

The birth and the existence of Lesotho: A diplomatic lesson

**A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts in the University of Malta for a
Masters Degree in Contemporary Diplomacy**

June 2017

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work.

(signature)

Name: Kutloano Pheko

03 July, 2017 Dublin, Ireland

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Jah Almighty the Omniscience, the Omnipresence, God who sees and knows all.

To DiploFoundation staff, outstandingly Mr. Patrick Borg. Your tireless efforts have finally paid off. May your fruit basket ever remain full. My supervisor Ambassador Kishan Ranaji, Ms Sylvana Bugeja, Ms Mary Murthy and Ms. Tanja Nikolic, your support has been overwhelming.

To my family. Wethu you have always been the kind of support I needed to overcome the trials and tribulations. Lumka and Riaz, necessary pestilence.

To my unborn child Kayise. The world is a stage and everyone is an actor. Never go to a battle without a shield.

ABSTRACT

The dissertation will focus on the birth and present state of existence of Lesotho, as a nation state, a state inside another state, looking at how diplomacy is at the centre of all this. The research will examine the history of South Africa and the events that led to the emergence of a territory that became a chiefdom known as Basutoland (land of the Basuto/Basotho people) and, ultimately, became the kingdom of Lesotho.

While traits of contemporary diplomacy have been reported to have originated in Europe, Lesotho's birth and existence are directly pinned to a very robust and carefully articulated form of diplomacy, which saw the country emerging out of the dark ages into a modern sovereign state. As a result, it became a wonder, not only to its inhabitants, but also to onlookers, researchers, and academics alike. Lesotho's continued existence continues to baffle many people - *"How did you become a country inside another country"*. The answer lies deep within the history of Southern Africa, where diplomacy played a very dominant and critical role. This dissertation will review these events, approaches, and strategies that Lesotho applied.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	i
Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Chapter 1.....	1
Introduction.....	1
1.1 Historical Background.....	3
1.2 King Moshoeshoe I, African Diplomat and the Founder of the Basotho Nation.....	6
1.3 The wars that Moshoeshoe Fought.....	9
1.3.1 The Senekal War.....	10
1.3.2 The Seqiti War.....	11
1.3.3 The Third Basotho War.....	11
1.4 Literature Review.....	12
1.5 Methodology.....	15
CHAPTER 2.....	18
POLITICAL HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.....	18
CHAPTER 3.....	21
THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH SETTLERS.....	21
3.1 Arrival.....	21
3.2 The Great Trek (The Great Journey).....	24
3.3 The Battle of Isandlwana.....	26
3.4 Moshoeshoe and Basuto's Relations with the Boers.....	27
CHAPTER 4.....	28
MOSHOESHOE'S DIPLOMACY.....	28
4.1 Background.....	28
4.2 Different Types of Diplomacy.....	33
CHAPTER 5.....	38
LESOTHO'S RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA.....	38
5.1 Background.....	38
5.2 The Anglo-Boer War.....	38
CHAPTER 6.....	43

LESOTHO'S DIPLOMACY IN THE 21 ST CENTURY	43
6.1 Background	43
6.2 The Destabilization Policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa	45
6.3 Lesotho and Multilateral Diplomacy	51
6.4 SADC and the Commonwealth Shuttle Diplomacy	53
6.5 February 28, 2015 Snap Elections	58
6.9 Conclusion.....	70
REFERENCES	74

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Till the lion gets its own historian, tales of the hunt will always glorify the hunter”

These words echo around my mind as I reflect on African history, and in particular, reflect on the history, and origins, regarding the Kingdom of Lesotho. When I first heard these words, however, they had no significance to me, as I was in primary school. Nowadays, it has a more sentimental meaning to me as I sit and look back to where we came from, as a nation, looking at where we are now and where we want be in the future. It is only now that I can put these thoughts on paper. To go back to the quote above, the Lion has a Historian now.

The dissertation will focus on the birth and present state of existence of Lesotho, as a nation state, a state inside another state, looking at how diplomacy is at the centre of all this. The research will examine the history of South Africa and the events that led to the emergence of a territory that became a chiefdom known as Basutoland (land of the Basuto/Basotho people) and, ultimately, became the kingdom of Lesotho. Lesotho’s past, present, and future will be analysed from a diplomatic perspective, to show that, while the rest of the chiefdoms and kingdoms, in what has now become South Africa, became assimilated, Lesotho emerged as a power to be reckoned with, right in the middle of South Africa.

Lesotho’s existence as an enclave within the borders of another country is not something that many people, either scholars or lay people, have ever questioned. I have often had to explain to someone how this tiny kingdom came to exist inside another country; which was not always easy.

However, I have always been quick to respond that this arrangement or existence was not by coincidence but by historical design. I have even summed this up by stating that Lesotho does not owe South Africa anything and, vice versa (except that a huge chunk, nearly twice the size of Lesotho's current borders, was taken by South Africa and never returned).

A lot has been written about Lesotho, its history, and its political economy, but no one has ever attempted to go beyond its existence. No one has ever attempted to state why Lesotho became a country inside another country. Inside this mystical history, there lies a very acute diplomacy, practiced during a time when Africa was mistakenly labelled as barbaric by its invaders.

In school, we have been fed a lot of European history, to the extent that an African child can recite, from memory, details about Bartholomew Diaz, David Livingstone, Christopher Columbus, and so on. Europeans only refer to Africa when they find it impossible to understand some historical human development, such as linking the evolution of human-like apes to Africa, but not much else. For example, they neglect to link the great pyramids of Egypt to Africa, as if their development was somehow alien to the continent on which they sit. One of the world's most famous mathematicians, Pythagoras, studied in Africa, and the Pythagorean Theorem continues to dominate to this day, for example.

Further south in Ethiopia, the concept of 'one God' was no longer an issue for debate, since Judaism was introduced, circa 4th century BC. Queen Makeda, popularly known as the Queen of Sheba, had a son with Solomon, the King of Israel, thus starting a Jewish dynasty in Ethiopia. When the Greeks, who came to Africa to study, came across a darker people, they called them Ethiopians (Ethiopia Social Manager, 2011), meaning the people with burnt faces. This can refer to black people, in general, since the country now known as Ethiopia was formerly known as Abyssinia.

The Moors crossed from the African coast to conquer Spain around 411 AD (ABS, 2013), though the Spanish people have tried in vain to conceal this part of history. This was the first group of Africans to colonize some parts of Europe. The Moors contributed largely to Europe, in terms of arts, mathematics, science, astronomy, and agriculture. It has even been said that Christopher Columbus was taught to sail by the Moors. The University of Timbuktu became a center for learning and one of Africa's main universities, after the universities of Alexandria, in Egypt, around the 12th century AD. Through the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which greatly espoused the notion of an African Renaissance, the Timbuktu manuscripts, which contained a wealth of African and Islamic knowledge, were preserved (PBS, 2015). Now, ancient knowledge has been kept intact for current and future generations to access and perhaps build off.

While traits of contemporary diplomacy have been reported to have originated in Europe, Lesotho's birth and existence are directly pinned to a very robust and carefully articulated form of diplomacy, which saw the country emerging out of the dark ages into a modern sovereign state. As a result, it became a wonder, not only to its inhabitants, but also to onlookers, researchers, and academics alike. Lesotho's continued existence continues to baffle many people - *"How did you become a country inside another country"*. The answer lies deep within the history of Southern Africa, where diplomacy played a very dominant and critical role. This dissertation will review these events, approaches, and strategies that Lesotho applied.

1.1 Historical Background

South Africa surrounds Lesotho Kingdom completely. It is then bordered to the west and north by the Free State, the south by Eastern Cape, and the east by KwaZulu-Natal. The area covered by the Kingdom is about 30,355' square kilometres where the lowland country which varies in

height in the west covers around one quarter. The rest of the area is highlands at Thabana-Ntlenyana, in the Maluti Range, which shapes the boundary in the east with KwaZulu-Natal (Frescura, 2016).



Source: worldatlass.com

From north to south the mountain ranges run and also the Maluti, in the central territory, are Drakensberg spurs, where after joining with them in the north they form a plateau. It is here where the source South Africa's two greatest rivers, the Tugela and the Orange (Senqu), and also Caledon tributaries is located. The great mountains are the origin of Lesotho's name, "The Kingdom in the Sky, the Roof of Africa".

In 1818, Basotho rose as a country when alliances were formed by King Moshoeshoe (1786-1870) with chiefdoms and clans of the Sotho people in the southern, who at that time lived in region which is presently the Eastern and Northern Free State, and Western Lesotho. In 1786, at Menkhoaneng, Moshoeshoe was born and it was the Northern region of present day Lesotho. Moshoeshoe was Mokhachane's first son, the primary chief of the Bakoteli. He managed to bring

the senior a number of Bafokeng clans including Ratsiu and Makara groups, and Sekake group under the control of his father when he was still under his dad's tutelage (The Commonwealth, n.d.).

In 1820, at 34 years old, Moshoeshoe became a minor chief to his supporters when they moved to the Butha-Buthe Mountain (EISA, 2007). This corresponded with the approach of an exceedingly turbulent political and economic period that immersed the entire of Southern Africa. A few irrelevant components were in charge of this, however it was the contention that existed among the Nguni people of Natal, and the white settlers who settled across the Orange River which had the most impact on the history of the Lesotho and Basotho (Lesotho Embassy in USA, n.d.). An imperative advancement at that time was the military tyranny that rose of the Zulu King, Shaka, whose assaults on the neighbouring northern Natal clans had an influence on Lesotho. It was part of a procedure of building a country among the Nguni in Natal, in the mid-1820s, which was described by the production of bigger political units and more concentrated structures of authorities. An extreme dry season hit the locale and started an exceptional rivalry between these kingdoms for control of fertile cropping zones and pasturelands (Lesotho Embassy in USA, n.d.). The dry season resulted in the weaker chiefdoms either being absorbed or cleared aside by the centralized forces. Amangwane under the Chief Matiwane was one of the independent clans that were forced to escape Zululand. In the process, expansive swaths of the Hlubi and Zizi individuals were uprooted, who fled from the Upper Tugela river basin in the 1818 over the Drakensburg.

The Hlubi people who were under the Chief Mpangazitha made another surge of displaced people as they fell upon the Batlokoa individuals who at that time were living in the now known Harrismith. The Ngwane, Hlubi, and Tlokoa as a result they became three separate groups that seized dairy cattle and grains from each other and any other small group they would encounter.

These pillaging attacks, exacerbated by the dry season situation, achieved a starvation so extreme that gatherings of individuals in a few sections of Lesotho changed to barbarianism. One of the darkest periods ever in South Africa's history was known as Lifaqane. The Basotho soon understood that the most productive safeguard procedure against ravaging armed forces was a mountain stronghold after being confronted by the widespread pulverization of the Lifaqane period. Each of the main chiefs chose an appropriate sandstone level encompassed by bluffs as their fortification- The Ngwane not far from Berea district of Lesotho, the Hlubi was close to Clocolan, and the Tlokoa was close to Ficksburg (Lesotho Embassy Rome, n.d).

1.2 King Moshoeshoe I, African Diplomat and the Founder of the Basotho Nation

In around 1786, at a place known as Menkhoaneng, which was in the northern region of modern day Lesotho, Moshoeshoe was born. Moshoeshoe was Mokhachane's first son, the primary chief of the Bakoteli sub-clan. In his youth, soon after being initiated, he planned on how to steal cattle from the Ramonaheng where he captured several herds. Just like the custom of their tribe, he formed a ballad commending himself, where he referred to himself as the razor that shaved all the beards of Ramonaheng, after the raid was successful. According to the Sesotho dialect, a razor is said to have a "shoe...shoe..." sound, and that's where he got his name, Moshoeshoe which referred to the shaver. He additionally alluded himself as the Kali person, where he emphasized that he was the Great Kali or Monaheng descendant, who was known to be a predecessor of majority of Bakoena people in Lesotho. At the age of 34, Moshoeshoe, and his supporters who were generally the Bakoena Bamokoteli, some Bafokeng and also other clans such as Amazizi created a community at Butha-Buthe, where his reign and settlement concurred with the development in power of Shaka (EISA, 2007).

In the nineteenth century, Shaka assaulted numerous smaller chiefdoms which were along the eastern bank of Southern Africa (present-day Kwa-Zulu Natal), consolidating parts of them into his consistently developing Zulu chiefdom. A time of incredible wars followed, which was referred to as the season of turbulences (Lifaqane/Mfecane), named after one Zulu warrior who became the greatest raider during those wars, Mfecane. The era was marked by the hostility of the Nguni clans which attacked the Sotho people who were forced to escape the Zulu chief. Moshoeshoe moved his settlement to the Qiloane plateau due to the attacks. After their settlement in Qiloane plateau, the name was changed to be Thaba Bosiu (The Commonwealth, n.d.). It turned out to be an impervious fortification against foes. Thaba Bosiu is revered as a holy mountain by Basotho to this day. It remains as a symbol of hope during turbulent times and it serves as symbol of unity and nation building. Thaba Bosiu remained impenetrable and unconquered, until Lesotho turned into a protectorate of the British, when it was referred to as Basutoland and later upon attainment of independence, the Kingdom of Lesotho (Aerocomlab.stanford.edu, n.d.).

The most noteworthy part played by Moshoeshoe, as an ambassador, was his demonstrations of kinship towards his beaten foes. These acts of diplomacy/friendship won him many small and larger clans that saw him as a great King. He gave land and security to different individuals and this reinforced the developing Basotho country. Apart from the Lifaqane wars, another incident that marked a turn in the history of Southern Africa was the coming of the white Dutch settlers in 1647 at the Cape of Storm-Cape of Good Hope (now Cape Town). These settlers later became known as Boers (Farmers), while they, themselves, called themselves Afrikaners (Africans). Escaping British rule in Cape Colony, they moved further north in what came to be known as 'The Great Trek' (The Commonwealth, n.d.). The arrival of the Dutch brought about the introduction of guns, and Moshoeshoe was determined to acquire them, along with a white

advisor. The Africans had never had previous contact with the white man and marvelled at their way of life, but mostly at their use of the gun. The white settlers used the gun to loot and murder, along with the Bible, to weaken Africans, who were considered unchristian and uncivilized.

From other tribes, Moshoeshoe (The Lesotho Embassy in the United States of America, n.d.) heard about the remunerations that were brought by the white missionaries. He strongly believed in the peaceful resolution of conflicts and, as such, was convinced that the missionaries could play a bigger diplomatic role against the invaders. One hunter from the Griquas, Adam Kroz (he had already been christened), played a crucial part in bringing the missionaries into the life of Moshoeshoe. In June 1833, a historic meeting took place where the missionaries met with the chief and they were allowed to live in the country (Zorn, n.d). Moshoeshoe brought three missionaries to his kingdom whose names were Thomas Arbousset, Constant Gosselin, and Eugène Casalis. Later, the missionaries from the Roman Catholic arrived and played a role in shaping the history of the Basotho nation. Casalis played a vital part as the foreign advisor of Moshoeshoe from 1837 to 1855. With his insight into the non-African world, he could illuminate and prompt the king in regards to hostile foreigners, filling in as a translator for Moshoeshoe when making deals with the foreigners.

In the 1830s, on the western borders of Basutoland, Boer trekkers who was from the Cape Colony appeared and claimed to have land rights. Jan de Winnaar lived in Matlakeng zone and was the pioneer of the trekkers (The Commonwealth, n.d.). As more ranchers moved into the region, they attempted to inhabit the land, asserting that it had been "relinquished" by the Sotho individuals. Moshoeshoe after hearing about the trekkers taking land above the intersection expressed that the lands belonged to him but he would not prevent them from grazing there until a time came for them to move on, and that the settlers were supposed to maintain peace with his people and recognize that he was in charge. Eugène Casalis later commented that the trekkers had

submissively requested brief rights while they were as yet very few, but that is when they felt that they were sufficiently strong, they returned to their original intention - colonization. As a result, the following thirty years were full of conflicts. Faced with this new threat, Moshoeshoe deployed, to the best of his abilities, his naturally acquired diplomatic skills. It was during these battles with the Boers that the Basotho acquired guns and came to learn how to use them. While Moshoeshoe preferred non-aggression and a peaceful resolution to conflicts, the Boers were determined that no African chiefdom should survive, particularly that of Moshoeshoe. Thus, the use, and indeed, the success of diplomacy would now be challenged.

1.3 The wars that Moshoeshoe Fought

The arrival of the foreigners was at first valuable to Moshoeshoe, as they made a cushion between the Kora and the Basotho. Despite the fact that these pioneers purportedly requested consent to settle there, they later made a claim on the land. In 1845, an agreement was signed that perceived the white settlers in the zone, with an understanding that their stay was just temporarily (The Commonwealth, n.d.). In any case, no borderlines were established between the zone of white settlement and Moshoeshoe's fortress, since it was altogether viewed as Moshoeshoe's territory. In the long run due to the constant conflicts over the border, it was necessary to draw the boundary lines.

The territory that was between Vaal Rivers and Orange was controlled by the British who later made a claim on the Warden line (Revolv, n.d.). The line partitioned between Basotho, which was under the rule of Moshoeshoe, and British territory. The Warden line caused much resentment, since the Caledon River Valley was very fertile and it served as an essential horticultural region for both the Basotho and the British. The British making claims on that borderline was not acceptable to Moshoeshoe and this resulted to hostility which brought about

conflicts; in 1851 a battle took place at Viervoet where the British lost to Moshoeshoe. Further problems ensued, when Sir George Cathcart conveyed an army to the Mohokare River, punishing Moshoeshoe and ordering him to pay a fine. This brought about a fight breaking out in 1852 on the Berea Plateau, where the British, once more, endured substantial misfortunes because of the outfitted Basotho rangers.

1.3.1 The Senekal War

In 1854, the British found it hard to maintain the power and hence they gave over the domain to the Boers after they signed the Sand River Convention. The Boers at that point made claim on the land that was past the Caledon River, where they named it the Republic of the Orange Free State (OFS). This brought about additional hostility over boundaries and lands with the Basotho, who viewed themselves as the legitimate proprietors and who kept on utilizing the land for grazing. Additionally strife happened after JN Boshof, President of the OFS, and Moshoeshoe talked about issues of cattle rustling and armed conflict (South African History Online, 2016). In March 1858, after the discussions were not successful, Boshof declared war on the Basotho. The Basotho were intimidating rivals and the Boers endured generous misfortunes and were not in a position to enter the Basotho mountain fortification of Thaba Bosiu. During the war, the Boers decimated numerous mission stations in the Basotho kingdom, as they censured them for instructing and imparting a feeling of pride among the Basotho (South African History Online, 2016). The Paris Evangelical Society missionaries had set up those mission stations, who touched base at Thaba Bosiu and had helped in joining the Basotho under Moshoeshoe.

1.3.2 The Seqiti War

After the war, it was followed by an uncomfortable peace. Boshof was substituted by J.H Brand who stepped up and consulted with Moshoeshoe, who protested that the borderlines were not clear. Despite the negotiation efforts, conflict re-surfaced where the OFS tried to utilize their military predominance against the Basotho. Moshoeshoe understood his shaky position and applied for British security from Sir Philip Wodehouse, who was a new administrator who came in 1861 and settled in the Cape (South African History Online, 2016).

By then the Warden Line had been restated, and despite the fact that the Basotho were offered time to pull back, the assaults continued afterwards. In 1865, the OFS propelled the Second Basotho War (Seqiti War). The Free State armed force started to decimate crops and seize herds, and they also made two attempts to storm Moshoeshoe's fortification at Thaba Bosiu. Moshoeshoe was constrained to surrender Thaba Bosiu on the eleventh April 1866, because of a depletion of Basotho supplies of food (Gill, 2016). Molapo, Moshoeshoe's child, had conducted a different peace bargain. Since the Free State government was late in allotting land, the Basotho gradually progressed over the border, and further pressures mounted. Another conflict arose when two foreigners were killed in Ladybrand which aggravated the Free State government making them to raise military force against Basotho.

1.3.3 The Third Basotho War

The Free State president, Brand, demanded for the murderers to be surrendered, but Moshoeshoe expressed that he had not consented to the borderline of 1866 and hence the event had not happened on the Free State region. In July 1867, a third war arose between the Basotho and the

Free State Boer powers overran Moshoeshoe's property and vanquished all his region, aside from the invulnerable stronghold of Thaba Bosiu (South African History Online, 2016).

The Free State powers had made awesome military progress and Moshoeshoe was constrained to request British help. In March 12th, 1868, the addition of Basutoland was done after Governor Wodehouse got guidelines to consult with Moshoeshoe for the acknowledgment of the Basotho as British subjects. On twelfth March 1868, the Basotho Kingdom was declared as the British protectorate (South African History Online, 2016). This resulted to the Free State suspending their conflict against the Basotho so as not to trigger conflict between them and the British Kingdom. In February 1869, the boundaries of modern day Lesotho (beforehand Basutoland) were then established, as per the union that was formed at Aliwal-North. The pact awarded the Free State the territories it had conquered and the border line was moved deeper into the south, to Langeberg. No further hostility existed between the Basotho and the Free State after the pact.

As a result, King Moshoeshoe managed to spare his kingdom from being overwhelm by the Boers and had effectively given his newly discovered country under the control of Queen Victoria for Insurance (South African History Online, 2011).

1.4 Literature Review

A great deal has been reported about Moshoeshoe (King Moshoeshoe I) in both written and oral history, regarding his life and rule, his people, and their survival throughout the pre-colonial era into the arrival of the white man and Christianity. Little has been said, however, about his diplomatic prowess that contributed to Lesotho remaining an independent entity within the borders of another country. There has never been mention of any states that share similar features

to Lesotho throughout the world. Many cite the Vatican and San Marino states, in Italy (Cowell, 1992). However, they are city states and are not a nation state, as Lesotho is.

The attrition of states has been an ongoing phenomenon, so one would wonder why South Africa has never sought to bring Lesotho under its belt, so to speak. The two states share almost everything in common. The culture, language, food, music, history, and people are the same. Majority of the Basotho in the present-day live in South Africa, as the region that was occupied by the Orange Free State started as a part of the nation formed by Moshoeshoe (now Lesotho). The people of Lesotho are, not only found in Lesotho, and are not only Lesotho citizens, but are an ethnic group that are spread beyond the borders of Lesotho. It is quite amazing that, even though they are not citizens of only one particular state, ethnically they all owe their allegiance to Lesotho's founding father. This has made it difficult for the governments of South Africa, now, and during apartheid, to persecute Basotho, especially those from Lesotho.

Lesotho developed concurrently with developments elsewhere, though they did so at their own pace. Moshoeshoe's earlier contacts with missionaries and other European advisers had meant that, before his passing in 1870, the Basotho had already mastered the skill of reading and writing. This put them at par with the Europeans, hence their refusal to be incorporated into a racist South Africa. While Moshoeshoe himself took the initiative to bring Christian missionaries to Lesotho, it has been reported that he himself refused to be Christianized; French missionaries only succeeded in baptizing his family. The missionaries were at odds with Moshoeshoe over his many wives and Moshoeshoe was suspicious of being Christianized by the missionary groups.

After Moshoeshoe died in 1870, there were attempts by the British to annex Basutoland. The Basotho people were unhappy with this arrangement and resisted the colonial authorities. There was a rebellion in 1871–1884, which resulted in the Gun War of 1880–1881. As a result, the

British had to de-annex Basutoland and grant the Basotho some form of self-government. In 1910, when moving forward, the Union of South Africa was being formed and the British wanted to include Basutoland. The Basotho already possessed powers of self-governance that other colonies did not have, and rejected the incorporation, retaining their status as a separate Crown colony. Beyond that, any possibility of a union with South Africa became unimaginable after apartheid and Lesotho has remained independent to this day (Ross, 2008). Britain had many interests throughout the world and after the Anglo-Boer war of 1899–1902, where the Boers were defeated, but were granted autonomy, the Africans who had helped the British win were neglected. Many African clans felt betrayed by the British, as they had hoped that after the war they would get back their lost lands. In 1910, however, after the Vereeniging Agreement between the British and the Boers that ended the war, resulted in the formation of the Union of South Africa.

The British believed that, at some point, Lesotho would surrender and become part of the newly formed Republics that were amalgamated into the Union. This did not happen, however, as Basotho pushed more and more for autonomy outside of the Boer Republic. As a result of this belief that Lesotho would join the club (The Union of South Africa), Britain did very little to develop Lesotho. The railroad that was constructed in 1905 only penetrated Lesotho by about 10 kilometres. There were no other roads except the Kingsway, now the main road into the capital of Maseru. Basically, when one breaks down all these facts, the simple reason was that England displayed little interest in conquering Lesotho. As Lesotho had lost a huge amount of its territory to the Boers, which they named the Free State, and the Boers showed a continued interest to conquer, the former became a ‘better’ enemy for the British. As such, Lesotho stood in between these two European giants and played one against the other. This is yet another form of

diplomacy that Lesotho played after Moshoeshoe. Had it not been for Moshoeshoe's rare and articulate practice of diplomacy, we would not be sitting here today talking about Lesotho.

As a diplomat, I see beyond the usual monikers of Moshoeshoe being an intelligent and clever man. I see a diplomat. However, diplomacy had never been thought of as a concept outside of Europe. However, it has been practiced throughout history by various races and in Africa. The existence of Lesotho today, as a state inside another state, is a good testimony to that, and its continued existence is tangible evidence of those diplomatic roots.

1.5 Methodology

The study is qualitative, and as such, the best way to gather information is through the consultation of archives and content analysis of books, magazines, audio files, websites, folklore, passed down stories and current affairs.

Books and magazines have the credibility of giving the same information or rather nearly the same information and are therefore a reliable source in this study. Audio files, websites, folklore and passed down stories can be affected by time and space. Nonetheless, in a similar way as in books and magazines, the content can be compared and contrasted against each other and facts discovered.

What has been written before has been tested and confirmed. However, because we are dealing with social sciences, human behaviour changes all the time. New stories emerge which refute the previous ones and this is the Marxian world view, in that the historical epochs are a result of thesis and antithesis working up against each other. This way a new stage/epoch is reached and it might look somewhat similar or totally different from the previous stage.

The study will also borrow heavily from the main schools of thought, which are Realism and Idealism, and not only limited to these two, but also from such theories as Modernism and Post-modernism, Social Constructionism and also the Game Theory.

The above theories and approaches are known to govern the study of international politics and international relations. They deal with social relations and social behavior, war, foreign policy, politics, diplomacy and the people's view of their own world in the present, past and future.

The study deals to a great extent, since it talks about the birth and the existence of a country, with history. Therefore the content will heavily rely on materials that have some historical content. It also continues to study what is happening now, which gives a reliance on current affairs. The combination of the historical content and the current affairs content is able to give a clear direction into analyzing what the future holds.

They are therefore the tools deemed appropriate to giving a proper balance to the study, looking at the past and the present to determine the future. As earlier mentioned, the analysis cannot be conclusive. There are more sides to a human story than there are in a coin.

The study chose to take the diplomatic route and seeks to compare what has been told with what is being told, learn the content of the two epochal sides and strike a balance.

The tools used to analyze human behaviour and interactions are based on the human element of unpredictability and poised on the understanding that human beings are rational and would therefore make their decisions based on the available information and also on the prevailing environment. This is a sharp contrast to the natural sciences where the behaviour of atoms has remained the same since their discovery and can therefore always be predicted in terms of their behaviour. With human beings, the results cannot always be the same.

This is one major challenge that the study can be faced with. People will always have their own views and articles and documentaries are written by human beings who have their own views on the world surrounding them, hence the need to consult a number of archives and documentaries in order to have a balanced view of the situation.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

There is little early history for this part of the continent, as much of what has been recorded in written history only dates back to around 300 A.D. It is known that the Bantu people migrated from either central or east Africa to settle in Southern Africa and create chiefdoms there. The Mwana Mutapa Kingdom, in what is now modern Zimbabwe, was known for iron smelting and trade. Between the 12th and 14th centuries, they built the city of Great Zimbabwe (Cowell, 1992). Some trade also took place with the Portuguese in Delagoa Bay in, present day, Mozambique, as well as in Angola and the Congo. Due to the vastness of the region, this study will be narrowed down to an area now called South Africa.

Within South Africa's history, there have been chiefdoms that transformed into kingdoms. Alliances were loose and defence mechanisms were scarce. It was during the reign of Shaka, king of the Zulus, that his formidable military, which is said to have been one of the best in Africa at that time, was created. Why Shaka Zulu, who had the mightiest military at that time, never attempted to attack Moshoeshoe and his people, the Basuto, remains a mystery (EISA, 2007). Geographically, the two kingdoms lie adjacent to each other and share a border. During his reign, Shaka had overrun all the small clans and amalgamated them into his kingdom. It was his pillaging and marauding that resulted in the Mfecane/Lifaqane wars.

Shaka Zulu was Africa's own Napoleon Bonaparte, very brutal and never conceding to mercy. He had the most well organized military that part of the world had never seen (Smith, n.d.). He

was, of course, the founder of the Zulu nation. Before this, there were numerous small tribes of Nguni who occupied a large portion of what is now known as KwaZulu in South Africa. Ngunis, in the same way as others in South Africa, were composed into numerous tribes that coincided alongside each other (Dugdale-Pointon, 2001). Shaka reinforced his own community and began vanquishing neighbouring communities, through both diplomacy and war. Shaka named his people the Zulu, which means 'heaven', a symbol of his formidable power (Ross, 2008). Shaka is reported to have climbed on top of a high mountain from which he had a vast view of the lands beyond. He looked around and started laughing hysterically, saying to his battalions, "...anywhere where my eyes reach is my land". He then commanded his battalions to go out and conquer, to kill any male and spare the females making sure nothing was left behind. His warriors were not supposed to return home if defeated and he enacted a strict law that no soldier was supposed to be stabbed from behind. In addition, all soldiers were encouraged to come back with the heads of those they have killed (Morris, 1994). Moshoeshoe's kingdom, lying side by side with Shaka's, seemed like a recipe for disaster. However, except for a few attacks by Mzilikazi, who was sent by Shaka to raid Moshoeshoe's cattle, there was remarkably little conflict. Twice Mzilikazi was defeated and on his last attempt, Moshoeshoe's sent his men to give to Mzilikazi a large herd of cattle and to tell him that their king, Moshoeshoe, completely understood his (Mzilikazi's) attacks, seeing it as being motivated by hunger. That was the last of Mzilikazi's attacks on Moshoeshoe. After the successful raids that Mzilikazi conducted on the neighbouring clans, and with the gift he had received from Moshoeshoe, he sent his most trusted men to Zululand to steal women and livestock. Together with his regiment, Mzilikazi fled from Shaka's presence as far north as possible and formed his own nation, the Ndebele, with the capital Bulawayo in modern-day Zimbabwe (Prozesky, 2016).

Mzilikazi knew how brutal and ungrateful Shaka was. It was mentioned that upon assuming leadership of his clan, Shaka had been told by Izanus, a mysterious figure who appeared during Shaka's youthful days, whose origins were never known and who became Shaka's diviner, to never to let the blood on his spear dry. So every day, Shaka's spear was supposed to be covered in fresh blood. Mzilikazi knew that if he stayed close, he was finished, so he had to flee so far away that even Shaka's spirit would not smell him. With Mzilikazi out of the picture, Moshoeshoe saw an urgent need to quickly befriend his only neighbour, who was the most feared, brutal and terrible human being he had ever known. A diplomat and a genius, Moshoeshoe entered into an agreement with Shaka for the exchange of 'ostrich feathers'. The story of the ostrich feathers has always been a controversial one. However, the meaning behind it, is that Shaka and Moshoeshoe entered into a habit of exchanging virgins. This is one of the strategies that Moshoeshoe mastered. He applied the same strategy to subdue some hostile clans, by marrying their daughters. Moshoeshoe is reported to have had something close to 500 wives, as a result of his diplomacy (South Africa History Online, 2017). The idea behind this type of diplomacy, which was practiced in many other parts of the world, was that there would be transfusion of blood, and different families would become a unit and related. As such, it would make no sense to attack one's own cousins, sisters, nephews, and nieces. By this strategy, Moshoeshoe won over many hostile chiefs and ended up commanding dominion over them. Once the clans have been assimilated into his own, he would send his sons to become overseers, who would ultimately become rulers over those clans. This strategy against Shaka obviously worked to his favour, as Shaka never attempted to attack Moshoeshoe. To consolidate this arrangement, Moshoeshoe reportedly sent Shaka a message saying "My lord, I am no chief I am just a small herd man. Therefore, I appeal my lord to your considerate protection. Take me not as a chief but your subject". It is reported that this greatly pleased Shaka, as it clearly indicated that there was no king besides him. Moshoeshoe's kingdom continued to grow under this ruse.

CHAPTER 3

THE ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH SETTLERS

3.1 Arrival

The age of exploration, driven by mercantile capitalism, saw European explorers began exploring the world for trade. Christopher Columbus reached the Caribbean while trying to discover the shortest route to India, westwards (Long, 2011). He landed in the Caribbean and never reached India, but convinced himself that he had reached the western part of India, the West Indies when he came across the native Arawak Indians. India became famous for its spices and, as such, Europe became interested in establishing trade with India. India offered not only spices, but other commodities, such as linen and jewellery. However, reaching India has always been expensive, as traders had to undertake very long and perilous journeys around the southern tip of Africa. The Suez Canal, in Egypt, which opened a faster route to the east, was only completed in November 1869.

The Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, is said to have been among the first Europeans to journey around Africa. Da Gama's trip was after Portugal started to resuscitate its earlier project which was to locate an immediate exchange course to India. At this point, Portugal already had developed itself to be one of the major capable maritime nations in Europe. In order to extend the trade influence of Portugal, ships were dispatched to investigate the western shore of Africa (Biography.com, 2014)

Mystery shrouded the southern part of Africa. In 1487, Bartolomeu made an essential breakthrough after discovering the Africa's southern tip and adjusted the Cape of Good Hope.

The journey was crucial since after many years this was the first time it was proven that Indian and Atlantic oceans were connected. The trip started a re-established enthusiasm for looking for an exchange course to India (Biography.com, 2014). In 1652, the Dutch started securing their ships in an inlet close to the southern tip of Africa. It was during their brief settlement that they found out that there were brown-skinned hunters who were living around that area. They called these people Bushmen. Another group of brown-skinned people, the Dutch met, they referred to them as Hottentots. The Hottentots referred to themselves as the genuine people, the Khoikhoi. The Khoikhoi were pastoralists who rode horses. They welcomed this new chance to exchange and sell. The Khoikhoi took this opportunity of to exchange and sell their sick and old animals to the Dutch for beads, tobacco, copper, and iron (Robert, 1998).

Dutch East India Company was in charge of the Dutch trade in India, and the organization decided to enhance its provisioning and position at the bay. It constructed a fortification and enticed individuals to come and live there, especially soldiers who had been discharged and were promised to be given land on which they were to farm. A settlement was developed and they started growing vegetables and fruits and they also constructed a smell healing centre. The new settlement was referred to as the Cape of Good Hope, Cape of Storm, and, later, Cape Colony, after the arrival of the British. In 1658, slaves were given to the settlers and the organization developed rules for their care and upkeep (Worden & Crais, 1994). Each slave transported to the settlement in organization boats was to have his own particular proportion of grain, beans and bacon, with pot herbs to enhance the sustenance, new natural product, and vinegar to make the water more tasteful, and they were to be given infrequent times of outside air on deck. Schools were opened at the settlement so as to teach the slaves the language and Christianity of the Dutch.

The settlement that is known as the present-day Cape Town was developed. In the 1659, the livestock of the Dutch was grazing at some local summer land. As the foreigners extended inland,

the Bushmen and the Khoikhoi collaborated so as to secure their territory and property. They took their time to learn about limits of the guns used by the Dutch, in this way empowering them to safeguard themselves against it, and they drove the Dutch back to their post. The solidarity that existed between the Bushmen and the Khoikhoi broke at that point. The Africans and the Dutch negotiated, with the Khoikhoi contending that there was insufficient land for grazing both their cows and those for the Dutch, that the foreigners to give way since the land in which the Dutch were developing was forever going to be part of the Khoikhoi territory. For the Dutch East India Company, the issue that arose was all about being in control so they brought more reinforcement to reinforce that power (South African History Online, 2011).

In 1673, the fight between the African and the Dutch started once more. Some Khoikhoi groups were more antagonistic to the Dutch than others, and some were more ruined than others. The Dutch took advantage of the distinctions and those old clan contentions. They influenced devastated clan to assault the more prosperous and hostile ones. In 1677, the war ended with Griqua, which was the most effective Khoikhoi clan, debilitating, and the Dutch East India Company gaining more cows and sheep (South African History Online, 2011).

In the 1700, the neighbouring Khoikhoi were vanquished and isolated. The individuals who had survived the fights started to build up a distinct fascination in European products, particularly tobacco and liquor. They even started to sell themselves to the province as workers and servants. The Bushmen on the other hand were less interested in European goods. Customarily, they were more mutual and more intrigued by sharing instead of procuring wealth. They kept on opposing Dutch extension, executing the foreigners, and driving the herd of the Dutch from their watering hole and hunting ground. The Dutch state at Cape Town kept on growing. The foreigners were leaving Cape Town and moving to lands that are good for farming with their squeaking bull drawn wagons. They were referred to as the Boers or Afrikaners. The Dutch East India Company

enabled them to make claim on lands of approximately 2500 hectares or even more. The Boers were Calvinists, and the individuals who could read had just a single book: the Bible. They started to consider themselves to be the chosen individuals of the Old Testament, and the Gentiles being the other blacks- substandard and doomed by God. A few Boers moved northward along the shore and others toward the east. Cape Town in terms of the population living there was growing tremendously and also the slaves increased in numbers. The Boers who had settled in fertile lands hesitated to travel there, since they were afraid of leaving the ranch unprotected if they undertook the journey that would take approximately a month. Moreover, offering their merchandise at Cape Town was dangerous, on the grounds that when they arrived they were saddled at the town's entryway for the products they carried with them, yet when they cleared out no government forms were given for merchandise not sold (South African History Online, 2011).

In the late 1760s, the Boers came across Xhosa, who were indigenous Bantu-speaking individuals around the Cape, and they confronted them. Notwithstanding the perspective of Africans by the Boers in general, in light of the fact that there were more Boer men than ladies, some single Boer men started wedding Bantu ladies, some in the Bantu custom of polygamy. The Boers and Bantu lived as neighbours and traded with each other peacefully, until the 1770s, when a war arose between them. The Boers were additionally fighting the Bushmen, who were raiding their herd and assaulting Boer families. Boer assaulting parties assaulted the Bushmen; a strike against the Bushmen in 1774, helped by Khoikhoi trackers, killed around 500 Bushmen and took about 300 detainees. The Boers were driving the Bushmen toward the Kalahari Desert and making workers of kids who were left without parents as a result of the war (Stapleton, 2010).

3.2 The Great Trek (The Great Journey)

The area inhabited by the Boers had mostly become a Dutch Colony. In 1795, after the Battle of Muizenberg between the Brits and the Dutch, Cape Colony became a British colony. The Boers did not like this new arrangement, so they decided to break away from British rule. They embarked on a long and perilous journey north, the Great Trek. This expedition changed the course of history in Southern Africa, as the inland clans had their own territories and had never met a white person before. Now, suddenly, they were faced with them (South African History Online, 2011).

The Great Trek took place from 1835 to 1846. It was a historic point in a period of expansionism and slaughter, of work intimidation and land seizure. Appearing as a mass movement into the inside of southern Africa, this was an inquiry by disappointed Dutch-speaking foreigners seeking the “promised-land”, a free state, where they would be independent of the British (South African History Online, 2011). However, historians have reported that far from being a God-fearing and peaceful process, as many Boer nationalists claimed, the Great Trek caused a huge social change in the inside of southern Africa. During this time, the chiefs of the Sotho clans were given reports: the white men were coming in their hundreds. During the Great Trek, the Boers travelled through the Zulu Kingdom. Given their numbers, had Shaka still been alive, the Zulu could have wiped the Boers off the map. However, Shaka had died nearly seven years before the journey happened and his kingdom had been somewhat weakened.

The Boers landed in Moshoeshoe’s territory and, looking at its vast fertile valleys, they began to call it the Free State, the Promised Land they had been dreaming of. Dingane underwent an overwhelming extermination on December 16th, 1838, when he attacked a crowd of 470 Voortrekker pilgrims who were directed at the Battle of Blood River by Pretorius. This was the Zulu's initial encounter with the Boers. Dingane's relative, Mpande who was his step-brother, at that point surrendered with about 17,000 devotees and associated with the Boers against Dingane.

Dingane was executed and Mpande moved toward becoming ruler of the Zulu domain (Stapleton, 2010).

In 1839, the Natalia's Boer Republic was formed, which was west of the British settlement of Port Natal and south of the Tugela, by Boer Voortrekkers who were under Pretorius. Pretorius and Mpande kept a serene relation. In 1842, a war arose between the Boers and the British which resulted in British extension of Natalia (South African History Online, 2011).

3.3 The Battle of Isandlwana

The independent Zulu Kingdom was viewed by the expansionist British as a threat and decided to launch an attack against it, under a false pretence. This became the bloodiest British war in the region and it tested British military power in Africa. The battle of Isandlwana was fought on the 22nd January, 1879 (Stapleton, 2010). At the battle the British army was instructed by Lieutenant Colonel Pulleine and Lieutenant Colonel Durnford. Chiefs Ntshingwayo ka Mahole and Mavumengwana ka Mdlela Ntuli directed the Zulu Army. The defeated British sought more reinforcements from Cape Colony and, ultimately, the Zulus were defeated. KwaZulu then became a British Natal Colony. After Cape Colony was taken from the Boers by the British, the Boers decided to migrate north and settled in some parts of the Zulu Kingdom, in their journey to the Free State, which was Moshoeshoe's territory. After the Battle of Isandlwana, Zululand fell into the hands of the British and became a British Colony (Knight, 2002).

The existence of these four colonies, two British and two Boer, resulted in a conflict of interest between the two parties, which led to the Anglo-Boer wars and the subsequent 1902 Agreement of Vereeniging, which led to the Union of South Africa development in 1910 and, ultimately, the formation of the Republic of South Africa in 1961. The Union Agreement encircled Basutoland, which became the Kingdom of Lesotho on the 4th October, 1966.

3.4 Moshoeshoe and Basuto's Relations with the Boers

In 1869, during the Convention of Aliwal North, the borderline between the Orange Free State and Basutoland was defined. This borderline was affirmed and was referred to as the Warden line, and the border with Natal Colony and Cape Colony was characterized, by the High Commissioner's notice of May 13th, 1870, as corrected by Government Notice No. 74, of the sixth November 1871. After the convention, the Free State was given the conquered territory and the borderline was moved deeper into the south to Langeberg. The conflict between the Basotho and Free State ended after this convention (South African History Online, 2011). Moshoeshoe and his people were able to salvage what little they were left with in the midst of the raging wars that the white settlers pursued against them. It was Moshoeshoe's unique diplomatic articulation that made Lesotho what it is today. This explains, somewhat, how Lesotho managed to become a country inside another country.

CHAPTER 4

MOSHOESHOE'S DIPLOMACY

4.1 Background

A treaty was signed by Moshoeshoe with Sir George Thomas Napier, the Governor of British. One of the requirements of the treaty was for Moshoeshoe to surrender a piece of land (which is now referred to as the Orange River Sovereignty) that majority of the Boers had occupied, under the pretext of transiting to Transvaal. Moshoeshoe had granted the Voortrekkers temporary settlement on his land but little did he know that, as more of them arrived, they would end up claiming the land as their own. During the treaty, some of the Boers were annoyed and it resulted to them being stifled in a concise conflict in 1848, and yet they still stayed bitter at both the Sotho and the British (Thompson, 1994).

In 1851, a strained circumstance ejected. The British army was vanquished by the Sotho force at Kolonyama, which was a humiliating loss for them. In 1852 the British attack, Moshoeshoe sent an interest to the British authority to enable him to hide any hint of failure. In 1853, after a last annihilation of the Tlokoa, Moshoeshoe ruled.

In 1854, the British left the area and this resulted to the formation of two independent states which included the Sotho Kingdom and the Boer Orange Free State. This uncalculated move resulted in the drawing of borders that gave shape to the current Lesotho. Moshoeshoe signed treaty after treaty, convention after convention, agreement after agreement, but it soon became obvious that the Boers were there to stay. This resulted in a number of raids, especially by the Basotho, as they continued to hold the lost territory as their own.

The Free State-Basotho War which took place in 1858, Moshoeshoe vanquished the Boers (South African History Online, 2011). In 1865, Moshoeshoe and his people came to comprehend that they needed to rescue whatever they managed to be left with. The last war between the Basotho and Boer ended in 1867 when the British and Moshoeshoe spoke to Queen Victoria, who consented to put Basutoland under the protection of British, which took place in 1868. The British were anxious to continue monitoring the advancement of the Boers, and Moshoeshoe, with exhortation from Eugene Casalis, understood that if the Boers consistently continued to apply pressure on them he would end up losing his Kingdom. In 1869, the British and the Boers made an agreement at Aliwal North. It characterized the boundary lines of Basutoland; those limits have not been altered right up 'til the present time.

As earlier mentioned, studies relating to Lesotho's geographic existence have never directly dealt with the underlying reasons. Little has been said about the unique diplomacy that Moshoeshoe practiced. This phenomenon has been mostly referred to as wisdom, intelligence, articulateness, and smartness, while his antagonists have preferred the use of the terms coward, soft, and lacking vision. It is important to begin by defining diplomacy. According to the UN Best Delegate Model (Nabila, 2014), tact is supposedly categorized as the craft of communication between various groups, both delegates of states and customary people. In worldwide relationships, diplomacy is the specialty of directing arrangements, shaping co-operations, talking about settlements, and achieving assertions.

The Business Dictionary (n.d) characterizes strategy as a mechanism by which a nation (or, by augmentation, an association or a person) endeavours to accomplish its objectives, in connection to those of others, through exchange and arrangement. Diplomacy is further described as:

1. The actions taken by government authorities during negotiations and other relations between countries.
2. A scientific act or art that is used for conducting negotiations.
3. As a skill that is used for handling people, managing negotiations, etc., so that there is minimal or no ill intentions. (Gulyas, 2014)

All three definitions use the words skill, conduct, and art. They also frequently use the word negotiation and the term ‘handling of affairs’. It has been explained further that the paramount aim in pursuing all these is to bring about harmony, to ensure that there is little or no ill will (Elassar, 2014). However, when one looks at the way diplomacy, as an art or conduct of handling affairs, through negotiations to ensure little or no ill will, has been practiced throughout the centuries, most often between states or at the international level, one can see a combination of both negotiation and war. The Basuto of Moshoeshoe had to master both. They fought when necessary and negotiated when they had to. Either way, the end justified the means, as, at times, it was never a possible to calculate the actual outcome. Much could have been achieved by war and perhaps little. Much could have been achieved by negotiations and perhaps also too little. We know today that Lesotho still laments the loss of its territory to the Boers. We know for sure that, given half the chance, Lesotho would try to reclaim her territory, and this could have been the case also for many other states; colonialism drew arbitrary borders that separated families, tribes, and kingdoms. Since its inception, the Organization of African Unity had been cognizant of the fact that the new wars in Africa after colonialism and apartheid ended would be territorial wars (Organization of African Unity, 1964). This was, as per the Organization of African Unity Resolutions, embraced by the First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in Cairo, Egypt in July 1964. The cases of the then Bechuanaland (Botswana),

Basutoland (Lesotho), and Swaziland were discussed in detail. These were the three British protectorates (Organization of African Unity, 1964).

The study, the conduct, and the practice of diplomacy as an art can be defined under two schools of thought: realism and idealism, and to some differing degree, liberal, social constructionist, modernist and post-modernist schools. Defenders of authenticity contend that governmental issues ought to be seen as it at present is and not on how one would want it to be. When compelling a gander at the political framework, or all the more specifically, the worldwide system, realists base their ideas regarding how global connections deal with the ideas of security and power. The realists are additionally worried about the anarchic way of the global system. Legitimacy, in worldwide relations, is to a huge extent absorbed on practical suspicions of conduct of human. The realists' confidence that human conduct is frequently identified with worries about sense of self, individual interests, and longings. All the more particularly, realists trust within the sight of malevolence in individuals. They trust that given the world's states, people themselves, if given a chance to do what they can, would do evil activities against others (International Relations, n.d).

One of the renowned scholars of international realism, Morgenthau (1978), came up with the Six Principles of Political Realism. He stated that politics, like society in general, is rooted in human nature, which is said to be egoistic, selfish, and calculative. Morgenthau continues to state that to improve society, it also important that human nature be understood. Interests are defined in terms of power – economic and military – and he concluded by stating that power needs to be guided by morals and a constitution, as in western democracies, since without these two, human beings never stop in the pursuit of power or their interests (International Relations, n.d.).

Idealism has its own worldview, in that it sees everything existing as having existed mentally. In other words, idealists seek to see the world through the mind. The mind appears to be the greatest determinant of how reality is created. The terms optimism and dreamer are not only utilized just inside rationality; they are also utilized as a part of numerous ordinary settings as well. Optimist people who trust that, over the long haul, good will prevail are often referred to as the idealist. They are not referred to as idealist not because of the notion that they are always dedicated to their philosophical principles but due to their point of view, for the most part; surely, they may even be felt sorry for, or maybe begrudged, for showing a gullible perspective and not being rationally critical at all. It is along these lines, it remains that an idealist is neither a dogmatist, empiricist, materialist nor a realist. Nevertheless, it appears to be safe to state that within current philosophy, the basic origination of vision is that something mental (the brain, soul, reason, will) is a definitive establishment of all reality, or even thorough of reality. Along these lines, despite the fact that the presence of something that is mind independent is surrendered, everything that we can think about this mind-autonomous the truth is held to be so pervaded by the innovative, developmental, or productive exercises of the brain, or the like or other, that all cases to learning must be deliberated, logically, to be a type of self-information.

The study of international politics, or international relations, and its practice are very much influenced by these two schools of thought. It has been seen that much of what realists perceive and conceive to be reality, a world around them, has a lot to do with the empirical, something tangible, something factual, something material or materialistic. The realists see the world through the spectacles of human nature. Philosophers, at varying degrees, pondered this subject and dealt with it, in great detail. A general observation is that humans are selfish, self-interested, and egoistic. The study shows that the way states relate towards each other is simply, as are the ways human beings relate towards each other. States are reflectors of the individuals that

comprise them. The realists see the world as a dangerous place, with the world system being anarchic. Thus, power is needed for self-preservation.

Contrarily, idealists see the human mind as the creator of reality. Thoughts play a crucial role in determining human, as well as international, relations. Therefore, there is no need for materialism or things that are tangible or anything that can provide evidence. Everything is controlled from the mind. The mind can create and the mind can destroy. Idealists believe that ideas can help transform the world and that conflict can be resolved by the invocation of ideas.

Therefore, the idealist's world is a peaceful and democratic one, where there is no perpetual danger because human beings can think and communicate ideas. There is no need for permanent security, as there is no permanent threat to security. This approach has resulted in liberalism. Out of liberalism, democracy was born. In contrast, realism birthed communism and socialism were born. While holding on to these two international schools of thought, it remains critical for one to understand the world we are living in (International Relations, n.d.).

4.2 Different Types of Diplomacy

1. Track 1 Diplomacy: official (state led).
2. Track 2 Diplomacy: non-governmental, low-level, non-official representation.
3. Soft Power: invokes hearts and minds. It uses propaganda and it sees seduction as being better than coercion. It has this notion that the government is dependent on public diplomacy and civil society. It has the capability of influencing the actions of others, without having to resort to coercion.
4. Hard Power: this relies on military and economic power to try to bring other states to conformity.

The categories above can and may change from situation to situation and may themselves result in some branches, but nonetheless, it can be agreed that almost all types of diplomacy fall within either one or two of these categories. It, therefore, remains that the conduct of diplomacy has been, to a much deeper degree, influenced by the two aforementioned schools of thought.

World War I (1914 to 1918) was a military activity (realism) that was followed by the founding of the League of Nations (idealism) in June, 1919. World War II (1939 to 1945) was another military catastrophe (realism) that engulfed the contemporary world and the result of its aftermath was the formation of the United Nations (idealism) in October 1945. These are just global wars, leaving out the many regional, inter-state, or even intra-state conflicts. The reasons and motives for these two wars were a result of interests, personal or national, and the reasons for their ending was a result of the invocation of ideas that there had to be an international body that would be tasked with making sure that such wars do not repeat themselves, hence the formation of the League of Nations and, subsequently, the United Nations. This is multilateral diplomacy (International Relations, n.d.).

The cold war (1947 to 1991) between the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United States of America was an ideological war that led to a number of military confrontations between the two states. Emerging economies that aspired to embrace either capitalism or communism were hit hard, both militarily and economically. The Korean War and the Vietnam War, in 1955 and in 1975, were imperialist wars. The war of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola, in 1987, where South Africa had to concede, was also an imperialist war. Idealism and realism have dominated international relations (diplomatically and politically) for centuries. The principles, however, might have preceded their study. The same principles were, in effect, in African politics. Moshoeshoe and his people were able to negotiate and to fight when necessary, often

emerging victorious, leading to the existence of Lesotho as a nation, a country inside another country (Ginger, Freudenheim and Douglas, 1984).

From the wars, Moshoeshoe fought against the Amangwane of Matiwani, the Batlokoa of Sekonyela/Manthatisi and the Zulus (who became Ndebeles under Mzilikazi ka Mashobane), and later with the Boers and the British. From all this, one could see that the Basuto had a well-trained military. This was not the case, however. Moshoeshoe maintained an ad hoc army of men and young boys who never had any military training; farmers who tended their cattle and tilled their fields, who could only be summoned when there was war or a threat to war. In contrast, the Boers and the British had trained soldiers. Shaka Zulu had a standing army, well-trained and highly disciplined. What remains is that Moshoeshoe preferred soft power, as opposed to hard power. Moshoeshoe had a vocabulary of words relating to peace and negotiations that he used among his people and towards his enemies. He would often state that peace was his sister, and that arrogance can never build a home or a village. It is only humbleness that can build a house. Late in 1852, the Cape Colony Governor, General Sir George Cathcart, entered Lesotho with a small British army. Moshoeshoe had sent messengers to Cathcart, opting for negotiations instead of war. Undeterred by Moshoeshoe's pleas for peace, Cathcart is said to have attacked Moshoeshoe until beaten at the Battle of Berea. He was forced into accepting the defeat and Moshoeshoe's gifts in the form of livestock and the acceptance of Britain's superiority by Moshoeshoe (Olson and Shadle, 1996).

Moshoeshoe was more of an idealist than a realist, in his approach to issues, especially those that affected his nation. This is evidenced by the fact that he never had a standing army. He never trained soldiers. He never had any strategic defence mechanisms. The most famous and impenetrable Thaba-bosiu fortress, upon which the nation was formed, upon which treaties were signed, is not really a mountain fortress as many would like to believe. It is a flat-topped hill. How,

then, could this hill have been defended even at a time when the Boers had completely overrun the rest of Basutoland? Compared to Shaka's warriors, Moshoeshoe's men were poorly armed and less motivated. It was said that patriotism took them to battles and brought them back victorious. Moshoeshoe could not have coerced anyone to war, as it was the case with the Boer commandos and British soldiers. Moshoeshoe's men never defected and never ran. They fought to the death to protect their King, their land, their women, their children, their cattle and their crops, but above all, their sovereignty. Moshoeshoe had offered the gifts (ostrich feathers) to Shaka and the two kingdoms entered an alliance, which Shaka at times sought to break through the use of Mzilikazi, his chief commander. Moshoeshoe offered gifts to Mzilikazi after he defeated him. Since then, Mzilikazi faded further north to Bulawayo in modern Zimbabwe. Then came the Boers. Moshoeshoe gave them a piece of his land to 'graze' their cattle as they transited to the Transvaal. However, when the Boers gathered a sizeable group to mount an attack on Moshoeshoe, they forgot the courtesies Moshoeshoe had given to them and took his land by force. Moshoeshoe was told of the missionaries and how they were the ambassadors of peace, the peace that he called his sister. He gave herds of cattle to pay for the missionaries. He is said to have purchased peace by this act. The missionaries played a crucial role in blending Moshoeshoe's African diplomacy with medieval European diplomacy and went further to modernize Lesotho/Basutoland. They became Moshoeshoe's chief negotiators.

After the British were twice defeated by Moshoeshoe, he negotiated with them to become the British subjects instead of rivals and to further seek their protection against the Boers and Lesotho became a British protectorate (Aero-comlab.stanford.edu, n.d.). During his life, Moshoeshoe had taken wives from dissident clans and was able to thus neutralize those clans. Later, he would send his sons to 'look after' those clans. When Moshoeshoe and his people moved from Menkhoaneng, in modern day Butha-Butha, to Thaba-Bosiu in 1820, his

grandfather, Peete, was captured and eaten by cannibals who had inhabited the caves between Menkhoaneng and Thaba-Bosiu. Moshoeshoe's men attacked the cannibals and overpowered them, and took them to Moshoeshoe. It is said that Moshoeshoe refused their slaughter and directed his men instead to shave them, smear them with animal dung, and give them animal meat to eat. The reason Moshoeshoe gave was that he could not destroy his grandfather's tombs, and as such, they were to be forgiven and given food, land, and cattle so they can stop eating human flesh and lead a normal life. This was one of the initial acts of diplomacy that Moshoeshoe displayed at a tender age and at the beginning of his kingship.

In all these examples above, we see diplomacy in action. Negotiation and appeasement were at the center of Moshoeshoe's diplomacy.

CHAPTER 5

LESOTHO'S RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 Background

Lesotho lost a territory twice her size to the Boers, after many battles over the land and border issues. This part of lost land came to be referred as the Conquered Territory, the Lost Territory, the Free State and, finally, the Republic of the Orange Free State. It became a Boer republic.

Bechuanaland (Botswana), Basutoland (Lesotho) and Swaziland became British protectorates against the Boer aggression. The British had taken Cape Colony from the Boers, resulting in the Great Trek. The Boers also lost the Natal to the British. They now had the Free State and the Transvaal as the Boer (Afrikaner) republics.

5.2 The Anglo-Boer War

Generally referred to as the Boer War or the South African, which began in October 1899 and came to an end in May 1902. The British crushed the Orange Free State, two Boer regions, and the South African (Republic of Transvaal). Britain was supported by the Colony of Natal, some local African partners and its Cape Colony. The British Empire which included New Zealand, India, Canada, the Australian provinces and the Southern Africa (states and protectorates) also bolstered the British war exertion. The British were arrogant and under-arranged. Conversely, the Boers were very much outfitted and struck to start with, attacking Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking in the early 1900, winning vital fights at Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso. Weakened, the British acquired extensive forces and pushed back. In the late 1900, the British they took control of the three communities and attacked the two Boer nations. The forward

marches of the British Army were overpowering to the state where the Boer not in a position to stage an organized fights when defending their nation. The British immediately took control of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, as the civilian authority personnel fled to hide. In traditional terms, the war was over and Britain commandingly attached the two Boer Republics (Warwick, 1980).

When the Union of South Africa was formed, as a direct result of the Anglo-Boer war that led to the treaty of Vereeniging, the British were somewhat convinced that Basutoland, their protectorate, which lay at the heart of these new colonies, would eventually be incorporated, but to their surprise, this did not occur (Aero-comlab.stanford.edu, n.d.). There are several possible reasons for this turn of events. First, while the Basuto had fought hard to avert Boer control, they would not, at the same time, accept British dominance. Secondly, the missionaries Moshoeshoe brought to Basutoland created educated elite who understood international politics and could engage meaningfully in international affairs. At the same time, as a result of the autonomy they enjoyed over the years, the Basuto had acquired the use of the gun, meaning that they could challenge both the British and the Boers, who failed to capture and assimilate them while they were only armed with spears and cowhide shields. Thirdly, it was during this time that the Union started practicing the policy of segregation. The Boers resented their domination by the British. Although they had been granted full autonomy, in government and in other key administrative institutions, the British were in control. Therefore, the Boer used segregation as a way of dominating and controlling the native Africans. The Afrikaners (Boers) did not like the Africans because of the aid they gave the British during the Anglo-Boer war.

On the other hand, the Africans were disappointed when the British abandoned them after they had help achieve victory over the Boers. The Africans had joined the war, with the belief that they will get back their land that the Boers had conquered. When that did not happen, they lost

land, integrity, and further trust in the white man, and were absorbed into the Union. The policy of segregation intensified and became official in 1948, when it was made a state policy. Apartheid (meaning apartness in Afrikaans) was the belief system supported by the government of the Boer National Party and in 1948, it was presented in South Africa. Politically-sanctioned racial segregation required the different advancement of various racial and tribal assemblies in South Africa. These different semi-self-governing domains were named Bantustans. On paper, politically-sanctioned racial segregation seemed to call for equivalent improvement and flexibility of social expression, yet the way it was executed made this unthinkable. Politically-sanctioned racial segregation laws constrained distinctive racial gatherings to live independently and grow independently, with gross disparity subsequently (South African History Online, 2016). Besides, politically-sanctioned racial segregation was a social structure that extremely burdened majority of the populace, due to the fact that they didn't have a similar skin shade of the rulers. It made a social chain of importance, putting whites at the top, at that point between coloureds (a blend of Africans and whites), and after that Indians. At the base of the stepping stool, were Africans. The strategy was obviously focused towards oppressing blacks, with racial separation unmistakably a vital piece of its distorted rationale. For its proceeded with presence, politically-sanctioned racial segregation required statutory arrangements, as well as a social structure that would protect the interests of the white by propagating division among the persecuted. At a politico-lawful level, in this way, politically-sanctioned racial segregation was constituted by an arrangement of legitimate arrangements that compartmentalized blacks into particular ethnic classifications, while at the same time making separate mediator classifications, i.e., Indian and shaded. Despite the fact that these gatherings were likewise viewed as second rate compared to whites, they were concurred preferable treatment over the "savage" blacks, along these lines separating them from this social gathering (Lushaba, 2005).

In its essential standards, politically-sanctioned racial segregation was not that different from the strategy of isolation that existed before the Afrikaner Nationalist Party took over in 1948. The principle distinction, in any case, is that politically-sanctioned racial segregation made isolation was made a law. Politically-sanctioned racial segregation pitilessly and forcefully quarantined people and put forth a rule that instilled fear which was used to punish the people who opposed this idea. Another reason was that politically-sanctioned racial segregation was viewed to be a bad idea than segregation was because it was presented in a period when different countries were advancing far from supremacist strategies. The Second World War emphasized the issues of bigotry, making the world move in a different direction of such approaches and sanctioning appeals for decolonization. Conversely, South Africa drove racial strains and racists arrangements to the front. Different reasons can be given for politically-sanctioned racial segregation, all firmly connected. The fundamental reasons lie in thoughts of racial predominance and dread; white individuals were in the minority, and many were concerned they would lose their employments, culture and dialect. This is clearly not an avocation for politically-sanctioned racial segregation, but rather clarifies how individuals were considering. Therefore, apartheid set everyone apart and created semi-autonomous states (Lushaba, 2005). This policy of separateness worked to the advantage of Lesotho, which was engulfed in the center of a highly hostile and racially segregated neighbour, South Africa. Basutoland/Lesotho now had a reason to tell Britain it did not want to become part of the Union. Britain did little to develop Basutoland. The infrastructure was poor. The only railroad that penetrated the Lesotho border from South Africa extended for about 10 Km and served to transport wool and mohair that Britain extracted from Basutoland. It also served as transportation for Basuto men who worked in the South Africa's gold mines. When Basuto began negotiating with Britain for independence, the British did not resist and Basuto avoided the plight of other colonies, where serious negotiations for independence became debates and resulted in untold miseries of wars of independence/

liberation. Basutoland's independence was granted, without concessions and without any terms and conditions, on October 4th, 1966, becoming the Lesotho Kingdom (Lesotho), with King Moshoeshoe II as Head of State, with the capital Maseru. After King Moshoeshoe I, who ruled from 1822 and died on 18 January 1870, there was a line of succession:

- Letsie I: 18 January 1870 – 20 November 1891
- Lerotholi Letsie: 20 November 1891 – 19 August 1905
- Letsie II: 21 August 1905 – 28 January 1913
- Nathaniel Griffith Lerotholi: 11 April 1913 – July 1939
- Simon Seeiso Griffith: 3 August 1939 – 26 December 1940
- Gabasheane Masupha (*regent*): 26 December 1940 – 28 January 1941
- Mantsebo Amelia 'Matsaba (*regent*): 28 January 1941 – 12 March 1960

Upon the attainment of independence from England on 4 October 1966, Bereng Seeiso was named Moshoeshoe II and became the second King after Moshoeshoe I. It is important to note here that those who ruled between Moshoeshoe I and Moshoeshoe II were paramount chiefs and regents, since Basutoland's Head of State was the Queen of England and she ruled through her high commissioners.

CHAPTER 6

LESOTHO'S DIPLOMACY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

6.1 Background

The first prime minister of Lesotho was Dr. Leabua Jonathan of the Basotho National Party (BNP). There were also other parties that led to independence, the Marema-Tlou Freedom Party (MFP), and the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), under Dr. Ntsu Mokhehle. Both the BCP and the BNP became the main contenders for power post-independence.

The first general elections after independence were conducted in January of 1970. The ruling party at the time was Basotho National Party (BNP), which lost to Basutoland Congress Party (BCP). BNP acquired 23 seats while the winning party acquired 36 seats. The Prime Minister at that time was Leabua Jonathan. He refused to concede defeat by refusing to acknowledge BCP as the winning party. In this connection, he refused to acknowledge the power of the constitution and imprisoned the BCP leadership. The King lost his executive powers and was exiled, as a result. BCP went into exile and from there began an armed struggle through the formation of the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA). The LLA guerrilla fighters received their training in Libya while disguising as the South African Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) army of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The campaign for armed struggle with the African National Congress' armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the PAC APLA was greatly affected when Ntsu Mokhehle, the leader of BCP, went to South Africa. As a result of apartheid in South Africa, members of the African National Congress, together with the leaders from Pan Africanist Congress, went underground and began an armed struggle against the dominant white minority rule. Some of them went to Lesotho, since Lesotho was a sovereign state and through Lesotho to

other places where they received training and other forms of assistance (South African History Online, 2016).

The BCP and Dr. Ntsu Mokhehle also left Lesotho and went underground, initially joining forces with the PAC and the ANC, before becoming friendly with Pretoria. Therefore, the foreign policy of Lesotho towards apartheid South Africa shifted from time to time, for survival in the midst of the most brutal white minority government of the Boer National Party, which had become the regional bully (Lushaba, 2005). South Africa was a country whose military would attack in an instant, murder, burn, and loot while the international community stood by and watched. While the BCP was hostile to Pretoria, the BNP was friendly, and as soon as the BCP became friends with Pretoria, the government of Dr. Leabua Jonathan became hostile. It was during this time that the BNP government welcomed and gave protection to the ANC and PAC members, who were fleeing National Party brutality in South Africa. BNP party was in power from the year 1966 to January of the year 1970. After this era, there was an effective government that was led by Dr. Leabua Jonathan. He ruled until the year 1986 when the military staged a coup that removed him from power. The military created a transitional council that gave King Moshoeshoe II executive powers. Before the coup, the king was merely a ceremonial figure. However, in the following year, he was forced into exile. The main reason behind his exile was because he created a memorandum on his ideas regarding the constitution of Lesotho. The memorandum was supposed to give him more administrative powers. After the coup, his son, Letsie, was put in power as the new king.

After the arrival to just government, King Letsie III attempted ineffectively to influence the government of BCP to restore his successor as the leader of the nation. In August, 1994, the King arranged a military-supported overthrow that removed the government of BCP. The coup was staged after the BCP government declined to re-establish his father in power. However, the new

government did not get full universal acknowledgment. After extended transactions, the BCP government was restored.

6.2 The Destabilization Policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa

South Africa's apartheid policy intensified, inside and outside the Republic, especially towards its neighbours. South Africa adopted a hegemonic and expansionist policy and it aimed to achieve this foreign policy by attacking its neighbours, militarily, closing borders to stop trade and by tightening the borders. The South African Defence Force (SADF) conducted attacks on suspected ANC targets in the neighbouring countries of Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (South African History Online, 2012). Civilians were brutally murdered while others were left seriously injured. The objectives incorporated the ANC's operational central command in Lusaka, Zambia and bases in Ashdown Park, Harare and Gaborone, Botswana. Such strikes were not the first ones, the first having occurred in 1981, on a charged ANC base in Matola. There were other military assaults such as against ANC bases in Mozambique (1981), Lesotho (1982 and 1985), and Swaziland (1986) (South African History Online, 2011).

Taking after the prohibiting of the ANC and other hostile to politically-sanctioned racial segregation associations in 1960, and because of expanding fear from the Apartheid security compels, these developments went into outcast and the ANC set up home office in Lusaka, Zambia, and in Tanzania. As the contention raised, President Botha pronounced a highly sensitive state of emergency in 1985. The following year, he authorized strikes on the neighbouring nations to squash the resistance administration and crush the ANC in a state of banishment. Mahatma Gandhi, when he finally left South Africa on July 18, 1914 after almost 21 years of struggle against apartheid (Gandhi, 1993), had laid a strong strategy of peaceful resistance. Nelson Mandela had been a firm believer in Gandhi's ideas, which were in line with

other heroes who fought against racial discrimination, such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. However, as the level of violence and racial hatred was intensified by the apartheid regime, he realized that it was necessary to meet violence with violence. In 1962, Nelson Mandela, together with 150 others, were arrested and sent to jail in Robben Island.

As mentioned earlier, Lesotho was attacked twice (in 1982 and in 1986) by her only neighbour who had grown strong and formidable. This was during the cold war and all those who fought against oppression were labelled as communists. This term has greatly changed after the cold war to 'terrorists'. Therefore, the western world, in particular the USA and its multinational corporations saw the need to covertly support apartheid and the raids, despite the atrocities carried out in its name. Lesotho during this time had remained neutral, not aligning herself with either of the two cold war blocs. However, due to her geographic position, and because the winds of change were blowing across the colonies seeking emancipation, there was need to support the Africans who were fighting against apartheid in South Africa. Lesotho was aware of the imminent danger that the exiled BCP armed wing, LLA, posed out of the support of the government of South Africa. This period remained the most difficult time, not because there were wars all over Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but also because Lesotho as an enclave could not divorce herself from the persistent presence and the danger that came with South Africa, where apartheid was mixed with brutality (Lushaba, 2005).

During the early hours of December 9 1982, South African Defence Force commandos crossed the border into Lesotho. Their objective was a bunch of houses on the edges of Maseru where individuals from the African National Congress (ANC) were expected to be secluded from everything. After getting no restriction from the small army of about 2000 men from Lesotho's military, they impacted their way through various homes, causing a lot of devastation. Their main goal fulfilled, the individuals from the SADF returned over the outskirts to South Africa without

occurrence (South African History Online, 2012). The head of the South African Defense Force, General Constand Viljoen, clarified that the attack, named "Operation Blanket," was a pre-emptive strike against ANC aggressors who had taken asylum in Lesotho. As per Viljoen, the ANC individuals were arranging assaults in South Africa against political pioneers operating at a profit "countries" of Transkei and Ciskei. The ANC denied these allegations by the politically-sanctioned racial segregation government and reprimanded the Lesotho intrusion as a merciless slaughter, additionally charging that the general population who were murdered were political exiles and not psychological militants. The strike met with a melody of universal shock. The South African government be that as it may, prided itself on the accomplishment of the Maseru Massacre.

Lesotho, although not a safe haven to the exiled ANC members, happened to be the nearest place of hiding or transit to Zambia, Tanzania and Libya, where the ANC's armed wing, the Umkhonto we Sizwe, which translated to the spear of the nation, had bases. In other words, Lesotho was still South Africa, if only by its geographical location. It could have therefore been fatal both for Lesotho and the ANC to have a military base in Lesotho. Many Basotho perished in defence of the freedom of the people of South Africa. According to the New York Times dated 21 December, 1985 (South African History Online, 2011), on 20 December 1985, nine civilians who were later identified as refugees from South Africa were murdered when raiders, who are reported to have originated from South Africa, attacked two houses in Maseru. Meanwhile, Lesotho stood helpless in the midst of these attacks. In Cape Town, the State Security Council cautioned the nation's neighbours that "every one of the people groups of southern Africa will pay a substantial cost" on the off chance that they allow guerrillas to utilize their domain for assaults on South Africa. The warning was directed specifically at Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho, and Swaziland and indicated that the "terrorist elements" continued to operate

from those countries. The statement followed the deaths of six whites in a land-mine explosion in the north of South Africa, near the border with Zimbabwe. The outlawed and exiled African National Congress took responsibility for the blast.

On January 1st, 1986, the government of South African shut its fringes with Lesotho, cutting off fuel supplies and basic sustenance (South African History Online, 2011). This occurred amid the administration of the Basutoland National Party (BNP), driven by Chief Leabua Jonathan, who came to power in 1966 as the Prime Minister. Jonathan had over and over condemned the South African government's approach of politically-sanctioned racial segregation while proclaiming his backing for the African National Congress (ANC). Jonathan additionally blamed the government of South African for endorsing the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA), a military force for the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP). Jonathan's interruption of looming decisions booked for 1985 brought about expanded pressures and assaults on BNP focuses by the LLA. Lesotho declined to sign a non-animosity settlement with South Africa. Thus, South Africa reacted by debilitating to force an arms ban and monetary endorses on Lesotho. The border closure was trailed by arrangements between the South African government and unmistakable Basotho, including resistance pioneers and the leaders of the military in Lesotho. On January fifteenth, powers driven by Major-General Metsing Lekhanya, who had been in converses with the politically-sanctioned racial segregation South African government, seized control. The National Assembly was broken up, and official and administrative forces were vested on the ruler. Maj-Gen Metsing Lekhanya moved toward becoming leader of a military government, finishing 20 years of Leabua Jonathan's tyrant run the show. One week after the overthrow, 60 individuals from the ANC were extradited to South Africa and the bar was lifted. South Africa immediately moved forward to celebrate her change of government in Lesotho. Leabua's one party rule had achieved a lot, in terms of Lesotho's development after its independence, when Britain had left it very much

underdeveloped. Roads and bridges had been built, schools and tertiary institutions flourished, and industrial parks were established. Two major airports were built, together with numerable airstrips around the country.

Lesotho during Leabua Jonathan's rule maintained a neutral foreign policy, except of course regarding South Africa. She never aligned herself with either the communist or the capitalist block but borrowed heavily from both; this is why Lesotho to this day continues to run a mixed economy (*laissez faire* mixed with central control). As a result of this neutrality, Lesotho was able to gain aid from the two blocs. The fall of Leabua Jonathan landed Lesotho again into another authoritarian military rule between 1986 and 1993, when Lesotho returned to civilian rule. Immediately after Jonathan was disposed by Major-General Lekhanya, the negotiations in Pretoria let to Lesotho signing a bilateral agreement that Chief Jonathan is said to have refused for years. Chief Jonathan had seen the proposal for entering into bilateral cooperation with South Africa, in relation to the multi-million project, Lesotho Highlands Water Project (FAO, n.d), seeing it as favouring South Africa more than Lesotho. South Africa's fast growing economy was in need of fresh water, especially in the Transvaal (currently the Gauteng Province), for both domestic and industrial use. Pretoria had been eyeing the majestic Senqu River (called the Orange River in South Africa) for years. Although the river flows through South Africa into the Atlantic Ocean, Lesotho due to the Helsinki Rules (Salman, 2007) could not have prevented or limited South Africa's access to the waters. The challenge that South Africa faced was the long-term cost of pumping the water from the river. The Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) is a project that cuts across many nations (European Investment Bank, 2002). It comprises of a system that transfers water from the catchment areas of the Orange River in Lesotho to the industrial areas of South Africa. The negotiations for this project started in 1978 and continued straight into 1986 when the Military rule under Major-General Metsing Lekhanya conceded to

South African pressure to conclude the negotiations. The project also includes hydropower generation plants at Muela in Phase I and at Kobong in Phase II.

The project was expected to take a long time and, as such, it was to be taken in phases, 1A and 1B. Phase 1A's costs were 1.5 billion Euros, while 1B's were 1.1 billion Euros (FAO, n.d). It became obvious that Lesotho could in no way meet the costs, which far exceeded Lesotho's national annual budgetary revenue. Therefore, South Africa had to foot the bill. The military government of Major-General Metsing concluded the much anticipated agreement and South Africa rewarded Lesotho by building the Makoanyane Military Hospital.

South Africa had also been eyeing Thaba-ntlenyana, the highest point in Southern Africa for her military. With a military base at that location, it was easy for South Africa to have total control over the southern tip of Africa. It did just that, setting up a very strict arms embargo on Lesotho. As such, Lesotho was left with a military so small and without necessary military equipment, especially for defence purposes, because Lesotho, due to her geographic location, cannot attack any country without going through South Africa and, at the same time, she cannot be attacked by any other country except through South Africa. Lesotho's defence and offence, as a result, remained at the mercy of South Africa.

The military authoritarian rule seemed to have appeased the Pretoria regime as the relations between Lesotho and South Africa, although somewhat unpredictable, were stable. This can be seen from the visit to Lesotho and to South Africa by Pope John Paul II in September 1988. The Pope arrived in Lesotho in the middle of a crisis that showed the level of reliance of Lesotho on South Africa. A bus from Qacha's Nek to Maseru full of pilgrims who were travelling to see the Pope was hijacked. The hijackers were believed to be affiliated with the Lesotho Liberation Army. The hijackers demanded to meet with the Pope. They declared that their purpose was to make Lesotho free of a military government. The claims were fully supported by the government

of South Africa (South African History Online, 2011). The victims were freed after South Africa intervened, again, showing Lesotho's reliance on the country.

6.3 Lesotho and Multilateral Diplomacy

South Africa's brutality and hegemonic tendencies had reached their peak and everybody stood wondering what this white minority government would transform itself into. Most of its apartheid policies were well entrenched and observed by everyone inside the Republic. Outside of the Republic, all her neighbours lived in fear of attack. Their sovereignty and integrity were completely compromised and undermined by the Pretoria regime. Every single state had been attacked by the South African Defence Force. The Southern African states lived in fear of attack or occupation by South Africa, as was the case with Namibia. In 1884, Namibia turned into a German state, and acquired the name 'South-West Africa.' South Africa protested this, challenging a greater section of the region's kin were satisfied with South African running the show. Lawful contentions followed through the span of the following twenty years until, in October, 1966, the UN General Assembly was chosen to end the order, to make an announcement that South Africa had no other appropriate to regulate the domain and that consequently South-West Africa was to fall under UN immediate duty.

The Resolution stated,

twenty years after the termination by the General Assembly of the Mandate of South Africa over Namibia, the racist regime continues its illegal occupation of the territory in violation of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, declaring that the illegal occupation of Namibia by racist South Africa, its brutal repression of the Namibian people and its repeated acts of aggression against and destabilization of neighbouring sovereign States, including from the Territory of Namibia, constitute a breach of international peace and security. (UN, 1986)

The people of Namibia entered into an armed struggle against their colonizers. The South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was formed. Therefore, in 1984, South Africa attacked Angola. The New York Times on January 1st 1984 stated that "Angola, whose troops engaged in ground combat with South African troops for what may have been the first time, called the attack an 'occupation'" (Giniger, Freuddenheim, & Douglas, 1984). South Africa denied the allegations. They went ahead to say that they only went after SWAPO forces - a claim that Angola disputed - and put plans to start pulling out.

These examples are a clear indication that Pretoria was out to occupy and colonize the rest of Africa. Lesotho, being right inside South Africa, and having been attacked twice, felt herself swallowed already. She was independent and there was no way that her former colonizer could rush to her rescue if Pretoria ever invaded. Thus, Lesotho's hope for survival was pinned on the powers vested on the UN and other International political bodies, even though, in the case of Namibia, it became clear that the UN was rendered powerless by South Africa (UN, 1986). As part of the British Empire, Lesotho automatically became a member of the Commonwealth, and it was after the attainment of her independence that she joined the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which has now become the AU. Lesotho also joined of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and with South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, and Swaziland, joined the Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU). The members of SACU, with the exception of Botswana, formed a Rand Monetary Area, where the South African currency, the Rand, became a legally recognized tender.

South Africa held for the first time in its history all-inclusive, free and fair democratic elections, signalling the return to a democratic rule and the fall of apartheid on 27 April, 1994. The Military Council in Lesotho, under the command of Major-General Phisoana Ramaema, reviewed the constitution and thus repealed the banning of political parties. Dr. Ntsu Mokhehle, who had been

in exile for nearly 23 years, returned to Lesotho, as the military government returned Lesotho to civilian rule. In the elections that were conducted in March 1993, where international observers from bodies such as Commonwealth in attendance, the BCP won. Their leader was Dr. Ntsu Mokhehle, who led the party to a victory of all 65 seats. The win left BNP without any representation in the national assembly.

6.4 SADC and the Commonwealth Shuttle Diplomacy

Leadership quarrels inside the BCP prompted a fragmentation and in the mid-1997 a significant number of its individuals, as well as Prime Minister Mokhehle, abandoned to the recently developed Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD). In May 1998, when the general election was held, the LCD managed to gain majority of National Assembly seats. The BNP had the minor votes, one vote to be precise. Taking after the elections, the party leader picked by LCD was Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili. However, the resistance parties declined to acknowledge the race outcome, affirming that there abnormalities in the election. In August 1998, an inexorably fiery crusade of protestors reached its highest point. Stay-away strikes were composed and people at first accumulated and later stayed outdoors before the Royal Palace in Maseru. Taking after the mediation of the then South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, a group of Botswana, South African and Zimbabwean specialists under the protection of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and preceded by Pius Langa, South African Judge, were sent to Lesotho to examine the accusations.

In the wake of conducting the case in Maseru and a re-tallying of the votes, the Langa Commission conveyed an uncertain report and was unable to solve the disagreement. Additional negotiations between the opposition and administering parties were endeavoured yet the security circumstance in Lesotho crumbled, with the LCD government approaching SADC for help. On

September 22nd 1998, a South African-led SADC army came to Lesotho to respond to the allure of the government. Following a few days of fighting between the SADC army and components in the LDF, bringing about no less than eighty deaths and extensive scale consuming and plundering in Maseru, the circumstance was in the long run stabilised. In December 1998, the South African army reduced in numbers and they totally pulled back in May 1999. In December 1998, an inter-party advisory group was set up to manage arrangements for conducting a elections before eighteen months are over. Nonetheless, it took more time before they came to an understanding between the plans for registering voters and political parties on the quantity of corresponding representative seats, and the decisions were postponed. At the point when they were affirmed by parliament, the enactment took into account eighty seats on a first-past-the-post premise and further forty seats by means of proportional representation.

The second wave of political turmoil that sought the SADC's intervention began after the 2012 national elections. On Friday June 8th 2012, Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili was succeeded by Thomas Thabane, not by votes in the election but rather by building a coalition government with the support of the resistance. The result of Lesotho's 2012 general races was noteworthy for various reasons.

To begin with, the nation moved from a solitary gathering larger part government under the Lesotho Congress Party (LCD), which was headed by previous Prime Minister Mosisili since 1997, to a federation government. Mosisili, who led the Democratic Congress (DC), the recently made LCD party, to a huge win of forty eight parliamentary seats, missed the mark concerning winning by the majority seats in parliament, driving Lesotho to a hung-parliament. This was an immediate aftereffect of the nation's mixed member proportion (MMP) appointive model, which was acquainted in 2002 with cut-off post-constituent contestations and make parliament more comprehensive. MMP is prefaced on proportionality by allotting compensatory seats to frail

entertainers and regularly to littler gatherings. The legitimate statute of the model is that appointive triumph at no time in the future goes to the gathering with the biggest number of votes yet to the gathering that secures more than 50 for every penny of the seats in the National Assembly (Motsamai, 2012).

The 2nd purpose behind the centrality of these designations is that the alliance, which overthrew and consigned the DC that was ruling at that time to restriction status, was itself created by resistance parties in the minority. The DC officeholder was not a sufficient expert in its endeavours to frame co-operations. During the period of the declaration of outcomes of the election, which was done on Tuesday 29th May by the Lesotho Independent Electoral Commission, obviously no political party had gained the essential set rules of having sixty-one out of one hundred and twenty seats in the National Assembly to shape a legislature. The All Basotho Convention (ABC) rushed to go into arrangements with different gatherings to set up a coalition and before long the ABC had prevailed in managing to wrapping up a alliance deal with the LCD under Mothejoa Metsing, now filling in as delegate prime minister, the Marematlou Freedom Party, the Popular Front for Democracy (PFD), and the Basotho National Party (BNP).

However, in less than three years in power, the coalition government began to show signs of fever. This came after the then Deputy Prime Minister Mothejoa Metsing of the Lesotho Congress for Democracy, a major member of a coalition, became disgruntled with what he termed the authoritarian style of the Prime Minister Tomas Thabane. Prime Minister Thabane carried on making major decisions, such as firing then Commissioner of Police Kizito Mhlakaza and replacing him with Khothatso Tsooana. The judiciary and the IEC (Independent Electoral Commission) had already undergone changes. Mr. Metsing sadly expressed his discontent with the new developments. Nonetheless, the prime minister went on to ignore him. Then the LCD announced its pull-out from the coalition government and threatened to enter into negotiations

with Pakalitha Mosisili's Democratic Congress. Lesotho's Prime Minister Thomas Thabane's coalition government began splintering after a cue of no confidence was filed against the prime minister with the clerk of the National Assembly (Motsamai, 2012). In response, the prime minister suspended Parliament *sine die*, in an effort to avoid a no confidence vote. The suspension of Parliament was lifted after the arrest of Mr. Jeremane Ramathebane, the leader of the Basotho Batho Democratic Party (BBDP). He had initiated the move of no confidence against the prime minister. Later in June, the Parliament was again suspended, this time on the grounds that Prime Minister Thomas Thabane and his deputy, Mothejoa Metsing, were at loggerheads with each other.

The situation escalated as the members of the Lesotho Defence Force surrounded the State House, the Prime Minister's residence, the police headquarters and the Mabote police station, forcing Dr. Thabane to flee to South Africa. The rift between the military and the police led to the military attacking the police stations. Their claim was that they had information on the weapons that the police had, which they intended to use on the civilians who had planned a protest march against the closing of Parliament. The confiscation of said weapons, which was alleged to be a coup, took place a day after the Prime minister had sought to replace the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) commander, Lieutenant-General Tlali Kamoli, with a junior officer, Brigadier Maaparankoe Mahao and promote him to a position of a Lieutenant-General. According to the Lesotho Times (31 August, 2014) (Staff Reporters, 2014) the Lesotho Mounted Police Service commissioner knew about the weapons and their intended use. He was alleged to being used by the Prime Minister to meet his political ends. South Africa, which is the region's political and economic powerhouse and Lesotho's only neighbour, summoned the three coalition government leaders to Pretoria in an effort to resolve the crisis (Mohloboli, 2015).

SADC send a fact-finding mission to Lesotho, which found no signs of an attempted coup. The LDF released a statement on the events and vehemently denied the allegations. The prime minister continued to insist that there has been an attempted coup. From 30 June to 4 July 2014, the Commonwealth Secretariat sent a high level delegation from Lesotho, led by Deputy Prime Minister Mothejoa Metsing, for a study tour to New Zealand. The delegation was composed of parliamentarians, senior public servants, parliamentary officials, political party representatives, and the clergy. The delegation-examined New Zealand's mixed member proportional system, its governance arrangements, and its independent public service. The Commonwealth chose New Zealand because twenty years ago it had adopted the MMP electoral system, and hence the aim of the educational tour was for Lesotho to pick up a few things form the experience of New Zealand, to build up their familiarity and capacity to join hands and work together for the common good in a coalition government setting. The Commonwealth promotes a practical exchange of knowledge and experience between countries that share the goals of democracy and development. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, a New Zealand member of parliament, assisted by Dr. Tres-Ann, was sent to Lesotho as Commonwealth special envoys to help built sound coalition institutions in Lesotho. Dr. Prasad compiled and published a report in which clear guidelines were stipulated based on how to run and sustain a coalition government (The Commonwealth, 2015). He then ran consultative meetings with various stakeholders in Lesotho politics.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC), which had been mediating talks between Thomas Thabane, the Prime Minister, and his deputy and political rival, Mothetjoa Metsing, appointed Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, South Africa's deputy president, as a facilitator to help Lesotho's dysfunctional coalition government implement a road map to end the instability. Although the SADC failed to unite the feuding parties, it facilitated early elections through South African Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa in consultations with various stakeholders. However,

Lesotho, as a small economy, began to be faced with the reality of the situation. There was lack of preparedness in terms of voter registration and non-existent funds (Raborife, 2015).

6.5 February 28, 2015 Snap Elections

According to the Elections Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) (EISA, 2015), the Lesotho general elections that were held on the 28th February, 2015 produced the following results:

Parties ranked by votes obtained.

Party	Votes		Seats			
	No	%	Constituency	Compensatory	Total	%
Democratic Congress (DC)	218 573	38.76	37	10	47	39.17
All Basotho Convention (ABC)	215 022	38.13	40	6	46	38.33
Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD)	56 467	10.01	2	10	12	10.00
Basotho National Party (BNP)	31 508	5.59	1	6	7	5.83
Popular Front For Democracy (PFD)	9 829	1.74	0	2	2	1.67

Party	Votes		Seats			
	No	%	Constituency	Compensatory	Total	%
Reformed Congress of Lesotho (RCL)	6 731	1.19	0	2	2	1.67
National Independent Party (NIP)	5 404	0.96	0	1	1	0.83
Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP)	3 413	0.61	0	1	1	0.83
Basutoland Congress Party (BCP)	2 721	0.48	0	1	1	0.83
Lesotho People's Congress (LPC)	1 951	0.35	0	1	1	0.83
Others (see below)	12 353	2.18	0	0	0	0.00
Total	563 972	100.0	80	40	120	99.9
						9

The February 2015 general elections, again, produced no outright winner, leading to a hung parliament. This necessitated the formation of a coalition government (EISA, 2015). Therefore, seven parties, the DC, LCD, PFD, NIP, LPC, BCP, and the MFP, formed Lesotho's second coalition government. In his book 'Working Towards a Sustainable Democracy', Dr. Rajen Prasad (2014) indicated that, "Section 82(1) (b) of the Lesotho Constitution requires the National Assembly to meet no later than 14 days after the date of a general election. This requirement means that the coalition, if one is needed to determine which party holds a majority in parliament, must be completed inside the 14-day period". He went on to show that this type of an arrangement does not allow enough time to conclude the coalition negotiation process, to create a majority in parliament. Lesotho entered yet another period involving the challenge of running and sustaining a coalition government. The constitution itself had no provisions for the formation of a coalition government. It only talked about the formation of a government, and it gave it 14 days after the elections results have been confirmed. This alone was a major hindrance (Constitute Project, 2016).

In Europe, where coalition governments are common, there is a lot of compromise, both on the side of the constitution and of the political parties themselves. In Ireland, for instance, after the general elections in February 2016, representatives from the major political parties, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil, declared that they had reached an agreement, where Fine Gael was to lead the minority, on April 29 2016, 63 days after the election. For additional security, the understanding incorporated an audit date of September 2018, with the administration allowed to govern until at that point. Iceland went for early races after the executive surrendered over the Panama Paper spills in October 2016. On the second December, the command to frame a greater part government was given to the pioneer of the Pirate Party, Birgitta Jónsdóttir. The Pirates were not able shape an administration and the President picked not to give another order to frame a

legislature, yet requested that the gathering pioneers examine the matter casually. On January second 2017, the Independence Party began official discusses a conceivable coalition manage the Reform Party and Bright Future. The Left-Green Movement and the Progressive Party had additionally examined conceivable coalition manages the Independence Party. Another coalition was framed three months after the fact, on January tenth 2017, between the Independence Party, the Reform Party, and Bright Future.

The two examples above show that it is crucial for the sake of stability and sustainability that political parties be afforded ample time to conduct and conclude negotiations for the formation of a coalition government. In Lesotho, this is not possible, since within a period of only 14 days after elections results have come out and are officially confirmed, the King summons the leader of a party that commands the majority to form a government. As the Kingdom of Lesotho celebrated her golden jubilee, 50 years of independence, in October 2016, there had to be a serious introspection on the achievements and on the challenges that Lesotho faced in that 50 years. On his speech for the reopening of parliament, on October 17th 2014, King Letsie III called on Lesotho's politicians to put the nation's interests above their own individual interests (SABC News, 2014).

6.6 Small State Diplomacy: Lesotho's Continued Existence

Lesotho's existence as a country inside a country and her celebrating of 50 years of independence are landmarks, showing the country's resilience and desire for self-determination. The unrivalled diplomatic prowess of Lesotho's founding father and the homogeneity of Basotho as a nation have kept the country intact, even during perilous times. Many mistakes have been committed but there are plenty of successes to point towards. Lesotho has a clear road map, the Lesotho

National Vision 2020, which states that by 2020, Lesotho hopes to be a country at peace with itself and its neighbours. At a global level, there will be serene and solid key relations with the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and a full proactive contribution with different nations and local and worldwide organizations (The Lesotho National Vision 2020, n.d). The reflections and the introspection on the journey since independence require a radical shift of policy to address contemporary challenges.

Lesotho first experienced major economic and social reforms in 1988 when the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) established the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP). The SAPs have been criticized by many developing countries for their lack of local adaptability. Lesotho was not an exception. Many Parastatals were privatized and many people were laid off. Lesotho is dealing with the resulting joblessness to this day and much of the state-owned infrastructure has been deteriorating. As a result of the many challenges that Lesotho as a developmental state has gone through over the past 50 years, it was opportune for Lesotho to step into the 21st century with reforms. The Southern Africa Development Community, and in particular the Republic of South Africa, have always been there for Lesotho, either for good or bad. The SADC, through South Africa Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa, proposed a series of reforms, on the Constitution, which had proven ineffective in addressing the rapidly changing political, social and economic environments in Lesotho, the Security sector which always found its feet into politics, and also the Public sector (Bureaucracy) which was also engulfed in politics. Lesotho accepted the proposal (Raborife, 2015).

6.7 Lesotho's Security and Constitutional Reforms

As new challenges and trends emerge in the world, Lesotho as a small, landlocked, developing country in the middle of South Africa has to adapt. The envisaged security and constitutional reforms are meant to take Lesotho into the 21st century as a country at peace with itself and with

its neighbours, with a growing and sustainable economy. Lesotho has to rapidly modernize and industrialize, consolidate democracy and ensure social equality, equality before the law, and an observance of human rights. When the new government of the seven coalition parties led by Dr. Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili took power, following the February 2015 general elections, the former Prime Minister of Lesotho, Dr. Thomas Motsoahae Thabane (Motsamai, 2012), together with Ms. Keketso Rantso of the Reformed Congress of Lesotho and Chief Thesele Maseribane of the Basotho national Party, fled the country and went into self-exile in the towns of Ladybrand and Ficksburg. They were followed by the members of the Lesotho Defence Force who had joined the former Prime Minister's party, the All Basotho Convention, and were declared as mutineers by Lieutenant-General Tlali Kamoli, who was the commander of the Lesotho Defence Force at the time. Other soldiers were detained and in total 50 soldiers were suspected of mutiny. Dr. Thomas Thabane caused a deep rift in the command of the Lesotho Defence Force when he appointed Brigadier Maaparankoe Mahao to be commander of the LDF in the presence of the incumbent, Lt. Gen. Tlali Kamoli. Brigadier Mahao had been appointed amid his suspension and a pending court martial hearing by the LDF. The then Prime Minister called off the court case, appointed the new commander, and claimed to have fired the current commander. This situation was normalized when Prime Minister Mosisili took power (Ntaote, 2015).

The security agencies in Lesotho were no longer working in tandem with one another. There was a lot of mistrust. The most affected were the Lesotho Defence Force and the Lesotho Mounted Police Service (LMPS). While the Lesotho Correctional Services (LCS) and the National Security Service (NSS) remained dormant, turbulence was deep within them. Mistrust was also created among those who were loyal to the then Prime Minister Thabane and those who sympathized with Deputy Prime Minister Mothejoa Metsing. "Thabane created a security time bomb", was a headline in a local newspaper, the Lesotho Times, on February 26, 2015 (van

Staden, 2014). According to Lesotho Times, DC leader Pakalitha Mosisili had warned in one of his rallies that Dr. Thabane's "determination to destabilize" the security agencies also extended to the LMPS, where, as Police Minister, he was "hiring and firing commissioners willy-nilly". However, Mahao was facing a court martial. With the appointment of Police Commissioner Khothatso Tsooana, the LMPS became Dr. Thabane's armed wing.

Inconveniences started in January 2014 when formally dressed troopers were asserted to have assaulted and besieged the home of LMPS Police Commissioner Khothatso Tšooana, and also the homes of Liabiloe Ramoholi (Mr Thabane's sentimental accomplice), and her neighbour Mamoletsane Moletsane. The allegations went further, proposing a death endeavour on Mr Thabane, as he was accepted to be at his accomplice's living arrangement. The leader of the police was blaming the military for attempting to murder him and the head of government. There was no clear thought process and, all the more shockingly, no response to the remarkable affirmations, which the military denied. Nonetheless, Commissioner Tšooana professedly wrote to the LDF military leader, Lieutenant General Tlali Kamoli, asking for that few fighters, including two majors and a brigadier, be given over to the LMPS for cross examination regarding the charged bombings in January.

A police representative affirmed that Commissioner Tšooana had composed and sent the letter to Lt. Gen. Kamoli, asking for help with the examinations, expressing they were at a propelled organize. Shockingly, the letter and a few doctored forms thereof showed up all the while on the web, in what had all the earmarks of being a think endeavour to humiliate the military and drive the handover of the troopers. The police guaranteed to be ignorant of who could have released the letter and transferred it on the web, however the LDF scrutinized the realness of the archive. LDF representative Major Ntlele Ntoi said at the time (in April) that such a letter, broadly flowed on the web, couldn't be considered important (van Staden, 2014). In 2001, under a concurrence with

India, an Indian Army Training Team (IATT) began preparing the LDF. By 2011, it was broadly seen that the LDF was well on its approach to turning into an expert and unopinionated compel. In reality, there has been no example since the entry of the IATT when the LDF has meddled with the political procedure.

Lesotho's 1993 Constitution (Constitute Project, 2016) was seen as the cause of several incidents that led to some misunderstanding or a total confrontation within the government of Lesotho. The Constitution is facing review in quite a number of aspects. One of the many aspects subject to review is the sensitive topic of dual citizenship. Chapter IV of the Constitution states that

any person who, upon the attainment of the age of twenty-one years, is a citizen of Lesotho and also a citizen of some country other than Lesotho shall cease to be a citizen of Lesotho upon the specified date unless he has renounced his citizenship of that other country, taken the oath of allegiance and, in the case of a person who is a citizen of Lesotho by descent, made and registered such declaration of his intentions concerning residence as may be prescribed by Parliament. (Ntaote, 2015)

The powers of Parliament, in relation to citizenship, are:

1. Parliament may make provisions for the acquisition of citizenship of Lesotho by persons who are not eligible or who are no longer eligible to become citizens of Lesotho under the provisions of this Chapter (Ntaote, 2015).

- Requirements for naturalization

2. Parliament may make provision for depriving of his citizenship of Lesotho any person other than a person who became or becomes- (Ntaote, 2015)

- Conditions for revoking citizenship (UN WOMEN, 2016)

- A. a citizen of Lesotho by virtue of having been born in Lesotho; or

- B. a citizen of Lesotho by descent, unless he would thereby become stateless.

3. Parliament may make provision for the renunciation by any person of his citizenship of Lesotho (UN WOMEN, 2016).

Politicians have been talking about the citizenship issue for a long time, though none dared to put it up for public debate or even to call a national referendum. According to recent statistics, Lesotho has a population of about 2 million, half of which lives outside of the country, mostly in South Africa. Lesotho's biggest diaspora is in South Africa, where the country has two general consulates and two consulates, apart from the High Commission in Pretoria. Lesotho only has consulates in South Africa.

The size of the Lesotho diplomatic representation in South Africa is a clear indication on how much Lesotho values her relationship with South Africa. At times, it becomes obvious that South Africa is not willing to consider the unique geographical situation Lesotho finds itself in. One cannot deny that South Africa's approach towards Lesotho is domineering and condescending, indicating a country that deeply harbours the desire to annex Lesotho. Of course, Lesotho has invested heavily in its manpower, through education, something South Africa does not have. The Lesotho Highlands Water Project is a deal that South Africa had been eyeing for centuries (European Investment Bank, 2002). The LHWP is South Africa's bloodline; which is why in 1998 when Lesotho experienced political upheavals after elections, South Africa was the first to respond under the guise of SADC to protect its interests. Lesotho continues to discover diamond and open mines in Liphobong, Lemphane, Kao, Letseng-la-terae and many other places where consultants have been engaged to map Lesotho's mineral deposits such as uranium, coal and natural gas. South Africa reached its mineral peak in the mid 80s. An economically, politically, and militarily strong and capable Lesotho is a threat to South Africa. So, while South Africa cannot annex Lesotho by force, it can continue destabilizing it to prevent development from happening and to also create dependency.

While Lesotho does not allow dual citizenship, South Africa does. It remains critical to Lesotho's future that the relations with South Africa not move from bad to worse. The issue of who qualifies for dual citizenship is a critical one for Lesotho; hence the need to learn from similar cases, and engage with experts on this matter.

6.8 Lesotho's Foreign Policy and International Relations

Lesotho's existence in the 21st century is dependent on how she relates with other states. Lesotho has supported marginalized disenfranchised states, such as Palestine and Saharawi. The plight of these peoples is determined by the observance of self-determination and non-interference in the domestic matters of a state, hence the recognition of the sovereignty of such states. Lesotho has been vocal and clear on these two principles.

Lesotho, together with other developing economies, has raised a cry for the reform of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The Security Council's resolutions towards other member states appear to be skewed in favour of European powers and America. The unilateral diplomacy that the US seems to practice in the middle of a multilateral institution says a lot. The US has been pursuing its interests regardless of the many atrocities that may result from them.

Lesotho wishes to improve her relations with the Republic of South Africa. Apart from being an enclave, there are also historical, economic, and cultural relations. South Africa has promised to be liberal and respect human rights and human dignity after its apartheid past. According to the Guardian (Davies, 2015), on August 16th, 2012, policemen from South Africa opened fire on a substantial group of men who had abandoned a strike from Marikana's platinum mine. They shot at one hundred and twelve of them, murdering 34. In any nation, this would have been a distressing minute. For South Africa, it was an uncommon sort of bad dream, since it restored pictures of slaughters by the state in the old politically-sanctioned racial segregation period, with

one severe distinction: this time it was overwhelmingly dark policemen, with dark senior officers working for dark lawmakers, who were doing the shooting.

In another act of state-sponsored violence, South Africans have been attacking and barbarously killing foreigners, especially those from Africa. On May 3 2015, Al Jazeera reported that thousands of people were displaced from their residences. About five men were reported to have been murdered when attacks spread through the KwaZulu/Natal Province (Haffejee, 2015). The xenophobic assaults started seven days after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was accounted for to have said that outsiders "ought to gather their packs and head home". The people of Lesotho have always been targets of the black South African regime. Lesotho had been optimistic that a black South Africa would be more sympathetic and understanding towards her problems. However, this was not the case and black South Africa seems to have forgotten the innocent blood that was shed, the hospitality that was offered to them during their struggle, and the oneness with them that the people of Lesotho once shared (Haffejee, 2015).

During the Presidency of Thabo Mbeki, an agreement was signed between Lesotho and South Africa on the free movement of people. The agreement called attention to that it had been come to against the setting of Lesotho's special circumstance as a landlocked country that is totally encompassed by South Africa. The agreement assisted the goals of the Lesotho-RSA Joint Bilateral Commission of Cooperation, particularly in helping Lesotho move on from its minimum created status to that of creating the nation (NCOP Social Services, 2009). Instead of honouring the Free Movement of People Agreement, South Africa instead introduced the Lesotho Special Permit (LSP) on September 22nd 2016 (Nwivisas, 2016). This move might have gained popular support through social media campaigns, but in the mind of every concerned Lesotho national, South Africa would not have replaced the free movement of people with the LSP if this had nothing to do with a move to close in on Lesotho. In June 2016, President Jacob Zuma led an

influential South African delegation where he arrived in Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, to meet Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili over the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), according to the Lesotho Times (10 June, 2016) (Mpaki, 2016). The newspaper shows that Lesotho's share of SACU revenue due to the slowdown in the world economy performance it has been gradually deteriorating over the past few years. "There is an estimated decline from 2014/2015 42 percent to 2016/2017 32 percent in the SACU revenue share. President Zuma went to Lesotho to negotiate revising the sharing formula on SACU revenue" (Ntaote, 2015). Lesotho managed to convince South Africa that Lesotho's survival as a landlocked, South Africa-locked country relied on SACU revenue.

However, the hostile nature of South Africa towards Lesotho is a clear indication that South Africa has a covert plan to swallow Lesotho with the help of the US. While Lesotho was engulfed in political turmoil, starting from 2014 to 2016, there were strong recommendations from the South African President Jacob Zuma to get Lesotho suspended if not expelled from the regional bloc for refusing to implement the Phumaphi Commission recommendation, which Lesotho saw as not binding (The Patriot on Sunday, n.d).

Meanwhile, the post-apartheid government of South Africa, through their police force shot 112 miners and killed 34 in August 2012 in Marikana and soon thereafter, one Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithine initiated one of the most brutal and barbaric attacks on foreigners in South Africa, a genocide (Davies, 2015). SADC and the African Union never uttered a word, or called the South African government to account, nor threatened to suspend South Africa.

In another incident, one professor from the National University of Lesotho, Mafa Sejanamane, was the victim of a crime against their house. The incident happened sometime in May 2016 (Sunday Express, n.d). To the wide population's surprise, the incident was echoed across the

continent when the then AU Commission Chairperson, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, denounced the act, even stating that the government of Lesotho should take responsibility. The same Nkosazana Zuma ever uttered a word during the Marikana massacre and never said anything when foreigners were burned alive and butchered with machetes (Davies, 2015). Under her watch, Alshabaab murdered innocent college students in Kenya. Boko Haram abducted innocent girls, Ethiopia went to war with Eritrea, people were suffering in South Sudan, and Chad was at war, not to mention disease and famine that hit much of the African continent. The question that most people asked themselves was why was she so vocal on one minor incident happening in Lesotho while heinous unspeakable things were happening all over the continent? What was her motive? Was she pursuing her own South African national interests, perhaps?

US Ambassador to Lesotho, Mathew Harrington, has been vocal in criticizing Lesotho over a decision reached at the 36 SADC Summit in Swaziland on August 22–31 2016 (Africa Platform, 2016). Harrington disregarded his ambassadorial roles as enshrined in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1963 and became a spokesperson for the Lesotho government opposition. Since then, Lesotho has been threatened with the suspension of the Agreement on Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) and the Millennium Challenge Account (MCC) by the US (The Patriot on Sunday, n.d).

6.9 Conclusion

Lesotho has existed as a country for nearly a hundred years and has recently celebrated 50 years of independence. Lesotho has survived against all odds to become a modern developmental state. While Lesotho has been struggling with both the internal and external challenges, challenges such as the scourge of HIV/AIDS, unemployment, poverty, poor governance, rampant corruption,

nepotism, slow development, food security and climate change, it would appear that the road to freedom gives little hope, especially to those who feel that a lot better can be done.

Poverty in Lesotho is created by corruption but thanks to social media, there is a voice against such corrupt leaders. In Lesotho, corruption is hardly prosecutable as we have recently witnessed the mysterious disappearance of dockets relating to a corruption case against Mr. Monyane Moleleki who had been named the 'a man richer than the state'. Mr Moleleki was acquitted of his charges when his docket could not be found (Lesotho Times, 2017).

Corruption creates poverty, as the scarce basic resources are misdirected. Politicians have devised a strategy of catering only for their supporters, leaving the rest to their own devices. It cannot be denied that, in Lesotho, there is a very weak private sector and the biggest employer, and the biggest tenders' holder would be the government. Most young people, in particular the graduates, remain unemployed and even worse, everybody wants to be employed by the government since when you are working for government you can never be fired regardless of corruption; as long as the courts don't find you guilty, and regardless of your poor performance. Top jobs belong to those who are politically connected and public service is full of corrupt officers, while the Diplomatic service is lacking and politically administered.

Lesotho is struggling more than before due to social media and not because it exposes the corrupt politicians and officials, but because it appears to influence public opinion and public policy more than it ever happened before. It has become obvious that the government spends most of its time fighting propaganda than executing its mandate. Media in its entirety obviously represents the people more than the parliamentarians do. Therefore a government of the day, instead of working hard every day to try to stop or respond to media propaganda, can better learn to filter what is important and seek to build on it.

For half of Lesotho's 50 years of independence, the Prime Minister has always appealed to the international community and to the developmental partners to help Lesotho with food. The issue of food security in Lesotho is the most threatening one and there is hardly any clear policy to address this in the long run. Botswana is a semi-desert, and so is Namibia but they have always been food secure, despite the aridness of their land. In contrast, Lesotho is a regional water exporter that doesn't even have a basic irrigation system. To make the matters even worse, the local councillors are in an unholy communion with the local chiefs (both belonging to the Ministry of Local Government and Chieftainship Affairs). Ploughing fields are being sold and turned into building space. This has resulted in Lesotho experiencing diminishing land base resource over increased houses and less or no food production.

Lesotho's increased multilateral diplomatic role-play at SADC, AU, UN, Commonwealth and other bodies of interest will help preserve her and ensure her continued survival in the middle of the warm but cold bilateral relations with the republic of South Africa. To date, Lesotho has not set down to fully analyse and understand her relations with South Africa, to enable her to carefully and strategically position herself within this giant. Lesotho cannot afford to 'take each day as it comes' with South Africa. What Lesotho needs is to be always proactive and not reactive to South Africa's actions, to utilize more multilateral institutions.

As a way forward, Lesotho has to start becoming an active global player. This might require operationalizing her foreign policy on the reforms of the UNSC. This can be achieved by gearing Lesotho's military spending towards peacekeeping and preventative diplomacy. The African continent boasts several UN and the AU peacekeeping operations and, to date, Lesotho has participated in UNAMID in Darfur. Lesotho has a well-trained and ready multidimensional force, consisting of the military, the police, and civilian components. Lesotho's foreign policy is premised on peace. Economically, Lesotho has failed to fit into the Rostow model of

development. Foreign aid that comes with strings attached has held Lesotho captive for centuries. This has resulted in a failure of its national priority policies, like the Vision 2020, the Country's National Strategic Development Paper (NSDP), and the Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (PRSP). Furthermore, Europe's diplomatic envoys have clearly shifted Europe's foreign policy towards Lesotho from bilateral to multilateral. This alone spells disaster for Lesotho. However, Lesotho's economy is changing slowly but surely, forging ahead with deals with new allies, such as a mutually beneficial one with the People's Republic of China's Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), Japan's Tokyo International Conference of Africa's Development (TICAD), and the India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS). Lesotho is faced with building more robust and sustainable diplomatic relations with countries in Asia and the Pacific now. Countries in Asia and the Pacific have shown commitment to African countries on a win-win type of engagement, with respect to the sovereignty of such states and a policy of non-interference in their domestic matters. By engaging with these countries, Lesotho will have scored herself future developmental partners that are reliable. It is diplomacy and nothing else that will ensure the continued survival and existence of Lesotho as a country inside another country. King Moshoeshoe I left Basotho a legacy of diplomacy that needs to be respected. To do so, we must honour and remember our past in order to move forward. Dr. Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili, a Member of Parliament, and Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, summed this, echoing the words of George Santayana - "Those who cannot remember history are condemned to repeat it".

REFERENCES

ABS Staff (2013) When Black Men Ruled the World: 8 Things The Moors Brought to Europe.

[online] *Atlanta Black Star*. Available at: <http://atlantablackstar.com/2013/10/07/when-black-men-ruled-the-world-moors/> [accessed 08 Dec. 2016].

Aero-comlab.stanford.edu (n.d.) A Short History of Africa. [online] Available at: [http://aero-](http://aero-comlab.stanford.edu/jameson/world_history/A_Short_History_of_Africa.pdf)

[comlab.stanford.edu/jameson/world_history/A_Short_History_of_Africa.pdf](http://aero-comlab.stanford.edu/jameson/world_history/A_Short_History_of_Africa.pdf) [accessed 10 Dec. 2016].

Africa Platform (2016) Communiqué Of The 36th Summit Of Sadc Heads Of State And

Government Mbabane, Swaziland. [pdf] *Southern African Development Community*.

Available at: <http://www.africa-platform.org/sites/default/files/resources/communique-of-the-36th-sadc-summit-31-august-2016.pdf> [accessed 17 Jun. 2017].

Biography.com, (2014) Vasco da Gama. [online] Available at:

<http://www.biography.com/people/vasco-da-gama-9305736#first-voyage> [accessed 16 Dec. 2016].

Business Dictionary (n.d) Diplomacy [online]. Available at:

<http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/diplomacy.html> [accessed 26 Dec. 2016].

Constitute Project (2016) Lesotho's constitution of 1993 with Amendments through 1998. [pdf]

Available at: https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Lesotho_1998.pdf?lang=en [accessed 16 Jan. 2017].

Cowell, A. (1992) San Marino Journal; After 1,600 Years, Is It Time to Join the World? [online] *The New York Times*. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/02/26/world/san-marino-journal-after-1600-years-is-it-time-to-join-the-world.html> [accessed 12 Dec. 2016].

Davies, N. (2015) Marikana massacre: the untold story of the strike leader who died for workers' rights. [online] *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/19/marikana-massacre-untold-story-strike-leader-died-workers-rights> [accessed 17 Jan. 2017].

Dictionary.com (n.d.) Diplomacy [online]. Available at: <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/diplomacy?s=t> [accessed 26 Dec. 2016].

Dugdale-Pointon, T. (4 March 2001), Shaka Zulu (1787-1828), http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/people_shaka_zulu.html

EISA. (2007). EISA Lesotho: Rise and consolidation of the Kingdom (1820-1868). Retrieved from <https://eisa.org.za/wep/lesoverview2.htm>

EISA (2015) Lesotho: 2015 National Assembly election results. [online] Available at: <https://eisa.org.za/wep/les2015results.htm> [accessed 09 Jan. 2017].

Elassar, N. (2014) What is Diplomacy? [online] bestdelegate. Available at: <http://bestdelegate.com/what-is-diplomacy/> [accessed 26 Dec. 2016].

Ethiopia Social Manager Ethiopia Social Manager (2011) Meaning and derivation of the name Ethiopia Meaning and derivation of the name Ethiopia. [blog] *My Trip Blog*. Available at: <http://www.mytripblog.org/pg/blog/ethiopia-social-manager/read/37066/meaning-and-derivation-of-the-name-ethiopia> [accessed 08 Dec. 2016].

European Investment Bank (2002) Lesotho Highlands Water Project. [online] Available at:

<http://www.eib.org/infocentre/press/news/all/lesotho-highlands-water-project.htm>

[accessed 05 Jan. 2017].

FAO (n.d.) Treaty on the Lesotho highlands water project between the government of the

Kingdom of Lesotho and the government of the Republic of South Africa signed at

Maseru, 24 October 1986. [online] Available at:

<http://www.fao.org/docrep/W7414B/w7414b0w.htm><http://www.fao.org/docrep/W7414B>

[/w7414b0w.htm](http://www.fao.org/docrep/W7414B/w7414b0w.htm) [accessed 05 Jan. 2017].

Frescura, F. (2016). Lesotho | South African History Online. Retrieved from

<http://www.sahistory.org.za/places/lesotho>

Gandhi, E. (ed.) (1993) Gandhi and South Africa 1914-1948. [pdf] *Ahmedabad: Navajivan*

Publishing House. Available at:

http://www.mkgandhi.org/ebks/gandhi_and_south_africa.pdf [accessed 05 Jan. 2017].

Ginger, H., Freudenheim, M. and Douglas, C. (1984) The World; South Africa Attacks Angola.

[online] *New York Times*. Available at:

[http://www.nytimes.com/1984/01/01/weekinreview/the-world-south-africa-attacks-](http://www.nytimes.com/1984/01/01/weekinreview/the-world-south-africa-attacks-angola.html)

[angola.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1984/01/01/weekinreview/the-world-south-africa-attacks-angola.html) [accessed 06 Jan. 2017].

Gill, S. (2016). Thomas Mofolo: the man, the writer and his contexts. *Tydskrif vir*

Letterkunde, 53(2), 15-38.

Gulyas, A. J. (2014). *The Chaos Conundrum: Essays on UFOs, Ghosts & Other High*

Strangeness in Our Non-Rational and Atemporal World. Andrews UK Limited.

- Haffejee, I. (2015) Pictures of xenophobia in South Africa. [online] *Al Jazeera*. Available at:
<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/2015/05/xenophobia-south-africa-150501090636029.html> [accessed 17 Jan. 2017].
- International Relations (n.d.) Realism in International Relations. [online] Available at:
http://internationalrelations.org/realism_in_international_relations/ [accessed 26 Dec. 2016].
- Knight, I. (2002). *Isandlwana 1879: the great Zulu victory* (Vol. 111). Osprey Publishing.
- Lesotho Embassy Rome (n.d.) Background. [online] Available at:
<http://www.lesothoembassyrome.it/home/lesotho/background> [accessed 09 Dec. 2016].
- Lesotho Embassy in USA. (n.d.). About Lesotho - History of the Basotho. Retrieved from
<http://www.lesothoemb-usa.gov.ls/about/default.php>
- Lesotho Times (2017) Moleleki acquitted on graft charges. [online] Available at:
<http://lestimes.com/moleleki-acquitted-on-graft-charges/> [accessed 06 May 2017]).
- Long, T. (2011). Aug. 3, 1492: Columbus Sets Out to Discover ... a Trade Route | WIRED.
Retrieved from <https://www.wired.com/2011/08/0803columbus-sets-sail-trade-route/>
- Lushaba, L. (2005) From Apartheid Social Stratification to Democratic Social Divisions:
Examining the Contradictory Notions of Social Transformation Between Indian and
Black South Africans. [pdf] Available at: <http://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/6-Lushaba.pdf> [accessed 30 Dec. 2016].
- Mohloboli, K. (2015) End of the road for Mahao. [online] *Lesotho Times*. Available at:
<http://lestimes.com/end-of-the-road-for-mahao/> [accessed 16 Jan. 2017].

- Motsamai, D. (2012) On Friday 8 June, Thomas Thabane succeeded Pakalitha Mosisili as the Prime Minister of Lesotho, not by winning elections but by building a coalition government with the support of the opposition. [online] *Institute for Security Studies*. Available at: <https://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/lesotho-after-may-2012-general-elections-making-the-coalition-work> [accessed 09 Jan. 2017].
- Morris, D. R. (1994). *The washing of the spears: a history of the rise of the Zulu nation under Shaka and its fall in the Zulu War of 1879* (Vol. 148). Random House.
- Mpaki, B. (2016) Zuma visits Lesotho for SACU talks. [online] *Lesotho Times*. Available at: <http://lestimes.com/zuma-visits-lesotho-for-sacu-talks/> [accessed 17 Jan. 2017].
- NCOP Social Services (2009) Ratification of RSA/Lesotho Agreement on the Facilitation of Cross Border Movements of Citizens; Regulations to the Children's Act. [online] *Parliamentary Monitoring Group*. Available at: <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/9971/> [accessed 17 Jan. 2017].
- Ntaote, B. (2015) Thabane created a security time-bomb. [online] *Lesotho Times*. Available at: <http://lestimes.com/thabane-created-a-security-time-bomb/> [accessed 16 Jan. 2017].
- Nwivisas (n.d.) Lesotho and South Africa to enter into special visa agreement. [online]. Available at: <http://www.nwivisas.com/nwi-blog/south-africa/lesotho-and-south-africa-to-enter-into-special-visa-agreement/> [accessed 17 Jan. 2017].
- Olson, J. and Sadle, R. (eds.) (1996) *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*. Volume 2. [Google books] Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 761-2. Available at: https://books.google.ie/books?id=f0VnzMelzm8C&pg=PA761&lpg=PA761&dq=sir+george+cathcart+and+basotho+wars&source=bl&ots=SJ_k9nVrhj&sig=7NIfDtcDimWn6J

11MuLeKPPdvwU&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjoguX2wJTRAhUoKcAKHdW9Cu8
Q6AEISDAN#v=onepage&q=sir%20george%20cathcart%20and%20basotho%20wars&
f=false [accessed 27 Dec. 2016].

Organization of African Unity (1964) Resolutions Adopted By The First Ordinary Session Of
The Assembly Of Heads Of State And Government Held In Cairo, Uar, From 17 To 21
July 1964. [pdf] Available at:
http://archive.au.int/collect/auassemb/import/English/FIRST%20ORDINARY_E.pdf
[accessed 26 Dec. 2016].

PBS (2015) Rescuing the Priceless Manuscripts of Timbuktu. [online] Available at:

<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/rescuing-the-priceless-manuscripts-of-timbuktu/>
[accessed 08 Dec. 2016].

Prasad R. (2014) *Working Towards a Sustainable Democracy in Lesotho: Some Guidelines for a
Robust Election Process*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Raborife, M. (2015) Lesotho agrees with proposed SADC reforms – Ramaphosa. [online]

news24. Available at: <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Lesotho-agrees-with-proposed-SADC-reforms-Ramaphosa-20150813> [accessed 12 Jan. 2017].

Revolvy. (n.d.). Orange River Sovereignty. Retrieved from

[https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Orange%20River%20Sovereignty&item_t
ype=topic](https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Orange%20River%20Sovereignty&item_type=topic)

Robert W. (1998) *A History of the African People*. Fifth Edition. Long Grove: Waveland Press.

Ross, R. (2008). *A concise history of South Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

SABC News (2014) Lesotho King urges politicians to put country first. [online] Available at:
<http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/65b8318045dd723eafc9bfd394b18074/Put-country-first:-Lesotho-King-urges-politicians-20141710> [accessed 11 Jan. 2017].

Salman, S. (2007) The Helsinki Rules, the UN Watercourses Convention and the Berlin Rules: Perspectives International Water Law. *Water Resources Development*, [online] 23(4), 625-640. Available at:
<http://www.internationalwaterlaw.org/bibliography/articles/general/Salman-BerlinRules.pdf> [accessed 05 Jan. 2017].

Sanders, P. B. (1975). *Moshoeshoe, chief of the Sotho*. Holmes & Meier.

Smith, A. (n.d.) 10 Truths About Shaka Zulu That Will Shock You And Re-Arrange Your Knowledge Of History. [online] *Buzz South Africa*. Available at:
<http://buzzsouthafrica.com/shaka-zulu/> [accessed 10 Dec. 2016].

South African History Online. (2017). Great Trek 1835-1846 | South African History Online. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/great-trek-1835-1846>

South Africa History Online. (2017). King Moshoeshoe I | South African History Online. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/king-moshoeshoe-i>

South African History Online. (2016). A history of Apartheid in South Africa | South African History Online. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-apartheid-south-africa>

South African History Online (2011) Basotho Wars 1858 – 1868. [online] Available at:
<http://www.sahistory.org.za/south-africa-1806-1899/basotho-wars-1858-1868> [accessed 09 Dec. 2016].

South African History Online. (2011). The Dutch and the Khoikhoi | South African History Online. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/dutch-and-khoikhoi>

South African History Online (2011) Great Trek 1835-1846. [online] Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/great-trek-1835-1846> [accessed 16 Dec. 2016].

South African History Online (2011) SADF mounts raids on ANC targets in neighbouring states. [online] Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/sadf-mounts-raids-anc-targets-neighbouring-states> [accessed 05 Jan. 2017].

South African History Online (2011) Shaka Zulu. [online] Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/king-shaka-zulu> [accessed 10 Dec. 2016].

South African History Online (2011) South Africa closes its borders with Lesotho. [online] Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/south-africa-closes-its-borders-lesotho> [accessed 05 Jan. 2017].

South African History Online (2011) The Pope arrives in Lesotho. [online] Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/pope-arrives-lesotho> [accessed 06 Jan. 2017].

South African History Online (2012) South African Defence Force (SADF) raid Maseru in an effort to kill suspected members of the African National Congress. [online] Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/south-african-defence-force-sadf-raid-maseru-effort-kill-suspected-members-african-natio> [accessed 05 Jan. 2017].

Stapleton, T. J. (2010). *A Military History of South Africa: from the Dutch-Khoi wars to the end of apartheid*. ABC-CLIO.

Sunday Express (n.d): Sejanamane survives attack. [online] Available at: <http://sundayexpress.co.ls/sejanamane-survives-attack/> [Accessed on 06 May 2017]).

- The Commonwealth (2015) Commonwealth Special Envoy to Lesotho: Departure Statement.
[online] Available at: <http://thecommonwealth.org/media/press-release/commonwealth-special-envoy-lesotho-departure-statement> [accessed 09 Jan. 2017].
- The Commonwealth (n.d.) Lesotho: History. [online] Available at:
<http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/lesotho/history> [accessed 06 Jan. 2017].
- The Lesotho National Vision 2020 (n.d) [online] Available at:
<http://www.gov.ls/govwebportal/important%20documents/lesotho%20vision%202020/NationalVisionDocumentFinal.pdf> [accessed 12 Jan. 2017].
- The Lesotho Embassy in the United States of America (n.d) [online] Available at:
<http://www.lesothoemb-usa.gov.ls/about/missionaries.php> [accessed 03 May 2017].
- The Patriot on Sunday (n.d) Southern Africa: SADC Troika Recommends suspension of Lesotho.
[online] Available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201601182539.html> [accessed 06 May 2017].
- Thompson, L. (1994). A History of South Africa. *Africa Today*, 41(1), 76-79.
- UN (1986) Question of Namibia. [online] Available at:
<https://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/spec/aress14-1.htm> [accessed 06 Jan. 2017].
- UN WOMEN. (2016). Constitution of Lesotho 1993, as amended to 2004. Retrieved from
<http://constitutions.unwomen.org/en/countries/africa/lesotho?provisioncategory=5c2f8f06f7844dc4b49701c46c468454>

Van Staden, G. (2014) Lesotho – What lies beneath? [online] *Moonstone*. Available at:
<http://www.moonstone.co.za/lesotho-lies-beneath/> [accessed 16 Jan. 2017].

Warwick, P. (1980). *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902*. Addison-Wesley
Longman Ltd.

Zorn, J. (n.d.) The first missions. [online] Musée virtuel du Protestantisme. Available at:
<http://www.museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-first-missions/> [accessed 09 Dec. 2016].