

Botswana's Foreign Policy

Diplomatic survival, Impact and Challenges

[Keorapetse Mmoloki Gabatlhaolwe]

Abstract—This paper chronicles the evolvement of Botswana's foreign policy (FP) by reflecting Botswana's attempts to change aspects of the international status quo that it dislikes and to maintain those of which it approves, in this age of global integration. It finally illuminates the trade-offs Botswana's top decision-makers face in determining the appropriate policies to maximize utility, given its goals. The subject matter is discussed through an analysis of Botswana's international interaction; evaluating, how they have maximized the benefits of multilateral international cooperation beyond Botswana's and African borders.

Keywords—Botswana, foreign policy, Africa, democracy, FP

I. Introduction

When someone mentions Africa, images of Poverty, wars, disease leap into the mind of the listener. Over the last 48 years, as the mainstream Western media has been preoccupied with the miseries of war and post-colonial woes, of feeding the hunger they created, Botswana was steadily grooming itself. Botswana's economy, although landlocked and dry, has grown enormously since independence; rising from one of the world's poorest to an upper middle-income country today. The most consistent economic growth any African country has ever experienced. Botswana's success may be attributed to its diamonds but it is the effective management of its economy and its infrastructural development, particularly in a continent that is rich in minerals yet has nothing to show for it, that has captured the world's attention. Lack of development in Africa may be attributed to corrupt government and foreign exploitation, But Botswana seems to be immune to such issues.

*If you get the governance right, if you get the political factor right, a government that wants development., that is not corrupt, and that can administer a competent program, amazing things can happen.*¹-GDTV transcript.

Also, Botswana has a different story when it comes to colonialism and its impact. It is a known fact that Botswana at the time of the scramble for Africa was regarded as a desert with no hope and in which no western-power was interested. On the contrary, it was the prominent Chiefs of Botswana who sought British protection against the neighbouring SA, which was granted in 1885. After World War 2, it was widely assumed that Botswana had no option but to sellout to its all-powerful white neighbours; South Africa (including South-West Africa) and Southern Rhodesia.

It is exactly for these reasons that Botswana has been little known within and outside Africa. Some Africans call it a European country in Africa. Perhaps in terms of its attitudes to life, it fits the model of many Western countries. It is simply too successful to fit the pessimistic model associated with postcolonial Africa.² It is considered an African miracle and one of the world's success stories. It is a nation with a high degree of public respect, where courtesies between individuals are taken very seriously and the reprobate shunned. This may not be because Botswana's traditions have survived un-influenced but rather because Botswana³ have adapted to the modern world without losing their sense of moral priorities and traditions that served them well for centuries; as opposed to other African colonies that were forced to assimilate western culture and norms.

II. Emergence of FP

In Botswana the creation of the FP is a duty that rests upon the President as head of government and his or her foreign minister. So, the creation and execution Botswana's FP is carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. Yet in an interesting revelation of events, especially after arduous years of self-rule, Botswana, as one of Africa's longest surviving democracies, still does not have a documented FP which can be publicly scrutinized⁴. However, even though its FP has not been documented at least until 2014, it is without doubt that it has a set of interest-based strategies to safeguard its national interests and to achieve its goals within the international relations milieu, while being cautious of exploitation. Essentially, all countries in the world employ these to interact with one another. Yet, whether the absence of a formal FP affected the relations and regard of foreign diplomats is a difficult question still existing; in actual fact, due to the manner in which the levels of globalization and transnational activities have deepened, Botswana has had to interact with both state and non-state actors nonetheless.⁵

III. Diplomatic Survival

To explain the behaviour of Botswana's relationship with other countries we need theories. Without theories it will be hard to explain the relationships that are discovered, and one can only make predictions about the Botswana FP behavior. Theories are also needed to analyze the day-to-day interactions of Botswana's international relations in order to compare it with other countries' foreign policies. Botswana has employed all types of diplomacy since independence. Its diplomacy has gone from appeasement, alliance formation, liberal policy values, soft power, and public diplomacy to action-reaction. However, it seems to lead in the aspects of preventative diplomacy and conflict resolution. The sparsely populated nation of a little over 2 million, also leads in good governance

due to its representative democracy that it has upheld since independence. It is seen as a unified and rational agent of democracy and peace in a continent ravaged by wars and inequalities. Botswana's principal FP objective has been to develop good relations with all countries, especially its SADC, the African Union and the United Nations member-states.

Botswana's FP started to materialize in the 70s when its focus and preoccupation in the regional scene was the escalating guerrilla activities in the then Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Despite its nominal neutrality, Botswana allowed the ZIPRA guerrillas (supporting Mr. Joshua Nkomo) to launch attacks on Rhodesia from her soil. As a result Botswana experienced a huge influx of refugees who settled in Botswana due to reprisals in Rhodesia. In the face of the struggle for freedom in SA that kept open warfare near Botswana's borders since 1966, and brought repeated armed incursions into Botswana's territory and the terrorist activities of the Smith regime in particular; Sir Seretse Khama, then the President reacted swiftly by confronting events and thus the birth of the Botswana Defense Force in 1977. It was created to uphold security and sovereignty; to safeguard Botswana's borders, by protecting both the growing numbers of refugees and the citizenry.

Botswana's formative FP in Southern Africa pushed for *liberal values* as evidenced by its fight for a society that is non-racial, leading as an example of a non-racial state.

'Botswana has been entrusted with the responsibilities of upholding the universal values of democracy and non-racialism, of human dignity and equality in a part of the world where they are being distorted, turned upside down and even destroyed.'- Sir Seretse Khama speaking of his role at the UN (Henderson, 1974)

Botswana took and pursued this *liberal policy* throughout Southern Africa, also supported by the Lusaka Manifesto⁶. Henderson (1974) even noted that the President of the Canadian International Development Agency had stated that Canada's interest in Botswana was directly related to the 'non-racial' philosophy of the Botswana Government.⁷

Largely Botswana follows Ward (1982) *action-reaction* framework i.e. reacting to world events as they arise. Putting in practice the action-reaction theory as promoted by Sandberg, (1978), Botswana has responded in kind to behaviours it considers either hostile or cooperative from other international actors. Laurie Nathan quotes Jack Spence as saying that the government's inclination to solve problems as they arise, rather than being guided by critical and principled perspectives, derives from the nature of international affairs: critics who look for coherence and consistency in a well-structured FP underestimate contingent and unforeseen factors, and the developments and forces that lie outside the control of even the most skillful bureaucracy and political class (Nathan, 2005). Spence also quotes James Mayall as saying, 'most countries make up their FP as they go along, mainly because though their interests may remain consistent, the circumstances to which they must react do not' (Nathan, 2005).

In its diplomatic drive, Botswana under Sir Ketumile Masire had to exercise *the policy of appeasement* too; making concessions to the aggressive SA's white and minority government in order to avoid confrontation was one case on point. Brig. Herman Stadler of the SA Police Security Branch when briefing local and foreign correspondents after the SADF operation in Botswana in the 80's, said Botswana had given the ANC (who were regarded as terrorists at the time) permission to operate a political office in its territory. Botswana was asked to "remove these people before it is necessary for us to operate against them too (Botswana)".⁸ It seems Botswana had ignored its international obligation not to harbour 'terrorists', Botswana obliged in order to appease its SA counterparts. This came as a result of Botswana's support of the various forces struggling against racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. It was precisely because of this support that Botswana was on several occasions attacked by Apartheid SA's military, which were allegedly in search of "terrorists". While these operations were said not to be aimed at the Government or the people of Botswana, it was rather odd how small elements of the apartheid SA Defence Force (SADF) could attack and destroy ten African National Congress targets in and around Gaborone killing more than 12.

Botswana has also strengthened its diplomacy through the use of *soft power*. Joseph Nye calls it 'hearts and minds diplomacy'. He defines it as the cultivation of relationships, respect, or even admiration from others in order to gain influence, as opposed to more coercive approaches. For example, the US' use of soft power in recent years because of its wealth and economic involvement in the world gives it respect around the world. As a result, many nations looked to the U.S. for leadership or as a model to emulate even without any overt coercion. Botswana, emulating the same, continues to challenge SA's hegemonic role in Southern Africa. Nye claims that a country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it (Nye, 2004). Its flora and fauna sees royalties and powerful world leaders paying visits or passing leisure times there.

Nye asserts that, "Seduction is always more effective than coercion, and many values like democracy, human rights, and individual opportunities are deeply seductive,"(Nye 2004). Therefore, it is evident that Botswana wants to have Malawi, Liberia and South Sudan in its sphere of influence. To that effect, the government would internationalize the "internship" scheme to include sending graduates to serve in these countries. Botswana has also offered to assist South Sudan in Governance. The new country has already started undertaking benchmarking exercises in Botswana. Botswana was also providing parallel assistance to Malawi and Liberia on institutional capacity and sharing expertise in the running of government. This comes across as the development of a soft form of influence by a state with limited national power. However, this soft influence, which bears hallmarks of monetary diplomacy, appears to be a bridge to consolidate actual economic benefits.

Botswana has recently exercised *public diplomacy*; influencing through communication with the general public in

another nation, rather than just attempting to influence the nation's government directly. Botswana delved knee-deep into Zimbabwe's internal politics and was seen to be actively supporting Morgan Tsvangirai against Robert Mugabe and Zanu-PF. Botswana government's communication strategy took the form of propaganda as it commissioned Botswana Television to host a weekly programme that actively propped up Tsvangirai against Mugabe. Botswana's leader also held regular interactions with leaders of Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

Botswana was initially and generally thought to follow a non-aligned FP. Presently, it is clear that Botswana aligns itself with the US, its key allies and key institutions. The US considers Botswana an advocate of and a model for stability in Africa and has, together with its European allies, been a major partner in Botswana's development since its independence. The U.S. Peace Corps and USAID are US sponsored programs from which Botswana benefited. Botswana is also home to the Voice of America (VOA) relay station serving most of the African continent. It seems, for a win-win cooperation or rather, trade off, Botswana through the so-called military collaborations, is helping the latter and its NATO allies to carve out a comprehensive military foot print in Africa⁹. This is further emphasized by the US' recognition of the Botswana Defense Force (BDF) as 'one of the most professional militaries in the continent!'¹⁰

"Visiting is a vital part of maintaining a friendship....Botswana is a valued partner for Air Forces Africa and U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) and it was important to take the time to catch up with our friends in the [Botswana Defence Force]." Commander Major General Ron Ladnier¹¹

It is known that the AFRICOM objectives is to eradicate Chinese influence on the continent. This is evidenced by the fact that, while many African Presidents continue to throng Beijing, Botswana's current President Ian Khama is still yet to pay a diplomatic visit to China. He has voiced out that he is not comfortable with the Chinese's way of doing business. Under him, Chinese business men who flout the country's trade rules and regulations are either deported or pronounced prohibited immigrants. He has shared in the international media that, *"We don't want any little Chinatowns. Even the way some of them (Chinese) operate, not issuing receipts, not being tax-compliant, selling expired goods, we have said 'no'."*¹²

The US seems to influence Botswana even behind the scenes. In 2009, the US embassy tried to influence President Ian Khama to build alliances with leaders of countries in SADC and the African Union, WikiLeaks revealed. Being "right" on issues like Zimbabwe is a virtue, but being effective in ensuring change is harder and more important for Botswana's longer term interests,"¹³ reads the cable. The WikiLeaks exacerbated the belief that Botswana is a "puppet of the West". Botswana is a well-known ally of the West and a staunch proponent of their values

IV. Policy Impact

As a well-administered and politically stable country, Botswana is now highly regarded and felt in the FP arena. See below what has enabled Botswana to emerge as a widely accepted positive factor in the international system.

A. Support for Human Rights & Universal Values

Sir Seretse's legacy is beloved because of his refusal to accept racism and injustice. His marriage to a white woman and the world's refusal to accept, it is a story from which Botswana emerged with honour and ended sorely for the British government. It had deceived the House of Commons, the people of Botswana, and the British public. The novelist Bessie Head, a refugee from apartheid South Africa (SA) who adopted Botswana as her home once wrote, *'It is no exaggeration to say that in Botswana I learnt tolerance, love [and] brotherhood because that is what is in the air here.'*¹⁴ This is translated today into commitment to human rights and universal values. Botswana has associated itself with the global consensus that the atrocities committed by the Assad regime against its own people, through the use of conventional as well as chemical weapons, are a clear threat to world peace and security. Botswana severed ties with Libya's Gadhafi¹⁵ and North Korea¹⁶ for lack of respect for human rights. Coning writes that the legality of the intervention in Lesotho by Botswana and SA, which had a disastrous start, under the auspices of SADC was somehow illegal as it was not internally authorised by the UN Security Council as per Chapter VIII of the UN Charter¹⁷. However, Botswana's participation/contingent somewhat legalised the intervention. For sure Botswana's stance on Crimea¹⁸ or intervention in Lesotho (Botswana is against unconstitutional removal of governments or leaders) shows that it will militarily intervene against coups or change of governments where necessary.

B. Model of Good Governance, Democracy and Peace

Botswana's founding leaders predicated independence upon an evolving social contract between government leaders and a well-apprieved populace. This was borrowed from the traditional Setswana customs of *'Kgosi thobolo e olela matlakala'* and that of *"Mafoko a kgotla a mantle otlhe"*. Botswana has not lost its tradition of *'Ntwa-Kgolo Ke ya molomo'* (*Dialogue is the best war*) which believes that a peaceful world relies on collective mechanisms of solving world problems as per the norms and expectations of Tswana culture. This culture calls for the respect for the law and public order. Also through the use of the Kgotla¹⁹, an institution which serves as a forum for policy formulation, decisions including political and economic developmental activities and judiciary on litigations can be arrived at. The ruling BDP uses the 'unite and rule' tactic and this has created high levels of stable elite, and mostly importantly respect of 'the virtues of propriety, tranquility, and a peaceful approach to interpersonal relations' (Alverson, 1978), hence a much stable FP.

Deriving from this traditional experience, all of Botswana presidents have been calling for the respect of the UN and its treaties which give this international body a unique legitimacy and experience in order to tackle world problems. In the mid-

90s, Botswana took its dispute with Namibia over the Sedudu Island to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. In 1997 Namibia, which had been facing an extended drought, announced plans to divert water from the river, consequently threatening trouble between the two countries.²⁰ In this case, a commission of diplomats was convened to hear sides of the issue, and a ruling based on international law was given in favour of Botswana. This act saw Botswana's image catapulting to greater heights in rankings as a peaceful country that prefers dialogue over war.

Botswana continues to take on regional and international assignments through former Presidents Sir Masire and Festus Mogae. Thus Botswana continues to include African problems in the overall context of its priority, including in Zimbabwe where Botswana's role has brought the much needed environment for dialogue. In addition, Botswana has become an attraction for international conferences and now can host high level international meetings e.g. Africa Regional Workshop on the Ratification of the Kampala Amendments relating to the crime of Aggression, with respect to the International Criminal Court, WHO Dialogue on the MDG post-2015 Agenda, the 4th China-Africa Health Round-table Meeting etc. Botswana is against Africa's call to exempt Africa's ruling elites from standing for trial at the ICC while still in office. Botswana has lashed out at African dictators.

C. *Economic exceptionality for integration*

Botswana's economy continues to be admired on the international stage. Obviously there exist implications of this robust economic ability on its FP substitutability. The country has been given an A-grade for credit-worthiness by the World Economic Forum, and has been rated by Transparency International as the least corrupt country in Africa, ranking higher than several European countries. Botswana is a good example of a country that, despite becoming one of the poorest in the world after gaining independence (the new government could not cover the costs of administration from taxes and was continually indebted to Britain,²¹) nevertheless, it has painstakingly transformed itself.

Sam Woley (2013) in his blog²² argues that Botswana's FP is mostly concerned with its own economic diversification, which pushes their policy towards a regional integration of neighboring countries. It is without doubt that Botswana's development policy largely remains FP and only long-term economic strategies to reduce vulnerabilities, foster greater regional integration, and diversify trade, aid, and technology sources. Woley in agreement highlights that Botswana's prominent role in the South African Development Community (SADC) and its strengthening of this entity to restore Africa's importance in the global economy, shows Botswana's policy commitment to fostering regional economic cooperation. What he brings to the fore makes James Zaffiro's work on how weak states can exploit comparative advantages and opportunities to exert regional and continental leadership is intriguing (Wright, 1999). However, this is not easy as it is faced with competing aspects of dependence and economic trade off as dictated by circumstances in Southern Africa. Botswana is dependent in terms of markets largely due to its small population. Willie Henderson, in the early years of Botswana's independence

argued that 'the Botswana Government has a strategy based on liberalism and that the international arena provides the framework for the game of applying this strategy' (Schaffer, 1972). Moreover, Botswana is faced with a mammoth task of diversifying its diamond heavy economy. To tackle this, Botswana's diamonds are now selling from Gaborone, after the DTC headquarters relocated there from London in 2013. Gaborone seeks to transform itself into the Diamond hub of the world where auctioning and diamond sales take place.

v. **Policy Challenges**

Challenges are many because of the lack of a written, comprehensive and systematic FP. First, the Botswana parliament has no substantial influence over exactly what makes the FP processes through allocation of funds, oversight responsibilities and treaty ratification; so the government is not strictly accountable to a national legislature. Second, Botswana's media is largely still controlled by the government; the independence of the private media is also challenged and limited in terms of resources as most of the revenue acquired are funding from advertising; and everything else is dependent on government funds. As the saying goes, 'you cannot bite the hand that feeds you'. So these bring about doubts as to whether the media in Botswana is able to provide the "unvarnished truth" about Botswana foreign affairs.

Third, Botswana lacks FP commentators and advocates that can feed ideas into the policy environment. This has turned Botswana into an international or regional player who only observes and comments. If Botswana wishes to see it FP propelled to greater heights FP commentators must proclaim and argue about the prevalent issues. Also, despite the fact that the average citizen in Botswana is aware of events around the globe and is willing and eager to express his or her opinion, Botswana government ignores this citizen diplomat, who could actually become an important player in the implementation of Botswana FP.

Fourth, many critics continue to lash out at Botswana's incoherent FP. Essentially, there are several reasons for this ad hoc and often haphazard approach more especially with the current government. These several significant contradictions, some of which have undermined the country's credibility, have at times overshadowed its considerable achievements. Botswana's voting right has not been without controversy. In particular a 'no' vote on a resolution to defer the Kenyan President's case attracted wide spread criticism. Botswana has had a fair share of bad publicity in both local and foreign media regarding its xenophobic behaviours. The Botswana government has been criticised by Human Rights Watch for deporting hundreds of thousands of Zimbabwean refugees back to persecution. Botswana still struggles to seal its border from thousands of Zimbabweans who flee economic collapse and political persecution due to Mugabe's policy toward White Africans. It is not clear how much harm is done to the image of the country by the reportage of deportations, repatriations and the Botswana government's refusal to renew or issue visas. What is clear is that, the prejudices and misconceptions which exist in Botswana regarding foreign people, "are the great

barrier to any system of government,"²³ as rightly said by Senator J. William Fulbright.

It is worthy to mention that Botswana's other relationships (with China, Russia, North Korea and the African Union) are complex. Khama who seeks to be a FP President at the same time, seems consumed in Botswana's domestic politics than attend any African Union or United Nations assembly. He rightfully questions, "*You are given seven to 10 minutes to speak and then you come back home, and you say is it worth flying all that way and spending all that money for seven minutes? ... Is it going to make a difference? And with all those other heads of state speaking, who's listening at the end of the day?*"²⁴ Also, the building of a US sponsored military facility at the Thebephatshwa Airbase and Khama's voice against the presence of Chinese in the country cannot be a coincidence. China and its allies must have been watching this development with keen interest. It is a possibility that the Thebephatshwa facility marks the beginning of the much anticipated US bases that will be built all across the continent as America withdraws from Afghanistan and Iraq.

VI. Conclusion

Arguably, Botswana's FP has been historically guided among other ideologies by democracy, self-reliance, unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of nations. Over the years it has become a leading voice of reason in Africa; a regional actor on political and economic integration in Southern Africa. It enjoys an identity that puts its entire political system under a good light, envied by fellow African states and drawing endless praise from the West. It is seen as an established state in control of its policies, people and territories. Botswana emerges with honor and enjoys favourable international rankings. Tourists and international visitors are shell-shocked when they visit or read favourable commentary about the country and that it affords its citizens a decent lifestyle.

It is commendable that while FP changed in style from Sir Seretse Khama to Ian Khama, it remained in essence. Botswana maintains friendly diplomatic relations with most African nations and is committed to deepening mutual understanding with the international community. Its FP has been quite extraordinary when compared with other African states, as Gaborone bids to establish itself as a continental champion of democracy and civil liberties. Impressively enough, it has maintained a credible and deterrent military defense to underpin its relations with neighbours. Laudably, Botswana has joined hands with others in the international community in extending assistance to victims of natural disasters in neighbouring states and further afield to victims in Haiti, Pakistan, The Philippines and Niger most recently.

However, as a small state, Botswana should not depict illusions about the state of her region or the world. Today, the world is globalised and globalisation too is globalised thus presenting global challenges like transnational activities like terrorism, human trafficking and cyber-crime. Botswana as a member of the community of nations has to rethink its FP position and adjust as much as it is necessary and its President should not personalise FP. He should attend regional and

international summits and ensure that he uses Botswana's membership in regional and international organizations to solicit assistance and collaborative partnerships to curb the multifaceted global challenges Botswana faces as a developing country. He must be able to discern future trends and grasp opportunities ahead of others. Double standards are among the accusations leveled against Botswana's FP, which is believed to be premised on personal preference, hypocrisy and exhibitionist rather than a genuine desire to influence events around the world. This author wonders how it is possible for Botswana to be blind to the plight of Swaziland which is his backyard yet attracted to see incidents in faraway places like Syria and North Korea. Botswana needs to communicate with the international community in a coherent and consistent manner.

On one hand, Human rights activists are impressed by Botswana's stance against 'rogue powers' and its support to resolutions in the Security Council. While this has remained an explanation of Botswana's FP behavior, on the other hand, Botswana should be wary of supporting international institutions (that are designed accordingly) that allow big powers their hypocritical pondering and self-serving maneuvers. Botswana must understand that its history is different from many, whose centuries-old historical injustice is yet to be addressed. In post-conflict torn countries like Angola and Rwanda, an authoritarian regime that helps secure the peace and promote rapid economic development may be more desirable than a weak, talkative democracy. Sir Seretse managed to get Botswana as a united people behind a common cause of development, democracy and peace. So its genuine democracy has taken root largely because of its literate population, less significant ethnic fragmentation and rule by one dominant party since independence. This is not the case in other countries. Therefore, Botswana must first learn and understand how it can assist other countries to follow its model instead of always cutting ties or applying roof-top diplomacy.

Finally, as Botswana is in the process of drafting an assertive FP document, it should be rooted in the principles of openness, transparency and inclusiveness which would consequently lead to ownership by Botswana. Cases of isolation that Botswana has been exposed to, show that the management of international relations is a complicated process that requires careful decision making, due to the fluidity and unpredictable nature of the international system. With Ian Khama expected to win the next polls, a lonely figure in Africa, it remains largely questionable if Botswana will usurp a middle power status which will predispose it to multilateralism and partnerships at global and continental levels. Botswana's geopolitical location indicates that the country should maintain and nurture the principle of peaceful coexistence and good neighbourliness as this author views Botswana as a force for creating stability in Africa. Botswana is comparably (to other African countries) capable economically, diplomatically and militarily now under the son compared to its former days under his father.

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- 1 Read http://www.fpa.org/usr_doc/GLOBALPOVERTYtranscript.pdf
- 2 See <http://www.penguin.co.uk/nf/Author/AuthorPage/0,,1000054429,00.html?sym=QUE>
- 3 A Botswana citizen is called Motswana for singular and Batswana for plural.
- 4 See more at <http://www.sundaystandard.info/article.php?NewsID=11490&GroupID=5>
- 5 Read more from <http://www.botswanaembassy.org/news1/StateOfNationBotswana.pdf>
- 6 In 1969 the states of southern and central Africa came together in Zambia and signed the Lusaka Manifesto. This began with a ringing declaration, which became known as the Lusaka manifesto. Read more here http://africanactivist.msu.edu/document_metadata.php?objectId=32-130-714.
- 7 See Botswana Daily News, 11 August 1971, No. 143, p. 1.
- 8 See <http://www.rhodesia.nl/gaberone.htm>
- 9 Read at http://www.army.mil/article/83250/U_S__Botswana_Special_Forces_train_together/
- 10 Read the Bureau of African Studies at <http://www.state.gov/tr/pa/ei/bgn/1830.htm>
- 11 Read more at <http://www.aficom.mil/Newsroom/Article/7265/air-forces-africa-visits-botswana-emphasizing-part>
- 12 Read Visiting UN not a priority". Yahoo South Africa. 2013-03-18. Retrieved from <http://za.news.yahoo.com/visiting-un-not-priority-khama-054501351--finance.html> on 2013-02-18
- 13 See http://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09GABORONE682_a.html
- 14 Read Bessie: The Road of Peace of Mid: Critical Appreciation by Joyce Johnson
- 15 See more at http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/africa/2011/02/110223_botswana_libya_focus.shtml
- 16 Read more at <http://www.gov.bw/en/Ministries--Authorities/Ministries/Ministry-of-Foreign-Affairs-and-International-Cooperation/News/BOTSWANA-CUT-TIES-WITH-NORTH-KOREA/>
- 17 The UN Charter, in Chapter VIII, provides for regional organisations to undertake peace making initiatives but requires them to obtain prior approval before undertaking enforcement action. There is no sanction prescribed, however, nor has any ever been taken against a regional organisation, should regional organisations ignore this requirement. The sanctions imposed against Burundi by neighbouring African countries in July 1996 and the October 1998 NATO threat to carry out air strikes against Serbia without prior approval by the UN Security Council are examples of initiatives which could be in breach of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. As pointed out in the first part of the paper, some analysts believe that the SADC interventions in Lesotho and the DRC would qualify as enforcement actions and thus also required prior approval by the UN Security Council.
- 18 Read more at http://www.mofaic.gov.bw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=898:a-condemns-political-situation-in-ukraine&catid=13&Itemid=248
- 19 Before Independence a form of governance prevailed in the Tswana society with the kgotla as the main core. In each community there were various kgotlas hierarchically organised with the kgosi's kgotla being the central one. below this were a number of wards (dikgotla). These institutions still play a vital role in the present form of government.
- 20 Namibia / Botswana Water Wars". ABC. 1997-09-09. Retrieved 2014-07-14
- 21 Read more at <http://www.thuto.org/ubh/bw/skhama.htm>
- 22 Read more at <http://globalatlus.blogspot.com/2013/05/botswanas-diamonds-turning-resources.html>
- 23 See http://www.fpa.org/usr_doc/publicdiplomacy.pdf
- 24 See more at <http://www.bdlive.co.za/world/africa/2013/02/18/visiting-un-not-priority-for-khama>