but lays most emphasis on ‘contemporary’ globalisation from 1945 to the present. The main questions in the book are whether there is anything distinctive about the contemporary phase versus past phases of globalisation and whether the heart of globalisation is formed by its economic dimension (pp.14-15). Love believes that the former is clearly proven in the Southern African region because of the intensity and speed with which global-local linkages change and influence one another. Regarding the latter she argues that although “in summary, if judged by the plight of the majority of people, economic interactions across local, regional, and global arena’s on the whole have not served Southern Africa very well” the analysis in her book “shows that globalisation is both multidimensional and complex” and one dimension of the phenomenon does not clearly outweigh the others (pp.210-211). And this is probably the strongest point of the book. Although people familiar with the region will find little new information in Love’s book, she does put forth a very balanced picture of events in the region, showing both the complexity and multidimensionality of globalisation in Southern Africa.

The downside of the book is the rather simplistic way in which the theoretical framework is set up and applied, leading almost expectedly to few fresh or new insights in the rest of the book. Love, after Giddens and Held, defines globalisation as the way in which “culture, politics, economics, and other social activities are stretched out across boundaries such that ‘events and decisions taking place on one side of the world have a significant impact on the other’” (pp.2-3). As a corollary, globalisation is also characterised by localisation but this is

basically where the framework stops. In a liberal behaviourist tradition, she then analyses and frames all important military, political and economic events in this simplistic format. Love uncomfortably equates localisation with ‘African ethnic rivalries’ (p.49), military globalisation with a global ‘expanding of organised violence’ in the region (p.64) and argues that post-cold war ‘new developments in military globalisation’ revolve around disputes within nations (p.66). Moreover, the amount of times whereby inherently political issues are brought back to the mere ‘links between the global, regional and local’ leave the reader wondering whether these links are in the end unavoidable and more or less neutral interactions that have little to do with political ideology or historical inequalities. Admittedly, Love does on several occasions critique ‘neoliberal’ political and economic global entanglements in Southern Africa or the devastating disregard for local lives due to cold war rivalries, but somehow these do not sound convincing as they seem to disappear into the inevitabilities of the links between the global, regional and local. Possibly, these points of critique stem from the fact that the book does not draw on a very wide range of literature available on the region. In fact, the book draws heavily on several ‘hot’ authors in the general global governance and globalisation debates, such as Rosenau Held and Sachs and therefore loses out on the more critical and nuanced literature available, especially that from the region itself. (SOURCE: Bram Buscher, vrije universities Amsterdam, The Netherlands (in) African Study Quarterly, the Online Journal for African Studies, Vol. 9, Issue 3, Spring 2007, <http://www.african.ufl.edu/asq/v9/v9i3a7.htm>).

This assessment of Love’s work, offered by Bram Buscher of Vrije University, Amsterdam, the Netherlands (<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v9/v9i3a7.htm>) shows a work well written and well presented. But as Buscher clearly noted: “the downside of the book is rather the simplistic way in which the theoretical framework is set up and applied.” This observation is a clarion call for theoretical rigour in political analysis, indeed, for all scholarly works. This leads us to the theoretical framework of analysis of the present study.

3.2 Theoretical Framework of Analysis

In terms of theoretical framework of analysis, the point of departure of this course work is that it is really not possible for Political Science or any discipline for that matter to explain global entanglements and local aspirations, in Southern Africa, outside the context of political economy.

In investigating the problems of Southern Africa in global politics therefore, Political Economy is being adopted as a theory and Marxism

as up-graded by V.I Lein as a methodology. The term Political Economy was coined from the Greek word “*Politikos*” meaning state or social rule. In specific terms, “*oikos*” means rule or law. When taken together *politikos* means the law of state management. Political Economy is therefore interested in the relationship, which may exist among people in the context of reproducing their means of livelihood. Political Economy as a theoretical construct, therefore, studies the social system of production, the economic relations between people in the process of production and the laws governing the production and exchange of material values at every stage in the history of mankind (Galadima, 1999: 131).

The relevance of Political Economy is that it is a theory which gives primacy to material conditions, particularly economic factors in the explanation of social life (Ake, 1981: p.1). The justification for underscoring the material economic condition in any analysis is that “to begin with, economic need is man’s most fundamental need, unless man is able to meet this need, he cannot exist in the first place. Man must eat before he can do anything else, before he can worship, pursue culture or become an Economist” (Ake, 1981: 1 – 2). The logic of economic determinism, therefore, is that most socio-economic and political problems have economic explanations.

It must however, be clearly noted that when an individual achieves a level of economic well-being such that he can take the basic economic necessities, particularly his daily food for granted, the urgency of economic need loses its edge. Nevertheless, according to Ake (1981: 1 - 2) the primacy remains. The fact that one is not constantly preoccupied with and motivated by economic needs shows that the needs are being met; it does not show they are not of primary importance. Karl Marx has also identified with the logics of economic determinism.

In the preface to his path-breaking work: *A contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx took the pain to explain, very clearly that “in the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production” (Internet; Google Search: 2005).

Marx further asserted that “the sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society – the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness” (Karl Marx). Thus the relations of production in China or in France, for example, are the basis for the whole social order of Chinese or French society; the same with Southern Africa.

We wish to conclude the argument for the adoption of Marxian political economy, as the theoretical framework of analysis, by re-emphasising that intellectual support for this position has been sufficiently provided by Karl Marx in the *Preface to the critique of Political Economy*, the *Communist Manifesto*, *Das Capital*, *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and also in the letter Engels wrote to Joseph Bloc where he emphasised the primacy of the economy in understanding the dynamics of the superstructure. For the present work, the theory is extremely useful because of its explanatory value, analytical utility and predictive capacity (Nzekwe, 2007: p. 41- 43).

Finally, it must be reaffirmed that the definition of political economy must not allow the super-ordination of the “Political” over and above the “economy”. It must also be remembered that political economy was conceptualised by a French writer, Montchreten De Watteville in 1615. He defined it as the science of wealth acquisition by the state or the family. Karl Marx in his classical theses cited in this analysis particularly in his critique of political economy has given birth to the body of knowledge now known as political economy defined as the social result of material production in a place, domestic or international.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

“Political Economy as a method of analysis, a theory of the economy and a philosophy of action can better explain the place and role of Southern Africa in Global Politics.” Discuss.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The resultant outcome and acceptability of any scientific investigation, is to a large extent, dependent on the explanatory utility of the theory used. Political economy, as a method of analysis, theory of the state and philosophy of action has more analytical power than any other theory in explaining the Southern Africa situation.

5.0 SUMMARY

For any scientific inquiry to be verifiable, it must be based on a known theory. Political Economy can better explain the place and role of Southern Africa in global politics, as well as other human existential problems.

What is the most important thing for us to note in our studies of Political Science and International Studies? The most important thing is to ensure, at all times, that all analysis is premised on theoretical

frameworks which can be verified scientifically. Marxism which is based on Political Economy, historical materialism and class struggle, is not the only theory available to social scientists. But, in our view, it is a grand theory which promises to be relevant even in years to come.

Of particular interest in the theory of Marxism, we must continue to reaffirm is Political Economy. Everything we know in this world, everything we learn, everything we see, everything we do has political economy explanation. Why are some people friendly, some very aggressive? Why are some people rich, some very poor? Why do nations go to war and leave men, women and children with swollen eyes, broken skulls, and bandaged limbs? All these have political economy explanations.

To sum up, Political Economy studies production and the basis of society from the perspective of economic relations between people in the production process and the contradictory relationships which arise in the mode of production. (Okereke, 2007).

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What is the relevance of theory in scientific studies?
2. Account for the explanatory value and analytical utility of Political Economy?
3. Attempt a critique of Janice Love's book: Southern Africa and World Politics: Local Aspirations and Global Entanglements?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 2 HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Unit 1	Apartheid: Concept, Background and History
Unit 2	Apartheid: The Contradictions of the Policy
Unit 3	Apartheid: The Logic and the Political Economy
Unit 4	Apartheid: The Dialectics of Liberation Struggle
Unit 5	South Africa, Southern Africa and Global Politics

UNIT 1 APARTHEID: CONCEPT, BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Concept
 - 3.2 History and Background
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit shall define the concept of apartheid with a view to establishing a conceptual framework on the basis of which the policy can be properly understood.

The unit also reviews the history and background of apartheid which equally serve as the history of the Republic of South Africa as well as the history of Southern Africa in global politics. In essence, the historical overview serves as a trinity of purpose. The unit gives this course the desired historical perspective.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- define the concept of apartheid
- discuss the epigenesis of the concept of apartheid
- situate the concept of apartheid within the wider perspective of global politics
- examine the concept of apartheid in historical context
- explain, clearly, the events of 1652 in Cape of Good Hope.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Concept

Okolo (1985: vii) has quoted the Anglican Bishop of Zululand, Alpheus Hamilton Zulu of saying, during the dark days of minority rule in South Africa, that Southern African people “bear the brunt of the Blackman’s burden.”

The apartheid policy is now history. But as students of International Studies, what do we know of apartheid, its history, its military strength, its laws, its prisons, its antecedents in shaping the behavior of Southern Africa in global politics in the past, now and in foreseeable future?

What do we know of the extent to which apartheid promoted the dialectics of poverty in the midst of riches, scarcity in the midst of plenty, destitution in the midst of affluence, sadness in the midst of joy?

Apartheid is not just a simplistic practice of staying apart. It is a theory. A theory of segregation between the white minority and the black majority in South Africa. South Africa, a country in Southern Africa, is being used as a case study.

According to the political correspondent of the *Nationalist* newspaper, Die Burger, an Afrikaner writing under a pseudonym “Dawie”, the word apartheid was used for the first time in the leading article on 26th March 1943. In this article, apartheid was first used and then repeated on September 19, 1943 in the same *Nationalist* newspaper and in January 1944, in the parliament of South Africa, the then parliamentary leader, Dr. Malan, envisaged an “ideal republic” in South Africa based on apartheid. This policy, according to him was “to ensure the safety of the white race and the Christian civilization by the honest maintenance of the principles of apartheid and guardianship.” (Okolo, 1985: p.2). Slowly, the concept of apartheid gained currency.

In reality, the concept of apartheid suggests a theory which promoted a relationship of superordination and subordination between the white minority and the black majority in Southern Africa.

Let us submit that a deeper meaning of apartheid was given by the then Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Godfrey Huggins, where he proclaimed:

While there is yet time and space, the country should be divided into separate areas for Black and White. In the native area the Black men

should be allowed to rise to any position to which he is capable of climbing. Every step in the industrial and social pyramid must be open to him, accepting only and always the very top. The native must be his own lawyer, doctor, builder, journalist or priest and he must be protected from white competition in his own area. In the European area, the Black will be welcomed when, tempted by wage, he offers his service as a labourer, but it will be on the understanding that he shall merely assist and not compete with the White man...The interest of each race will be paramount in its own sphere (Hancock, 1942: 101).

This definition of apartheid in the then South Rhodesia may be dressed with a human face but it is still the same policy of cruelty in its climax. It encouraged segregation in living quarters, schools, hospitals, markets, recreation centres, public buildings, bus terminals, train stations, etc. In short, the Blacks were directed to stay far away from the Whites. What were the sins of the Blacks? Nothing! Just that God in His infinite wisdom created them Black.

3.2 History and Background

Okolo (1985:9) suggests that the apartheid policy is not an overnight dream. It has a history. In the specific case of the Republic of South Africa in Southern Africa, the turning point in ancient global politics was in 1652.

In 1652, Jan Van Reinbeck, a Dutch and one of the most important officials of the then Dutch East Indian company arrived and settled at Cape of Good Hope. He was sent by the company to the place we now know as South Africa in April 1652 to set up a refreshment station at which its ships sailing to India could get such things as meat and fresh vegetables (Okolo, 1985: 10). This event marks the beginning of what we are discussing in this course: Southern Africa in global politics.

Let us pause and make a point very clear. Jan Van Rienbeck did not discover the present South Africa. In fact the concept of "discovery" in relation to a living people is dubious. It is imperialism at its apogee. It is unacceptable to modern African scholarship.

For example, when we say that Mungo Park discovered River Niger, what are we saying? We are simply not saying the truth.

When Mungo Park came to the banks of River Niger: present day Lokoja, Asaba or Onitsha, did he not see some people fishing or fetching water? If at all anyone ever discovered River Niger, that person is a native, perhaps, one of those fishermen, certainly an African. This is a discussion for another day. Back to South Africa.

Even within the context of Eurocentric scholarship, Jan Van Reinbeck cannot claim to have “discovered” the present day South Africa in 1652. If at all we are to allow imperialism make such fallacious claims, we must put records straight. In this regard, the Dutch were not the people who discovered South Africa. “The discovery”, (that word again) can be traced “back to 1486 and the honour rightly belongs to the Portuguese” (Okolo, 1985: 12).

The Portuguese in the 15th Century had a flourishing trade with India and China but the land route taken by the traders were so uncertain because of armed robbery attacks. This prompted the Portuguese to look out for a safer route. The effort made the Portuguese sail across the place now called South Africa, hence the claim of discovery. Again, the big question: did the Portuguese not see some natives in the area? How can you discover people who have since discovered themselves? This is yet a discussion for another day.

Soon flourishing businesses got blossomed in and around the cape. In 1657, the first few unofficial Europeans came to settle at the Cape of Good Hope. They soon began to regard this place as their original home. They were called free burghers and they grew rapidly in population.

In 1688, the European settlers were over 600 and they began to set up villages. Meanwhile, the African natives were alarmed and very suspicious of the white men settling on their land. In 1653, the natives made a bold effort to halt the invasion. They marched to the company’s cattle ranch, killed the herd boy, David Jansen and removed over 40 of the company’s cattle (Okolo, 1985: 12).

What was the reaction of Dutch East Indian Company to the revolt of the natives? Dr. Chukwudum Barnabas Okolo, Philosopher and authority on apartheid policy gave further details:

The natives raided the company’s cattle post, killed the herd boy, David Jansen and removed over 40 of the company’s cattle (Okolo, 1985: 12).

Okolo went on to say what exactly happened next. Again, in his own words:

This act of the natives provoked reprisals and two small wars which followed shortly compelled, so to speak, the Hottentots tribesmen to recognize Dutch occupation. By degrees, however, circumstances forced them to live with the situation and they began to hire themselves out to the Dutch colonialist as farm-labourers and domestic servants. Meanwhile, the company had imported slaves mainly from the East Coast and from Madagascar, and miscegenation between slaves

Hottentots and Europeans gave rise to the Cape Coloured population. (Okolo, 1985: 13).

From the above historical background, we can proceed to establish, with minds attuned to analytical inquiry, how global politics in Southern Africa began even before the birth of countries in the region such as the Republic of South Africa. This is our next concern.

3.3 Global Politics

The starting point is that a European company, Dutch East Indian Company in the month of April 1652, arrived a place called Cape of Good Hope in the present Southern African region. The aim was to set up a refreshment depot for their sailors and officials. Later, the officials began to bring in their families from Europe while some others got married in the cape. The natives resisted this invasion. They were suppressed with superior fire power of the Dutch. The Dutch further brought state apparatuses, such as the police, prisons and governmental authorities to checkmate the natives. Europeans held on all top jobs, while the natives worked as their servants: fetchers of water and hewers of woods. Soon, the European settlers took firm control of all the commanding heights of the economy in the area and began to discriminate against the natives, the blacks, in the most dehumanizing manner. This area was called the Cape of Good Hope. Today, the area is known as the Republic of South Africa in the Southern African region. South Africans now call the place: Cape Town.

What made the whitemen, Europeans, to settle in this place? The answer is obvious: quest for influence, power and material resources. This is the political economy of apartheid. Everything was nurtured by the logic and dynamics of global politics: a struggle over who gets what, how and when. Interestingly, this struggle in the context of global politics was active in Southern Africa even before the birth of all the countries we have in Southern Africa, today, including the Republic of South Africa. This is true, because, the global politics to exploit the present day South Africa for example, began in 1652.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

“Global Politics in the Republic of South Africa may be traced to 1652.” Discuss.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The apartheid policy is part of the sad story of South Africa as a country, and part and parcel of the sadness of the story of Southern Africa as a region. The policy has a history. The history reveals the antecedents of Southern Africa in global politics. Both the initial settlement of Europeans at Cape of Good Hope and later introduction of apartheid policy cannot be understood outside the context of political economy.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has attempted conceptual clarification of the term: apartheid. Simply put apartheid is a form of racism, a system of segregation based on colour. In this system of racism the Blacks in Southern Africa were punished by the Whites simply because God created them black. In the dark days of apartheid, life for Blacks in South Africa, for example, was a premature rehearsal of hell on earth. We shall discuss this in greater details in the next unit.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What is apartheid?
2. What is the history of apartheid policy in South Africa?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Alex La Guma (Ed.). (1972). *Apartheid: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans*. London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd.

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UNIT 2 APARTHEID: IDEOLOGY RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Afrikaner
 - 3.2 Racism
 - 3.3 Oppression, Suppression and Repression
 - 3.4 Justifications
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the contradictions of the apartheid policy of segregation and repression. The unit brings out, clearly, things considered wrong, irrational and unacceptable in the apartheid policy.

Accordingly, the unit analyses the concept of Afrikaner and its effect on the cultural solidarity of the black majority. It discusses the concept of racism as a philosophy of action for the white minority. Finally, the unit surveys a litany of oppressive, suppressive and repressive policies of apartheid regime pointing out the justifications used by the white settlers to justify the series of atrocities against the black natives.

In all presentations, the present Republic of South Africa is used as a case study.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the concept of Afrikaner
- state the official languages approved in South Africa by the white minority rule
- explain the meaning and dimensions of racism in apartheid enclave
- describe clearly some of the oppressive, suppressive and repressive policies of the apartheid regime

- analyse the contradictions inherent in the justification of apartheid by the white minority.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Afrikaner

Afrikaans is a language of the Afrikaners. This language was developed by the Dutch. It is one of the two official European languages in the Republic of South Africa. The other official language was English. The term Afrikaner is used to describe South African people of Dutch descent who are often commonly referred to as Boers (Okolo, 1985: 2).

The adoption of Afrikaans as an official, European language, together with English, means that local languages of the black natives were subjugated, totally disregarded. Considering that language is a prime vehicle through which the culture of a people is transmitted from generation. This means that the white minority had a plan to remove the blacks from history and if possible from the map of the world. This is a contradiction in the annals of human history.

3.2 Racism

The races in South Africa (which is our case study) include the whites or the Europeans, mainly the Afrikaners. These are the Dutch and the French. At times, some of these people had Irish or German blood. The language of the Afrikaners is Afrikaans, an Indo-European language spoken only in Africa. The sound of Afrikaans' language is similar to those of Dutch. Afrikaans and English were two official languages recognised by apartheid regime.

Another race is the Asians. These are people of Asian descent mostly Indians and Pakistanis. The Indians came to South Africa to work in sugarcane fields in South Africa as labourers and decided never to go back home after expiration of their contracts. They became freelabourers, small farmers, shopkeepers and domestic servants. Their families joined them. Their population blossomed and they became a distinct community in South Africa. Their principal language is Tamil.

The third race is coloured also known as the mulattoes. This group includes all persons of mixed race arising from inter-marriages among people from diverse races in South Africa. This arises mainly from the intercourse between visiting white sailors and local women.

The further and the largest race is the black, the original African people, the owners of the land. They are Bantus formerly called the natives.

According to Okolo (1985: 58) the Africans of South Africa and the inhabitants of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana were called the Southern Bantu as distinct from the Western group who live in French Equatorial Africa, the Cameroons, the Congo, Angola and from the eastern group who inhabit the region around the Great Lakes of the Rift Valley.

In the early days, however, “South Africa was inhabited by Hottentots and Bushmen. In contemporary South Africa, there are some hundreds of African tribes divided into four main language groups: the Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi who belong to the Nguni group; the northern and southern Sotho, the Tswana speaking tribes of Botswana and various tribes of the western Transvaal who belong to the Sotho group; the Venda and Tsonga are two smaller separate groups. About half a million people have not been officially classified (Okolo, 1985: 58).

The crucial point to note is that racism is a form of discrimination based on colour and that racism in South Africa is hierarchical with the Afrikaners blessed and kept on top and the original African people, the Blacks condemned and marched to the ground by apartheid. Again, this is a contradiction for humanity of the world.

3.3 Oppression, Suppression and Repression

In South Africa, during the apartheid era, the white minority stayed apart with the best opportunities, the best facilities, the best jobs, social services, welfare schemes and reliable security networks. In contrast, the black majority were forced to stay apart in country-sides where life itself was nasty, brutish and short. They were exploited, alienated, oppressed, suppressed and repressed. No health services. No education. No jobs. No clean drinking water. No food for the poor. No freedom for all. That was apartheid. This is apartheid.

3.4 Justifications

Afrikaners and the white minority government did everything to justify the unjustifiable system of apartheid. The white minority regime told the world that apartheid was not intended to oppress, suppress or repress the black majority but an effort to allow the original African people to develop at their own pace, to live together in their own villages, to do the things they like and their own ways of life. All these are interesting arguments but very dangerous when used to justify man’s inhumanity to man.

True, apartheid looks more like the modern system of federalism where people are encouraged to promote their culture and develop at their own pace. But the truth known to the world is that apartheid was an attempt to jealously protect the purity of the white race and provide for them the highest possible standard of living. To achieve this, the white has to be kept apart as a group. The pretenses to federalism are mere bunkum.

Because the intentions were inhuman, the apartheid regime had to rely on state apparatuses to sustain the system using the instrumentality of constitutional amendments, laws of the republic, the police, courts and prisons. In apartheid South Africa quite a lot of money was spent building prisons. Money that would have been used to build schools and colleges were spent constructing prison yards.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Enumerate and discuss the major races in South Africa according to their economic significance.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The advent of the Europeans including the Dutch, the Asians including the Indians and Pakistanis and the interest shown to affairs of South Africa and Southern Africa in general, by major powers of the world, is a demonstration of global politics in action. The interests in all their ramifications have political economy explanation.

5.0 SUMMARY

Afrikaans, language of the Afrikaners and one of the official European languages in South Africa, the second being English, alienated the black majority from the affairs of their own country. This is one of the contradictions of apartheid.

The presence of the Afrikaners, the Asians, the coloured and the Blacks bring into sharp focus the dynamics of racism in South Africa. Even though the apartheid system was justified in the light of federalist sentiments, the policy was for all intents and purposes oppressive, suppressive and repressive.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What were the roles of the Afrikaners in the promotion of racism in South Africa?
2. What are the contradictions of the apartheid policy?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Alex La Guma (Ed.). (1972). *Apartheid: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans*. London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd.
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UNIT 3 APARTHEID: THE LOGIC AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 The Logic of Apartheid Policy
 - 3.2 The Political Economy of Apartheid Policy
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the logic and the political economy of apartheid policy. This is with a view to establishing economic explanations to the political behaviour of all interested parties to the Southern African question.

The unit reasserts the theoretical framework which has shaped the content and the context of this work.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the logic of apartheid policy
- describe clearly the political economy of the apartheid policy
- differentiate the relationship between apartheid policy and global politics in the 1960s, 70s and 80s.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Logic of Apartheid Policy

The professed logic of the apartheid policy, by the white minority government, was different from the real intentions, the assumptions, the logical implications of the policy. To understand the difference between

the justifications of apartheid policy and the real motives, we must reason dialectically.

The Afrikaners appeared to be saying: “gentlemen, let us stay apart; the whites on one side, and the blacks on the other side. So that at the long run each side shall promote its own culture, live among its own people, develop at its own pace. Gentlemen, let us stay apart and live in peace...”

Those are false federalist sentiments which were clearly dubious and debunked in the last unit. The hidden motive may be located in the domain of political economy.

3.2 The Political Economy of Apartheid Policy

The political economy of apartheid policy provides a formidable framework for a clear understanding of Southern Africa in global politics.

The settlement of Europeans including the Dutch and also the Asians, namely, Indians and Pakistanis in Southern Africa, as a whole, has economic explanation. The political support of these races against the material interests of the black people by the superpowers also has economic explanations. Until all these abstractions are dialectically analysed and understood with minds attuned to critical inquiry, we may not be able to understand the place and role of Southern Africa in global politics.

Studies have shown that Southern Africa is one of the richest regions in the world with abundant, mineral resources. If Southern Africa is reviewed in terms of fully investigated, partially investigated and traces of mineral resources, virtually any thinkable precious mineral is under the soils of Southern African countries. The abundance of gold, diamonds and uranium among others are sufficient to make Southern Africa a prime attraction in global politics. This explains the interests of the white minority in the region as well as the support the race got from imperialism. In the same vein, foreign powers including Britain, United States, Germany, Portugal and some of the Asian tigers had investments in Southern Africa particularly in the Republic of South Africa. These investments they all wanted to protect. Not much. Not less.

Accordingly, it is in the interest of these foreign powers to protect their investments in Southern Africa. To them what made sense is logic and not morality or sentiments. And what was the logic? The logic is that their investments in Southern Africa can be better protected by a white minority rule than left in the hands of a black revolutionary government.

So, they all supported the conservative racist administration. This line of thinking shaped the perceptions of global capitalism throughout the 1960s, 70s and 80s.

The change of heart in the 1990s is essentially because the conscience of the entire world was touched by the fire in Soweto, the agony in Namibia, the tears in Botswana, the pains in Swaziland, the sounds of bombs and grenades pumping out fire and death across the Republic of South Africa where liberation struggle was at its peak.

At this stage, it dawned on the foreign powers with vested economic interests in Southern Africa, especially in the Republic of South Africa, that the white conservative government can no longer protect their investments in the Southern African region. This is the political economy of why the West now turned round to support the democratisation of the Southern African region. The aim again was to protect their investments from the burning fires of liberation struggles. This is the whole truth! Why was this fire of liberation burning in Soweto and other places? It is now imperative to mention the very important question of obnoxious labour laws which discouraged labour mobility among the blacks and oppressed classes in addition to providing a socio-political frame work for payment of starvation wages to these people, etc.

Pass laws made it difficult for the oppressed to escape exploitation and repression. Land laws in favour of the white minority equally denied the vast majority of the blacks and poor masses access to land for even subsistent farming. There were special reserves with abundant social amenities, in the microcosm of contemporary Government Reserved Areas (GRA). The blacks who were the poor and wretches of the earth were forbidden by pass laws from entering such reserves. There were other dehumanising conditions such as ill-treatment of the blacks working in mine depots and farm settlements without insurance policies, without health-care facilities, without meaningful wages. The oppressed workers were merely given take home pay which could not take them home. The result was revolutionary gravitations which raise the phenomenon which we now refer to as liberation struggles.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Attempt a brief overview of the political economy of apartheid policy in the Republic of South Africa?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Many countries in Southern Africa are endowed with rich mineral resources. This endowment provided the economic explanation for apartheid and political support for the policy by some foreign powers. The liberation struggle and eventual democratisation of the region was also a manifestation of the passion to protect vested economic interests of the same foreign powers threatened by the inferno of liberation struggles.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit we examined the logic and the political economy of apartheid policy pointing out that the entire activities and actions of the parties involved in the Southern African question, both local and international, had economic explanations. The parties were the white minority government, the black majority liberation fighters and foreign powers with enormous investments in Southern Africa including Britain.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Discuss the logic of apartheid policy.
2. Discuss the political economy of apartheid policy.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Ake, C. (1981). *Political Economy of Africa*. London: Macmillan Press.

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UNIT 4 APARTHEID: THE DIALECTICS OF LIBERATION STRUGGLE

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Liberation Struggle
 - 3.2 The Example of Nelson Mandela
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

During the cold war era in the 1960s, the Western powers led by United States supported minority regime in South Africa. In the late 1980s, when their investments in South Africa were threatened by the raging inferno of liberation struggles, the West and the United Nations began to impose severe sanctions on the apartheid regime.

The good example of Nelson Mandela epitomised by selfless leadership, genuine concern for the plight of the down-trodden masses and his professed philosophy of: *the struggle is my life* helped to secure freedom for South Africa and other countries in the Southern African region. This unit shall examine all these in relative details.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the basic steps to liberation and freedom in South Africa
- explain why the Western powers supported apartheid in the period of 1960s but later changed their minds in 1980s
- identify some of the reforms in the last days of apartheid regime.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Liberation Struggle

Background to liberation struggle in Southern Africa, especially in the case of the present Republic of South Africa has been reviewed in this course work. Sikiru Lanre Nurudeen (2009: 151) has also made useful contributions to the discourse. In his view:

Segregation of races in South Africa was not entirely new until the late 1940s when apartheid was institutionalised. Contempt for the non-whites who outnumbered the white's population by ratio 5 to 1 was almost an official policy of the major political parties in South Africa. It began in 1936 when the Representation Act removed the non-whites from the common electoral roll of Cape Province. From 1948 onwards, the theory of "Black Menace" which sought to promote the status and privileges of the whites was promoted. In 1956, the coloured electors (of mixed race) were removed from the register, pre-World War II pass laws were tightened, which ensure discrimination in education, housing and employment. The Immorality Act which, outlawed marriage among the races was strictly enforced to prevent miscegenation. But effective resistance to the Nationalists was almost impossible since strikes were banned, the ANC rendered powerless and its leaders, including Nelson Mandela charged for treason and jailed.

Despite the repression, the racial and class content of the struggle for liberation in South Africa was a profound fillip for resisting white minority rule. The oppressed, repressed and exploited were basically the black people most of whom were proletariats, peasants and lumpen proletariats. They were also elements of the comprador bourgeoisie in the revolutionary alliance. Some of the people among these revolutionary classes came from Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe to work with the indigenous blacks in mine depots and farm settlements. These elements worked under dehumanising social and economic conditions and thus became a class for itself very significant for the liberation struggle which had enormous violence deployed on both sides.

The violence became so profound that the Apartheid regime soon found it extremely expensive to continue with its philosophy of action against the blacks. This brings in the international dimension to the liberation struggle. For different reasons at different times, but mainly economic, the international capital including the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, Portugal and China had participated subtly in this struggle, some on the side of the white minority rule, others on the part of the oppressed

classes. The frontline states did so overtly on the side of the liberation fighters.

Nigeria played a frontline role in the liberation struggles in Southern Africa. In 1975, for example, the late Head of State, General Murtala Mohammed, openly and in a clearly proactive manner backed liberation fighters in Angola and criticised Britain and United States for their cold complicity in South African minority rule. Nurudeen (2009: 151) again, brought out this point lucidly:

Nigeria, though, was not geographically contiguous to the South of the continent, was however designated a front line state in recognition of her leading role in the struggle against apartheid. In 1976 Nigeria set up the South Africa Relief's Fund, hosted a week-long conference for Action against Apartheid, and chaired, for many years, the UN Committee against Apartheid.

Nigeria also spearheaded the withdrawal of some African countries from the Montreal Olympics, in line with the 1977 Gleneagles Agreement of the Commonwealth, over the apartheid issue. In the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969, African states recognised that the situation in South Africa was not a case of classical colonialism, since the country had achieved dominion status since 1909. Rather it was a case of the whites who were not satisfied with the status of being Africans, but who preferred to be more than Africans.

The path to liberation for the down-trodden majority in South Africa may be traced to a change of heart by Western powers, which hitherto were supporting apartheid regime, especially in the cold war era, but now changed their foreign policy thrusts.

The result of this change of foreign policy, by Western powers led by United States, is that the United Nations also became proactive in the bid to end apartheid.

Given the change in the attitudes of Western powers and the United Nations towards apartheid, backed with sanctions against the regime, Fredrick De Klerk who became South African President in 1989 was courageous enough to release political prisoners.

Fredrick De Klerk released from prison Walter Sisulu and seven ANC (African National Congress) colleagues put away in prison by repressive apartheid regime. This was on October 14th, 1989. Subsequently, Fredrick De Klerk held consultations with liberation fighters withdrew the last contingent of South African troops from Namibia and met with Nelson Mandela in prison.

Fredrick De Klerk on December 13th, 1989, met with Nelson Mandela in prison and discussed details of proposed power sharing arrangement to end minority rule in South Africa. On February 2nd, 1990, he legalised the ANC and other anti-apartheid political parties in South Africa. On February 11th 1990, he released Nelson Mandela from prison after 27 years in jail (Nurudeen, 2009:151).

On June 18, the state of emergency in South Africa including the emergency imposed on National province was lifted. Southern African journey to freedom and majority rule had begun.

3.2 The Example of Nelson Mandela

As students of Political Science and International Studies, respectively, it is quite in order for us to pause for a brief moment: let us think of Nelson Mandela. Nelson Mandela has taught us how to translate the abstract theory of leadership into a philosophy of action. He has reaffirmed the aphorism that in times of popular struggles, those who stood on the fence are either traitors or cowards. Like Franz Fanon, Mandela also believes that “posterity will not forgive those who possessing the exceptional ability of speaking the words of truth to their oppressors seek refuge in passivity, mute indifference and sometimes cold complicity” Fanon (in Nzekwe, 2007).

In International studies, there are leaders like Nelson Mandela who have made history. There are leaders who never waited for history to make itself. As good students of history, we cannot talk of certain countries without mentioning these leaders. Now, let's think of the ancient Roman Empire without Julius Caesar. Even in our wildest imagination can we think of India and forget Mahatma Gandhi? Can we really think of France without the generations of Napoleon, South Africa without Nelson Mandela, Germany without Otto Von Bismarck, Cuba without Fidel Castro, Nigeria without Nnamdi Azikiwe, England without Winston Churchill, China without Chairman Mao, Canada without Alexander Galt, Liberia without William Tubman, Libya without King Idris, Pakistan without Sir Syed Khan, Bangladesh without Sheikh Mujib, America without Washington, without Lincoln, without Kennedy? These men really made history. They never waited for history to make itself.

Now, think of this: Churchill made England a different country from what Chamberlain would have made it. Sun YatSen met China a monarchy and left it a republic. Emperor Haile Sellassie made Ethiopia a better country than his father, Ras Makonnen, the Governor of Harer, would have done. Garibaldi and Cavour using a movement called *Risorgimento* played a more heroic role in the unification of Italy than

the despotism of Mussolini ever did. Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte of France made history only when he adopted the ideology of populism. Alexander Hamilton spent virtually all his adult life in the unification of America.

John MacDonald devoted a greater part of his career to the development and liberation of Canada. Che Guevara did it in Argentina, Martin Luther did it in Austria, Walter Rodney did it in Guyana, Amilcar Cabral did it in Guinea Bissau, SamoraMachel did it in Mozambique, Mohammed Ali Junah did it in Pakistan, and Malcolm X did it for the people of America. President MwaiKibaki recently brought to an end, with a popular victory, 40 years of opposition in Kenya thus raising a mirror of people's power to Benjamin Nkapa of Tanzania, YoweriMuseveni of Uganda and BakiliMuluzi of Malawi. Indeed, Kibaki and others never waited for history to emerge on a platter of gold. They never waited for history to initiate itself. They simply made history. (Nzekwe, 2005: 24 – 25).

In discussing the example of Nelson Mandela, the question we now ask is: why is it that many leaders do not have the courage to speak out the truth even when confronted with the threat of supreme sacrifice? Why do many leaders find it difficult to identify with the masses, suffer with them and get the people liberated as Nelson Mandela did? Why do leaders, both in domestic and global politics fail to criticise glaring injustices in the society?

The answer is simple. History is replete with examples: Jesus Christ of Nazareth challenged an unjust society and was crucified. Martin Luther of Austria was excommunicated by the Pope. Walter Rodney of Guyana was killed in a car bomb. Dele Giwa of Nigeria was silenced with a parcel bomb. Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau was assassinated with lethal bomb. SamoraMachel of Mozambique was eliminated through a bomb in an aircraft. Martin Luther King Jnr. was assassinated in cold blood. CheGuevera of Argentina was murdered in Bolivia. Malcolm X of United States of America was assassinated. MurtalaMuhammed of Nigeria was assassinated. EdwardoMoudlaine of Mozambique was bombed to death under slightly different circumstances. Frantz Fanon of Martinique died of cancer of the bone while fighting for a just society. Would the reader still want to die for social justice? (Nzekwe, 1994: xi).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Discuss briefly the good example of Nelson Mandela in liberation struggles in the contemporary world.

4.0 CONCLUSION

It is fairly obvious that with a change of attitude on minority rule in South Africa by Western powers and the United Nations, apartheid was destined to collapse.

The good example of Nelson Mandela in a sustained struggle to liberate humanity held down by socio-political repression cannot be over emphasised. Nelson Mandela proved to mankind that it is better to be a free man in the grave than to be a slave in a king's palace.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we surveyed briefly the journey to liberation and freedom in South Africa with implications for the entire Southern African region and the lessons of the good example of Nelson Mandela.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Trace briefly the journey to liberation and freedom in South Africa.
2. What are the Lessons of the good example of Nelson Mandela?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 SOUTH AFRICA, SOUTHERN AFRICA AND GLOBAL POLITICS

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Instruments of Capability in Global Politics
 - 3.2 National Security Question
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Republic of South Africa and other Southern African countries, namely, Lesotho, Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland are among state actors in global politics. As actors, they can enter into diplomatic relations, sign bilateral and multilateral treaties and promote the national interests of their respective countries in the global system. Each of the countries also has the war option as a legitimate instrument of foreign policy each can indeed declare war with any country in the world when the war option becomes inevitable.

In asserting themselves in the international system, however, each of these Southern African countries, like any other state in the world, must necessarily rely on instruments of capability available to it.

These instruments of capability are the things that give a country a *strong voice* in global politics. In world politics, power does not necessarily flow from the barrel of the gun. For example, if a country is perceived to be peaceful and united at all times, this perception alone gives the country enormous power in global politics. Lack of unity, absence of *one voice*, in the other hand will make a country relatively vulnerable and powerless even though the country may be enormously rich with a strong military might.

So, begin now and today to appreciate the fact that power in global politics is not all about big population, big territory, frightening military arsenals and gun-boat diplomacy. There are other frontiers of capability which when perceived to be positive give a country *a big voice* in world politics.

We have outlined twenty of such instruments for brief discussions. The list is not exhaustive. There are many others. More importantly, our list is not arranged in any particular order. What is important is that these instruments are relevant, indeed very strategic for any state actor in global politics including those in Southern African region.

These instruments of capability also help countries to assert itself in international system as well as help to pursue foreign policy objectives. At times, what is required is simple perception of other actors that those instruments are there on ground or that they are not there, as the case may be.

The instruments of capability include but not exclusive to: military might, internal security, level of human capital development in the country, territorial size, demographic size, democratic credentials of the country, domestic social base for the leadership, diplomacy, absence or otherwise of primordial forces, food security, education, health, technology, foreign investments, organisational capacity of the country, productivity, trade, constitutionalism, co-operation, globalisation, etc.

As we have mentioned earlier, any country in the world can be assessed on the basis of these criteria to ascertain its latent and potential capability in global politics. Accordingly, ideally, it is on the basis of these instruments that the Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, Southern African countries of interest to this analysis, may be assessed. This will however be done very briefly as these are also the thematic preoccupation of module three of this course work. All we intend to do in this unit is to present general frameworks which are critical desiderata for present and future studies of state actors in global politics.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- state the instruments of capability available to state actors in the international system
- explain how these instruments enable states to pursue foreign policy objectives in global politics.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Instruments of Capacity in Global Politics

Military

There is no doubt that the military capability of a country is a strong factor in the assessment of a country's capability in global politics. Indicators of a formidable military arsenal include: the numerical strength of men and women in the armed forces; the quantity and qualitative assessment of sophisticated weapon systems available to the three services: army, air force and navy; numerical statistics of military depots, cantonments, brigades and divisions in and outside the country; level of training and capacity building for men and officers of the three services; the level of motivation, mobility and sense of nationalism inculcated in the consciousness of all men and women under arms; the size of defence budget, etc.

Even though Lesotho, Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland cannot reasonably intimidate so many countries in the world, in the course of global politics with their respective military might, the same cannot be said of the Republic of South Africa.

The level of motivation, mobility, speed, sophisticated weapon systems which include a nuclear arsenal available to the armed forces of the Republic of South Africa is a capability no country in the world can afford to ignore with a mere wave of the hand. This is not to suggest that the Republic of South Africa, in terms of flexing military might in global politics is a threat to many countries. Certainly, not for United States of America, Britain, Germany, Russia, China or even Israel will her be a threat. The point to note is that at regional level, the Republic of South Africa has a comparative advantage and at world level, no country can reasonably afford to dismiss South Africa, with its nuclear capability, with a mere wave of the hand.

Finally, it must be emphasised again that military might alone is strategically dispensable in the contemporary world system where United Nations can always assist the weak and persecuted state with formidable multi-lateral forces. United States alone, with the current tendency towards unipolarism can do the same. United States is, today, the world police man.

Human Capital

The quality of human capital, in a given country, if perceived to be relatively high in the international system, gives the country a measure of perceived capability in global politics.

Human capital index is used to assess this capability. Education, social security system, per capita income, level of employment and level of mobilisation, sensitisation and conscientisation of the citizenry towards the finest tradition of patriotism and nationalism may be useful in assessing the human capital index of a country.

If we survey the richest countries in the world, we shall discover that human capital development index is relatively high. Such countries command respect and elicit fear in global politics. Even countries with the richest businessmen in the world, richest footballers, musicians, actors and actresses may count all these as instruments of capability in global politics when measured in terms of human capital index. Let us examine this in relevant details.

United States of America with GDP of \$14, 660, 000, 000, 000, is the richest country in the world. Equatorial Guinea with GDP per capita of \$36, 600 is the richest country in Africa. Singapore with GDP per capita of \$62, 100 is the richest country in Asia. Panama with GDP per capita of \$13, 000 is the richest country in Central America. Qatar with GDP per capita of \$179, 000 is the richest country in Middle East. Chile with GDP per capita of \$15, 00 is the richest country in South America. Bahamas with GDP per capital of \$28, 700 is the richest country in the Caribbean. The richness of these countries, recent studies have shown, can be attributed to many factors the most important of which is human capital development through skill acquisition by the citizenry. The reason is simple. It is man that creates wealth. Wealth uninitiated and created by man cannot and will never create itself.

Now, look at this: Warren Buffet with about \$62 billion is the richest man in the world while Tiger Wood now a billionaire is the richest sportsman. Conversely, Brazzaville-Congo is the worst country in the world in terms of standard of living while Burundi with GDP per capita of \$300 is the poorest country in the world. With failed state index of 114.7, Somalia is today the most unstable country in the world even as Iraq with a global peace index of 334 is the most dangerous country to live in the world. (Nzekwe Amaechi, 2013: p. 2).

Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland and the Republic of South Africa can all, respectively, count on the pivot of human capital development in flexing their muscles in regional politics in the African

continent. This is, however, now on a diminishing return due to the ravaging impact of HIV/AIDS, poverty and unemployment in the region. Compared to developed countries such as Canada, Ireland, Japan, Russia, etc., these countries are backward. Southern African countries, except the Republic of South Africa indeed still have a very long way to go in human capital development.

Territorial Size

Hundreds of years ago, the size of a country is a highly rated source of capability in global politics. Not today. In the day of geo-political thinkers such as Alfred T. Mahan and Helford Mackinde, a country's location and size were, if considered favourable and relatively big, can frighten adversaries in global politics. (Nzekwe, 2007: 100). But in a globalised world, in this day of thermonuclear technology with capabilities for Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) the attributes of favourable location and big size, for countries in global politics, are clearly dispensable strategic levelers. (Nzekwe Amaechi, 2007: 100).

Furthermore countries like the Republic of South Africa can now enjoy very limited sense of security on consideration of the fact that it has weak and smaller neighbours in the sub-region. In response to the diminished territorial and demographic sizes, smaller countries in the world now go into alliance and enter into military treaties with powerful countries for protection. Accordingly, big countries such as Nigeria in West Africa and the Republic of South Africa in Southern Africa are no longer perceived as threats to weaker countries in their respective sub-regions.

An example is in order here. In the case of Nigeria in West Africa, at independence, Benin Republic, Chad, Niger and Cameroun entered into military defense agreements with France which gave the departing Colonial Power (France) transit and over-flight privilege across these countries among other benefits. In return, France signed to protect these countries with its overwhelming military might should Nigeria or any country in the world flexes his military muscles.

Southern Africa in World Politics, regional or global, when considered against the backdrop of the above analysis, can validate some basic assumptions. The assumptions are, one: in relation to regional politics in Southern Africa and even in the whole world, favourable location and relatively big size perceived for the Republic of South Africa confer very limited sense of security and capability to the regional power of South Africa; two: the weaker dispositions of Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland does not necessarily confer disadvantage because of the contemporary multilateral dynamics of global politics.

Demography

Again, in the days of great geo-political and demographic thinkers, the population of a country when perceived as relatively enormous commands respect and compliance in favour of the country so perceived. Not today. Iraq, smaller in territorial size and population when compared with Nigeria was able to frighten the world, the entire mankind, with its unregulated nuclear acquisitions. It is axiomatic that the strength of the Republic of South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland in the context of regional or global politics should not be assessed on the instrumentality of demography. This does not suggest that heavily populated countries, such as China and India, should not consider the demographic advantage a veritable force in global politics. Certainly, it is. But this should not be over-emphasised because of the place and role of technology which abbreviates demography, space and time in modern warfare.

Democracy

The democratic credentials of a state actor in global politics, when perceived as relatively high, can be a source of strength. The indicators of highly rated democratic credential may include: orderly and transparent model of political succession, free and fair elections, independence of the judiciary, supremacy of the constitution, the rule of law, separation of powers, civil liberty, fundamental human rights and freedom of the press, etc.

Assessed at the backdrop of the aforementioned democratic yard-sticks, post-apartheid South Africa is not doing badly even as the other Southern African countries, of interest to this course work, are also learning the rope with promises of improved democratic credentials. They can count on this factor in global politics.

Domestic Social Base

Domestic social base suggest that the political leadership commands the trust, co-operation and support of a broad-spectrum of the citizenry. Once this is perceived to be in place; the country so commands respect credibility and integrity in global politics.

What this also means is that if a state declares war against such a country, all the citizens of the country where the leadership has internal domestic social base shall come out amass to support their government. The citizens, men and women, boys and girls, young and old, at home and abroad will rise in unison, willing and ready to lay down their lives in defence of the political leadership of their country.

Sadly, Southern African countries and indeed most developing nations of the world do not enjoy this instrument of capability. This instrument is extremely strong, for when it is perceived to be there, David can defeat Goliath. Do you remember the American-Vietnam war?

Diplomacy

Diplomacy simply means negotiation. It is a process as well as an instrument of pursuing foreign policy objectives. If a country is perceived to be highly proficient intelligent and intellectually sound ambassadors and other diplomatic staff in its embassies all over the world, that country is rated high in terms of the instrumentality of diplomacy in global politics. It is in the light of this observation that diplomacy can be defined as: *the ability to tell someone to go to hell in such a manner and language that the person would want to quickly embark on the trip.*

This definition is in the lighter mood. The point to emphasise, however, is that many developing nations of the world including the countries of interest to us in Southern Africa, usually sacrifice integrity and meritocracy on the altar of indiscretion and mediocrity. In these countries, career diplomats and erudite professionals are relegated to the background in diplomatic postings. In contrast, politicians, friends and relations are chosen as ambassadors and given choice postings. This is the sadness of the story of this instrument of capability in many African countries including Southern Africa.

Primordial Forces

Primordial forces such as excessive religious symbolism, antagonism, fanaticism and jingoism can keep a country perpetually divided. Other primordial forces such as ethnicity, nepotism, statism, sectionalism, racism and several dimensions of geo-political chauvinism can bring disunity to a country. In global politics, when a country is perceived to have this disadvantage, that country is undermined. The country can even be dismissed with a mere shrug and a wave of the hand. This can happen even when the country is in frantic need of respect and attention in international negotiations and global politics.

Food

Food security as a veritable instrument of capability in global politics is very relevant today even as it is firmly rooted in ancient atavism. A country is vulnerable to the extent to which it depends on other countries for food supplies. When a country is perceived (the critical word in this discussion is perception) to be dependent on the international

community on food suppliers for its citizenry that country has no voice in global politics.

In the catalogue of human history, food supplies have been effectively used to force actors in national and international negotiations to change their positions. This has happened even in war situations. An example is in order here.

Let us quickly and briefly re-examine how the Nigerian civil war was fought, lost and won and the role food security played in the protracted warfare. More importantly, the short narration will bring out, clearly, the extent to which internal domestic social base, earlier discussed in this unit, can be a strong instrument of capability in politics and warfare.

Let us now take the analysis as a necessary example. It is a self-evident truth that during the Nigerian civil war, necessity gave birth to invention in Biafra. *Biafrans* built bombs. They built rockets. They designed and built delivery systems. They guided the rockets. . For three years of blockade without hopes of import, Biafra's maintained engines, manufactured machines and designed technical equipment. They also maintained all their vehicles, all their factories and all their weapon systems. The State extracted crude oil. The people refined petroleum. Individuals invented alternative sources of energy.

The people built and maintained their airports under a hostile atmosphere of heavy bombardments. The people recovered so quickly after each air-raid and each bombardment to uphold the record of maintaining one of the busiest airports in the world. Using a local telecommunication system, the people spoke to the world. The world heard them. And when the world replied, the people also heard.

The people of Biafra designed and constructed roads and bridges and dams and waterways. They manufactured rifles and revolvers and grenades and booby-traps. They built anti-personnel and anti-tank weapon systems. They constructed armored cars and tanks and missiles and modified aircraft from trainer to fighter, from passenger aircraft to bombers. They spun nylon yarn, developed modern agricultural seedlings, discovered various varieties of food items, invented an alternative medical science, perfected new sources of energy, adopted a highly sophisticated civil defence strategy and elevated its war propaganda as one of the most effective in the contemporary world history. This highly sophisticated propaganda system gave hope to the hopeless, food to the hungry, faith to the despondent, strength to the weak, courage to the frightened, inspiration to the discouraged, life to the spiritually decimated and freedom to the persecuted people.

The sense of commitment was widespread. The sense of nationalism was infectious. The sense of patriotism was epidemic. Men were ready to lay down their lives for a principle they believed in. Women were willing to send their little children to the war fronts. The old people were ready to bury their own children. And what do we call all these? The answer is *Social Mobilisation* of the highest order ever conceptualised in the catalogue of human history.

How were such measures of mobilisation, commitment, nationalism, patriotism, innovation, enterprises, confidence and determination generated into the consciousness of a persecuted people? How? How? How? This is the greatest question that was never asked.

In three years of freedom, Biafrans became the most courageous, the most creative, the most innovative, the most confident, the most civilised and the most technologically advanced Black people on earth. But, sadly, because of foolish pride and sense of vendetta, the post-war government threw away all these innovations. All the discoveries and creativities were systematically uprooted, dismantled, destroyed, and scattered. (Nzekwe 2005: pp52 – 55).

The significance of this analysis of aspects of the Nigerian civil war is the revelation, perhaps for the first time, that with creativity and internal domestic social base, both strong instruments of capability in politics and warfare, Biafra would have defeated the federal forces (Nigeria) in the civil war. The saving grace, a factor that ended the war in favour of General Yakubu Gowon is another instrument of capability: food security.

The Nigerian Government was advised that the Biafran leadership had a formidable, internal domestic social base and that Biafrans: men, woman and children, like the Vietnamese during the great war with America, were willing and ready to lay down their lives, individually and collectively, in defence of the Biafran dream. Gowon was therefore advised that the instrument which can defeat Biafra was not heavy artillery bombardment but a well-coordinated blockade of access to food being sent to Biafrans by Caritas, Red-cross and other humanitarian agencies. It is a self-evident truth that with this blockade, starvation malnutrition and kwashiorkor set in and Biafrans were defeated.

Back to our countries of interest; Southern Africa. Again, like many developing nations of the world, food security is a problem and cannot reasonably serve as an instrument of capability in times of diplomatic negotiations and global politics. The real problem in Africa is that of taste for foreign foods with the implication that food security is impossible. This is due to food imperialism and the dialectics of

modernisation of hunger in developing countries of the world by Western powers.

Education

Apart from a few good universities in Africa running standard educational systems, many are merely running *schooling systems* not educational system. This is to the extent that students are more at home and on the streets than in the schools due to poor funding and unending strikes by lecturers and non-academic staff. The education system in Southern Africa is however, a source of strength and capability. Their universities are doing well.

Health

A healthy nation is a wealthy nation. Medical tourism, currently in vogue in Nigeria, is a source of vulnerability in global politics. In comparative regional basis, Southern African countries are doing better in terms of medical reforms and facilities.

Technology

Many Southern African countries particularly the Republic of South Africa have relatively advanced technology which is a source of strength in global politics. The frontier of vulnerability is in the area of technological dependency especially on Western countries.

Foreign Investment

Foreign Investments in Southern Africa makes the countries vulnerable in global politics. This is to the extent that, just like all other African countries, commanding heights of the economy are monopolised and controlled by imperialism.

International finance capital through multinational corporations, in Southern Africa, control the oil sector, extractive industries, construction, communication, manufacturing and even distributive trade. Britain and United States have substantial investments in Southern Africa. This makes the countries vulnerable to foreign manipulations by vested interests particularly Western powers

Organisational capacity

The organisational capacity of many Southern African countries is highly rated. This is a frontier of capability in micro strategic calculations.

Productivity

The perceived levels of job motivation, labour productivity and performance index in Southern Africa is also highly rated. This is a source of strength in global politics.

Trade

Given the abundance of valuable raw materials, natural resources, labour and finance capital in Southern Africa, balance of trade is in favour of many of the countries. The present economic recession is a cyclical global economic crisis. It is not peculiar to Southern Africa alone.

Constitutionalism

Constitutionalism suggests a system based on constitution. This is in contrast to arbitrary governance, military rule, despotism and fascism. Constitutionalism is not a major problem in Southern Africa, today. It is not even a major problem in the entire world.

C-operation

Countries in Southern Africa are signatories to major bilateral and multilateral treaties in the world including those in the areas of military and defence, trade and investments, global peace and security, etc. They are also active in regional and sub-regional co-operations, such as those of African Union, Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and Southern African Development Community (SADC). These are instruments of capability available to all Southern African countries.

Globalisation

Southern African countries including the Republic of South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland have all taken legitimate advantage of globalisation. This is a source of strength.

Internal Security

Internal Security is not provided only by the police and Para-military forces. It is a holistic state of freedom. Many African countries including those of Southern Africa lack internal security. The question is: what is security?

3.2 National Security Question

In many African countries including those of Southern Africa, internal security is very weak, thus providing a frontier of vulnerability for African countries as a whole in global politics. Some African countries are however, more secured than others.

In Nigeria in West Africa and Republic of South Africa in Southern Africa, for instance, the process of conceptualisation and execution of issues bothering on national security is usually shrouded in overwhelming secrecy. This has put a measure of doubt in the minds of many people with regards to what precisely *national security* is all about. And so, we must now ask the question: *What is national security?*

National Security is the sum total of the vital national interests of a country. A vital national interest is one for which a country is willing to go to war either immediately or ultimately in order to defend itself (Lipman, 1943: 51).

A nation is secured to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war, and is able if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war (Hartman 1967: 4). Johan Galtung concluded that security is the probability that a system can be sustained, a human system, a social system, a state system, a world system (Galtung, 1965: 348).

At the premise of *conventional security doctrine*, many scholars believe that only a strong military, equipped with sophisticated weapon systems can effectively deter possible enemy attacks and threats of hostile offensive, and also provide a means of fighting if the attack is not deterred (*Ibid*). We disagree with this intellectual position.

First and foremost, we argue that security is freedom from danger, fear, anxiety or uncertainty (Imobighe, 1983: 20). In the words of Imobighe:

Security has to do with freedom from danger, fear, anxiety or uncertainty. It is a condition of being protected from or not being exposed to external aggression and internal sabotage... It affects not only the satisfaction of the needs of the inhabitants but also, and perhaps more importantly, the fundamental issue of the national survival as a viable entity. It is only under secure atmosphere that a state can develop and direct its human and materials resources towards positive ends (Imobighe, 1983: p. 20).

Taking our point of departure from the scholarly position which contends that security is freedom from danger, fear, anxiety or

uncertainty, we argue that the Republic of South Africa, for example, may have a very strong military with a high mobility and sophisticated weapon system and yet the country may be insecure. This is because, there are socio-economic, cultural, political, moral, psychological, intellectual, military and technological dimensions to the security question.

The central focus of our scholarly position is a critique of the military establishments in Southern Africa as the ultimate guarantor of national security. Our intellectual postulation is that in the contemporary era when the global trend is emphasising cooperation and consultation and moving away from conflicts and confrontations, excessive defense spending, especially for a developing country like in Southern Africa, is counter-productive in respect of the needs for meaningful development and national security.

More importantly, at a time when there is no significant, credible, external military threat to Southern Africa's security, excessive defence spending diverts resources away from other equally vital aspects of the economy and consequently regenerates the problems of underdevelopment. This inadvertently promotes poverty, unemployment, militancy and sometimes terrorism.

Furthermore, we reassert that security is the probability that a system can be sustained – a human system, a social system, a state system, or a world system. Consequently, there are interrelated linkages towards the ideals of sustaining a state system – socio-cultural, political, economic, intellectual and moral, etc. emphasise the military aspect alone when discussing the national security question is in our considered opinion, making strategic studies to stand on its head.

We submit that the security of Southern Africa does not depend solely or even primarily on the region's military capacities but on the strength and reliability of the various interrelated linkages which could ensure national security and sustain the state systems.

For the avoidance of doubt, we have not argued for the proscription of the military establishment. Neither do we suggest the elimination of defence vote in the region's budgets. Furthermore, we do not advocate for a neglect of all reasonable material, human and financial resource requirements of the armed forces in Southern Africa. Neither do we suggest that Southern African countries can reasonably remove the war option from the region's foreign policy alternatives. Our argument is that the super-ordination of the military and consequent subordination of other vital aspects of the economy (particularly during the Apartheid regimes in Southern Africa) such as public health, education,

agriculture, provision of essential services and internal security etc. is unhealthy for Southern African development and counter-productive as a strategy for regional security.

We equally submit that in the Republic of South Africa, a drastic cut in defence spending is timely, necessary and relevant. Finally, we argue that the real security threat facing Southern Africa is the problem of underdevelopment: unemployment, poverty and HIV/AIDS. These security threats cannot be reasonably confronted by military preparedness. This is the political economy of the security situation in Southern Africa.

Finally, let us emphasise that all these configurations of instruments of capability are not meant to negate the primacy of political economy. Indeed, at the backdrop of a formidable political economy in a state system, all these elements of capability become self-manifest. In relation to Southern Africa, some of these elements are truly in place relative to the potentials of each of the country concerned.

SELF- ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Outline and explain ten instruments of capability in global politics.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The instruments of capability surveyed in this unit can apply to any country in the world. Some of these issues, in relation to Southern Africa shall be discussed in the next module, in details.

5.0 SUMMARY

Twenty instruments of capability were examined. At any given time, you should be able to remember at least ten. This is one way you can become a good student of international studies.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What is instrument of capability in global politics?
2. Why was the Biafran army defeated by federal troops during the Nigerian civil war?

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MODULE 3

**SOUTHERN AFRICA IN GLOBAL
POLITICS:ANALYSING REPUBLIC
OF SOUTH AFRICA,
NAMIBIA, SWAZILAND,LESOTHO AND
BOTSWANA**

Unit 1	Republic of South Africa
Unit 2	Namibia
Unit 3	Swaziland
Unit 4	Lesotho
Unit 5	Botswana

UNIT 1 REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 General Overview
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the Republic of South Africa with a mind attuned to critical inquiry. The Republic of South Africa is the biggest economy and a regional power in Africa. Together with Brazil, Russia, India and China, South Africa is regarded as an emerging power, and has the potential to take up important roles in multilateral fora.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the domestic structure of the Republic of South Africa
- discuss the Republic of South Africa's role in the international system.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 General Overview

Republic of South Africa is located in Southern Africa. It has among others three major cities Pretoria, the executive capital of South Africa; Bloemfontein, the judicial capital; and Cape Town, the legislative capital. The 2011 census figure of South Africa is 51,770,560. Black Africans are 79.2%, Coloured 8.9%, White 8.9%, Indian/Asia 2.5% and other 0.5%. The land area is 1,219,912.00 square kilometers.

Republic of South Africa has eleven officially recognised languages: Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. By 1995, literacy level was 81.8%. Muslim population is 2%, Christians 68%, Indigenous beliefs and animists 28.5%, Hindu 1.5%. 2011 estimates for life expectancy were 56.74 for male 59.63 for female. The government in South Africa is republican.

In South Africa, the official currency is rand ®. 1rand = 100 cents. In the year 2000, GDP per capital was 8,500 dollars in the areas of industries, agriculture and land resources. The Republic of South Africa is world largest producer of platinum, gold, chromium, etc. It has big automobile assembly plants, machinery industries, metalwork's factories and enormous investments in textile, Iron and steel, chemicals, fertilizer, foodstuffs, including corn, wheat, sugarcane, fruits, vegetables, beef, poultry, mutton wool, dairy products, etc. Arable land is 10% and natural resources include: gold, chromium, antimony, coal, iron ore, manganese, gem, uranium, diamonds, platinum, copper, vanadium, salt, natural gas, etc. The Republic of South Africa is an extremely rich country. (<http://go.hrw.com>).

(http://go.hrw.com/atlas/norm_htm/safrica.htm).

Republic of South Africa with the Motto: “unity in diversity” has Johannesburg as the largest city. The government is based on constitutionalism, parliamentarism and republicanism with Jacob Zuma as the President (as at date). The country attained the status of a union on May 31st 1910; Westminster December 11th 1931; Republic 31 May, 1961. 1961 to date, South Africa has been developing rapidly. The country operates left-hand drive.

South Africa is officially called Republic of South Africa. Located at the Southern tip of Africa, the country is divided into nine provinces and has 2,798 kilometer (1,739 miles) of coastline. South Africa is boarded in the north by Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe; to the east by Mozambique and Swaziland is an enclave surrounded by South African

territory. South Africa is the 25th largest country in the world by area and the 24th most populous country with over 51 million people. It is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural nation with eleven languages recognised by the constitution which have European origin: English and Afrikaans. Unlike most parliamentary state systems, in South Africa the position of the head of state and head of government are merged in a parliamentary dependent President.

South Africa is ranked by the World Bank as a country of upper middle income economy. It has the largest economy in Africa and the 28th largest economy in the world. It has the 5th highest per capita income in Africa. Ironically about one quarter of the population are unemployed and live below the poverty line.

(http://go.hrw.com/atlas/norm_htm/safrica.htm).

History

The area we know today as the Republic of South Africa has existed on the face of mother earth for hundreds and hundreds of years. Studies have shown that South Africa contains some of the oldest archaeology and human fossil sites in the world. Extensive fossil remains have been recovered from a series of caves in Gauteng Province. The area is a UNESCO World Heritage site and has been termed Cradle of Humankind.

As we noted in the last module, the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck, at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, marked a historical beginning in the making of South Africa. Jan Van Riebeeck is the first European to arrive South Africa. The first place he settled, Cape of Good Hope is later to be renamed Cape Town. The discovery of diamonds, later gold, led to the 19th century Anglo-Boer war in which the Boer, the original invaders: Dutch, with German, French and British settlers fought one another for the control of South African wealth. The result: Cape Town became a British colony in 1806 and by 1820s British settlements spread around the cape. It must be remembered that Great Britain earlier took over the Cape of Good Hope in 1795, to prevent it from falling under the control of the French First Republic which had invaded the Dutch republic. Great Britain needed Cape Town with so much passion because it had interests in Australia and India and the Cape was well situated to serve as an interim port for coordinating activities in these countries. The British authority, however, returned Cape Town to Dutch Batavian Republic in 1803, the Dutch East Indian Company having effectively gone bankrupt in by 1795.

(http://go.hrw.com/atlas/norm_htm/safrica.htm).

Several historical events followed. In 1909, the famous South African Act of 1909 created the Union of South Africa. In 1931, the union was granted independence by United Kingdom with the passage of the statute of Westminster. The country became a Republic in 1961. Apartheid policy continued until 1990. The major problems in post-apartheid South Africa are: unemployment and HIV/AIDS.

Geography

Republic of South Africa is located in the southernmost part of Africa with a long coastline and a vast, flat land. South Africa has a remarkable possession: a small sub-Antarctica archipelago of the Prince Edward Islands consisting of Marion Island and Prince Edward Island. South Africa has a temperate climate, even distribution of rainfall and green landscape. It has a rich stock of various livestock and over 20,000 diverse plant species. South Africa has human-friendly geography.

Politics

South Africa is a parliamentary republic. In the most recent election held in April 22nd, 2009, the African National Congress (ANC) got 65% of the vote and 264 seats, while the main opposition, the Democratic Alliance (DA) won 16.7% of the vote and 67 seats. The Congress of the People which split from ANC won 7.4% of the vote and the Inkatha Freedom party, which mainly represents Zulu voters, took 4.6% of the vote. The machinery of government works smoothly in South Africa with relative stability, prudence and collaboration among the political elites.

In the area of global politics which is the thematic preoccupation of this course work, “as the union of South Africa, the country was a founding member of United Nations. The country is one of the founding members of the African Union (AU) and has the largest economy of all the members. It is also a founding member of AU’s *New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD)*. South Africa has played a key role as a mediator in African conflicts over the last decade such as in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Comoros and Zimbabwe. After apartheid ended, South Africa was readmitted to the Commonwealth of Nations.

The country is a member of the Group of 77 and chaired the organisation in 2006. South Africa is also a member of Southern African Development Community (SADC) South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone, Southern African Customs Union (SACU), Antarctic Treaty System, World Trade Organisation, International Monetary Fund, G20 and G8+5. South African President Jacob Zuma and Chinese

President Hu Jintao upgraded bilateral ties between the two countries on August 24th, 2010 when they signed the Beijing Agreement which elevated South Africa's earlier *strategic partnership* with China to a higher level of *Comprehensive Strategic Partnership* in both economic and political affairs, including the strengthening of exchanges between their respective ruling parties and legislatures.

In April 2011, South Africa formally joined the Brazil-Russia – India – China BRICS grouping of countries identified by President Zuma as the country's largest trading partners and also the largest trading partners with Africa as a whole. Zuma asserted that BRICS member countries would also work with each other through the UN, the Group of Twenty (G20) and the India Brazil South Africa (IBSA) forum.

South Africa also participates actively in global politics through her diplomatic and consular missions all over the world, promoting cultural exchange, tourism, technological, military, education, trade and humanitarian diplomacy. The country also initiates various forms of economic diplomacy and diplomacy of economic development (two different concepts). With the instruments of capability available to her, South Africa, in the past decade, has consistently projected the country's foreign policy goals with amazing condour, vigour and thoroughness. Certainly, South Africa is a state actor in global politics no analyst can reasonably afford to ignore.

One area of capability South Africa is reckoned for is in the sphere of military preparedness. The South African Defense Force (SANDF) created in 1994 is a broad-based defense force that has also served in UN peace-keeping missions. South Africa is the only country with nuclear capability in Africa. South Africa is the only country in the world, followed by Ukraine, with nuclear capability to voluntarily renounce and dismantle its nuclear programme and in the process signed the *Non-proliferation Treaty* in 1991. South Africa has a highly mobile army, navy and air force with a strong military arsenal no country in the African region can challenge. All these elements of military capability complimented with a vibrant economy and other instruments have made South Africa's outing in global politics the *envy of the region*.

Provinces

- Eastern Cape-
- Free State_
- Gauteng-Johannesburg
- Kwazulu-Natal-
- Limpopo-
- Mpumalanga-
- Northwest-

- Northern Cape-
- Western Cape-

The provinces are further divided into 52 districts: 8 metropolitan and 44 district municipalities.

Economy

South Africa with a mixed economy is a very rich country, a popular tourist destination in the world but, sadly, a country where there is a clear dialectics of scarcity in the midst of plenty, poverty in the midst of affluence, destitution in the midst of abundance, penury in the midst of super-wealth, and sadness in the midst of joy. While South Africa remains a wealthy nation, the vast majority of the people are feeling the stark realities of poverty in their empty dreams, empty days, empty pockets, empty pots and empty stomachs.

We have made allusions to vital aspects of South African economy, in this unit, that it will not be fair to allow further details to detain us here. Suffice it to say that in South Africa, unemployment is high and the country is ranked in the top 10 countries in the world for income inequality. A quarter of the population is unemployed. HIV/AIDS is rife with South Africans ranked as the most affected by AIDS virus in the entire world.

Ironically, the few bourgeois elements and those in the upper middle class are economically comfortable even as South African principal international partners: Germany, the United States, China, Japan, the United Kingdom, Spain and some African countries are doing good businesses with these countries and smiling to their banks. This explains why, despite the wide-spread poverty, South African economic wealth still serves as veritable instrument of capability in global politics. The political economy of this analysis is that international capital benefits from South Africa economy more than vast majority of the citizens.

Demography

Salient demographic features of the Republic of South Africa were surveyed in the general overview. Suffice it to briefly mention that South Africa hosts a sizeable refugee and asylum seeker population. According to the *World Refugee Survey 2008* published by the United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrations “this population numbered approximately 144,700 in 2007. Group of refugees and asylum seekers numbering over 100,000 included people from Zimbabwe (48,400), The Democratic Republic of the Congo (24,000), and Somalia (12,000). These populations mainly lived in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Many refugees have

now started to work in rural areas in provinces such as Mpumalanga, Kwazulu – Natal and the Easter Cape” (*World Refugee Survey 2008*).

Culture

In the general overview, we outlined eleven official languages in South Africa. The point to emphasise now is that language is the main vehicle of culture. Accordingly, it has to be noted that apart from these eleven languages, many white South African, also speak other European languages such as Portuguese (also spoken by black Angolans and Mozambique's), German and Greek while some Asians and Indians in South Africa speak South Asian languages such as Tamil, Hindu, Gujarati, Urdu and Telugu. French is spoken in South Africa by migrants from francophone Africa. Some migrants from West Africa including Nigerians, in show of solidarity also speak Hausa, English, Igbo, etc. In a sense, if we accept that language is the major vehicle of culture, you can now begin to access South Africa as a mixed-grill of ever-expanding diverse cultures.

Education

South Africa runs three tiers of educational system: primary schools, high schools and tertiary academic institutions. The universities are also grouped into three: traditional universities which offer theoretical courses; universities of science and technology which offer vocational and science-based courses and comprehensive universities which offer both theoretical courses and science-based disciplines.

Studies have shown that the discriminatory policies under apartheid are being wiped out and that education system in South Africa is relatively stable and progressive. This is in the areas of funding, infrastructural development, welfare and incentive packages for teachers, research grants and scholarships.

Health

It will interest you know that the major health issue in South Africa is HIV/AIDS. The most affected are the sexually active groups in the population. These groups are essentially young people, mainly blacks because of the relationships between HIV/AIDS and poverty. This problem will be examined in module four.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Give a brief overview of South Africa?

4.0 CONCLUSION

South Africa is a regional power in Africa and a prominent state actor in global politics with appreciable instruments of capability. The major problems, however, are: unemployment, poverty and HIV/AIDS.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that South Africa from the perspective of general overview to the problematic of history, geography, politics, provinces, economy, demography, culture, education and health. All these contribute positively or negatively in the articulation of instruments of capability for global politics.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Attempt a general overview of South Africa.
2. "South Africa is a prominent state actor in global politics." Discuss.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 NAMIBIA

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 General Overview
 - 3.2 Namibia in Global Politics
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines, briefly, Namibia in the context of general overview and global politics, respectively. In terms of general overview we shall comment on such issues as history, geography, politics, provinces, economy, demography, culture, education and health, etc. All these will be done with brevity.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- give a general overview of Namibia
- discuss the place of Namibia in global politics.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 General Overview

Namibia with the motto: “unity, liberty, justice” and a national anthem entitled: “Namibia Land of the Brave “has its capital and largest city as Windhoek. Even though English is the official language, there are also recognised regional languages such as: Afrikaan, German, Rukwangali, Silozi, Setswana, Damara/Nama, Herero and Oshiwambo. The ethnic groups are 49.8% Ovambo, 9.3% Kavango, 7.5% Damara, 7.5% Herero, 6.4% White, 4.8% Nama, 4.1% Coloured, 3.7% Capriviyan, 2.9% San, 2.5% Basters, 0.6% Tswana, others 0.9%. Namibia got her independence from South Africa on March 21st, 1990.

The current constitution was put in place on March 12th, 1990. It has a total area of 825,418 square kilometers with negligible space occupied

by water. By 2011, it has a population of 2,100,000 with GDP per capita standing at about 5 US dollars. Like South Africa, if you are to visit Namibia, you are to drive by the left-hand side of the road.

The official name of Namibia is Republic of Namibia, in Afrikaan language: *Republiek van Namibia*. It is a country in Southern Africa, boarded in the west by the Atlantic Ocean; to the north by Angola and Zambia; Botswana to the east; South Africa to the South and east. Namibia gained independence from South Africa in 1990 following the famous Namibia war of independence. The country is a member of United Nations (UN) Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) African Union (AU), the Commonwealth of Nations, etc. Studies have shown that “the dry lands of Namibia were inhabited since early times by Bushmen, Damara and Namaqua, and since about the 14th century A.D. by immigrating Bantu who came with the Bantu expansion.

It became a German imperial protectorate in 1884 and remained a German colony until the end of World War 1. In 1920, League of Nations mandated the country to South Africa, which imposed its laws and from 1948, its apartheid policy. Uprisings and demands by African Leaders led the UN to assume direct responsibility over the territory. It recognised the South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO) as the official representative of the Namibia people in 1973. Namibia, however, remained under South African administration during this time. Following internal violence, South Africa installed an interim administration in Namibia in 1985. Namibia obtained full Independence from South Africa in 1990, with the exception of Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands, which remained under South African control until 1994 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Namibia>).

3.2 Namibia in Global Politics

The starting point in discussing Namibia in global politics is the country’s contact with the Portuguese navigators, the first Europeans to disembark and explore the region followed by the contacts with Germany, the League of Nations, South Africa and United Nations. The name Namibia derives from Namib Desert, considered being the oldest desert in the world.

From being a German protectorate in 1884 to a League of Nations mandated territory to South Africa in 1920 to wars of independence eventually becoming independent from South Africa in 1990, Namibia came out strong and determined to survive as a sovereign nation state under United Nations to which it is now a member. At regional level, Namibia is a member of the African Union (AU). At the sub-regional

level, the country is an active member of Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). Also at the international arena, the country is a member of Commonwealth of Nations. There is a strong banking sector; agriculture, mining, mineral resources, manufacturing, education, health, tourism, military, etc.

Namibia has a relatively strong capability desired for global politics. At the sub-regional level, given the presence of South Africa in the region these are of no strategic significance. At the global arena, given the dependent nature of the economy and the crisis of underdevelopment, Namibia cannot pose a threat to any medium power, such as South Africa, Nigeria and Israel, not to talk of super-powers such as Britain, France and United States. But as the saying goes: *the young shall grow.*

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

In the history of Namibia, explain what happened in 1884, 1920, 1948, 1973, 1985, 1990 and 1994?

4.0 CONCLUSION

You have learnt that Namibia is a country in Southern Africa with a capability for global politics. But this capability is of no strategic lever when at sub-regional level the strength of South Africa is considered and of no significance, whatsoever, when the strengths of super powers like that of the Great Britain is at stake. But as we have said: *the young shall grow.*

5.0 SUMMARY

The name Namibia derives from Namib Desert, considered as the oldest desert in the world. The history of Namibia is accentuated with its contacts with the Portuguese, Germany, South Africa and the interventions of the League of Nations and the UN. Critical dates for students of Namibia to remember are: 1884, 1920, 1948, 1973, 1985, 1990 and 1994. Namibia is a member of SADC, AU, UN and Commonwealth of Nations.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Attempt a brief analysis of the place and role of Namibia in global politics.
2. What are the relationships between Namibia and South Africa in global politics?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 SWAZILAND

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 General Overview
 - 3.2 Swaziland in Global Politics
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines briefly, Swaziland in the context of general overview and global politics, respectively. In terms of general overview we shall comment on such issues as history, geography, politics, provinces, economy, demography, culture, education and health. All these will be done with brevity.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- give a general overview of Swaziland
- highlight the role of Swaziland in global politics.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 General Overview

The Kingdom of Swaziland has Lobamba as the royal and legislative capital while Mbabane is the real capital of the kingdom. Total land is 17, 363.00 square kilometers with a population of 1,104,343 (July 2001 figure). Over 75% of the population is literate. The religious distributions are: Protestants 55%, Muslim 10%, Roman Catholic 5%, Indigenous beliefs 30%. GDP (per capita) is 4,000 U.S dollars in 2000. The Kingdom is rich in mining and agriculture with coal and asbestos, wood pulp, sugar, soft drinks concentrates, sugarcane, cotton, tobacco, rice, citrus, pineapples, sorghum, cattle, goats, sheep, etc in abundance. Arable land is 11% with natural resources such as asbestos, coal, clay, cassiterite, forests, hydropower, small gold and diamond deposits, quarry stone, talc, etc. (<http://go.hrw.com/atlashtm/swaziland.htm>).

Swaziland is a Southern African country. The official name is the Kingdom of Swaziland. It is sometimes called Ngwane or Swatini. The Kingdom is a landlocked country in Southern Africa bordered to the north, south and west by South Africa and to the East by Mozambique. The nation as well as its people is named after the 19th century king Mswati 11. Swaziland is a small country. If you drive some 200 kilometers north to south the kingdom is finished and 130 kilometres east to west, you are in another country. Studies have shown that “the western half is mountainous, descending to a lowveld region to the east. The eastern border with Mozambique and South Africa is dominated by the escarpment of the Lebombo. The Mountains climate is temperate in the west, but may reach 40% (104 of) in summer in the lowveld. Rainfall occurs annually in the summer and may reach 2 metres (6.6ft) in the West (<http://go.hrw.com/atlashtm/swaziland.htm>).

Studies have also shown that “the main ethnic group is the Swazis whose language is Swati although English is spoken as the second languages. The Swazi people descend from the Southern Bantu who migrated from Central Africa in the 15th and 16th Centuries. The Anglo-Boer War saw the United Kingdom make Swaziland a protectorate under its direct control. Swaziland gained independence in 1968. Swaziland is a member of the Southern African Development Community, the African Union and the Commonwealth of Nations. The head of State is the King who appoints the prime minister and a small member of representatives for both chambers of parliament. Elections are held every five years to determine the majority of the representatives. A new constitution was adopted in 2006.

3.2 Swaziland in Global Politics

In global politics Swaziland is subservient to the Republic of South Africa arising from the logic of economic determinism. This is to the extent that Swaziland’s currency is pegged to the South African rand, thus subverting the country’s economic planning at the premise of South African monetary policy. This is dependency. This is neocolonialism. This is imperialism christened: globalisation. However, with abundant natural resources, vibrant economy, good education and health systems and relative stability in the polity, Swaziland has appreciable domestic base for global politics. The problem to be underscored is that of relative underdevelopment. With low per capita income, diminutive population, demography, GDP, external reserve and regional influence, Swaziland can only bark but cannot bite in Southern Africa sub-region. Neither can it raise a high voice in Africa and the world. But its membership of SADC, UN, AU, the Commonwealth of Nations and other bilateral and multilaterals pacts and alliances make it possible that even with the ever

– intimidating presence of South Africa, *the mouse can still look at the cat and boldly too.*

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

“The smallness of Swaziland’s population, demography and economy affect the country adversely in global politics.” Discuss.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Even though the argument of geo-political thinkers which gives a lot of emphasis on population and demography in global politics is no longer popular, the case of Swaziland shows its continued relevance in some instances. For example, the Kingdom of Swaziland is not well known in global politics just because of its small size and the intimidating presence of the Republic of South Africa in the region.

5.0 SUMMARY

Swaziland gained its independence from Great Britain in 1968. Despite its small size in population and land territory, Swaziland has continued to remain relevant in global politics because of its drive towards globalisation and multilateralism which saw her into the folds of SADC, UN, AU, the Commonwealth of Nations and other groups.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. “Swaziland is small but relevant in global politics”. Discuss.
2. Examine a brief history of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

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UNIT 4 LESOTHO

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- 1.0 Introduction
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- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 General Overview
 - 3.2 Lesotho in Global Politics
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines briefly, Lesotho in the context of general overview and global politics, respectively. In terms of general overview we shall comment on such issues as history, geography, politics, provinces, economy, demography, culture, education and health. All these will be done with brevity.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- give a general overview of Lesotho
- discuss the role of Lesotho in global politics.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 General Overview

The official name for Lesotho is the *Kingdom of Lesotho*. It is a landlocked country. It is indeed an enclave completely surrounded by South Africa. South Africa is the only neighbour Lesotho has close to her border. Lesotho is just about 30,000 square kilometers in land area with a population approximated at 2,067,000. The capital of Lesotho is Maseru. Maseru is also the largest city. What is the meaning of the word Lesotho? Translated roughly, it means: *the land of the people who speak Sesotho*. Recent studies have confirmed that in Lesotho, “about 40% of the population lives below the international poverty line (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho>).

Lesotho, however small and poor is a member of the international community and a state actor in global politics. Lesotho is located in Southern Africa. It is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho>).

The earliest known inhabitants of the area today known as Lesotho were the *Khoisanhunter-Gatherers*. They were replaced by Basotho-speaking tribes Bantu migrations. Recent historical accounts have put on record that “the present Lesotho (then Basutoland) emerged as a single polity under king Moshoeshoe in 1822. Moshoeshoe a son of Mokhachane, a minor chief of the Bakoteli lineage, from his own clan and became a chief around 1804. Between 1821 and 1823, he and his followers settled at the Butha-Buthe Mountain; joining with former adversaries in resistance against the Lifaqana associated with the reign of Shaka Zulu from 1818 to 1828.

Both the British and the Dutch showed interest in Lesotho. This put the two countries in a state of conflict. The natives themselves wanted their land and fought several wars. In some of the wars, the British were defeated and humiliated by the owners of the Lesotho land. Embarrassed, the British pulled out of the region in 1854 and in 1858 Moshoeshoe fought more battles with the Boers in the Free State – Basotho War losing a portion of western lowlands. Historians contend that” the last war in 1867 ended when Moshoeshoe appealed to Queen Victoria, who agreed to make Basutoland (as it was then called) a British protectorate in 1868. In 1869, the British signed a treaty at Aliwal North with the Boers that defined the boundaries of Basutoland and later Lesotho, which by ceding the western territories effectively reduced Moshoeshoe’s kingdom to half its previous size (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho>). Perhaps, this partly explains why Lesotho is, today, a small country. The crucial point to stress is that Basutoland gained its independence from Britain and became known as the kingdom of Lesotho in 1966.

The Kingdom of Lesotho is divided into ten districts, each district headed by a District Administrator. The districts are further sub-divided into 80 constituencies which consist of 129 local community councils.

Lesotho has a friendly climate. Because of the altitude, Lesotho remains cooler all year round than all other countries at the same latitude. Lesotho is geographically surrounded by South Africa and is also economically linked to South African economy as well. The economy of Lesotho is based on agriculture, livestock, manufacturing, mining, etc. Majority of the people in the country-sides are farmers. Lesotho is an underdeveloped economy when compared to countries like South Africa.

3.2 Lesotho in Global Politics

Lesotho is an enclave almost surrounded by South Africa. This location in strategic terms and military logistics makes Lesotho extremely vulnerable to the developments in South Africa. However, Lesotho has managed to weather the storm. It is today a member of many regional and even global organisations including the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth of Nations, among others.

The UN, UNDP, UNICEF, WHO, FAO, WFP, UNAIDS, etc have resident missions in Lesotho. Lesotho also has good diplomatic relationships with Wales in particular and United Kingdom in general as well as Germany, United States and several other western powers. Studies have also shown that “although Lesotho broke relations with the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1990, and re-established relations with the Republic of Taiwan, it later saw reasons and restored ties with China.” (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho>).

No doubt, Lesotho is an active state actor in global politics. But the question is: to what extent does Lesotho possess the critical instruments of capability to ensure relevance in Southern African region in particular and global politics in general?

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

To what extent does Lesotho possess instruments of capability to make the country assertive in Southern African regional politics and relevant in world affairs?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Lesotho even though a developing nation has a relatively stable polity, up and coming economy, an appreciable superstructure in the sphere of education, public health, law, foreign policy, etc. The problem, however, is that the enclave territorial status, proximity to South Africa, economic linkages with Pretoria, underdeveloped dynamics of some sectors of the economy, general dependency on South Africa and the West, escalating problems of poverty, unemployment and HIV/AIDs have combined, and they did combine effectively to deny Lesotho the instruments of capability desired for assertive role in modern global politics.

5.0 SUMMARY

Lesotho with the capital at Maseru is an enclave, a landlocked country surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. Lesotho roughly translated means: *the land of the people who can speak Sesotho*. In historical context, Lesotho was formerly known as Basutoland. The proximity to South Africa and integration into the mainstream of South African economy has dwarfed its influence in regional politics even as poverty, HIV/AIDS and dependency have equally diminished its relevance in global politics. Lesotho however is a member of SADC, UN, AU, Non-Aligned Movement and Commonwealth of Nations.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. “In regional and global politics, Lesotho lacks critical instruments of capability.” Discuss.
2. “South Africa is both a blessing and a curse to Lesotho in terms of regional and global politics.” Discuss.

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UNIT 5 BOTSWANA

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- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 General Overview
 - 3.2 Botswana in Global Politics
- 4.0 Conclusion
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines, briefly, Botswana in the context of general overview and global politics, respectively. In terms of general overview we shall comment on such issues as history, geography, politics, provinces, economy, demography, culture, education and health. All these will be done with brevity.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- give a general overview of Botswana
- discuss the role of Botswana in global politics.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 General Overview

On the 30th of September, 1966, Bechuanaland, a British protectorate gained her independence as the Republic of Botswana under the commonwealth. A landlocked country in Southern Africa, Botswana has a flat land and up to 70% is covered by Kalabari Desert. The country is boarded by South Africa to the South and South east, Namibia to the north and west, Zimbabwe to the north east. Its border with Zambia to the north near Kazungula, Zambia, is poorly defined but at most is a few hundred metres long. Botswana with a population of just over two million people is one of the most sparsely populated countries in the world and also one of the poorest countries in Africa at independence in 1966. Recent accounts have it that “in the 19th century, hostilities broke

out between Tswana inhabitants of Botswana and Ndebele tribes who were making incursions into the territory from the northeast.

Tensions also escalated with Dutch Boer settlers from the Transvaal to the east. After appeals by the Botswana leader Khama III, Bathoen and Sebele for assistance, the British Government put Bechuanaland under its protectorate on 31 March 1885. Bechuanaland was granted independence by Great Britain in 1966. The newly independent state took up the name Botswana.

(<http://www.internetworldstates.com/africa.htm>).

Botswana is rich in mineral resources, tourism, livestock, agriculture, etc. The livestock population has been increasing in geometric progressions, from 1.7 million in 1966 to 5.5 million in 1991. Human population also increased from 574,000 in 1971 to 1.5 million in 1995 nearly 200% increase. Over 50% of the entire households in Botswana own cattle which is single largest source of rural income.

Botswana has made a lot of progress in the area of solid mineral exploitation including gemstones and precious metals. In the area of education, at independence in 1966, there were just a few university graduates. Today, the situation has changed because of appreciable investments in education. In the area of public health and provision of other relevant socio-economic infrastructure, Botswana has not done badly. Experts, however, argue that three major problems facing Botswana are dependency syndrome, poverty and HIV/AIDS. Poverty and HIV/AIDS, especially in the country-sides are rife. Botswana depends on the west for so many products. The same dependency syndrome is extended to South Africa which serves as apron-string of Botswana's economy. Botswana depends on South Africa for petroleum products and electricity among other essential commodities.

3.2 Botswana in Global Politics

Major environmental problems hindering Botswana's quest for regional and global relevance is the twin problem of draught and desertification. For a country with enormous passion for livestock development, this is indeed a problem that brings the country face to face with insurmountable oddities and absurdities. The Republic of Botswana has, however, responded to these challenges by opening its doors to global politics and foreign investments. One of the results is that "the United States Government has recently entered into agreement with Botswana, giving them 7 million U.S. dollars to reduce Botswana's debt by 8.3 million US dollars. The stipulation of the US reducing Botswana's debt is that Botswana will focus on more extensive conservation of the land." (<http://www.internetworldstate.com/africa.htm>).

The United Nations Development Programme, UNDP, has confirmed that the major problem facing Botswana is the extent to which land is being over used. In the areas of land policy, technical assistance and consultancy, UNDP has begun to give some help to the government and people of Botswana.

One critical element of capability in global politics is military strength. What is the military strength of Botswana? The answer is simple. At Independence, Botswana had no military at all; no armed forces, no army no navy and no air force. In the contemporary period, however, Botswana has a defence arrangement called Botswana Defence Force (BDF), a 12,000 man defence force with United States of America as the single largest contributor to BDF finances. In return, Botswana has given United States the green light to establish military presence in the country in the form of African Command (Africom). South Africa is not comfortable with this gesture and ANC youth organisations have protested. But this is an attempt by Botswana to beef up internal defence of the country through bilateral pact. Ironically, this extends more and more the phenomenon of dependency syndrome in Botswana. A country that depends on another (South Africa) for the suppliers of petroleum products and electricity cannot be said to possess the capability to raise its voice in regional and global politics.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

“The three fundamental problems facing Botswana are dependency syndrome, poverty and HIV/AIDS.” Discuss.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The problem of dependency syndrome, facing Botswana arises from the fact that Botswana’s economy is a microcosm of the South African economy. With the integration of Botswana’s economy to that of South Africa, adverse economic realities in South Africa affect almost immediately the economy of Botswana. Added to this, are the problems of draught, desertification, poverty and HIV/AIDS. All these do not enhance the capability of a country to be relevant in regional or global politics.

5.0 SUMMARY

Botswana is rich in agriculture, livestock, tourism, solid minerals, etc. The country’s economy including education, health and defence arrangements can be said to be adequate for a country of slightly over 2 million people. But in terms of these superstructures providing fillips for assertive roles in regional or global politics, there is a problem. For

example, in today's world, what can Botswana Defence Force (BDF) of about 12,000 men do at the face of a possible threat by South African military? In purely military and strategic calculations, the 12,000 BDF strong men are dispensable even by a swift surgical police action by South Africa. It is also important to note that only a limited sense of security can be derived from dependency on United States as other Southern African countries have similar bilateral and even multilateral defense pacts. In the final analysis the real trouble with Botswana is dependency, poverty and HIV/AIDS. The problem of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa shall be examined in the next module.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. "Only a limited sense of security can be derived by Botswana from bilateral defense arrangements with United States." Discuss
2. "Apart from South Africa, the problems of Southern African countries are virtually the same." Discuss.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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MODULE 4

**FUTURE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA:
INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS,
HIV/AIDS, GLOBALISATION AND
POLITICAL ECONOMY**

Unit 1	Southern African Development Community (SADC)
Unit 2	Southern African Customs Union (SACU)
Unit 3	HIV/AIDS
Unit 4	Globalisation
Unit 5	Political Economy

**UNIT 1 SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT
COMMUNITY (SADC)**

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 General Overview
 - 3.1 SADC in Global Politics
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines Southern African Development Community (SADC) as a regional bloc in Southern Africa established to promote co-operatives in socio-economic, political, diplomatic and security schemes. The essence is to provide a formidable platform to give a voice to Southern African countries in world politics as well as help member states in their respective quests to develop their countries.

This unit shall examine the formation, origins, structure and challenges of SADC in the context of global politics.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss the workings of SADC
- explain the role of SADC in global politics.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 General Overview

Southern African Development Community (SADC) is a regional organisation based in Southern Africa and active in global politics. SADC is an intergovernmental, 15 member organisation with Headquarters in Gaborone, Botswana. The working languages of the organisation are: English, French, and Portuguese. The current leadership of SADC is comprised of the summit chairperson: AmandoGuebuza; Council Chairperson: OldemiroBaloi; SADC P.F. Chairperson: Abdool Amen; SADC Tribunal President: ArirangaPillay; Tribunal Secretary General: TomazSalomao.

There is an SADC parliament as the legislative body. The organisation was established on April 1st 1980, as SADDC (Southern African Development coordination conference) and 17th August 1992 as SADC (Southern African Development Community) SADC covers a land area of 9,882,959 square kilometers with a population estimated in 2010 at 277 million with a total GDP of 575.5 billion U.S. dollars. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern_African_Development_Community).

The goal of SADC is to enhance socio-economic cooperation and integration as well as political and security cooperation among member states, thus complimenting the role of African Union (AU) in regional integration. SADC has 15 members. One of the member states is currently suspended.

The members are:

- Angola
- Botswana
- Democratic Republic of the Congo – since 8th September, 1997.
- Madagascar membership currently suspended after the coup d'état led by the former Major of Antananarivo, AndreyRajoelina.

Others are:

- Lesotho
- Malawi
- Mauritania
- Mozambique
- Namibia
- Swaziland

- Tanzania
- Zambia
- Zimbabwe
- South Africa – since 30 August 1994
- Seychelles – also previously was a member of SADC from 8th September 1997 until July 2004 then joined again in 2008.

3.2 SADC in Global Politics

The place and role of SADC in global politics is partly rooted in its history and origin. The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) formed in April 1980 was transformed into SADC on 17th August 1992. The 1992 SADC provided for socio-economic, political and security cooperation among member states. SADC has 26 legally binding protocols dealing with issues such as Defence, Development, Illicit Drugs matters, Free Trade and Movement of People, etc. Recent studies have shown that in 2008, “the SADC agreed to establish a Grand Free Trade Area with the East African Community (EAC) and the Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)”.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern_African_Development_Community.

The aim of SADC is embedded in the treaty establishing various protocols such as those on firearms, education and health; and also in such declarations as those on food security, HIV/AIDS, etc. The organs of SADC include the Summits of Heads of States; Organ on Politics, Defence and Security; Council of Ministers, Tribunal; SADC National Committees and the Secretariat.

SADC countries in their quest to be relevant in global politics have come face to face with problems arising from social, development, economic, trade, education, health, diplomatic, defence, security, political and allied challenges. Experts believe that “some of these challenges cannot be tackled effectively by individual members. Cattle diseases and organised-crime gangs know no boundaries. War in one country can suck in its neighbours and damage their economies. The sustainable development that trade could bring is threatened by the existence of different product standards and tariff regimes, weak customs infrastructure and bad roads. The socio-economic and political and security cooperation aims of SADC are equally wide-ranging and intended to address the various common challenges” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern_African_Development_Community).

The greatest challenge facing SADC is that member countries equally belong to other regional organisations with competing interests and agenda. Others are the problems of poverty, underdevelopment, dependency and HIV/AIDS. All these appear to challenge the resolve of SADC to become a powerful regional bloc in global politics.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What are the challenges facing South African Development Community (SADC) in its efforts to become a powerful regional block in global politics?

4.0 CONCLUSION

SADC was formed to help member states achieve their respective national interests in the areas of social, economic, political and security spheres. The organisation has, however, come to face many challenges mainly because member states equally belong to similar regional blocs with implications for divided loyalty. The experts suggest that solution lies in individual members developing their respective capabilities while participating in various regional organisations.

5.0 SUMMARY

Southern African Development Coordinating Conference, (SADCC) was formed on April 1st 1980. It gave rise to Southern African Development Community (SADC), a 15 member regional organisation which came into existence on August 17th, 1992. The aim is to promote cooperation among member states in the areas of economy, politics, social development, diplomacy and security. To achieve this objective, SADC has 26 protocols in such critical areas as Defence, Development, Trade, Health, Education, Firearms, etc. It also has a number of declarations in such spheres as food security, HIV/AIDS, etc. The major challenge to SADC in promoting co-operation among Sothern African states apart from poverty and underdevelopment is that member states also belong to similar regional organisations with implications for divided loyalty.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Why was Southern African Development Community (SADC) formed?
2. What are the major challenges of SADC?

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UNIT 2 SOUTHERN AFRICAN CUSTOMS UNION (SACU)

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- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
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 - 3.2 SACU in Global Politics
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Southern African Customs Union (SACU) was originally formed in 1901. It is the oldest still existing customs union in the world. Members include the Republic of South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia. The aim of SACU is to protect the security, socio-economic and political interests of member states, by acting as a regional block. To what extent has SACU achieved these objectives? What are the challenges? These are some of the thematic preoccupations of this unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- trace the origins of SACU
- discuss the role of SACU in global politics.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 General Overview

Southern African Customs Union (SACU) is a customs union among five countries of Southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland. SACU is the oldest still existing customs union in the world. Experts on Southern Africa contend that “SACU was established in 1910 as a Customs Union, following the agreement between the then Union of South Africa, the High Commission, territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. With the advent of Independence for these territories, the agreement was updated and on 11 December 1969, it was launched as the new SACU, with the signing

of an agreement between the Republic of South Africa, Botswana, and Lesotho the updated union officially entered into force on March 1st 1970. Namibia was the last to join SACU after their independence from South Africa in 1990.

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southern_African_Customs_Union).

3.2 SACU in Global Politics

SACU members meet annually to discuss matters of common interest including issues in the agreement such as common tariff, agriculture, trade and industry among others. It also discusses matters related to the aim of the regional organisation such as the free exchange of goods between member countries, common external tariff and sharing of common revenue fund under the custody of South Africa. Following the formation of a Government of National Unity in South Africa in April 1994, members were all of the opinion that the present Agreement should be recognised to democratise the union. This was done in Pretoria on 11th November, 1994, when the Ministers of Trade and Agriculture of the 5 member countries met to renegotiate the 1969 Agreement.

The structure of SACU include: Council of Ministers, the Commission, the Tribunal and the Secretariat. These organs just like in other international organisations provide the administrative structure for the union.

In global economic efforts, SACU has successfully negotiated a free trade deal with European Union in 2010 even as a similar negation with United States was stalled in 2008. SACU has also assisted member states financially, through the sharing of a common revenue fund accruing to the union. The problems just, as in the case of SADC is mainly that of multiple membership of similar regional blocs as well as poor capabilities of many of the countries except South Africa.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Trace and discuss the origins and development of Southern African Customs Union (SACU).

4.0 CONCLUSION

The problems of Southern African Customs Union (SACU) are not remarkably different from those of Southern African Development Community (SADC). Basically, these are problems of multiplicity of regional blocs with implications for divided loyalty; problems of

unemployment, poverty, low per capital income, HIV/AIDS, etc. Capabilities in respective countries, except South Africa, are low. We have said that demographic imperatives, such as population, are no longer of extreme strategic importance, in today's global politics. This is true. But it is equally true that the demographic factor cannot be ignored altogether.

5.0 SUMMARY

SACU stands for Southern African Customs Union. It is a regional bloc, based in Southern Africa, with the aim of promoting socio-economic, political, and diplomatic, security well-being of member states. SACU originally formed in 1910, is the oldest existing customs union in the world. Modern day SACU came into force on March 1st 1970. Members include South Africa, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana. The fifth member, Namibia, was admitted in 1990 following its independence from South Africa. The December 1969 and March 1970 protocols of SACU were recognised again by member states in 1994 following South Africa's independence from White minority rule. The major problems of SACU are low capabilities of respective member states in addition to the fact that virtually all the members also belong to similar regional organisations.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. “Southern African Customs Union is the oldest existing customs union in the world.” Do you agree?
2. What are the major challenges facing SACU, today?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 HIV/AIDS AND THE FUTURE OF SOUTHERN

AFRICA

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 HIV/AIDS in South Africa
 - 3.2 HIV/AIDS in Swaziland
 - 3.3 HIV/AIDS in Namibia
 - 3.4 HIV/AIDS in Lesotho
 - 3.5 HIV/AIDS in Botswana
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

There is a relationship between HIV/AIDS and instruments of capability in global politics. The relationship stems from the fact that man makes history. History uninitiated by man will not and can never make itself. Accordingly, the human factor is critical to history and development. In this context, the human factor relevant in such sectors of Southern African economy as defence, trade, diplomacy, education, health, agriculture, mining etc. are the youths, 20-50 years. In reproductive health analysis, it is the youths as depicted above that are sexually active. Sadly, these sexually active youths who are expected to build capabilities for Southern African countries are the same group of the population being ravaged by HIV/AIDS: from South Africa to Swaziland down to Namibia, Lesotho and Botswana, many young people in Southern Africa are HIV positive. Many have died.

It is important to observe that it would have been more appropriate to use the concept of poverty and disease instead of HIV/AIDS. There are two reasons for this: one, HIV/AIDS is just one of the diseases in Southern Africa currently ravaging across the region as well as other developing countries of the world. Two, HIV/AIDS is not just an aspect of diseases associated with the poor in the region but a disease that has an interesting political economy. This is to the extent that HIV/AIDS is rooted in poverty, regenerated by poverty and leaves the affected classes in a cesspool of sickness and poverty. The affected classes apart from the workers and peasants are the lumpen proletariat, described by Marxist scholars as people without a home or a heart: jobless people, street girls, lay-about and other elements ravaged by discrimination,

exploitation and poverty. While recognising the centrality of poverty and disease, in the thematic preoccupation of this module, the discourse is however narrowed down to HIV/AIDS because of the high prevalence rate in the region in contradistinction to the current prevalence rate elsewhere in the world.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be to:

- discuss the impact of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa
- highlight the varied efforts in the region in responding to the crisis.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 HIV/AIDS in South Africa

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) has its virus rapidly spreading in Southern Africa. In the Republic of South Africa, for example, by 2005 31% of pregnant women were infected, and one out of every five adults in the streets of South Africa was HIV positive. In 2009, life expectancy for White South Africans was put at 71 years and 48 years for Blacks who were more affected due to poverty. Poverty is believed to encourage the spread of HIV/AIDS. In South Africa, HIV/AIDS affects the sexually active groups of the population more than other groups. Many bread-winners die of AIDS leaving behind orphans some of whom go into prostitution just because of hardship. Some equally contact HIV/AIDS and die. According to the 2011 UNAIDS Report: "South Africa has an estimated 5.6 million people livingwithHIV/AIDS"(http://go.hrw.Com/atlas/norm_htm/safrica.htm). The situation is worsened by rampant cases of teenage prostitution, rape and other forms of sexual abuse arising from abject poverty, unemployment and drug addiction. At the moment, South Africa is the most affected country, by HIV/AIDS, in the whole world.

3.2 HIV/AIDS in Swaziland

Writers on Swaziland have said that Swaziland is critically affected by HIV/AIDS pandemic, which is now a major threat to the society. As *2012 CIA World Fact book* has reported, Swaziland has the highest infection rate in the world (25.8%) and also the fourth lowest life expectancy at 49 years. The last available statistics of the World Health Organisationon death rates in Swaziland shows that in 2002, 64 per centof all deaths in Swaziland were caused by HIV/AIDS even as 2,000 deaths arising from HIV/AIDS were recorded in 2009 in a small

population of 1,185,000 Swaziland people. This is not all. In 2004, the government of Swaziland acknowledged for the first time that the country has HIV/AIDS crisis with 38.8% of the pregnant women tested showing signs of HIV positive.

(http://go.hrw.com/atlas/norm_htm/swaziland.htm).

3.3 HIV/AIDS in Namibia

With only 598 medical doctors in Namibia in 2002 and life expectancy estimated at 52.2 years in 2012, HIV/AIDS crisis is a major health problem in Namibia. The rate of HIV/AIDS infection is, however, substantially lower than that of its eastern neighbour, Botswana. 13.1 per cent of adults in Namibia are affected. In 2001, 210,000 people were HIV positive in Namibia. In 2003, 16,000 people died of HIV/AIDS in Namibia. According to 2011 UNAIDS Report, the epidemic in Namibia “appears leveling off. As the HIV/AIDS epidemic has reduced the working-age population, the number of orphans has increased. It falls on the government to provide education, food, shelter and clothing for these orphans.” (<http://en.wiki/Namibia>).

3.4 HIV/AIDS in Lesotho

Lesotho, with a prevalence rate of 23.6 per cent in 2009 is heavily affected by HIV/AIDS. In Lesotho, one out every two women on the street is HIV positive. 50 per cent of women less than 40 years in urban areas are all infected. This is not all. There is “known your Status Campaign in Lesotho and many people who responded and got tested came out HIV positive. The report of UNAIDS states that life expectancy for men and women now stands at 42 years. Some 229,092 HIV/AIDS patients were being treated in Lesotho in 2007. Clinton and Bill Gate visited Lesotho in 2000 to intensify the fight against HIV/AIDS as one of its most important development issue and the government is addressing the pandemic.

(<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho>).

3.5 HIV/AIDS in Botswana

Life expectancy index in several African Countries from 1958 to 2003 has Botswana as having the highest life expectancy until HIV/AIDS began to reduce it in the late 1980s. Like other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Botswana is grappling with the HIV/AIDS crisis. The prevalence rate was estimated at 24% for adults in 2006. In 2003, the government of Botswana intensified efforts to combat HIV/AIDS.

The 2011 UNAIDS Report said massive treatment of HIV/AIDS patients were on-going in Botswana. This is essentially because of the partnership of Botswana Government and Bill and Melinda Gate Foundation efforts to form the African comprehensive HIV/AIDS Partnership (ACHAP) in Botswana. (<http://www.internetworldstats.com/Africa.htm>).

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What is the relationship between HIV/AIDS and global politics?

4.0 CONCLUSION

The relationship between HIV/AIDS and global politics can be understood from the point of view that it is human beings that build up capability in global politics and when these human beings, particularly the youths, are ravaged by HIV/AIDS, there is enormous loss of capability. This is the sad story of Southern Africa in global politics, because, the future is elementary, dark and cloudy. But Southern Africa must survive.

5.0 SUMMARY

The HIV/AIDS situations in the republic of South Africa, Swaziland, Namibia, Lesotho and Botswana are not remarkably different from one another. The HIV/AIDS prevalence rate in each of these countries is high. Young men and women of productive age bracket are cut in their prime of youth by HIV/AIDS. In some instances, one out of every two women under the age of 40 is HIV positive. Some of these patients sometimes die leaving orphans who because of hardship go into prostitution and drug addiction. They too contact HIV/AIDS and sometimes also die. This is a vicious circle in Southern Africa. But as we have said: Southern Africa must survive!

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Assess the prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa?
2. Why are blacks infected more than the minority white by HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

http://go.hrw.Com/atlas/norm_htm/safrica.htm.

http://go.hrw.com/atlas/norm_htm/Swaziland.htm.

<http://en.wiki/Namibia>.

Wikipedia: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lesotho>.

<http://www.internet> worldstats.com/Africa.htm.

UNIT 4 GLOBALISATION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 The Concept of Globalisation
 - 3.2 The Old System
 - 3.3 The New System
 - 3.4 The Political Economy of Globalisation
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit seeks to define the concept of globalisation with a view to establishing the future of Southern Africa within the contextual configurations of globalisation.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- explain what is meant as globalisation
- discuss the role of Southern Africa in global politics.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Concept of Globalisation

Janice Love, an authority in Southern Africa has defined globalisation as “the way in which culture, politics, economics and other social activities are stretched out across boundaries such that events and decisions taking place on one side of the world have a significant impact on the other”. (Love 2005: 2-3). With this working definition, let us now examine the old and the new forms of globalisation.

3.2 The Old System

The old system of globalisation may be defined as the period of internationalisation of capital in search of cheap labour, raw materials and surplus value through huge profits in Africa and other parts of the world by European powers. This was the era of colonialism heralded by

imperialism. Globalisation in this context simply means imperialism. What are we saying? What is imperialism?

The highest level of capitalism is referred to as imperialism. At imperialist stage, capitalism has come face to face with insurmountable oddities and absurdities. This may be expressed in terms of fall in profit margins, escalating inflation, low investment, unemployment, general cyclical crisis in the economy and sometimes a revolution.

At this stage, finance capital is internationalised and exported in form of multinational corporations, MNCS, in search of profit elsewhere, particularly in Least Developed Countries, LDCs. In modern times, this is called globalisation. The political economy of globalisation is imperialism in its neocolonial configurations.

3.3 The New System

Contemporary globalisation does not necessarily suggest imperialism but provides an easy and safe vehicle for the flourishing of imperialism in its neo-colonial nexus. With globalisation today, goods and services produced in one country are sold online all over the world; taste and life styles of people are disoriented and changed; rural-urban migration in search of better life is rife; communication, crime and criminality are executed with speed and precision; wars are declared, fought and won on human minds and consciousness through online networks; all these and more may not necessarily be imperialism. But what is imperialism if not the internationalisation of finance capital? Globalisation provides a safe vehicle. It is to this extent that globalisation can also be defined as a subtle revision of imperialism.

3.4 The Political Economy of Globalisation

The political economy of globalisation in contemporary Southern Africa may be underscored by the way the concept of a development” is being substituted with “Westernisation” in the region. The implication is a cyclical crisis of dependency syndrome which in practical appreciations leads to capital flight from Southern African countries. Other adverse effects of globalisation on Southern African economies include excessive import bills and uneven exchange in trade relations. Globalisation, however, is to a very large extent a positive advent in human civilisation and development. It is also important to reaffirm that globalisation has so many dimensions: cultural, social, economic, technological and even political. What is important to diverse students and scholars interested in the problematics of globalisation is to underscore the primacy of the economy as a critical desideratum in

shaping the motions, the dynamics and the inner dialectical connections behind all variants of contemporary globalisation which are always in favour of international capital.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

What is globalisation?

4.0 CONCLUSION

Globalisation can be good and can also be harmful to the economy of any country as in the case with Southern African countries. The future of Southern Africa, from the perspective of globalisation can be viewed from the perspective of abundant window of opportunities as well as the angle of imperialism in its neo-colonial configurations.

5.0 SUMMARY

Globalisation is a good advent for Southern Africa but has to be weighed against the backdrop of its harmful effects in the spheres of capital flight, cultural imperialism, neocolonialism and disorientation and of African values. For example, unspeakable pornography posted in the internet, all over the world, is doing a “good job” spreading HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. “Globalisation is a revision of imperialism.” Discuss
2. What are the effects of globalisation on South African economies?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Love, J. (2005). *Southern Africa in World Politics: Local Aspirations and Global Entanglements*. Cambridge: West View Press.

Nzekwe, A. (2005). *No Past No Present No Future: How Nigerians Underdeveloped Nigeria*. Jos: Transafrican Links.

UNIT 5 POLITICAL ECONOMY**CONTENTS**

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 The Concept of Political Economy
 - 3.2 Political Economy of Southern Africa
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit examines the political economy of Southern Africa. The starting point is to understand, very clearly, that the economies of Southern African countries apart, perhaps, from the economy of the Republic of South Africa, are microcosms of the economies of other developing countries of the world in terms of dependency syndrome on the West, crippled capitalism, and sharp contradictions in property relations, wealth, superstructures, unemployment and poverty. All these undermine required capability which is very relevant in global politics. We shall in this unit chart the way forward for Southern African economics now and discuss the limitation of the political economy approach in understanding the role of Southern Africa in global politics.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the concept of political economy
- discuss the limitation of the political economy approach in understanding the role of Southern Africa in global politics.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Concept of Political Economy

The meaning, relevance and role of political economy in understanding concrete existential realities in social sciences generally were lucidly explained in Module 1 of this course work. We also explained how political economy can be deployed, intellectually, to serve as a theory, a methodology and a philosophy of action. All these were analytically reviewed in Module 1 that it will now be unfair to allow further details to detain us here. Suffice it to quickly re-emphasise that political economy as a way of understanding human situations has explanatory value, analytical utility, descriptive merit, prescriptive power and sophisticated predictive capacity. The example of Southern Africa will drive these points home.

3.2 Political Economy of Southern Africa

Whether we look at Southern African countries from the perspective of SADC, SACU or from the perspective of the countries excluded from Southern Africa by some scholars (such as Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia etc. which actually should be included) whether we examine the individual countries of interest to us: the Republic of South Africa, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, etc.; whether we are essentially interested in the challenges facing SADC or SACU, we can only begin to make progress in our inquiry only when our analysis is premised on political economy. Not much. Not less. Why? You may ask.

All the challenges facing SADC and SACU, all the constraints and confrontations of the Republic of South Africa, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, etc. are fundamentally rooted in the economy expressed in the dynamics of the mode and relations of production and role of imperialism in the systemic reproduction. Put simply, the problems facing Southern Africa derive from the exploitative tendencies of international finance capital manifested in form and character of multinational corporations (MNCS) who have taken over commanding heights of Southern African economics including extractive industries, construction, oil and gas, distributive trade, communication and even all forms of service industries such as consultancy

To sustain this exploitative system, the West in Southern Africa seeks to substitute the concept of “development” with “Westernisation”. To develop is to emulate the West. The result is systematic disorientation of the tastes, culture and economics of Southern Africa forcing even poor countries such as Botswana and Lesotho to import all sorts of

foreign goods from the West: from tooth picks to tooth brush, from water to water bottles. The people simply lose their hard-earned foreign currencies while Western countries smile all the way to their banks. This was imperialism.

Other problem facing Southern African economies, just like those of all other developing nations of the world include: the consistent development of underdevelopment. How can this problem be solved?

To address this problem, Southern African countries just like other least Developed Countries of the world (LDCS) must remember that Abraham Lincoln overwhelmed by the illogicalities of the American civil war was quoted as saying that “the worst form of slavery is the slavery of the mind” (Ikoku,1985). Accordingly, all lingering cob-webs of colonial mentality in Southern Africa must be swept away by the Black majority.

Inexplicable platitudes, for example, that Southern Africa and the West are partners in progress should be seen as intellectual opium and firmly discarded. To understand these issues, a determined intellectual spring-cleaning of far-reaching dimensions is desirable in Southern Africa. Social Scientists in Southern Africa, despite the attainment of independence by their countries, should substitute concept of “development” with “liberation”. While Southern Africa cannot reasonably do without the West, South-South cooperation should seek to replace vertical economic linkages with horizontal economic relations with possibilities for complimenting each other. In specific terms, the following are political economy obstacles all Southern African countries, in more or less degrees, must address in order to be relevant in global politics:

- lack of sound productive base
- lack of sustained economic growth
- lack of equity in the distribution of resources
- lack of ideological and theoretical clarity in relating with international finance capital
- lack of internal domestic social base for fiscal policy implementation and assertive role in global politics
- escalating debt burden
- ever-expanding import bills
- shrinking export earnings
- the contradictions between “transfer” and “supply” of technology by the West
- the contradictions of direct and port-folio investments by the West
- monopolistic tendencies of the West

- low GDP per capital
- poverty
- unemployment
- weak forward and backward linkages in the economy
- the problems of two digits inflation rate
- budget deficit
- ever-expanding recurrent expenditure
- solid mineral development
- agricultural development
- education
- health
- environmental change
- the contradictions of economic growth versus economic development
- weak attitudinal, organisation, institutional and infrastructural capacities
- problems of democratisation
- HIV/AIDS.

Apart from the republic of South Africa, many Southern African countries, like every other developing nation in the world, are facing all these problems which must be addressed to enhance capability in global politics. International Monetary Fund's initiated development strategies cannot solve the problems of poverty and low capacities in Southern Africa and if westernisation is seen as the answer, what then is the question.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

Outline and discuss TEN political economy problems which must be addressed for Southern Africa to enhance its capability in global politics?

4.0 CONCLUSION

The political and economic problems facing Southern Africa, to a large extent, is a microcosm of similar problems denying developing nations of the world the desired instruments of capability in global politics. Part of the solution also laid with mobilisation, politicisation, sensitisation, conscientisation and radicalisation of the consciousness of both the leaders and the led in Southern African countries.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has examined the political economy of Southern Africa from the perspective of Marxism as up-dated by V.I. Lenin. This is premised on historical materialism, dialectical materialism, class struggle and political economy. As Karl Marx has always insisted, the history of all hitherto existing generations is the history of class struggle. This can be latent or potential, domestic or international. So it is with Southern Africa.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. “The problem of many Southern African countries is the consistent development of underdevelopment.” Discuss.
2. “Unless certain problems in the political economy of Southern Africa are tackled, the region shall continue to lack capability in global politics.” Discuss.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Ake, C. (1981). *Political Economy of Africa*. London: Macmillan Publishers.
- Ikoku, S.G. (1985). *The Fourth Coup D'état: Options for Modern Statehood*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Nzekwe, A. (2005). *No Past No Present No Future: How Nigerians Underdeveloped Nigeria*. Jos: Transafrican Links.