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## Politics of coalition in Lesotho

For office-seeking and wielding power

By Motlamelle Kapa

Lesotho's political parties have since independence been reluctant to join forces and resources both prior to and after elections. This may be because the biggest of the country's parties, initially the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) and the Basotho National Party (BNP) (between 1993 and 1998) and later the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) and the (BNP) (1998-2002) each thought it could do well in elections and indeed in governing the country after winning elections without the support of others. The smaller parties too did not see a need to make coalitions among themselves or with the bigger ones. Instead of coalescing together the country witnessed incessant intra-party and inter-party conflict and feuding. The former often led to splits and the latter to lack of cooperation even on matters of mutual interest and concern.

However, following the introduction of the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral model after the reforms made on the country's erstwhile discredited First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) electoral system, which have proved, in the case of Lesotho, to produce undesirable political outcomes - over rewarding the winners through making them over represented in parliament and unduly punishing the losers by denying them parliamentary representation, then fanning post-elections political instability and elections-related conflict - the parties have joint the trend taken by other countries in the Southern Africa sub-region and indeed other parts of the world to form coalitions.

But what exactly are coalitions? What is the rationale for their formation and with what kind of political outcomes in terms confusing the electorate in their voting decisions? What is the relationship between coalitions and democracy? Are they antithetical to democracy? What influence do they have on countries' politics in general? Coalitions' formation in Lesotho has generated controversies and intense debates in different public fora and the mass

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*These street vendors have got no where else to go after they were chased from the streets by the Maseru City Council last December. Mobile police units still patrol the main Kingsway street to keep them off the streets.*

*Bala Litaba tsena ka Sesotho korateng ea*  
**LITABA  
TSA  
LESOTHO**  
ka hare

## State of Lesotho's democracy



By Kopano Makoa

Lesotho's 14 year old 'democracy' has held, notwithstanding formidable challenges that it has faced and indeed continues to face. These challenges - but not the focus of this talk for they have been adequately discussed by the various analysts were in the main turning into peace and a hotbed of consensual politics shaky stability brought to the country by the military rule of 1986-1993, bringing the armed forces back under the civilian control that dissipated on 20 January 1986 when ended through a coup d'état and supplanted Dr Leabua Jonathan's rule, and calming down the fears of the Basotho National Party (BNP) led

opposition that it would have no role in post-military democratic dispensation. The return to the barracks of the armed forces in June 1993 saw the restoration to Lesotho of a constitutional dispensation and re-enfranchisement of the Basotho nation as some of its myriad dividends. Indeed, the country has had since June 1993 a constitution which defines duties, obligations, responsibilities, roles and rights of the citizenry and the power and the exercise of it by those who govern and/or manage the affairs of the state.

Today the Basotho people decide and through the ballot appoint their rulers and parliamentary representatives. This is the basic

tenet of the democratic ideology. As Bratton and van de Walle put it, "the distinctive feature of democracy is... that it provides political access to decision making for ordinary citizens." But I hasten to add a caveat that democracies are systems of governmental power, hence they are open to abuse by those holding such power. Yet, whether a concept, process or situation, democracy has been long proven to be elastic, expanding in scope, frontiers, meaning and compass. Thus "far from being a finished product, (it) is a process of continuous improvement in how institutions function and

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## Broadcast media under siege

*Radio stations closed, journalists threatened*

By Thabo Motlamelle

Vibrant, provocative and fiercely independent broadcast media is a species under immense siege and if the Lesotho government is to have its way, it should be listed among the extinct. The Government of Lesotho (GOL), through its Ministry of Communications (MoC), has instituted such draconian measures to not only silence but to strangle to death the alternative voice

in the country. Such measures have included the vandalism by state officials on broadcast equipment belonging to two prominent independently owned radio stations to the institutionalisation of corruption in the selection of the board of the regulatory framework on broadcasting with a view to ensure closure of these two prominent radio stations. In recent times, state officials working at

the Lancers' Gap transmitter station owned by government where most of the country's radio stations are hooked up on co-hosting contractual arrangements, have vandalised both Harvest FM and People's Choice FM by unplugging the electricity supply to these stations' transmission equipment.

On the other hand, the Lesotho Telecommunications Authority (LTA), the

official regulator of telecommunications and broadcasting, whose name was last year changed to Lesotho Communications Authority (LCA) though Basotho still prefer the earlier name, recently had all new members to its board selected and inaugurated; what came as a shock is all the new members have a direct relationship with the ruling party and most, if not all of them, were

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# ...broadcast media under siege



*Minister of Communications, Mothejoa Metsing justifies government's action against the private media which are suspected to be responsible for fuelling tensions and heightening insecurity in the country.*

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selected on corrupt considerations. According to the Lesotho Communications Authority Act of 2006, the board of the LTA is selected entirely by the Minister of Communications. The Act does not specify how he is to make his selection, but common sense would have it that he should adopt internationally accepted standards of transparency and fairness in doing so. This has not been the case.

After former Minister of Communications, Thomas Motsoahae Thabane left the ruling party to form his All Basotho Convention (ABC) opposition political party, Cabinet appointed as Acting Minister of Communications, the ruling party's Secretary General, Mpho 'Meli Malie.

It was during Mr. Malie's tenure as Minister of Communications in October 2006 that a general call to the public to nominate candidates to the board of LTA and for those who felt like it to submit their CVs to be considered for selection to the board of the LTA. The closing date was sometime in November 2006. Candidates were asked to send their applications to the office of the Principal Secretary (PS) for the Ministry, Tseliso 'Mokela as the principal advisor of the Minister in such matters of selection and the general running of the ministry as he is the chief accounting officer of the ministry.

Applications were duly received by the office of the PS; including one by the author of this article, which was incidentally hand delivered. To date, yours truly has not received any response from the ministry or even a mere acknowledgement of receipt of the application, even though this was a solicited application and the ministry had not pledged to respond only to shortlisted candidates.

The Registrar of the Faculty of Humanities at the National University of Lesotho (NUL), Lefu Lechesa also applied for a position within the board of the LTA. His application was responded to as he even attended an interview at the end of which he says the chairman of the board of the LTA, Percy Mangoela informed him that he felt he had comported himself quite well such that he felt he could be among those selected in the final analysis, adding caution that the final arbiter was the Minister. During all this time, Mr. Malie was the Minister and 'Mokela the PS, a position 'Mokela holds to date.

In February 2007, Lesotho went for general elections in which Mr. Malie elected not to participate in even though he retained his position as the secretary general of the ruling party. A new Minister was introduced thereafter as one Mr. Mothejoa Metsing, former Assistant Minister of Trade and Industry.

Mr. Lechesa waited in vain for his possible call-up to join the LTA board until he decided to ask of the current Minister what had happened some time in September 2007. He was then told that since he was not sworn-in, it meant he had not been selected. The new members of the board to the LTA include Mr. Mpho 'Meli Malie, secretary general of the ruling party who was also the Minister of Communications at the time the selection process

commenced. The other member is Mrs. Teboho 'Mokela, the wife of the PS for the selecting ministry. The other one is Ms Refiloe Lehohla, the younger sister of the Deputy Prime Minister (DPM) and of the Chief Justice (CJ). The next one is private lawyer, Mr. Salemane Phafane who is always representing either government as a prosecutor in criminal defamation lawsuits or the ruling party in its private matters. He is also the maternal uncle of Mrs. 'Mokela. The other one is yet another lawyer by the surname Mr. Khetsi and younger brother of the PS for the Ministry of Employment and Labour.

To Mr. Lechesa and others within the broadcast media who are incensed by the selection of the board on party lines, they wonder how Mr. Mpho Malie could have submitted his application to join the board as at the time applications were solicited and received and checked to shortlist, he was the minister responsible for such selection and he could not have selected himself. People wonder if Mr. 'Mokela recused himself from assisting the new minister in his selection when it came time to select his wife.

Mr. Lechesa has since written a letter of demand to Mr. Mothejoa Metsing as current Minister of Communications to explain his selection considerations; particularly in the face of information leaking out of the minister's nocturnal escapades that he had said he would only select supporters of the ruling party to the board of the LTA so that they could eliminate Harvest FM and People's Choice FM from the broadcasting landscape of the country. The same information is in the possession of the owners of the two radio stations.

The author of this article, Thabo Motlamelle, is the Deputy Chairperson of MISA Lesotho but since internal squabbles in that organisation that have resulted in a court order that limits the powers of the National

Governing Council of MISA Lesotho from carrying out its mandate, MISA Lesotho leadership is not in a position to presently tackle the matter as a programme area.

The author has thus written this article to drum up support for the beleaguered radio stations to ensure that the government honours its obligations on the co-hosting arrangements with the stations by stopping its officials from vandalising the transmission equipment of both stations and for the eventual disbanding of the current board of the LTA, the creation of transparent mechanisms in the selection processes of the board of the LTA so that only the select parliamentary portfolio committee of the National Assembly of Lesotho selects members to the board using transparent selection processes that includes public voting for the final board members.

Mr. Lefu Lechesa is intent on mounting a campaign to unseat the board and see to it that Parliament institutes acceptable standards in the selection criterion of the board of the LTA and he and the author of this article shall soon be drumming up support for such action from the owners of the radio stations, the candidates who were looked over in the selection process of the board of the LTA, media and communications organisations in Lesotho, the civil society organisations in the country and the general public in Lesotho to achieve these goals. The campaign shall seek to go to radio stations to make public this message and extensive use of newspapers as a vehicle of seeking support will be used.

We request our colleagues in the international civil society movements to urge organisations such as the International Communications Union (ICU) and like-minded organisations on the African continent and in the world as a whole to put a ban on the LTA from their activities, and to take up this matter and write letters to the Minister of Communications of the Government of Lesotho to disband the current board of the LTA, amend the law that gives him sole power to make such a selection and replace it with one that makes the parliamentary select committee on communications to be the one that selects members to the board using transparent means that allow the general public to vote for their best candidates, and to instruct his technical staff to stop tampering with transmission equipment of both Harvest FM and People's Choice FM.



*Motlamelle is an independent journalist and former correspondent for BBC Africa Service. He is the current deputy chairperson of the Media Institute of Southern Africa - Lesotho Chapter.*



*Thabo Thakalekoala, MISA regional chair and Thabo Motlamelle, MISA-Lesotho's deputy chair rally support against government's repression of private broadcast media in Lesotho. Two popular local radio stations, Harvest FM and People's Choice FM continue to experience sabotage in their transmissions in what is believed to be a crack down on freedom of the press.*

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# ...politics of coalition in Lesotho

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media. As already averred, the phenomenon of coalition is a novelty in Lesotho's politics. The coalition formation in Lesotho is an outcome of the constitutional and electoral reforms that were instituted prior to the 2002 elections, and more specifically the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system. It has been established that there is a positive relationship between the Proportional Representation model and coalition formation. Thus, "it has been suggested that coalition formation is more common in countries operating PR.

The introduction of the MMP was a deliberate innovation to solve Lesotho's incessant post-elections conflict occasioned by lack of 'inclusivity' of the erstwhile FPTP electoral model. The MMP was expected to make the National Assembly more inclusive by ensuring, through its proportional element, that political parties with some degree of following among the population have parliamentary representation, and compensating the losers in the electoral contest, thereby leading to political stability in the country. The model did deliver as expected, and for the first time in the country's political history, at least ten (10) of the country's nineteen (19) political parties got seats in Parliament. This said, however, the MMP model did not break the dominance of the ruling Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) for this won, as has been the case before, seventy-nine (79) of the country's (80) electoral constituencies.

History was also made when the split in October 2006 of the governing LCD and the formation of the All Basotho Convention (ABC) by the then Minister of Communication, Science and Technology, Mr. Thomas Motsoahae Thabane, and 17 other former LCD's Members of Parliament occurred and the party winning ten 17 constituencies in the country's urban areas.

Even before this split, the LCD is known to have preferred a Mixed Member Parallel system to the MMP and made its position on this known during the 12 parties negotiations in the then Interim Political Authority (IPA) - a structure that was tasked, among others, to review the country's FPTP system. The parallel model would ensure the LCD parliamentary majority of about two-thirds if its performance under the FPTP system could not change. This is because although it is similar to the MMP for "they use the plurality-majority system together with a PR system, but unlike the MMP the PR system does not compensate for any disproportionality resulting from the plurality-majority system". That is, it does not stress proportionality in the process of converting the PR seats into parliamentary seats.

The introduction of the MMP model encouraged the formation of parties' coalitions as parties saw the opportunity, through the PR component of the MMP, to increase their majority in parliament or at least not to lose the seats they already had. Thus, for the first time in Lesotho's electoral history there has been pre-elections coalition or electoral pacts in the run up to the 2007 polls formed by at least nine of these parties, namely, All Basotho Convention/ Lesotho Workers Party (ABC/LWP), Basotho National Party/National Progressive Party (BNP/NNP), Alliance of Congress Parties (ACP) - comprising the Basutoland African Congress, Lesotho People's Congress, and one faction of the Basutoland Congress Party and finally the Lesotho Congress for Democracy/ National Independent Party (LCD/NIP).

How then can the formation of these alliances be explained? This phenomenon cannot be explained in terms of any of the three motivations, namely, ideology, policy-influence, and nation-building. This is because Lesotho's political parties do not really have divergence in their ideological orientations. They all seem to embrace, to a large measure, the now reigning hegemonic world's neo-liberal ideology, which is marked by among others free market system and political pluralism. None of them reflects any other ideology in their manifestos. The Policy-influence thesis also seems, I would argue, to be irrelevant in Lesotho's context. This is because none of the political parties that have been in Parliament before the February 17th elections provided a markedly differing policy to that of the ruling LCD. Even the leadership of new ABC only cited poor service delivery by the LCD as its



**OPPOSITION'S BIG FIVE:** From top left are All Basotho Convention leader, Tom Thabane, Macaefia Billy of Lesotho Workers Party, Metsing Lekhanya of Basotho National Party, Khauhelo Raditapole of the Alliance of Congress Parties and Moeketse Malebo, leader of Marema-tlou Freedom Party.

opposition. If coalition arrangements can be seen by them as ways of maintaining the status quo, the parties may make sure they endure.

As a last word, what is the relationship between coalitions and the democracy? The quotation at the beginning of this paper fully answers the question. If there cannot be democracy without political parties as single entities, it follows logically that coalitions of parties should, if anything, add more value to democracy rather than being its antithesis. As such, formation of coalitions in the run-up to Lesotho's 17th February general elections and contesting of these in the elections should be hailed as a positive development for the country's democratization.

Coalitions have ensured that some parties' survived while at the same time they have, resolved partly, the ruling party's problem of rebelling MPs. Through its coalition with the NIP, the ruling party is assured of parliamentary majority, if and only if, there will be no more defectors from its FPTP MPs. In fact the coalition has ensured the survival of the very government of the LCD, for without, as has been argued elsewhere, the government could have collapsed because of loss of its parliamentary majority.

They have also re-drawn Lesotho's political map by dissipating effectively the one-party-dominant system that was about to entrench itself. Following the ABC's split, the LCD had only sixty-one parliamentary majority as a result of the death of its MP for Mekaling constituency. Desperate to prevent the collapse of its government, it formed an alliance with NIP the product of which has been the current coalition government. Coalitions should not be viewed in any other light than this. More importantly, although coalitions were formed within a short time, Basotho voters seem to have understood how coalitions work for they voted as expected. This is because there have not been large amounts of spoiled ballots, at least large enough to cause concern and in relation to the last elections. This is probably because despite time constraints, political parties made effective voter education.

These said, however, the problem which led to the current impasse between the ruling party, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), and the major opposition parties originates in the manner in which the coalitions were formed and the silence of the electoral law on the regulation of coalitions. The problem lies with the country's political elite's deliberate move to undermine the spirit of the country's hard-fought for MMP model through coalitions. This calls for an urgent need to find appropriate mechanisms to protect jealously the MMP model lest the country reverts back to its dark history of political violence reminiscent of that of 1998. Although a positive development for Lesotho's politics as I have indicated, the big challenge facing coalitions is to endure and assist the opposition to cooperate in matters of common, and crucially, national interest to hold the ruling party accountable.

*The author is a political science lecturer at the National University of Lesotho. He is currently a PhD student at the Rhodes University in South Africa.*



*Dominic Motikoe, deputy leader of National Independent Party and Lesao Lehohla, deputy leader of Lesotho Congress for Democracy sign a memorandum of cooperation formalising their coalition a month before last year's general election.*

## Arguments for and against coalition government

By Lerato Mofubelu

**C**oalitions are formed for the purpose of securing enough votes/combining a sufficient number of parliamentary seats to govern.

In most parliamentary and semi-parliamentary regimes in order to form a stable government it is necessary for a party to secure at least 51% of legislature seats, where no single party enjoys an absolute majority in parliament, party coalitions are formed.

The main goal of political parties is to access power also known as 'office seeking.'

Government coalitions should comprise as few political parties as possible – just enough to win the legislature. There are pre-election coalitions and post election coalitions.

In Africa, there are few cases of post election coalition given that most electoral systems on the continent call for pre-election alliances to avoid wasting votes.

Coalition partners tend to join up with as many parties as possible in order to win elections.

Some party coalitions are formed for purposes of either strengthening the governing party or creating a viable and stronger parliamentary opposition.

Others aim at ensuring that partner parties do not compete with each other in their respective stronghold.

Some coalitions undoubtedly contribute through power sharing arrangement

Other 'unprincipled' coalitions have resulted in political opportunism and short term political manoeuvring- tendency for political parties to coalesce in order to serve particular short term interests of the key players.

**Mauritius:** The country with most extensive experience in coalition politics is Mauritius that has maintained a succession of coalition governments, including alternations in power, since its independence in 1968. Eight credible general elections have been held and coalitions have involved either two of the three main parties or all three main parties: two-party coalitions seven times and three-party coalition once. The two party coalitions were all pre-election coalitions, while the three-party coalition was post-election. Mauritius qualifies to be described as an African example of mature coalition politics.

**South Africa:** This country comes close to an example of advanced coalition politics with coalition governments at national, provincial and local levels, involving the main parties both in the government and in the opposition. The longest surviving coalition to date involves the dominant African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), both at the national level and provincial level in Kwazulu Natal (KZN) since the first post apartheid elections in 1994. Opposition coalitions have evolved through varying permutations since a five-year constitutionally mandated National Unity Government ended prematurely in 1996 with the Democratic Alliance (DA) as the surviving opposition coalition. In Mozambique, it is a case of a resilient opposition coalition- RENAMO and its allies- that has survived since multi-party elections in 1994.

**Mozambique:** The parties allied to RENAMO value the parliamentary seats they win through the alliance as well as the public funding available to the opposition alliance that the smaller parties would not have qualified to access as stand-alone parties. In each of the three elections held to date, the opposition coalition won between 36 and 47 percent of parliamentary seats.

**Kenya and Malawi:** In the former a coalition government emerged in 2002, while the latter has had a succession of coalition government since 1994. Both the governing coalitions and the opposition coalitions in the two countries have been unstable.

**Regime type:** Of the five countries, only Mauritius functions fully as parliamentary system, while the four others combine aspects of parliamentary and presidential systems of government. The mature coalition politics is due, in part, to its parliamentary system that

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# Lesotho's democracy has stood test of time

***It has become stronger compared to other states in the region***

By Fako Likoti

**S**ince Lesotho's independence in 1966, not a single major party has accepted elections results. This was despite acceptance of democratic process as a rule binding principle by all political parties. The culture of non-acceptance of elections results appears to be more alive than ever before, regardless of whether the elections were given a clean bill of health by both domestic and international observers. Since 1993, Lesotho has held four successive successful elections, which from 1998 election were managed by the independent Electoral Commission (IEC). Despite denials of electoral outcomes especially from 1993 till the 2007 elections, elected representatives remained in their seats. The military, which used to be a major problem in Lesotho politics, has been professionalised, the Judiciary is increasingly becoming independent and people believe more in electing their leaders through the ballot rather than bullets.

Central to representative or participative democracy is the act of voting. This does not mean that voters make decisions but what gives voting its democratic character, however, is that, provided that the election is competitive, it empowers the public to 'kick the rascals out' and it thus makes politicians publicly accountable.

The act of voting is very important in a democracy because it is a right that the citizens have. It is this right that 19th century British Political Philosopher, John Locke observes as follows: "the right to vote was based on the existence of natural rights and, in particular the right to property." It is the people who have the supreme power to elect and remove government. They have "a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative, when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them. Therefore, the process of granting this trust must be accepted by all more so when the process has been arrived at democratically.

In essence, by accepting democracy, we have chosen to govern ourselves as a collective and agreed to entrenched democratic principles in our Constitution. As members of democratic association we must obey collective democratic laws that are binding on all members of the association. We agreed that democracy among other regimes is the best way human beings can govern themselves. This means that all requirements of the outcomes of democratic process will be binding on all of us, such as the outcome of elections that have been conducted in a free, fair and transparent manner.

It is through the acceptance of this democratic outcome that will lead to the formation of the government by consent. As John Locke argued, the government cannot be based on consent unless it is elected democratically. In addition, 18th century French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau notes that "the vote of majority always obliges all the others." Therefore, the results of majority must be respected. This is because we all have participated in the democratic process



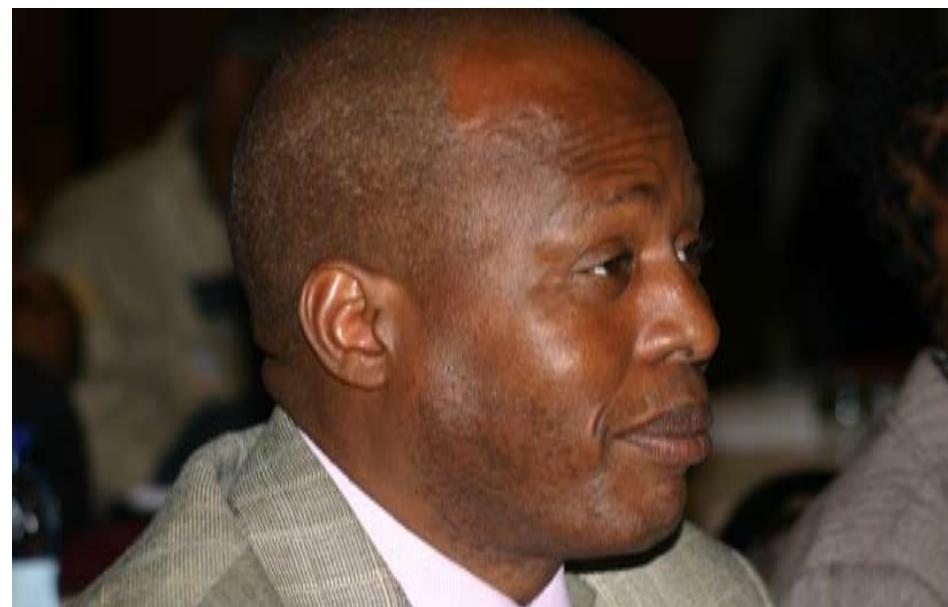
***Demonsations against government's actions have become a common feature in Lesotho's 15 year old democracy. Taxi operators held this protest march recently to express their disapproval of government's decision to buy buses. This is seen as government's move to punish taxi operators for colluding with the opposition parties.***

of choosing the government. In other words, to live under laws of ones choosing, we must participate in the election of our government that will protect our rights, interests and concerns.

It is therefore, inconceivable to refuse to accept elections results conducted democratically. As Khabele Matlosa, Senior Research Fellow with the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) argued on "The Impact of Floor Crossing on Party Systems and Representative Democracy," It is clear that democracy needs democrats and if leaders are democrats they are bound to embrace democratic values and if they are not they will not accept democratic outcomes.

Despite numerous incidents which put Lesotho's democracy to an excruciating test since 1993, democracy is more consolidated than that of Zimbabwe. The recent elections in Lesotho indicated that Lesotho political events like those of the Arab world could no longer be reduced to violent overthrow of governments and the palace coups d'état of 1994.

Lesotho's democracy has been strengthened by various events particularly those of 1994, 1998, 2002 and 2007. In Lesotho, unlike in other countries where dictators have held elections to legitimise their rule, the country has enjoyed competitive pluralistic politics. Elections have offered genuine choice among voters. This has been exemplified by an unusually large numbers of parties for a small population such as that of Lesotho. Civil liberties have not been eroded and the country continues to boost a clean human rights record.



***Political analyst and lecturer at the National University of Lesotho, Dr. Fako Likoti believes that Lesotho's democracy is much better compared to Zimbabwe.***

The military in Lesotho for the first time came under civilian leadership unlike before when it was highly influential and infiltrated by party politics. The establishment of the Ministry of Defence, with the Prime Minister as the Minister of Defence while existed before 1995 under a democratically elected government, ensured that the army was completely subordinated to civilian control. What was new after 1998 elections was the vesting of the day-to-day administration on the Principal Secretary (PS) who formulated and executed defence policy and provided superintendence over the organisation of the army. This process represented efforts towards the institutionalisation of the army to civilian control.

The judiciary is beginning to show a considerable measure of democratic independence, as the democratic government is presentation strong signs of democratic maturity. In most strong democracies whether in North America or Western Europe, the majority citizens are proud of their legal system. They normally take pride of the fact that their judiciary is above politics. In such democratic environment, where "it is very difficult for politicians, be they members of the legislature or of the executive, to influence the outcome of particular legal cases, democracy is known to be strong. Lesotho appears to be on the way towards strengthening her democracy if not already there.

Recently, Lesotho government has lost a series of high profile cases. This has been a clear testimony of the independence of Lesotho Judiciary. Among some of these cases were the following: first it was the case of Anthony Clovis Manyeli, president of National Independent Party (NIP) against the Attorney general and others. He was challenging the decision by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) acceptance of the submission of Proportional representation list by the NIP Secretary General, which included the names of members of the ruling party (LCD). In this case, the High Court in CIV/APN/45/07 ruled against the IEC and the Attorney General on the 5th February 2007 and on the 8th February 2007.

Secondly, in another matter against the government on the 9th June 2007, Judge Semapo Peete ruled that the government acted improperly in denying the religious radio station, Harvest FM, the use of the National Convention Centre (NCC) for the station's birthday concert. The feast was scheduled for the same evening. The case cited the Minister of Tourism as first respondent, the Commissioner of Police as second respondent, the manager of NCC and the Attorney General as the fourth. The judge

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# Citizenship and discrimination

*Foreign men married to Basotho women don't have citizenship rights*

By Matšeliso Ntsoelikane

The question of citizenship in Lesotho raised an enormous interest following the deportation of Adam Lekhoaba, the popular Harvest FM's talk show host. Lekhoaba became persona non grata after he took a firm and uncompromising stance against the ruling party and government.

Following his vain attempts to return into the country without restraint, Lekhoaba challenged his banishment in court, arguing that he was Lesotho citizen by birth. Lekhoaba's case provoked Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) into commissioning a study on the issue of citizenship and discrimination. TRC's principal interest was to explore legislation that deals with the issue of citizenship and discrimination in Lesotho and compare it with international human rights instruments.

According to the research carried out by Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), there is a noted absence of adequate policy framework providing guidance on discrimination and citizenship in Lesotho. However, the country has a policy that addresses gender discrimination. The Gender and Development Policy (2003) commits the state to ensure that all sectors of development address gender inequalities which have permeated all sectors of our society.

In addressing gender equality, the policy reaffirms the government's commitment to provision and decentralization of services to the poor, especially marginal groups. The Policy further addresses inequalities cutting across social, racial, legal, cultural, economical and political spheres.

The legal framework on the other hand has measures in place to deal with discrimination and citizenship matters. The constitution of Lesotho, (1993) provides direction and guidance on who qualifies to be a citizen of Lesotho and under what circumstances. In addition, the statutory framework spells out measures for acquiring citizenship, for regulating immigration procedures and also for alien control.

The 1993 Lesotho Constitution provides a general clause conferring citizenship on its subjects. The said clause is provided for under article 37 of the constitution, which states that; "Every person who immediately before coming into operation of this constitution is a citizen of Lesotho under the Lesotho Citizenship Order 1971 shall, on the coming into operation of this Constitution and subject to any provision made in or under this Chapter, continue to be a citizen of Lesotho."

In essence, what the constitution does is to confer to all persons rights of citizenship as long as they are proven to have been regarded as having citizenship rights under the citizen statute.

It does not however define in specific terms what a citizen of Lesotho is, nor does it give conditions upon which such rights may be obtained. This implies that rights to citizenship are limited within the four corners of the Lesotho Citizenship Order of 1971.

What the constitution does is merely to give legitimacy to that statute. The implication of this is that the constitution being the supreme and recent law should have provided broader parameters within which citizens' rights are protected rather than to affirm provisions of an already existing statute.

When the Lesotho Constitution of 1993 was enacted, Chapter IV was devoted to citizenship thereby making it (citizenship) a constitutional

right accorded to persons qualifying under the same chapter. However, citizenship is not a fundamental human right protected under Chapter II of the Constitution.

In the case of Lesotho, any person whose parent or both are Basotho, whether born in or outside Lesotho acquires rights of citizenship. This can either be by way of birth or descent respectively.

This is reiterated by the fact that in Lesotho, and in most parts of Africa, citizenship has always been patrilineal by descent from male citizens and matrilineal in the case of illegitimate children of female citizens. Under Section 40 of the constitution, a non- Mosotho woman married to a Mosotho can get citizenship if she so wishes. But, the same is not true of a non-Mosotho man married to a Mosotho woman. This is considered unfair and discriminating against the already disadvantaged Basotho women.

Before the enactment of the Legal Capacity of Married Persons Act of 2006, Basotho women were not allowed the same benefits that were allowed Basotho men to enjoy their citizenship due to the concept of marital power which gave a husband married in community of property absolute power over the property and person of his wife. This meant that, for instance, a wife married under such a regime would not be allowed to obtain a travelling document without her husband giving consent to its issuance, yet the same requirement was not necessary for her husband. This position no longer holds as the new law requires them to obtain one another's consent in dealing with any matrimonial issues, including property.

It must be emphasized that the Legal Capacity of Married Persons Act is comparatively a better legal weapon trying to harmonize rights and responsibilities of men and women of that has ever come this far.

In the final analysis, the constitutional restriction can be argued to be against the spirit of freedom expounded in the different international instruments that Lesotho has acceded to. In ratifying these instruments, Lesotho assumed an immediate absolute obligation of protecting the rights of all its citizens and doing away with all acts that promote discrimination in all its forms. The progressive delivery on these obligations through enactment of laws and adoption of policies that address issues of equality and non-discrimination in all spheres of human existence is the best way forward.

The obligation to observe and implement these safeguards becomes crucial when determining the commitment and capacity of the Government to deliver on the undertakings it has committed itself to in order to uplift the development and growth of its citizens.

The caveat on the justiciability of these treaties before domestic courts is that they have not as yet been incorporated into domestic law and therefore cannot be used as a weapon to force Government to deliver. At best, these treaties can be used as a lever to lobby the state to formulate implementable programmes that can change the status quo which places male supremacy to the detriment of women.

Further, the provisions seem to be discriminating against women as they are not afforded the same rights as men to confer citizenship rights to their spouses by virtue of marrying foreign men, while their male counterparts could do so.

## ...Lesotho's democracy stood the test of time

*...continued from page 4*

ruled that the permit issued to applicant on June 4 2007 should persist subject to the conditions that, the commissioner of police was ordered to mount maximum surveillance of the operation of the festival from the time of judgment until the closure of the festival at 6 am the following Sunday morning; the petitioner undertook to ensure that all activities were gospel related, and exclude politics; and in case of violation of the law, the Commissioner of Police or her subordinates were given powers to stop the festival (Public Eye Newspaper Friday June 15 2007).

Adam Lekhoaba, a well-known Harvest FM talk show host, who was recently deported to South Africa by the government of Lesotho, was granted by the Constitutional Court an order to attend court proceedings in which he challenges his deportation from Lesotho. The order

2006 October snap election in Lesotho was a case in point. Immediately, when the government realised that its mandate was shaken by party fragmentation in parliament almost a year before end of its term it found it democratic to call for snap elections. Basotho in recent years have increasingly favoured democracy than any other regime. They have come to accept democratic institution more than any time in their political history. According to June 2006 Afro-barometer survey conducted in 2000, 2003 and 2005 there is a strong support in parliamentary democracy.

By increasingly rejecting military rule and accepting democracy and multiparty rule, Basotho accept democracy more than ever before in 2005. Since most citizens regard elections as the only means of their active participation in politics, they have a "feeling that they are exercising choices on who should represent them in



*Lesotho's army has always been at the centre of political tensions that clouded our democracy since independence. Have the retraining and restructuring better positioned the army to resist any form of undue political influence, even from the government and the ruling party?*

allowed him to enter Lesotho and present himself to Assistant Commissioner of Police Mphatšoane or to a police designated member at an agreed time to be conveyed by such member to the High Court. In granting the application, Constitutional Court Judge Semapo Peete said the grant of an order would allow Lekhoaba to be present in court for a fair hearing. In addition, he observed, his presence would enable him to brief his lawyer (Public Eye Newspaper Friday June 15 2007).

In another development, a retired army Warrant Officer and four others were arrested by the military for allegedly having stolen army weapons. The state also alleged that they were plotting a coup d'état. Due to lack of evidence, their barrister made an urgent application before Justice 'Maseforo Mahase who ordered their release on July 2nd 2007 after brief appearance (CIV/APN/270/07).

On the other hand the Law society of Lesotho appeared before Justice 'Maseshopho Hlajoane on the 16th of July 2007 on allegation that the above applicants were tortured, assaulted, humiliated and their human rights violated. They appealed to the High court to restrain the Prime Minister, Commander of Lesotho Defence Force, Commissioner of Police and the Attorney General or their subordinates from committing the above acts and appealed to the Court to order Commissioner of Police to investigate and arrest any one continuing to commit the above violations of Human rights. The Court granted the applicant, the Law Society of Lesotho an interim order CIV/APN/290/07.

Since 1993, democracy in Lesotho has experienced a bumpy ride and went through severe hardship. All these cases reflect a highly strengthened democracy as opposed to a weaker one in Zimbabwe. People now believe in changing leaders through ballots not bullets and in holding regular elections not government overstaying in power. The

the national parliament and on who should form the next government, even though the vote of any individual elector is unlikely to have much impact on either matter.

It must be recalled that, democracy is a process that can safely be evaluated after a minimum of systematic two successful elections according to some scholars such as Larry Diamond, these elections according to him reflected a consolidated democracy because they were all successful despite some discontent in some quarters.

Lesotho democracy is in far better standing than that of her regional partner Zimbabwe. All these events reflect that Lesotho democracy has been fully tested, therefore strengthened. In an environment of weak democracy, the government does not abide by the court decisions neither does it loose cases as reflected by the Zimbabwean case.

In all these cases, Lesotho democracy appears to have been fully tested since 1993, 1998, 2002 and 2007 elections and accordingly past the test as Larry Diamond argued above. Most voters in Lesotho, even those against the ruling party for one reason or the other believes in the use of ballots to elect leaders democratically. Voters' do not believe in military rule anymore but on democratically elected governments where they are able to enjoy their democratic rights.

The strength of Lesotho's democracy is not only exemplified by the independence of the Judiciary, professionalised military, but the fact that, at the height of the culture of non-acceptance of elections outcome, elected officials stayed at their posts both in parliament and in the Executive. Indeed the resilience of this democracy is not in doubt any more.

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*Professor of Political Science at the National University of Lesotho, Kopano Makoa blames government for "disregarding the national constitution and established laws of the country, curtailing civil liberties and human rights, poisoning the relations between the ruling party and the opposition, and heightening insecurity and subversion of the rule of law principle that supposedly underpins our democracy."*

*...continued from page 1*

interact with citizens and interest groups". Thanks to the advent of the Enlightenment thinking four centuries ago whose critical interrogation and rigorous analysis of the state/citizens relationship unveiled this dynamic. We also now know that democracy has no intrinsic value, this being dependent on its ability to deliver on varied policy issues.

Concerns in conceptualisation of democracy today are thus delivery of public goods and distribution of values, expanding political space and spreading power, opportunity for maximizing civil liberties, subsystems autonomy, citizens' welfare, security, human rights, how nations are governed and the conduct of the state and rulers. Democracy is therefore bound up with and has as its defining elements these clusters of issues, including good governance, full franchise to the population and regular holding of free elections, freedom to choose rulers, popular control over such rulers and ability to hold them to account, equal access to resources, and constitutionalism and the rule of law.

These are universally regarded as the hallmarks and indicators of a democratic regime, and measures of the depth of advances made towards democracy by a country being assessed or making such claims. More importantly, with growing criticality of aid to development these are criteria for grant of bilateral and international aid by donors among which are the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Of course, the actual decision to grant aid is often a function of other criteria such as emotive humanitarian problems like abject poverty and HIV/AIDS that are pervasive in Lesotho. Other criteria for receiving aid are potential for improvements in governance, human rights, etc. by the rulers of a candidate for aid. Thus, apart from rampant poverty and HIV/AIDS, rates of foreign aid flows into Lesotho have links (although the actual mathematical values are not known) with the country's score regarding performance on democracy and governance. Retreat of Marxism as an alternative theory of society has left democracy as an unchallenged single world's grand

ideology or superstructure, a hegemonic force and political control mechanism, and a means of ordering the contemporary world system. However, it is through this ideological character that democracy acquires value and relevance.

We have formal democracy in Lesotho, that is, an elective system of government endowed with some of the characteristics mentioned throughout this talk as defining features of democracies. The holding of periodic elections run by an independent electoral commission consulting with political parties, the presence of a multi-party parliament of elected and ex-officio members with legislative functions and powers, legally independent judiciary, a constitution that sets the parameter for governance and defines rights, responsibilities and obligations of individuals and the citizenry, independent albeit weak political parties that freely compete in and monitor elections, and autonomous associations are the norm so far in Lesotho.

Lesotho has therefore admittedly made laudable, but certainly not remarkable, progress and may legitimately be dubbed democratic if we look at the structures and institutions in place. But experience suggests that much of what is observed is 'formalism.' While it now includes an elective local government, Lesotho's democracy has remained frozen at this formal institutional-structural level.

It has not evolved into an interactive process enabling effective mutual engagement by the various political forces. Neither has it increased people's influence over the national policy formulation process. Nor is the government, including parliamentarians representing different political parties, sensitive and responsive to public opinion.

Political parties are still largely sealed antagonistic entities not interacting freely even where there are serious national issues that they ought to address jointly. This has impeded the growth of 'consensual politics' that is crucial to the functioning of democracy. Another upshot of this is mutual suspicion and mistrust among the various power contenders, both of which are engines and fans of the much dramatized instability that is said to dog the country.

Lesotho's democracy has been paralleled by authoritarianism that is suffused with glaringly fascistic and anti-democratic tendencies of which concomitants are progressive diminution in civil liberties and, in some cases, gross violations of human rights, especially of those perceived to be opponents of the government.

Expression of popular discontent or dissent through public demonstrations are not just restricted by the police who decide the time and routes to be followed by the demonstrators, but have often evoked state violence and disapproving and threatening statements from government ministers and top state functionaries. Also observable is the gradual but steady drift by the system towards a seemingly government-peddled or tolerated praetorianism that has seen increasing disregard for the national constitution and established laws of the country.

This development has further curtailed civil liberties and human rights, encouraged debauchery and decadence in the upper reaches of the system, poisoned the relations between the ruling party and the opposition, heightened insecurity and subverted the rule of law principle that supposedly underpins our democracy.

Arbitrary arrests and detentions beyond legally permitted number of hours pervade Lesotho. Challenging these in the courts of law is increasingly impossible, as this involves arduously lengthy and financially costly process often protracted by those managing the state as a deliberately stratagem to deter people from appealing to courts for protection.

Amid all these have been atrophying political space and powerlessness for the majority of the population, diminishing popular control and leverage over government and public institutions as power concentrates at the top, waning trust and confidence in critical state institutions such as the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), courts of law and police, and political apathy and alienation as reflected in falling rates of voter turnouts.

What all these have meant is that Lesotho's democracy, if there is any, is dangerously degenerating into a non-participatory elite serving edifice that is closed off to the people. There are indications that it is set to become or used as a de-democratizing machine rather than as a liberator and empowering tool for the masses, as the politicians have touted it. Its function, and clearly main goal, has demonstrably been to homogenize politicians and severing them from the masses. It does not seem poised to advance the interests of the voters beyond providing scope for them

to that supposedly underpins our democracy.

Also noticeable today in a 'democratic' Lesotho is legalised looting of the state by all those in positions of power, manipulating parliament and using it to defend through enactment of hastily drafted legislation garbing illegally acquired public property under the hallowed privatization policy. Parliament is now a clearing house for diverse concatenations of back-breaking claims and demands on the mass of poor taxpayers by the elite who form its membership. It does not seem poised to advance the interests of the voters beyond providing scope for them to recycle political leaders through the holding of national elections by which the 'lucky ones' are sent to parliament from where they will return after five years to seek re-election. It has not helped enhanced the credibility or improve the image of state institutions that are crucial to development of democracy, namely the ICE, law, security forces and political parties. Nor is it fighting corruption and moral decadence in high offices and spreading the democratic dividends to the poor.

Managed by people with authoritarian orientations who have squashed and continue to clampdown on political dissent through state violence, manipulative political cajoling and incorporation into the system of non-governing parties and groups, the Lesotho democracy offers little or no scope for effective public intervention that would ensure adherence by rulers to democratic principles. Impoverished the people of Lesotho have not been able to defend their democratic gains. The country's twenty or so political parties which are all tightly controlled and led from the top are now part of the parliamentary machinery and government system that subordinates and suppress the masses.

Solutions are not in sight, though, in a society that has been beset by and subjected to such sustained battering as the Basotho people through destruction of their basic means of subsistence deriving from now dysfunctional rural sector, thus forcing them to slavishly accept and defend their current oppression.

The solution certainly lies in overhauling and re-orientating the country's politics through sustained political agitation, and this requires redirecting the thrust of the political struggles in order to break as necessary the political parties, government, state, societal groups and any of organized forces' stranglehold on the people.

*Dr. Kopano Makoa is a professor of political science at the National University of Lesotho. He is a seasoned public speaker and researcher on Lesotho politics.*

## ***...arguments for and against coalition government***

*...continued from page 4*

requires a majority in parliament for the prime minister to govern in contrast to the presidents in Kenya and Malawi who, because they enjoy direct popular mandate, can ignore coalition agreements they needed to win presidential elections in the first instance. South Africa is an exception in this regard because the president is appointed by the majority in parliament.

Types of electoral system: First-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system and party list proportional representation (PR) electoral system do not significantly affect the prospects for strong or weak traditions of coalition politics, the combination of the two systems in South Africa an the requirement of a minimum threshold of five percent of the national vote for parties to gain representation in National Assembly in Mozambique encourage coalition politics. Small parties seek to benefit from the PR system by entering into pre-election coalitions with bigger parties- both on the government side and on the side of the opposition.

Goals of coalitions: Four main goals of coalitions are: national unity (SA), ethnic/racial arithmetic (Kenya, Mauritius and South Africa), conflict management (SA) and quest for office (all five countries, in varying degrees). The first post-apartheid government in SA was five-year mandate coalition government of all parties to foster national unity (including consideration of accommodating ethnic and racial divisions). It collapsed after only two years as one of the main parties voluntarily pulled out to operate as opposition- evidence that the goal of national unit in and of itself might not sustain a coalition government.

Coalition survived in Kwazulu Natal with a goal of conflict management where coalition partners -IFP and ANC were in violent conflict for over two decades pre-1994. The coalition has been maintained at national and provincial levels since 1994.

Quest for office has proved necessary for the emergence of coalitions in all countries except Mozambique where there is only an opposition coalition. However, it has not proved a sufficient factor for the survival of coalitions, except in Kenya where the two alliances of parties that formed the pre-elections coalition that won power in 2002 almost immediately began to operate as separate entities with only the sharing of offices holding them together in the coalition. For survival of coalitions there is need of combination of goals such as: ethnic/racial accommodation and quest for office in Mauritius and conflict management in SA.

Leadership: There is a crucial distinction between leaders who are coalition minded and those who are not. For example, former President Nelson Mandela of SA was coalition minded and he laid the foundation for ANC-IFP coalition in the Province of Kwazulu Natal and that has survived to the present. The long surviving prime minister of Mauritius, Sir Anerood Jugnauth (thirteen continuous years followed by another 5 year stint), would qualify to be described as coalition-minded politician. In contrast, the presidents that ruled Malawi since 1994 and Kenya's president since 2002 appear not to be coalition-minded politicians. While SA's incumbent, President Thabo Mbeki would qualify as coalition politician.

*Mrs. Mofubelu is parliamentary affairs officer at TRC*

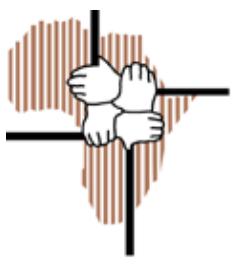
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# Boemo ba puso Lesotho

### Ka Kopano Makoa

**P**uso ea sechaba ka sechaba e ntse a matlafala letsatsi le letsatsi, leha ele mona mathata a bile mangata lilemong tse 14 tse fetileng. Ka 1986 has sesole se liha puso ea Morena Leabua Jonothane, lipolotiki tsa naha ena li ile tsa nka mothinya o fapaneng. Ho bile le botsitsi bo fokolang, kaha sesole sene se sebelisa melao e hatellang ho tlisa botsitsi. Engoe ea liqholotsa tse kholo ebole ho tlisa sesole tlasa taolo ea 'muso.

Qholotsa engoe ene le ho kokobetsa matsoalo a Mokha oa Sechaba Sa Basotho (BNP), ka karolo eo o neng o tla e bapala pusong e ncha ea sechaba ka sechaba e etellelsoeng pele ke Lekhotla la Mahata-mmoho.

Ho khutlela ha sesole litenteng ka Phuptjabe 1993, e bile letšaoa la puso ea molao, moo mosotho emong le emong ea lilemong a neng a kentse letsoho likhethong. Ka hoo ho tlha ka 1993, Lesotho le bile le Molao oa Motheo o hlalosa hantle ka moo litaba tsa puso li tla tsamaisoa ka teng.

Ho fapano le nako e fetileng, Basotho kajeno ba tseba ho ikhethela baemeli ka paramenteng, eleng engoe ea litšiea tsa puso ea sechaba ka sechaba.. Joalo kaha litsebi hlalosa, puso ea sechaba ka sechaba e ikhetholla ka hore efa sechaba monyetla oa ho iketsetsa liqeto ka moo ba batlang phelang ka teng. Empa ke rata ho bolela hore kaha puso ea sechaba ka sechaba e tsamaisoa ke mebuso, ho ka etsahala hore ba pusong ba sebelise matla ao ba a filoeng ke sechaba hampe.

Ka lilemo tse ngata tse fetileng, ho bonahetse hore puso ea sechaba ka sechaba ha se ntho e phethahetseng. E lula a ipha litšobotsi tse fapaneng, ele ho leka matlafatsa tsela eo babusi ba ka sebetsang le sechaba ho tsamaisa puso hantle. Rea tseba hape hore bokhabane ba puso ea sechaba ka sechaba bo bonahala hantle ha ba pusong ba etsa maano a behang litlhoko tsela sechaba ka pele-pele.

Ka hoo, likhang tse kholo ka puso ea sechaba ka sechaba kajeno li holima ho isa litšebeleto sechabeng, menyeta eo sechaba se nang le eona ho hlahisa maikutlo ka puso, matla ao sechaba se nang le oona ho etsa liqeto, ho hlompha litokelo tsa mantlha tsa botho, tsireletso le ho hlompha puso ea molao.

Pusong ea sechaba ka sechaba ke moo hape batho bohle ba kenyang letsoho likhethong, likhetho li tšoaroa khafetsa, ka bolokolohi, moo sechaba se nang le taolo holima babusi, 'me se ka tseba ho ba botsa ha ba sa sebetsa le moo bohle ba nang le kabelo morueng oa naha ho se khethollo ea letho.

Tsena tsohle li nkao ele litšiea tsa puso ea sechaba ka sechaba lefatše ka bophara. Ho feta mona, machaba le mekhatlo ea lithuso e sebelisa lintha tsena ele tsela eo ba kalang linaha tse loketsoeng ke lithuso.

Kamor'a hore bokomonisi bo hloko mokoka, puso ea sechaba ka sechab e ile ea sala ele eona feela puso eo linaha tsa lefatše li tlemahang ho e latela. Lesotho koano re na le puso ea sechaba ka sechaba e nang le matšao



*Lipiso tsa sechaba tse kang ena ke mokhoa oo sechaba se hlahisang maikutlo holima maano le litšoanšo tsa melao pele li fetisoa ke paramente. Tabu ea ho kenya letsoho ha sechaba ha ho etsoa liqeto ke tšiea ea bohlokoas pusong ea sechaba ka sechaba. Empa mona Lesotho ho bonahala taba ena e haella haholo. 'Muso le bakhethoa ba iketseta liqeto linthong tse ngata ntle le ho rerisana le sechaba.*

a boletoeng ka holimo. Ho hloha ka 1998, re bile le likhetho tse tsamaisoang ke Komisi e Ikemetseng ea Likhetho (IEC), ka tšebelisano 'moho le mekha ea lipolotiki, paramente ea bakhethoa ba nang le matla a ho etsa melao, makhotla a molao a ikemetseng, molao oa motheo, mekha ea lipolotiki le mekhatlo ea sechaba. Leha ele mona naha ena e tsamaile tsela e thata ho tla fihla mona, 'me re ka ema ka liphatla tse phahameng hore puso ea rona ke ea sechaba ka sechaba, qholotsa e kholo ke hore ke puso eo ho eona babusi ba sitoang ho kopana le ho bua le sechaba ele tsela ea ho okha matla.

Sechaba ha se khone ho kenya letsoho ka kotlolohi ha ho etsoa maano a molemong oa sona sechaba seo. Le maparamente ha ba ikhathatse ho khutlela sechabeng ho ea nka likeletso, maikutlo le litaelo tse ncha. Mekha ea rona ea lipolotiki e bonahala e ntse hana ho kopana le nakong eo ho hlokalalang hore e etse joalo molemong oa sechaba. Tsena tsohle li sitisa phapanyetsano ea maikutlo ka tsela e nepahetseng, eleng sona se hlokalalang pusong ea sechaba ka sechaba.

Puso ea Lesotho ena tšobotsi ea bohatelli, moo ka nako engoe litokelo le bolokolohi ba sechaba li hatikeloang, haholo ho ba ba hanyetsang 'muso. Batho ba sitoa ho hlahisa

maikutlo le ho hanyetsa 'muso ka bolokolohi, eba ke ka mekoloko ea nyatso. Ka linako tse ling 'muso o sebelisa sepolesa le sesole ho hlekefetsa le ho sitisa mekoloko e joalo.

Batho b'a tšoaroa, ebe ba koalloa nako e fetang lihora tsa molao ha ba ntse ba emetse nyoe. Ha ba leka ho phephetsa litaba tsena ka makhotleng, ho ba thata kaha ho ea khotla ho hloka chelete e ngata, le linyoe li nka nako e telele pele li fela.

Morao tjena ho bonahala ba pusong ba ithuisa ka thepa ea sechaba ba sena letsoalo. Ba sebelisa paramente ho hlonolofatsa melao e soto, e ba fang tokelo holoma thepa ea sechaba. Ha tsena li etsahala, sechaba se those tuu, kaha ho sena moo se ka buoang. Matla a puso h'a sa kola sechabeng joalo ha ho tšoanel. Sechaba se felloa ke tšepo letsatsi le letsatsi litsing tsa puso tse joalo ka Komisi E Ikemetseng ea Likhetho (IEC), Makhotla le Sepolesa. U ka bona le ka moo lipalo tsa batho ba lebang likhethong e theohileng ka teng.

Tsena tsohle li supa hore puso ea Lesotho e ntse e qepha letsatsi le letsatsi, moo sechaba le mahlakore oohle a amehang ba sitoang ho buisana, 'me ba ka holomo pusong ba tsocela-pele ho ruoa, ha sechaba sa bakhafi sona se ntse se futsaneha ho ea ho ile. Ha ho bonahale puso ena e leba moo litaba-tabelo tsa sechaba e bang

tsona tse tsotelloang, moo e reng ba ba pusong ba sa sebelise sechaba, ebe sechaba sena le matla a ho bakhalema ka ho ba amoha matla a puso.

Litsi tsa bohlokoas pusong tse joalo ka IEC, Sesole, Sepolesa eka sita le eona mekha ea lipolotiki ke lintho tse mosebetsi oa tsona eleng ho mamela feela seo 'muso o reng li se etse. Puso ea rona ha se e loantšang bobolu le boitšoaro bo bobe ke ba boholong.

Ba ka holimo pusong ke bahatelli ba sa batleng bohanyetsi ka litsela tsohle, ba etsang bonnate ba hore bahanyetsi b'a ripitloa ka ho sebelisa Sesole le Sepolesa. Puso ea rona ha efe sechaba monyetla oa hore ha se bona litaba li senyeha, se kene lipakeng ho etsa bonnate ba hore ba pusong ba khutlela tseleng.

Mekha ea lipolotiki le eona e kene chocholong ena, kaha joale ba kene ka paramenteng, eleng hona teng moo liqeto tsena tse sehlholo li hlohonolofatsaeng teng.

Ha ho bonahale ho na le pheko litabeng tsena, kaha sechaba sa mafutsana se sa tsebe na se itšoasolla joang qakeng ena. Tharollo re ka e fumana ka hore re ke re shebe bocha lipolotiki tsa rona, ka ho buisana ka tsona ka thata ele ho leka ho fumana tharollo litabeng tsena.

# Bophatlalatsi bo tsietsing Lesotho

**Ka Thabo Thakalekoala**

**B**ophatlalatsi bo hloahloa bo tsietsing e kholo Lesotho kajeno. 'Muso oa Lesotho o leka ka hohle bo timetsa bophatlalatsi bona. Ka Lekala la oona la Likhokahano, 'muso o kene letšolong le matla la ho khama le ho timetsa bophatlalatsi bo ikemetseng, ka litsela tsohle tse o ka khonang. Letšolo lena le kenyelatsa tšenyo ea thepa ea khaso ea liea-le-moea tse peli tse tummeng le ho khethoa ha boto ea botsamaisi ea Lekhotla La Taolo ea Khaso ka tsela e nkhang letsuka la bobolu.

Ka ho otloloha, basebetsi ba 'muso ba sebetsang litoreng tsa khaso tse Sehlabeng Sa Thuoathe, moo liea-le-moea tse ikemetseng li hoketseng teng ba atisa ho khaola phephelo ea motlakase e eang thepeng ea khaso ea Harvest FM and People's Choice FM

Ka lehlakoreng le leng, boto ea tsamaiso ea Lekhotla la Taolo ea Khaso-Lesotho Telecommunications Authority (LTA), e ile ea khethoa bocha haufinyane. Empa se makatsang ke hore litho tsa boto ena tse ncha li bonahala li amana ka kotlolohlo le baboholong pusong 'moho le mokha o busang. Na ebe ho latetsoe mecha e nepahetseng, ho se litsela tsa bobolu ha ho etsoa tsee tsohle?

Ho ea ka molao oa paramente o thehileng LTA, boto ea tsamaiso ea LTA e khethoa ke Letona la Likhokahano. Molao ona ha o hlakise hantle hore na letona le etsa khetho eo joang. Empa kuitloisiso ke hore khetho ea boto ena e tla etsoa ka tsela e nang le ponaleto, e hlohang leeme.

Ka mor'a hore Letona la Mehleng la Likhokahano, Mohlomphehi Thomas Motsoahae Thabane a furalle Lekhotla la Puso ea Sechaba ka Sechaba (LCD), Mohlomphehi Mpho 'Meli Malie o ile a khethoa ele Letona lekaleng lena.

Ke nakong ea Mohlomphehi Malie moo ka Mphalane 2006, sechaba se ileng sa mengoa ho iketela ho ba litho tsa boto ea LTA. Bakopi ba ne ba tlameha ho isa likopo tsa bona ofising ea Mongoli e Moholo oa Lekala la Likhokahano, Mongali Tšeliso 'Mokela, eo eleng moletsi e moholo oa Letona litabeng tsa tsamaiso ea lekala, ho kenyelatsa le eona khethong ea boto ea LTA.

Likopo li ile tsa isoa ofising e boletsoeng ka holimo, ho kenyelatsa le kopo ea ka, mongoli oa litaba tsena. Ho fihlela le holimo lena, ha re so fumane karabo ea letho. Emong oa bakopi e ne le mosebeletsi ea tsebahalang oa University Mongali Lefu Lechesa.

Lechesa eena o ile a arajoa, 'me aba a bitsetsoa lipotsong-interview. Ke moo molula-setulo oa boto eo a ileng a mo kumela hore o bona eka litaba tsa hae li ka nna tsa tsamaea hantle, kaha eena Lechesa, a arabile lipotsa hantle. Empa Lechesa o ile a hopotsa hore moqeti tabeng ena ke Letona. Nakong ena, Malie ene ntse le Letona lekaleng lena, 'me 'Mokela e ntse le mongoli e moholo. Ha Malie a se a ile hae ka mor'a likhetho tse akaretsang tsa Hlakola 2007, Mohlomphehi Mothejoa Metsing o ile a khethoa ele letona le lecha lekaleng lena.

Ke moo Lechesa a ileng a nahana hore che, litha lit la loka joale. Empa e sale a teea kalala, ho fihlela a botsa Letona Metsing hore na joale ho etsahetseng. O ile a bolelooa hore boto e ncha e sa tsoa hlapantsoa matsatsi a mabeli pele a tla moo ho tla botsa. O ile a bolelooa hore haeba ha hlapantsoa ele setho, hoo ho bolela hore kopo ea hae ha e ea atleha.

Litho tse ncha tsa boto ea LTA li kenyelatsa Mongali Mpho 'Meli Malie, mongoli e moholo oa LCD, eo eneng ele Letona Lekaleng la Likhokahano nakong eo boto ena e khethoang. Ba bang ke Mofumahali Teboho 'Mokela, mohatsa mongoli e moholo oa Lekala la Likhokahano, mofumahatsana Refiloe Lehohla, khaitseli ea motlatsi oa tonakholo le moahloli e moholo. Emong ke ramolao ea ikemetseng, mongali Salemane Phafane, eo hangata a emelang 'muso ele mochochisi kapa LCD linyeoeng tsa eona ele mokha. Mongali Phafane hape ke maloma Mofumahali 'Mokela. Setho se seng ke Mongali Khetsi, eo eleng moena oa mongoli e moholo Lekaleng la Khiro le Bolebetsi.

Se makatsang ke hore Mongali Malie o tsebile joang hoba setho sa boto ee, kaha nakong eo likopo li qalang ho kena, ene ntse le Letona Lekaleng leo? Ebe Mongali Malie o ile a etsa kopo ea hae le eena, aba a etsa bonneta bah ore o ikhetha ele setho sa boto?



**Thabo Motlamelle ke Thabo Thakalekoala ke ba bang ba baqolotsi ba litaba tse tsoereng bophatlalatsi ka har'a naha. Ba lla ka hore sepheo sa 'muso ke ho bolaea bophatlalatsi bo ikemetseng, bo hlatefisang sechaba, 'me ebile bo sa tšabe ho sola 'muso ha o etsa liphoso.**

Boipotsa bo bong ke hore na ebe Mongali 'Mokela o ile a eletsat letona joang nakong eo mohats'a e khetheloang botong? Khang ke hore mafumahali ana a mabeli a batla a le tlasana ka thuto le kuitloisiso ea litaba, ha ba bapisoa le ba bang ba bakopi, bao eleng liqhoku tsu khale tšebetsong ena ea khaso.

Lechesa o sa ile a ngolla Letona Mothejoa Metsing, a kopa tlakisetso ka tsela eo boto ea LTA e khethiloeng ka teng. Haufi, ka tšebelisano 'moho le beng ba liea-le-moea tse amehang, re tla kopa tšehetso ea sechaba ho etsa lerata ka taba ena eo ka kotlolohlo eleng khatikelo ea bolokolohi ba bophatlalatsi. Re tla kopa tšehetso ea litsi tsohle tsu liphatlalatso, mekhato e ikemetseng ea mona hae le ea machabeng hore re fihlele morero oa rona tabeng ena.

tsena tse ikemetseng.

Re ipiletsa hape le hore ho fetoloe molao kapela ele hore boto ea tsamaiso ea LTA e khethoe ke komiti ea paramente e ikarabellang litabeng tsa likhokahano.

Ha ele Lefu Lechesa eena o ikemelitse ho etsa lerata le thibang litsebe ka tsela eo boto ea ha joale ea LTA e khethiloeng ka teng. Haufi, ka tšebelisano 'moho le beng ba liea-le-moea tse amehang, re tla kopa tšehetso ea sechaba ho etsa lerata ka taba ena eo ka kotlolohlo eleng khatikelo ea bolokolohi ba bophatlalatsi. Re tla kopa tšehetso ea litsi tsohle tsu liphatlalatso, mekhato e ikemetseng ea mona hae le ea machabeng hore re fihlele morero oa rona tabeng ena.

**Thabo Motlamelle ke motlatsi oa molula-setulo oa MISA Lesotho. Ke moqolotsi oa litaba ea ikemetseng.**

## Bojaki le khethollo mahleng a molao

**Ka Matšeliso Ntsoelikane**

**T**aba ea bojaki nahengenae eile eatsosa thahassel o kholo nakong eo Adam Lekhoaba, sebholi se tummeng sa Harvest FM se neng se leleko ka hara naha, ka le reng ha se mojaki oa Lesotho. Lekhoaba o ile a fetoha polilokhoana ka mor'a hore a lulise 'muso lejoe le mutsu ka mor'a likhetho tsa Hlakola 2007.

Ka mor'a hore leka ho khutlela ka har'a naha ka makhetlo-khetlo, Lekhoaba o ile a leba khotla ho ea phephetsa teleko ea hae, a bolela hore ke letsoalloa la Lesotho. Taba ea lekhoaba e ile ea qholotsa TRC ho etsa liphuputso ka litaba tsa melao e amang bojaki ka hara naha.

Boithutong ba rona, re hlokometsi hore Lesotho koano, ha ho leano le hlakileng le fanang ka tataiso litabeng tsa bojaki le khethollo. Leha ho le joalo, ho na le Leano maano a mangata le melao e fanang ka tataiso litabeng tsa teka-tekano, pheliso ea khethollo le bojaki.

Ka ho otloloha, molao oa motheo oa Lesotho o fana ka tataiso hore na ke mang eo eleng mojaki oa Lesotho. Ha motho ele mojaki oa Lesotho, h'a lumelloa hoba oa

naha e ngoe. Molao oa motheo tabeng ena o hlakileng le fanang ka tataiso litabeng tsa bojaki le khethollo.

Molao ona oa Bojaki o fana ka tataiso litabeng tsa hore na ke mang eo e ka bang mojaki oa Lesotho, le hore na le neng motho a ka hlakileng le fanang ka tataiso litabeng tsa bojaki le khethollo.

Molao ona oa Bojaki o fana ka tataiso litabeng tsa hore na ke mang eo e ka bang mojaki oa Lesotho, le hore na le neng motho a ka hlakileng le fanang ka tataiso litabeng tsa bojaki le khethollo.

Molao ona oa Bojaki o fana ka tataiso litabeng tsa hore na ke mang eo e ka bang mojaki oa Lesotho, le hore na le neng motho a ka hlakileng le fanang ka tataiso litabeng tsa bojaki le khethollo.

Tlaza Molao oa motheo oa Lesotho, Khaolo ea bone e buoa ka hore na

ke mang eo eleng mojaki oa Lesotho. Hona ho bolela hore hoba mojaki oa Lesotho ke tokelo e hlakileng ka molaong oa motheo. Empa tokelo ena ha e ea sireletsoa ka molao joalo ka litokelo tse ling tlaza Khaolo ea bobeli ea oona Molao oo oa Motheo.

Ho feta mona, temana ea molao oa motheo ha e re letho ka tokelo ea banna ba melichaba ba nyalang basali ba Basotho hoba bajaki ba Lesotho. Sena se bolela hore banna bana e keke ea eba bajaki ba Lesotho ka lenyalo feels, joalo kaha ho etsahala ka Basali ba melichaba ba nyetsoeng ke banna ba Basotho. Sena ke khethollo e tšabehang ho basali ba Basotho.

Ka morao hore ho etsoe Molao oa Teka-tekano ea Banyalani, o felisitseng khethollo ea basali linthong tse ngata, re ne re lebeletse hore le tabeng ena ea bojaki, basali ba Basotho bat la sebeletoa ka toka, ele hore balekane ba bona ba balichaba ebe bajaki ba Lesotho ntle le mathata.

# Puso ea Lesotho e fetile linakong tse thata

## Ka Fako Likoti

Ho tloha ka 1966 ha Lesotho le fumana boipuso, ha ho mokha o hlotsoeng ke likhetho o kileng oa amohela sephetho ntle le ho belaela. Tloaelo ea ho hana sephetho naheng ena e se e anetse hoo leha likhetho li se li tsamaisoa ke Komisi e Ikemetseng ea Likhetho, li bile li lebelloa ke machaba, ba hlotsoeng ba etsang manganga a reng likhetho ha lia tsamea hantle.

Ho tloha ka 1993, Lesotho le tsoere likhetho tse atlehileng ka makhetlo a mane. Ho tloha ka 1998, likhetho tsena li ile tsa tsamaisoa ke Komisi e Ikemetseng ea Likhetho. Leha ele mona sephetho se 'nile sa hanoa ho tloha ka 1993, ba neng ba hlotse likhetho ba ile ba khona ho busa, leha hone ho le thata. Empa botle ke hore ho fapania le nakong e fetileng, sesole ha se ea ka sa liha 'muso ele mo sireletsa mokha o itseng. Sena se supa hantle hore Basotho joale ba batla ba utloisia hore babusi ba behoa ka likhetho, eseng ka lithunya.

Motheo oa puso ea sechaba ka sechaba ke likhetho. Sena se bolela hore sechaba sena le matla a ho beha bao se ba ratang, le ho tlosa bao se sa ba batleng.

Ka ho amohela puso ea sechaba ka sechaba ele mofuta oa puso oo re o batlang, re itlamme hore re tla amohela le ho sebelisa methati eohle ea puso e joalo. Haeba likhetho ele engoe o mongo a methati ena, ke bohlanya hore ere ha sechaba se qeta ho khetha, ebe hona le ba itlhantshang ka hore sephetho ha se amohelehe, feela ho khethuoe motsheare, letsatsi le chabile.

Leha ele mona puso ea Lesotho e fetilemathateng ašosang, feelahobonahala ha e bapisoa le Zimbabwe e matlafetse haholo. Likhetho tsa Lesotho ha li sa saloa



Dr Fako Likoti, morupeli ka sekolong se seholo sa sechaba (NUL) o re puso ea Lesotho e matlafetse haholo ha e bapisoa le Zimbabwe. O re liketsahalo tsa 1993, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2002 le 2007 li ne li tiisa metheo ea puso ea sechaba ka sechaba, leha ele mona ho ne ho bonahala eka naha e qabetsoe ha kana.

morao ke merusu e kang ea hona Zimbabwe le linaheng tse ling, moo ho tsekoang sephetho ka ho tšolla mali. Bona feela hore na ho etsahalang naheng ea Kenya.

Liketsahalo tsa nako e fetileng li bonahetse li re matlafalitse le ho feta. Mekha ea lipolotiki e kenela likhetho ho se tšitiso kapa tsona litšoso tsa letho. Likhetho li bonahala ele tsela eo sechaba se e thabelang ho beha le ho theola babusi. Litokelo tsa mantla tsa botho li ntse li hlompshoa ke mahlakore kaofela.

Sesole sa Lesotho se bonahala joale se tsoile leroleng la lipolotiki, 'me se laoloa ka tsela e hlakileng ke ba khethuoeeng ke sechaba. Se ikarabella tlaa tonakholo ka lekala la tshireletso.

Lithupelo tse ileng tsa fanoa ka mor'a 1998 li bonahetse li thusitse haholo tabeng ena.

Makhotla a molao le oona a bonahala a ena le boikemelo ha etsa tšebetso. Sena se pakoa ke ka moo morao tjena 'muso o lahleheloa ke linyeoek a teng. Tse ling tsa linyeoek tse na ke moo Ntate Anthony Manyeli, moetapele oa National Independent Party (NIP) a neng a qosa Ramolao e Moholo oa 'Muso. O ne a phephetsa qeto ea IEC ea ho amohela lenane la khekhethane le nehelanoeng ke mongoli oa mokha, eseng eena ele moetapele. Nyeoeng ea nomoro ea CIV/APN/45/07 Lekhotla Le Phahameng le ile la ahlolela Ntate Manyeli ka la 5 Hlakola le la 8 Hlakola 2007.

Nyeoeng engoe, ka la 9 Phuptjane 2007, Moahloli Semapo Peete o ile a ahlolela Seea-le-moea sa Harvest FM hore sena le tokelo ea ho sebelisa holo ea liboka ea 'Manthabiseng, kaha bane ba ile ba e tšepisoa, nakong eo ba ntse ba hlophisa pitiki ea bona.

Adam Lekhoaba, seboholi se tummeng sa Seea-le-moea sa Harvest FM se ile sa lumelloa ke Lekhotla le Phahameng ho a teng ka hara naha ho tla mamela nyeoe ea hae ea ho tseka bojaki ba Lesotho. Moahloli Semapo Peete o ne a re ke toka hore Lekhoaba a lumelloe ho tla mamela nyeoe ea hae a le teng.

Nyeoeng e engoe, ofisiri ea sesole e phomolong le ba bang ba ile ba tšoaroa ke sesole ka pelaello ea ho hapa libetsa tsa sesole ka likhoka. Ka lebaka la tlhokeho ea bopaki, Moahloli 'Maseforo Mahase o ile a laela hore na lokolloe ke sesole, 'me ba nehelanoe ho sepolesa.

Tabeng engoe, Mokhatlo oa Liakhente oa Lesotho o ile oa kopa Moahloli 'Maseshophe Hlajoane ka la 16th Phupu 2007 ho etsa taelo ea hore batšoarua ba boletsoeng ka holimo ba se hlokokatsoe ka tsela efe kapa efe.

Katleho ea balli linyeoeng tse na e supa ka moo makhotla a rona a itekang ka teng, leha re tsamaile tsela e thata ho tloha 1993. Ho fapania le Zimbabwe moo liqeto tsa makhotla li hatakeloang feela, mona re lekahohlompha makhotla le liqeto tsa oona.

Qetellong ea litaba tse na, ho bonahala re hahamalla pele moo puso ea rona e tla ba eo re ikhantshang ka eona lefatše ka bophara.

# Na lilekane tsa mekha ea lipolotiki li molemong oa sechaba?

## Ka Motlamelle Kapa

Ho tloha esale Lesotho le fumana boipuso ka 1966, mekha ea lipolotiki ka har'a naha ele leqe ho kopanya matsoho le ho sebetsa 'moho pele le kamor'a likhetho. Mohlomong lebaka ke hobane mekha ea Basutoland Congres Party (BCP) le Basotho National Party (BNP) lipakeng tsa 1993 le 1998 le mekha ea Lesotho Cogress for Democracy (LCD) le BNP ka 1998 ho isa 2002 ene e lumela hore e ka sebetsa hantle likhetho e sa hloke tšhetso ea mekha e meng. Mekha e menyane le eona ene e sa bone e hloka ho sebelisana 'moho le e meng.

Hang ha mokhoa oa ho khetha oa Motsoako oa Masiea-sieane le Khekethane o kena tsebetsong ka mora ho lahla mokhoa oa ho khetha oa Masiea-sieane, o neng o fa ba hlotsoeng matla a ho busa ba le bang le ho tima ba hlotsoeng monyetla oa ho kena paramenteng, mekha ea Lesotho e ile ea qalella ho sebelisana 'moho le ho bopa lilekane. Le ha ho le joalo lilekane tse na li ile tsa fekekanya ba banyata haholo pele le kamor'a likhetho tsa 2007.

Mokhoa oa ona o mocha o kene tšebetsong ho hlaola a mang a mathata le ho se utloane kamor'a likhetho. O entsoe hore paramente e boptjoe ka bongata bo lekanang le sechaba se khethileng. Hape, molemong oa botsitso, mokhoa ona o fa ba

hloetsoeng tšepo ea hore le bona bana le lentsoe tsamaisong ea litaba tsa naha.

Ka 2006, mokha o busang oa LCD o ile oa petsoha ka lehare, ha Letona la mehleng la Likhokahano a theha mokha oa Kobo-tata ea Basotho (ABC). Ka mor'a Likhetho, ABC e ile ea atleha ho hapa mabatooa a leshome litoropong. Empa le pele ho karohano eo, LCD e ne se ile ea bontša takatso ea eona ea hore le eona eke e tšoase ka khekhethaneng. LCD ene e shebile hore bongata ba litho tsa eona ka paramenteng bo se theohe, leha ho ka etsahala hore e lahleheloe ke mabatooa a itseng.

Ka labaka la tšebeliso ea mokhoa oa ho khetha oa Motsoako oa Masiea-sieane le Khekethane, mekha e 'maloa ea lipolotiki e ile ea etsa lilekane ele ho bokella livoutu 'moho. Mekha ena ke Kobo-tata ea Basotho le Lesotho Workers Party, Mokha oa Sechaba sa Basotho le Mokha oa Tsoelopele ea Sechaba NPP, Selekanane sa Mekha ea Mahata'mmoho, Lekhotla la Puso ea Sechaba ka Sechaba le National Independent Party.

Ho latela litaba tse seng li boletsoe, ho bonahala sepheo sa ho theha lilekane ese ha kalo molemong oa sechaba, kapa hona ho susumetsa meralo le maano a puso le tsamaiso. Lebaka le leholo ke



Mongali Motlamelle Kapa, mosuputsi le morupeli ka univesithing o re mekha ea lipolotiki e theha lilekane ka sepheo sa ho bokella livoutu, eseng ha kalo hobane ba batla ho sebeletsa sechaba.

hobane mekha ea Lesotho mona e ea tšoana, ke ka hoo e sitoang ho fana ka tsela e fapaneng le ea mokha o busang.

Kahoo, lilekane tsa mekha ea lipolotiki tse ling tsa etsoa pele ho likhetho, li ka hlaoso ka hore Bo-ralipolotiki ba ne ba ipatlela litulo le mekholo e hlamatsehang e tsamaeang le likalimo tsa lichetele tse sa khafisoeng tse kalo ka M400000. Bo-ralipolotiki ba Afrika ka karetso ba bonahala ba sebelisana

titulo tsa bona molemong oa ho ithuhisa.

Mekha ea ABC, NIP, BNP, MFP le ACP e ile ea ikopanya ka paramenteng 'me ea khetha moetapele oa Kobo-taba ele moetapele oa setlamo seo sa bona. Sepheo sa bona ene le ho hlokipa motlatsoi oa moetapele oa NIP monyetla oa hoba moetapele oa molao oa bohanyetsi ka paramenteng.

# ...na lilekane tsa lipolotiki li molemong oa sechaba?

*Li tsoa leqepheng la 9*

Sena se bontša hantle hore sepheo sa bona ke lenyora la matla. Motsamaiso oa lipuisano o ile a hana kopo ena ea mekha ea bohanyetsi ka le reng ha e ea latela methati e nepahetseng. Lilekane Afrika li etsoa ka mekhoa e fanakaneng, e lumellanang le meralo le tsamaiso ea libaka ka ho fapakana, empa se bonahalang se tsoana ke hore bohle ba kenang ho tsona ba etsa joalo hobane ba batla matla le ho ithuhisa.

Leha ho le joalo, ho thehoa h'a lilekane pele le kamor'a likhetho tsa Lesotho e tlameha ho nkoa e le kholo pusong ea sechaba ka sechaba naheng eo. Lilekane tsena li tsositse molota oa mekha e meng tsaba tsa thusa a mang a maparamente a tsoang mokheng oa LCD ba neng ba se ba sa khotsofala. Mokha o busang o tsebile ho fumana lithulo tse ngata ka paramenteng le hore 'muso e ntse ele oa LCD.

LCD e boetse e fumane molemo hobane kamor'a ho ho khephoha h'a Kobo-Tata ea Basotho, e ile ea laheloa ke litulo ka paramenteng. Leha lilekane tsena li ile tsa thehoa ho se ho setse nako e khutšoane, sechaba se ile sa bonahala se utloisia nakong ea likhetho. Sena ke hobane hone ho sena lipampari tse ngata haholo tse senyehileng. Hoa bonahala hore Bo-ralipolitiki ba ile ba hla ba tsoa letšolo ho ruta sechaba ka mokhoa oa ho khetha.

Leha hole joalo, mathata a ileng a hlaha lipakeng tsa mokha o busang, Komisi e Ikemetseng ea Likhetho (IEC) le mekha ea bohanyetsi a bakioe ke mokhoa oo lilekane tsena li thehiloeng teng. Bothata bo hlahile ha baetapele ba lipolotiki ba iphapanysa ho ipapisa le mokhoa oa ho khetha oa Masiea-sieane le Kekhethane. Baetapele ba lipolotiki ba lokela ho boulela mokhoa ona e le ho qoba lintoa kamora likhetho.

## ...bojaki le khethollo mahlong a molao

*Li tsoa leqepheng la 8*

Taba ena e hanyetsana le bolokolohi le pheliso ea khethollo ka litsela tsohle tsa eona. Meloa ea machaba ea litokelo tsa mantlha tsa botho e hlakile litabeng tsena, empa mona Lesotho re ntse re itsella pele ka melao e khethollang Basali. Le tabeng ea bojaki bo habeli, Molao oa rona oa motheo o sitisa tsoelopele ea baahi ba naha ena, kaha moo bojaki bo joalo bo ka re tsoelang molemo, ho sa hloka hale hore re tiise lihloho. Mohlala ke oa Basotho ba sebetsang Afrika Boroa, bao ka lebaka la menyetsla ea bophelo ka koana, ba ka lakatsang hore ebe bajaki ba ka moo, feela ba ntse ba bolokile bojaki ba moo ba tsoaletsoeng teng, lefatšeng la baholo-holo ba bona, eleng Lesotho.

Qetellong ea tsena tsohle, 'muso, paramente le sechaba ba loketse ho inahanelo ho fetola melao ena e ntseng ena le letsuka la khethollo. Ke nako ea hore melao le maano a etsoang, ebe a molemong oa ntlatfatsa ea sechaba.



*Na pusong ea sechaba ka sechaba ho nepahetse hore mapolesa a sebelisoe ho qhala mekoloko ea boitseko. Pusong ea sechaba batho ba lumelletsoe ho fapania ka maikutlo, empa 'muso oa Lesotho oona o bonahala o sitoa ho mamella ho hanyetsoa.*

# Paramente ea Sechaba e etsa likhothaletso ho letona la lichelete

*Ka Sofonea Shale*

**H**a esale ho phethelo leano la phokotso ea bofuma (poverty reduction strategy) le chebelo pele ea 2020 (vision 2020) ele tataiso nclafatsong ea naha, sechaba se leka ka mekhoa eohle hore lentsoe la sona le utloahale ha ho etsoa meralo ea ntlatfatsa le maano. Leha ele mona Leano la Lesotho la phokotso ea bofuma le rorisoa ka hore le bopiloe ka boholo ba mailutlo a sechaba, 'nete ke hore boholo ba sechaba ha bona lentsoe ha ho etsoa likhakanyo tsa lichelete. Likhakanyo tsa lichelete ho fihlela ha joale e sale ntho e etsoang ke bahlanka ba 'muso ha ba kopane Maseru. Sechaba se botsoa feela ha liqeto li se li entsoe.

Ele boiteko ba ho matlafatsa lentsoe la sechaba litabeng tsa likhakanyo tsa lichelete, Mokhatlo oa Development for Peace Education (DPE) o ile oa bokella baemeli ba sechaba Maseru paramenteng ea sechaba ka la 27 le la 28 Pulungoana 2007. Sepheo sa paraente ena ea sechaba ene le ho etsa likhothaletso ho letona la lichelete ka oo a ka ahang likhakanyo tsa lichelete tsa selemo sena. Pejana selemong se fetileng, metse ea Hloahloeng, Kuebunyane, Seforong le Kanana, ene e ile ea hlahluba leano la phokotso ea bofuma, ele ho leka ho le utloisia. Ke hona moo baemeli ba leshome motse ka mong ba ileng ba khethoa ho tla paramenteng ea sechaba. Metse

emeng ene le ea Matelile and Mpharane, e neng e ile ea etelo ke ba Lekhotla la Mekhatlo e Ikemetseng ka Pulungoana 2006, ka letšolo la phokotso ea bofuma.

Baemeli ba sechaba ba ile ba fuo monyetla oa ho hlahluba leano la phokotso ea bofuma, le ho sheba hore na le feela le tla felisa bofuma. Sena se ne se etsoa ka kutloisiso ea hore sechaba se hloka leseli le lekaneng ho ka tseba ho tšehetso phethahatso ea maano a 'muso'.

Baemeli ba sechaba ba boetse ba tšoantšisa ka moo paramente e sebetsang ka teng, haholo nakong eo ho ajoang lichelete.

Pele ho paramente ena ea sechaba, ho ne ho ile ha tšoareloa batho

ba 40 lithupelo metseng e boletsoeng ka holimo. Lithupelo li ne li le holima leano la phokotso ea bofuma, likhakanyo tsa lichelete le mosebetsi oa paramente.

Sechaba se ne se ile sa buisana ka tse latelang nakong ea lithupelo: ho thehoa ha mesebetsi, mekhoa ea ho kenya chelete, ntlatfatsa ea temo le kanetso ea lijo, ntlatfatsa ea litsela, matlatsatso ea puso ea sechaba ka sechaba, paballeho le polokeho ea sechaba, matlafatsa ea litšebeletso tsa bophelo le boiketlo ba sechaba.

Tse ling e bile ntlatfatsa ea thuto bakeng sa bohle, thokomelo ea tikoloho, ntlatfatsa ea litšebeletso tsa sechaba le tse kenellang hohle joalo ka HIV & AIDS,

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teka-tekano, litokelo tsa bana le bacha. Nakong eo paramente ea sechaba e lutseng, Ntate Lillo Tšoane, moemeli oa sechaba ho tsoa Kuebunyane o ile a kholthaletsa hore 'muso o loketse ho beha ntlafatso ea litsela ka holimo-limo nakong eo o etsang likhakanyo tsa lichelete tsa 2008-2009. Kuebunyane ke motse o hare ho lihlabu tsa Mohale's Hoek, lebatooeng la Hloahloeng. Ha ho fihlehe ka koloi kaha ho se litsela. Sebaka sena se hloka litsela tse se kopanyang le metse emeng le hore hobe bobebe ho tsamaea ka hara sebaka sena. Ho u nka matsatsi a mabeli ho ea fihla Seforong, eleng hona teng moo motho a ka tsebang ho fumana likoloi tse eang Maseru kapa Qacha' Nek. "Le nakong ea lipula, sechaba sa Kuebunyane se iphumana se koalletsoe ke linoka tsa

Senqu le Senqunyane matsatsi-tsatsi," ho rialo 'Masebabatso Mosotho, emong oa baemeli ba sechaba ho hlahu sebakeng sena.

Tlhahisong engoe, 'M'e 'Mataele Mpharoe oa Seforong seterekeng sa Quthing o ile are taba tlhahiso ea mesebetsi le mekhoa ea boipheliso ke taba tsa bohlokoah haholo hore letona la lichelete le ka libeha ka pele-pele. Are Seforong ke sebaka se nang le botle ba tlhaho bo joalo ka lithota, , lithaba le maralla tse ka ntlafatsoang hore li hohele bahahlauli. "Re ka boela ka lema lifate tsa litholoana bakeng sa ho jeoa, ho omisoa le ho rekisetsoa libaka tse ling ka har'a naha le mafatšeng a mang," a rialo 'M'e 'Mataele Mpharoe.

Ho thehoa ha mesebetsi ke ona 'moko oa leano la phokotso ea bofuma kaha e mokhoa oo sechaba se ka arabelang

kitlhoko tsa sona, se sa eme ho 'muso o tlo se khaketsa liphallelo. Mesebetsi a mengata ea boipheliso eka thehoa le ho tšehetsoa ka lichelete ele mokhoa oa ho hlola tla le tlhokahalo ea mesebetsi. Ntate Makoko Letsie, ea neng a emetse Kanana, seterekeng sa Berea o ile are ntlafatso ea temo le kanetso ea lijo ke tsona tsa bohlokoahali tse tlamehang ho ba ka holimo ha ho etsoa khakanyo ea lichelete. Ntate Letsie are ha muso le batho bohole bane ba ka hlahisa lijo tse lekang, bofuma bo ne bo tla fokotseha.

Ntate Sekese Sekese eena o lumela hore ha boholo ba chelete e fuoang lekala la temo e ka tlohela ho leba meputsong ea bahlanka le tsamaisong ea liofisi, temo ene tla ntlaflala naheng ena. "Lihuai tsa Basotho li lokela ho fuoa tšehetso eo li

e hlokang ho hlahisa lijo tse lekaneng ho fepa naha ena," ke Ntate Sekese eo.

Qetellong ea lipusiano tsena, baemelibalebakopanalemoemelioaletona la lichelete ho amohela likhotaletso tsa sechaba likhakanyongtsalichelete tse tlang.

Ho sa le joalo, DPE le sechaba li tla be li shebile ka hloko hore na likhotaletso tsa bona li hapelletsoe likhakanyong tsa lichelete tse tlang. Sena ke qalo feela ea boiteko ba sechaba se phelang mahaeng ho ka leka ho susumetsa maano a 'muso litabeng tse fapaneng.

## OUR LOBBYING AND ADVOCACY METHODS

### Networking

We have undertaken numerous visits to the United States, Germany, Sweden, India, Thailand, Belgium, Italy, South Africa, Ethiopia, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and elsewhere to establish strong networks with like-minded organisations. Some of our enduring bonds are with the Reform~the World Bank Movement, International Rivers Network, International Action Network on Small Arms and many more civil society organisations globally. Other networking opportunities are found in private meetings, conferences, seminars and workshops held locally regionally and internationally.

### Leadership

We have occupied the Presidency of the Lesotho Council of NGOs (LCN) for the third term running. In addition we are well represented in LCN Commissions and are on the boards and management committees of a number of organisations. This strong leadership profile enables us to offer stewardship and guidance on institutional and national political leadership matters. We are also pioneers of high-school student representative council federation.

### Public gatherings

Ha Mohale, Ha Makotoko, Ha Mosuoe, Ha Seoehlana, Ha Matala and other communities have participated in pitsos to discuss resettlement, relocation, rehabilitation and compensation issues among other things. Maama, Matsieng, Thaba Bosiu, Thaba Tseka chiefs and local leaders have gathered in pitsos on local government, good governance, public participation and other issues.

### One-on-one encounters

Chiefs, beneficiaries and family leaders have received direct therapy from TRC field workers on matters relating to compensation and resettlement. Other victims of political and developmental actions have benefited from TRC's care, thoughtfulness and compassion in their times of need.

### Negotiations

Extensive negotiations have always been carried out with service providers and relevant authorities on resettlement and compensation issues. Patient and friendly yet firm and decisive negotiations with The World Bank, the Lesotho Government, The LHDA, The LHW, the LCN and other important stakeholders are always undertaken.

### Representation

We have assisted organisations such as Selibeng, the LCN, Khathang Tema Baitsokoli, IRN, as the main point of contact with other organisations, authorities and service providers in Lesotho.

### Diplomacy

TRC has pursued diplomatic advocacy with government, international organisations, global financiers, the UN and others on matters such as conflict prevention in peace making, peace keeping and peace building. Results have been in the holding of free, fair and participatory elections and the building of early-warning mechanisms for conflict prevention and resolution.

### Militancy

While exercising utmost reluctance to employ confrontation, TRC has had to embark on resistance mass action, demonstrations and protest marches to make strong and forthright statements on certain issues.

### Partnering

Relationships have been built with government, NGOs, research organisations, community groupings, financiers, internationals to address issues urgently, accurately and adequately in a sustainable manner.

### Exchange

The live and learn exchange programme introduced by the Mennonite Central Committee has been copied and modified to maintain existing relationships as well as forge new ones. Current exchange programmes are done with Idasa, EED and Protimos.

### Litigation

We have previously pursued court cases on an ad hoc basis. However, plans are afoot to formalise TRC's legal unit in order to strengthen legal advocacy with an International Law NGO.

### Workshops

Our democracy programme is best known for its effective and well-organised workshops which deliver among other things, civic education and human rights advocacy to relevant groups such as teachers, students, chiefs, local authorities, community organisations and so on.

### Seminars

Our Friends' Meetings Series are famously known as friendly yet knowledge laden forums where academics, policy makers, commentators and other resource personas may share knowledge, skills, observations and experiences.

### Media

Our newsletter, Work for Justice, has, since it was first published in 1983, occupied its proud place as an effective tool of communication, advocacy and solidarity for TRC. It has since been modernised in production, appearance and content to serve its diverse audience as TRC's and Lesotho's mouthpiece. Our website is one of the most visited of the Lesotho websites, making [trc.org.ls](http://trc.org.ls) a veritable gateway to Lesotho. Our regular contributions and cooperation with local and international journalism has enhanced our profile as a respected media partner. We are moving speedily to establish radio advocacy to strengthen our already strong media presence.

### Service provision

Our skilled human resource base has enabled us to offer services to other organisations as a fund-raising strategy. We have offered research, translation, advocacy, audio-visual services to strengthen our funding base.

### Mediation

We have mediated in peace-making and peace building exercises to build our conflict resolution profile.

### Advice

As part of empowerment, we are careful not to do things for the people but instead, offer needed counsel to guide them and build capacity for independent growth.

### Support

Our livelihoods support programme has seen us support communities with farming hardware and software as they seek to address issues of food insecurity in their new localities.

### Research and publishing

Our research output is reflected not only in our newsletters, Work for Justice and Litaba tsa Lesotho, but also in independent journals, books and magazines. We are also respected sources of information

available to academics, researchers, policy makers, journalists and students. We boast a proud publishing record with recent books and pamphlets such as Irony of the White Gold, On the Wrong Side of Development, Simplified Constitution of Lesotho, Conflict Studies Manual, Six Years after Resettlement, Anthology of Work for Justice.

### Marketing

We produce brochures, posters, stickers to market the organisation. Our extensive and regular coverage in the mass media coupled by our rather controversial nature never fails to attract interest.

### Public Relations

We have recently promoted art and tapestry exhibitions which presented us in an uncharacteristically benign light from our usual firm and forthright disposition.

### Training

We have carried training course in Gender development, voter education, Local Government, parliamentary procedure, public participation, desktop publishing, media etc.

### Contacts and Linkages

We maintain a growing mailing list of local, regional and international partners to exchange information about our views and work. The website also has a faithful list of links to government, NGO, funding agency, academic and other organisations' websites.

### Solidarity

We are part of a strong civil society movement made up of youth organisations, student groups, cooperatives organisations, church groups, workers' syndicates locally, regionally and internationally.

### Outreach

Although based in the city, our work focuses on community needs in the countryside. As such we carry out literacy outreach programmes, livelihoods cohesion campaigns, and revival events to communicate with and motivate our client communities.

### Documentation

Our specialised library, the flagship of the organisation, contains rare books, reports, newspapers, journals, videos, dvds, and other materials in the realms of development, human sciences and socio-religious activism.

