



## **Internationalist solidarity between peoples of the Global South: building popular struggles for emancipation**

ANA IRIS NOGUEIRA PACHECO

*Federal University of Maranhão, Brasil*

### **Introduction**

If we consider the dynamics of world geopolitics, the autonomy of the countries of the Global South has always been threatened and/or subordinated by imperialist interventions. It is under the question of sovereignty and class struggle that peoples have historically created forms of human articulation with each other around the world to confront the ills of the capitalist world. A recent case in point is the relationship between the Landless Workers' Movement (MST-Movimento Sem Terra in Portuguese) in Brazil and the Socialist Party (SP) in Zambia. According to the MST Internationalism Sector (2019), this aspect should be understood as both a strategy and a principle, as it is an initial and constitutive component of a revolutionary organisation.

It is the component of reading reality and formulating the actions of revolutionary organisations, especially in the context of building a correlation of strength against the common enemy and learning to articulate with other struggles from the perspective of a common project for the working class (CRI-MST, 2019, p. 8).

This component of training as a principle for the workers of the world has been present on the left since its emergence in Europe in the 19th century. In Latin America, José Carlos Mariátegui, scholar and founder of the Peruvian Socialist Party (PSP), incorporated into his theoretical and political propositions in the 1920s the perspective of understanding the Peruvian national reality from an internationalist framework, thus interpreting the economic interests of capital on an international scale and pointing to the need for proletarian internationalism beyond the borders of nationalities (RUBBO, p. 26). In the agrarian dimension of Latin America, internationalism can be said to have been consolidated in the 1990s through the 500 years of Black, Indigenous and Popular resistance campaign and the creation of the Coordinadora Latinoamericana Del Campo (CLOC), which brought together Latin American peasants, and later, together with other peasant organisations in Europe, the Via Campesina, which became the largest peasant organisation in the world, both initiatives with the participation of the MST.

For the MST, internationalism is its foundation, its organising principle. There have been many milestones in the history of the peoples of Latin America that have made up the MST's internationalism. "The experience of the Cuban revolution, the Nicaraguan revolution, and then, later on, all the experience accumulated in Latin America, the Mexican Revolution, the attempt at agrarian reform in Peru, the process in El Salvador, in short, the experiences of the 1980s were very important for our movement" (MAURO, 2012). As well as drawing on the experiences of other peoples and their struggles or providing one-off support, the Movement has developed other types of international relations with peasant movements and/or organisations, solidarity groups in European countries and the USA, specific political and economic cooperation with social



organisations, institutions and agents of public and private international cooperation, or through a broader articulation, at specific times or in particular contexts, with political and social organisations and social movements that are not necessarily peasant, in international campaigns and spaces. "It is thus clear that this is a broad, generic topic with a variety of connotations that the set of practices and discourses will not always be able to synthesise in the MST internationalist action" (RUBBO, 2013).

In general, for Lowy (2004), internationalism has long ceased to be a principle of trade union and party organisations. On the contrary, it is in social, peasant, feminist, anti-racist and human rights movements that organise at international level, such as the MST, that this foundation is strengthened as a human principle necessary for real social transformation. However, it is important to realise that, while in Latin America the class struggle is to some extent in line with the proletarian trade union format, in Africa it is shaped by a different reality, since it is a society with highly underdeveloped productive forces for capitalism. However, this did not make it impossible for the working class to be the vanguard of a revolutionary process. As Cuba has also shown us.

According to Hobsbawm, the African revolutionary movements, although theoretically belonging to the "old revolutionary family of 1917", were of a different kind, if we consider the societies to which Marx and Lenin devoted their analyses and look at sub-Saharan Africa in its post-colonial period. The only African country to which some of the conditions of these analyses applied was settler capitalist South Africa, economically developed and industrialised, where a genuine mass liberation movement emerged, crossing tribal and racial boundaries - the African National Congress - with the help of a genuine mass trade union movement and an efficient Communist Party (HOBSBAWM apud SANTOS, 1995, p. 437).

Santos (2020) also reminds us that this is a continent where colonisation literally divided the territory between imperialist powers, especially France and England, imposing backwardness and poverty as a consequence of imperialist-capitalist expansion. When considering the African reality, we must understand that other ideological biases permeate the imaginary and reality of these people. Therefore, the process of forming a nation-state after the collapse of the colonial regime was also marked by the need to build an Africa for and by Africans, consolidated by the pan-africanist political-ideological movement, whose struggle for African unity was expressed through the liberation processes of Africa as a whole.

One of the theoreticians of Pan-Africanism was Kwame Nkruman, who, like Amílcar Cabral and other African leaders, defended the unity and liberation of the African continent as a whole and not just the particularities of each country. Pan-Africanism had as its strategic tactical plan the centrality of the fight against the common enemy in all countries - colonialism and imperialism; racism; discriminatory laws and practices; tribalism and religious separatism - listing four main stages: 1) national independence; 2) national consolidation; 3) transnational and community unity; 4) economic and social reconstruction according to the principles of scientific socialism (VILLEN apud SANTOS, 2013).



Therefore, to understand the African Revolutions and their close links to the decolonisation process from the perspective of building African unity, is in itself to understand that the internationalism developed to carry out the national liberation movements went beyond continental and intercontinental borders, and we can cite some specific cases, such as Algeria, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. It is therefore clear that the way in which peoples on the African continent organise themselves is multiple and diverse in its complex reality, but it is still based on the ideal of unity, above all with other peoples around the world, be it movements, organisations, rural and urban social collectives or political parties. Whether in the period of the African revolutions in the 20th century or today, where the process of financial capitalism has intensified the exploitation of the working class in the world and the latter, in turn, has also had to expand its capacity for struggle and resistance.

We can find common ground between Pan-Africanism in its internationalist perspectives and the internationalist practice of Paulo Freire, who left Angicos for Africa, which was one of the principles that underpinned his pedagogy, as well as valuing the knowledge of each subject and knowledge of the reality of each place. His status as an internationalist allowed him to find fertile ground in many countries to germinate and root the foundations of a pedagogical concept capable of moving the popular struggle in the Global South. His trajectory includes encounters with Frantz Fanon and Amílcar Cabral, for example. In the dedication of his book “*Cartas à Guiné-Bissau: registros de uma experiência em processo*” (Letters to Guinea-Bissau: Records of an Experience in Process - 1978), published for the first time in 1977, Paulo Freire accepted the assumption of the decolonisation of minds from Amílcar Cabral, who conceived the re-Africanisation of life as a requirement of a pedagogical process that wanted to be liberating (RIBEIRO, 2018). As we will see below, Freire is a theoretical pillar for the MST political actions.

### **From Brazil to Zambia: solidarity and popular struggles for emancipation**

Unlike its neighbours, Zambia made history with its struggle for nationalist independence with campaigns of civil disobedience and at the same time fulfilled a strategic function in this part of the continent that was marked after British colonisation by the form of party political organisation, either to maintain colonial disputes or to strengthen the independence movements of its border neighbours. This is the case of South Africa Oliver Tambo, leader of the ANC from 1967 to 1991, who spent 22 years in exile in the suburb of Chelstone, in the country's capital. The house he lived in was a safe house provided by the Zambian government.

Kenneth Kaunda was the country's first president and one of the architects of the creation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), a political and economic bloc made up of Angola, South Africa, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland (now Eswatini), Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and the Seychelles. Alongside Agostinho Neto from Angola, Julius Nyerere from Tanzania, Samora Machel from Mozambique and Seretse Khama from Botswana, he helped change the balance of power in southern Africa, where the independent black states had until then been too dependent on external solidarity in the fight against the white minority colonial regime, especially in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, Namibia and apartheid South Africa.



As a response to this process of social effervescence, capitalism reinvented itself in its post-colonial crisis and instituted a neoliberal conception of corruption on the African continent that went beyond the public sector to undermine the sovereignty of states and open up the continent to plundering by Western multinational corporations (Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research, 2019). The political transition was heralded by the world press as a trend towards the democratisation of political systems in the era of globalisation after the Cold War. However, the contradictions and instability of the new regime in Zambia have jeopardised this transition. The abandonment of an economic policy that had been under construction in the country since the 1960s, called the Mulungushi Economic Revolution, for a neoliberal policy of privatisation that affected 250 state-owned companies, promotion of the private sector, liberalisation of the domestic market, promotion of foreign investment and budgetary discipline.

The structural adjustment programmes of the 1990s saw the start of economic liberalisation and the opening up of Zambia's resources to commercial and private exploitation. The country's mines were privatised, with significant tax incentives for foreign owners; the marketing cooperatives that helped farmers access markets were dissolved and state-owned companies were gradually sold to private owners and increasingly linked to large corporations. The promise of prosperity failed to materialise due to the government's inability to formulate alternative economic policies and, although it tried to use the fragile international reputation that the transition had created in its favour to attract foreign investment and financial credit, the high levels of corruption discouraged the expected flow of capital. Something that continues to this day and is concentrated on the continent because it is where organisations like the IMF and World Bank have most effectively used the idea of "corruption" to undermine the sovereignty of states and subjugate the countries of the Global South to the extraordinary power of multinational corporations, particularly in the mining sector (Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research, 2019). It is in this context of neoliberal barbarism that the Socialist Party of Zambia emerged in the last decade.

The MST, for its part, realised that the colonial political project on which Brazil's historical and social formation was built was based on slavery, rape, genocide, violence and the generalised plundering of other peoples. This realisation shows how great our debt is to the African continent and its diverse peoples, and the MST internationalist work is also building a rapprochement between the MST and Africa and its organisational processes of popular struggle.

It is worth emphasising that the struggle of Brazil's black population for their rights and historical reparations is broad and ongoing. The permanent attempt to erase the history of Africa and its roots in Brazilian history was not by chance. It is the fruit of what we can identify as the result of a colonialist action that goes beyond the physical, which is the control of what is symbolic, what we call the dispute over the hearts and minds of a people.

The policy of establishing in the social imaginary that Africa is poor and its peoples devoid of civilization is a concept that the colonialists bequeathed to us. However, establishing other values in this imaginary based on what African ancestors also bequeathed to us in Brazil eventually allowed us to understand that the idea of unity as a principle, living collectively and solidarity are pillars of African peoples and that the denial of their diverse cultural, religious, historical and political processes is also a tool of capitalism to control the working class. For this reason,



according to Mauro (2012), the historical experience of socialism in the world is being revived in order to continue stimulating the international solidarity of the working class. "It has the sense of contributing to internal processes, not intervening in the sense of telling them what to do."

It is on the basis of these and many other elements that we cross the Atlantic to address solidarity on the other side of the Global South, the African continent, where the MST Samora Machel Brigade, named in honour of the Mozambican revolutionary who led Mozambique's War of Independence and was the first president after its independence in 1975, is based. The collective, which has always been made up of several MST activists, was based in Mozambique and South Africa, but since 2017 has been based in Zambia and works directly with the Socialist Party in the areas of education, popular health, communication and agroecology. However, the brigade has continental operations, developing activities and political articulations with other countries in the region, such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Ghana. In recent years, the Brigade's work has focused on the Literacy and Agroecology Campaign, which aims to literate thousands of Zambians in the country's official language, English, as well as promoting agroecological practices in rural areas and promoting women's autonomy and organisation (MST, 2025).

In this context of the internationalism debate, the Socialist Party of Zambia was also born under the principles of internationalist class solidarity in the Global South, since its very launch in 2018 took place in the midst of intense political repression in the country by the regime of Edgar Lungu, then president of the country. "Eight of the international guests were prevented from entering the country and, after the event, the Cuban ambassador to Zambia, Nelson Pages Vilas, was expelled from the country. Not to mention the constant and brutal persecution of party members and the repression of their political education activities, literacy courses and other community meetings" (M'MEMBE, 2018).

This political control by Edgar Lungu's then government, the Patriotic Front (PF), extended to the private and public media, resulting in the closure of media outlets and the dismissal of critical journalists, including the brutal closure of the media organisation, The Post, in 2016. These aspects demonstrate the challenges of organising the working class in the country and building an instrument that brings together the struggle for social and political equality.

Zambia is a country with high levels of extreme poverty, illiteracy and one of the lowest life expectancy rates in the world at 62.3 years. According to the latest official census (2021), Zambia has a population of 18 million. Its economy is represented by 21 per cent agriculture, while industry accounts for 35 per cent and services contribute approximately 48 per cent of the national GDP. But it's important to note that even with a smaller share of the local GDP, agriculture has historically accounted for more than 70 per cent of the country's economically active population. However, it is not only under the shadow of the profound inequality of the capitalist system, but also under the legacy of the ancestral struggle for African unity, that the Socialist Party continues to build the value of internationalism as a working class.

"These are not isolated struggles or projects - they are connected struggles and projects - the success of one means the success of the other; the defeat of one is the defeat of all. The attack on Cuba, the embargo against Cuba is an embargo against all of us. The challenges that the



Venezuelan people are facing today are the challenges of all of us. The struggles in Brazil are all our struggles! A better world is not just for socialists, it's for all of humanity in all its diversity and complexity" (M'MEMBE, 2018).

In this sense, we realise that internationalist solidarity is central to the Party's ability to build tactics that allow it to achieve its central strategy, which is to win the elections and establish a socialist regime in the country. To this end, it is essential to make progress in the organisational structure of the party, to increase the capacity for strength and organisation so that more people with political awareness are involved in the political process. As well as raising awareness, there is also the need to communicate with its members and Zambian society about its political project. To this end, they believe that the process of training and information needs to be simplified, understanding certain areas as central to its development: agroecology and food production, health, culture and communication. These are the areas in which the MST Samora Machel Brigade develops joint actions with the party. For example, the literacy programme is one of the central keys, as are the agroecology and health actions, as well as the pilot project proposals for the popular cinema experiment in mid-2023 called Galamukani (a Nyanja word meaning awakening), inspired by the cinema of the land developed by the MST in Brazil.

Analysed from this perspective, the MST's political decision to build agroecology was the right one, as it sees the exchange of knowledge with other peoples as the basis for its consolidation, since this is what makes it possible to resist the impacts generated by agribusiness around the world. This option is based on prioritising the production of healthy food and building other values between human beings and with nature. An example of this is the work on agroecology and political education coordinated by the MST brigades in Zambia, Venezuela and Haiti (MATEUS, 2024).

Mariátegui, from Latin America, also noted the importance of communication and its improvement (through technical and scientific progress) as an expression of "the international needs of life in our times": The progress of communications has united, has solidarised to a degree that is untrue to the activity and history of nations (RUBBO, 2013). Thus pointing to the need to articulate integrated communication with the emancipation of peoples.

In the field of education, Freire is cited here because his legacy continues to reverberate in the struggle for the emancipation of peoples from an internationalist perspective, just like Amílcar and other scholars of his time. It is on the basis of his pedagogy and the Cuban method Yes, I Can! that the Samora Machel Brigade and the Socialist Party developed the method "to talk, to read, to write the words in the world", created exclusively for this action, and carried out the Fred M'membe Literacy and Agroecology Campaign to implement it. The mobilisations still took place in 2019, but the classes only materialised with the start of the method in 2021. It took place in three provinces: Eastern, Lusaka and Western, in 22 municipalities, mostly in rural communities. In all, the campaign directly involved 2130 people, but indirectly it involved more than 5400 people, including Socialist Party mayoral candidates, councillors, local leaders and the community in general (MST, 2022).



Religion is another important aspect of the people's culture, as are their leaders, who have a lot of influence and cannot be ignored. In this sense, the party's governance strategy needs to engage these audiences (traditional and religious leaders) in order to advance the proposal to develop Zambia as an economically and politically autonomous country. We must see all these aspects as central to updating and expanding the Party's political programme and mobilising Zambian society for the next presidential elections in 2026.

## Final considerations

The conditions imposed by imperialism on Africa and Latin America, with due regard for their local specificities, have allowed them to converge in various aspects of the struggle for sovereignty and the emancipation of peoples. The current neoliberal phase imposes common challenges, bringing together the interests of social movements and parties as geographically distant as the MST and the Socialist Party of Zambia, such as the need to articulate integrated communication with the emancipation of peoples, the challenge of literacy as a way of guaranteeing fundamental rights and as political training, agroecology as an alternative, international solidarity as a fundamental principle.

Furthermore, thinking about internationalism among the peoples of the Global South means, above all, understanding that the nature of their organisation and social composition differs from that of other parts of the world and therefore requires the creation of strategies and tactics for struggle and critical social organisation that converge to confront capitalism in its multiple faces. Thus, both in Latin America and Africa, it is possible to see from the historical theoretical legacy of various scholars how much they have moved in the same direction. In other words, they have set out to revise the narrative about a monolithic socio-political context, of Eurocentric origin, and are proposing to construct and place at the centre of the theoretical discussion about this region of the world.

Exile from military dictatorships and international solidarity between peoples boosted this initiative, allowing these critical scholars not only to elaborate, but also to create interlocutions between their thoughts. This is the case of Paulo Freire on the subject of education, who, on meeting Amílcar Cabral, creates an interlocution with the thinking of the "revolutionary pedagogue" and his praxis through the education of a people. This gave Freire a broader view of the contradictions of colonialism and its impact on the social and historical formation of a people.

Just as the gears of capitalism move in an integrated way, especially in times of technological revolution, the challenges for the people and the working class are greater, as they continue to expand their capacity to develop, apply and improve their practices of solidarity that enable human emancipation.

## References

BELLUCCI, Beluce. **Socialism in Africa: The struggle continues!** Publication Teoria e Debate, Ed. 215, 2021. Available at <<https://teoriaedebate.org.br/2021/12/10/o-socialismo-na-africa-a-luta-continua/>>. Accessed on 28 December 2024.



- CABRAL, Amílcar (1969). **Some principles of the Party.** Available at: <<https://www.marxists.org/portugues/cabral/1969/11/24.pdf>>. Accessed on 20 December 2024.
- CAMPOS, Paulo Henrique. **Internationalism is part of the historical formation of MST youth.** 2019. Available at <https://mst.org.br/2019/08/08/o-internacionalismo-e-parte-da-formacao-historica-da-juventude-do-mst/>. Accessed on 15 December 2024.
- CHELWA, Grieve. **How Neoliberalism Has Wielded 'Corruption' to Privatised Life in Africa. The Africa Institute, Global Studies University, through Tricontinental Pan Africa (2024).** Available at <<https://thetricontinental.org/dossier-how-neoliberalism-has-wielded-corruption-to-privatise-africa/>>. Accessed on 20 December 2024.
- CRI-MST. **Internationalising internationalism and building an internationalist culture. Political guidelines for our internationalist actions: guidelines for states and international relations collectives.** 2019.
- CULTIVAR INSTITUTE. **Galamukani Cinema - an experiment in land cinema in Zambia.** Agrarian Reform and Solidarity Bulletin. p. 40, 2023. Available at <[https://institutocultivar.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/Cultivar-SOLIDARIEDADE-JULHO-23\\_compressed.pdf](https://institutocultivar.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/Cultivar-SOLIDARIEDADE-JULHO-23_compressed.pdf)>. Accessed on: 16 December 2024.
- TRICONTINENTAL SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE. **Resource Sovereignty: The Agenda for Africa's Exit from the State Plunder.** dossier n. 16, 7 May 2019. Available at: <<https://thetricontinental.org/dossier-16-resource-sovereignty-the-agenda-for-africas-exit-from-the-state-plunder/>>. Accessed on: 15 December 2024.
- TRICONTINENTAL SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE. **Make Noise about the Silent Crisis of Global Illiteracy: The Fifth Newsletter,** 3 February 2022. Available at: <<https://thetricontinental.org/newsletterissue/education-crisis/>>. Accessed on 16 December 2024.
- TRICONTINENTAL SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE. **One hundred years of Paulo Freire: a project of hope.** Journal Studies of the Global South, 2021. Available at <<https://resg.thetricontinental.org/index.php/resg/issue/view/3/4>>. Accessed on: 14 December 2024.
- LOWY, M. (2004). **Towards a new internationalism.** *Social Struggles*, n.5, p.97-106. Available at: <<https://revistas.pucsp.br/index.php/ls/article/view/18897>>. Accessed on: 04 Dec. 2024.
- MACHEL, Samora Moisés. **Educating Man to Win the War, Create a New Society and Develop the Homeland.** September 1970. Available at: <<https://www.marxists.org/portugues/machel/1970/09/educar.htm>>. Accessed on 12 December 2024.
- MATEUS, F. A. P. S., Gervais, A. M. D., & de Mattos, J. L. S. (2024). **Peasant international solidarity: a case study on the MST's internationalist solidarity brigade in Mozambique.** *CONTRIBUCIONES A LAS CIENCIAS SOCIALES*, 17(2), e4276. Available at <<https://doi.org/10.55905/revconu.17n.2-17>>. Accessed on 15 December 2024.
- MAURO, Gilmar. **From the countryside to the world: in search of a continental internationalism for the MST - An interview by RUBBO, Deni Ireneu Alfaro.** *Lutas Sociais*, São Paulo, n.29, p.21-30, Jul./Dec. 2012.
- M'MEMBE, Fred. **"For the humblest of the Zambian people, there is no other alternative to socialism". An interview by Peoples Dispatch.** 2018. Available at:





- <https://peoplesdispatch.org/2018/12/27/for-the-humblest-of-the-zambian-people-there-is-no-other-alternative-to-socialism/>>. Accessed on: 14 December 2024.
- M'MEMBE, Fred. **"The power of the global media needs to be challenged, this is part of the class struggle"**. Brasil de Fato, 2019. Available at: <https://www.brasildefatomg.com.br/2019/05/21/o-poder-da-midia-global-precisa-ser-desafiado-isso-e-parte-da-luta-de-classes>>. Accessed on: 14 December 2024.
- MST. **In Zambia, literacy and agroecology campaign trains 2,000 people**. Available at: <https://mst.org.br/2022/05/06/na-zambia-campanha-de-alfabetizacao-e-agroecologia-forma-2-000-pessoas/>>. Accessed on 15 December 2024.
- MST. **Socialist Party of Zambia and MST Brigade carry out new action of the People's Mobile Health Clinic**. 2024. Available at: <https://mst.org.br/2024/06/06/partido-socialista-da-zambia-e-brigada-do-mst-realizam-nova-acao-da-clinica-movel-de-saude-popular/>>. Accessed on 20 December 2024.
- MST. **Samora Machel Brigade - Zambia**. 2024. Available at: <https://mst.org.br/brigadainternacional/brigada-samora-machel-zambia/>>. Accessed on 20 December 2024.
- NKRUMAH, Kwame. **Africa Must Unite**. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963. Available at: <https://ccaf.africa/books/Africa-Must-Unite-Kwame-Nkrumah.pdf>>. Accessed on: 20 December 2024.
- NKRUMAN, Nwame. **Revolutionary Path**. London: Panaf, 1980.
- PRASHAD, Vijay. **The Eighth Continent Is the Continent of Sleaze: The Fiftieth Newsletter (2024)**. Available at <https://thetricontinental.org/newsletterissue/continent-of-sleaze/>>. Accessed on: 12 December 2024.
- RIBEIRO, Adelia Miglievich. **Encounters between Paulo Freire and Amílcar Cabral: Postcolonial and Decolonial Critique in Act**. Brazilian Journal of Sociology, vol. 6, no. 14, pp. 201-221, 2018. Available at: <https://www.redalyc.org/journal/5957/595765442008/html/>>. Accessed on: 20 December 2024.
- RUBBO, Deni Irineu Alfaro. **Outcasts of the land: the MST and the globalisation of the peasant struggle**. São Paulo: Alameda, 2016.
- RUBBO, Deni Irene Alfaro. **Cosmopolitan peasants: a study of the internationalist political action of the MST in Latin America**. São Paulo, 2013. Available at <https://repositorio.usp.br/item/002395178>>. Accessed on: 15 December 2025.
- SANTOS, Judite Elaine dos. **Proletarian internationalism and the Cuban revolution**. Dissertation (Master of Science) - Latin American Integration Postgraduate Programme, University of São Paulo, São Paulo, 2020.
- SINGH, Tanupriya. **Neocolonial debt, extractivism, and the roots of Zambia's economic crisis**. Peoples Dispatch, 2024. Available at <https://peoplesdispatch.org/2024/01/19/neocolonial-debt-extractivism-and-the-roots-of-zambias-economic-crisis/>>. Accessed on 15 December 2024.
- WINDECK, Frank. **Political Communication in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Role of New Media**. Available at: <https://www.scribd.com/document/423506858/Comunicacao-Politica-Na-Africa-Subsaariana-e-o-Papel-Das-Novas-Midias-4>>. Accessed on 10 December 2024.



**DRAFT**  
*Do not cite without permission*  
SMAIAS-ASN SUMMER SCHOOL  
Harare, 3–7 February 2025

