AN ASSESSMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA’S ROLE IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT, PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE KINGDOM OF LESOTHO (1993-2014)

By

FOLEFAC HELEN CHAPANYI

Student No: 21505063

Mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in Politics and International Relations at the North West University, Mafikeng Campus

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR V. OJAKOROTU
DECLARATION

I, Chapanyi Helen Folefac, declare that the mini-dissertation entitled “An assessment of South Africa’s role in conflict management, peace and stability in the Kingdom of Lesotho (1993-2014)”, hereby submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Politics and International Relations has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university. I declare that this is my work in design and execution and that all materials contained herein have been duly acknowledged.

Signature:  ……………….  

C. H.Folefac

Date: Day……….of………………..2015
I thank God Almighty and His Son, Jesus Christ and our Blessed Mother Mary for giving me the strength, power and blessings throughout my academic life.

I lack words to express my sincere gratitude for the incredible work done by PROF V OJAKOROTU for the selflessness guidance, mentoring, concrete and constructive criticism resulting in the best quality of this work.

A great deal of thanks goes to my family for putting up with me while I went through this daunting process. I wish to acknowledge each other for making it through this ordeal again. To my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Folefac and to my three siblings Ajapwoh, Folefac and Alem for their love and support they gave me through out and always stood by my side and understanding at all times. I also like to give special thanks to Asonglefac Victor Alem to whom I dedicate this dissertation.
ABSTRACT

Post-apartheid South Africa emerged at a time when the southern region was going through violence conflicts with implication for economic and political development. South being a part of the hegemony in the sub region could not remain silence of the political instability facing its neighbours.

The purpose of this research was to access South Africa role in conflict management peace and stability in the southern African region with a focus on Lesotho 1993-2014. It examine the causes of instability and the effects of South African to ensure stability in Lesotho and the region at large

The research is an empirical study which employs a Qualitative Research Methodology. Data was collected from primary and secondary sources.

In seeking to understand why since independent Lesotho have not experience stability. The research has found out that recent effort to promote peace and stability through policy and negotiation arrangement signed by conflicting parties and the government of Lesotho has been thwarted by severe deficiency such as corruption, politics of cultures, election rigging and the lack of mechanism for enforcing legislatures. This paper has made recommendation of what the Lesotho government needs to do in order to avoid political upheaval in the contemporary Basotho society
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABC- All Basotho Convention

APSA- Africa Peace and Security Architecture

AU- African Union

BCP- Basutoland Congress Party

BDF- Botswana Defence Forces

BNDF- Botswana National Defence Force

BNP- Basotho National Party

CAR- Central African Republic

DC- Democratic Congress

DDR-pg41 - Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration

DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo

ECOWAS- Economic Community of West African States

FARDC- Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo

FIB- Force Intervention Brigade

FPTP- First-Past-The-Post

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

HDI- Human Development Index

IEC- Independent Electoral Commission

IPA- Interim Political Authority
LCD- Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LCD- Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LCD- Lesotho Defence Force
LLA- Lesotho Liberation Army
LNCM- Lesotho Network for Conflict Management
M23- March23
MDG- Millennium Development Goals
MFP- Marematlou Freedom Party
MLC- Movement for the Liberation of Congo
MMP- Mixed Member Proportional
MONUC-United Nations Mission in Congo
NDPS-National Development Plans
NEC- National Executive Committee
OPDS- Organ on Politics, Defence and Security
PR- Proportional Representation
PRS- Poverty Reduction Strategy
REWC- Regional Early Warning Centre
RLDF- Royal Lesotho Defence Force
SADC- Southern African Development Community
SADCC- Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADF- South African Defence Force
SADNF- South African National Defence Force
SAP- Structural Adjustment Programmes
SEAC- SADC Electoral Advisory Council
SIPO- Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ
SMU- SADC Mediation Unit
SSA- sub-Saharan Africa
UNSC-United Nations Security Council
UN-United Nations
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CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

In the past decade, the African continent has been plagued by interstate conflicts; especially with the departure of the masters. This can be attributed to the manner in which the colonial masters left the continent (without preparing African leaders on how to rule their respective countries). However, the nature of conflict in Africa has changed overtime, precisely after the Cold War. While the Cold War era was dominated by interstate conflict, the post-Cold War era was dominated by intrastate conflict (Anyidoho, 1997:1). Most countries in Africa have been plunged into intra-state conflicts, some of which have degenerated into arm conflicts. Since independence, Lesotho, like many other countries in Africa, has experienced internal security problems which has plunged the small mountain country into serious political instability. Failure by the United Nations (UN) to handle intra-state conflict in Africa like the conflict in Somali in 1992 (Simon, M 2007:1), affected the UN’s impetus in handling intrastate conflicts. This meant that African countries had to find their own solutions to their problems.

Failure by the UN to resolve conflicts in Africa transferred the role of peace keeping to regional organisations as far back as 1992. However, these bodies were to work closely with the Security Council. In conflict situations, such as in southern Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) handled the resolution of conflicts. Another good example of regional organisations handling conflicts in their region is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in West Africa. This was evident in Lesotho when South Africa, together with other countries in the southern region (Zimbabwe and Botswana) under the banner of SADC, intervened to quell the instability plaguing the country since independent.

The aim of this study is to assess the role of South Africa in conflict management and peace-keeping within the Southern African Development Community (SADC) with
reference to Lesotho from 1993-2014. The study also examines South Africa’s commitment to peace and stability as its foreign policy objective in the region and the continent at large.

Lesotho is a mountainous, landlocked country located towards the Southern part of the African continent. It is the 141st largest country in the world. Lesotho is also known as Musooa in Sesotho language. However, according to the Basutos people, Lesotho means land of the Sotho-speaking people. The country is an enclave of South Africa making it the fourth country in the world enclave within another country. It lies between latitudes 2930 S and 280 30 E longitude in Africa. The mountainous kingdom of Lesotho covers a surface area of 30,355 square kilometres (11,720 mi), covered with water and with a total length of 909 square kilometres (World Factbook, 2008). The Basotho is the main ethnic group in the country; a Bantu-speaking people. Other groupings include the Bakuena (Kuena), the Bafokeng, Bataung (the Tau) and the Batloung (the Tlou), among others. Sesotho (or Sotho) is the main language spoken by the people. English is one of the official and administrative languages and its origin can be traced from its colonial legacy of the British administration of the country. The country is famous for its mountainous terrain such as highlands, plateaus, hills and mountains with the Thabana Ntlenyana being the highest peak (about 3,482 m). About 40% of the population lives below the international poverty rate of US $ 1.25 per day. The country is ranked under “Low Human Development” countries (HDI, 2009:35). The kingdom of Lesotho can be divided into two geographical zones. In terms of its political structure, the kingdom is divided into three regions as follows: lowlands, highlands, (formed by the Drakensberg) and lastly, the Maloti Mountain which stretches from the east and central part of the country. In light of the above and for administrative purposes, the country is divided into ten districts. All these administrative districts are supervised by district administrators. The kingdom is also guided with a dual legal system consisting of customary and general laws operating side by side (Africa Guide, 2008).

Lesotho is blessed with natural resources such as diamond, minerals and water. Water is very important to the economy of Lesotho because the country supplies water to some parts of South Africa thus generating income for the country. The country also
relies on subsistent agriculture, livestock mining and manufacturing. All these greatly contribute to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country (Ibid).

The British administration of Lesotho came to an end in 1966 when the country gained political independence from Britain leading to the establishment of the first Lesotho constitution which was greatly instigated by the commonwealth. Since independence, the constitutional system of Lesotho has been represented under the British system: which requires the Prime Minister to be the head of political parties and government and the King as the head the monarchy.

Most African countries have been plunged into intra-state conflicts, some of which have degenerated into armed conflicts; for example, Congo, Burundi, Kenya and Mali. Some countries in Africa have been affected by political instability, especially post-elections, with disgruntled voters taking to the streets to riot and protest for one reason or the other. For instance, in the conflict in Burundi, Mandela started the negotiations and Zuma later took over by the Accord Organisation in Durban and the Arusha Negotiations, the conflict in Congo which former president Mbeki started the negotiations but was later assisted by the former Botswana President Masire Sun-City Negotiations. In the Central African Republic (CAR), Mbeki started the negotiations which led to the death of some South African soldiers in 2013 while on duty. In Zimbabwe, Mbeki started the negotiations and Zuma took over Pretoria and Harare and some capitals in the region, and the conflict in Lesotho which Mandela started the negotiations and then Zuma and now Ramaphosa in the Pretoria and Maseru Negotiations.

Lesotho, officially the Kingdom of Lesotho, achieved independence from Britain on 4 October 1966. Though the pre-independence period was free of violence, nonetheless, the country did not pave the way for a smooth road to a stable post-colonial society (Makoa, 2004: 79-95). Since independent, the Mountain Kingdom has been troubled by political instability and tension which has resulted in substantial loss of innocent lives,
the displacement of people to South Africa as refugees, damage to property, and deepening the country’s social and economic crises (Haynes, 2001). Therefore, the post-independence period has been characterised by short, peace-threatening episodes.

Since independence in 1966, the path to multi-party democracy in Lesotho has been that of tension and instability. This is based on the fact that the country was undergoing internal transformation, that is, from colonial rule to self-independence. Hence, the political instability in Lesotho began when the country gained independence from Britain.

The instability in Lesotho can be traced from the leadership tussles within all major political parties since independence in 1966 (Nzo, 1996: 3). Since Lesotho gained independence, there has been fragmentation among the major political parties in the country due to lack of trust from party leaders. This was evident within the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), when some members of the BCP split from the party and formed the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD). The split was facilitated by the Prime Minister, NtsuMokhehle. This ushered in a struggle for power between the two parties resulting in brutal clashes in the country. Most often, during elections, the country is often plunged into violence due to coalitions as a result of efficient trust from the main party leader (Matlosa and Shale, 2006:3).

Importantly, the instability in Lesotho can also be blamed on the election model used in the country. The Westminster-Style First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) electoral system was introduced by Britain (Molomo, 2004: 118). According to this model, the dominant party is obliged to win almost all the vote cast, thereby giving the party the ground to form a minority government to rule the country. Based on this premise, the instability that has plagued the mountain Kingdom since independence can partly be blamed not on the elections but on the model that has been used in conducting elections in the country. This is because some parties were excluded from parliament despite the fact that some parties had some degree of popular support, for instance, the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), the Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP) and the BNP which managed to secure only one seat in parliament, and the newly formed Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) which won 79% of the 80 available seats (Matlosa, 2004: 44). This
implies that 29% of the voters were not represented in parliament. This then led to
protests at the King’s Palace by the opposition consisting of the BNP, MFP and the BCP
pleading with King Letsie III to dismantle the LCD government and parliament since
they believed it had been fraudulently elected and to establish a caretaker government
to prepare for fresh elections based on full the Proportional Representation (PR)
system. Following the unprecedented violence in Lesotho, the Prime Minister, Pakalitha
Mosisili appealed to South Africa to intervene militarily in order to bring the situation
under control. In September 1998, the South African Defence Force (SADF) troops
entered Lesotho and were later joined by Botswana. With the help of the Southern
African Development Community (SADC) to facilitate mediation talks between
opposition parties and the government, stability was restored with the introduction of the
Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) to address the problem of exclusivity inherent in
the FPTP model (Ibid).

With a population slightly over two million inhabitants, the country gained independence
from Britain in 1966 and became known as the kingdom of Lesotho. During colonial
rule, there was no political activity in the territory thus giving way for the British to
perpetrate the harsh treatment they meted out until 1966. Throughout British rule of
Lesotho as a protectorate, Britain did not do much in terms of preparing the country for
self-rule but rather focused on exploiting the natural resources of the country. Hence,
when the country gained independence, it was ruled by leaders who were not efficiently
competent enough in managing the political affairs of the country. This therefore
explains why the kingdom has constantly been plagued with conflicts and crises since

Until 1970, King Moshoeshoe II and Prime Minister Leabua Jonath peacefully managed
the country’s political and economic affairs. However, when the ruling Basotho National
Party (BNP), under Jonathan lost the first post-independence general elections with 23
seats to the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) under NtsuMokhele in 1970, political
instability in the peaceful country began. Immediately after the results were announced,
Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan (head of the BNP) refused to accept defeat as well as
hand over power to the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP). Instead, Leabua Jonathan
declared himself Prime Minister and claimed that Lesotho was one-party state. Leabua Jonathan even went further to carry out series of abuses accompanied by the declaration of a state of emergency. As a result, some members of the BCP were arrested, imprisoned and even forced to go on exile to neighboring countries. With the support of apartheid South Africa, the BCP created the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) which operated in Lesotho to contest BNP control. This resulted in a coup executed by disgruntled citizens who ousted the government of Jonathan in 1986 (lbid).

According to Khaketla and Cobbe (1985:21), the conflict in Lesotho can be seen from the lack of propelled management; this is based on the fact that election-related conflicts are not well-managed, hence the lack of national dialogue to resolve pertinent issues in the nation. Based on this premise, most of the differences within the ruling party relating to post-elections conflicts are left in the hands of the elites who are not very competent in resolving such matters. Thus, belligerents are left with no choice than to go on the rampage (Ibid: 21).

Furthermore, the issue of political insecurity in Lesotho has become monotonous with each of the contesting parties gunning for political dominance and access to resources through undemocratic means to political power. The fight for political power emanated from upheavals as witnessed among others, the 1986 military coup, the 1994 attempted military or monarchy coup, the 1998 civil instability and the strikes which gripped the country after the 2007 elections (Ajulu, 1995: 9; Sejanamane, 1990: 67).

The hunger for power could be attributed as one of the factors that sparked off conflict in Lesotho. In 1986, King Moshoeshoe II came up with a six-page memorandum in which he twisted the Constitution of Lesotho in his favour giving himself more powers over the military. But the people of Lesotho rejected his proposed memorandum and forced him to go on exile to Britain. Nieuwkerk (2004: 68) maintains that while in exile, his son was installed as the new King, Letsie III. In 1992, when his father returned home as an ordinary citizen, Letsie III tried on several attempts to pressurise the BCP government to reinstate him as King. When the government refused, the King dissolved the government and instituted a provisional one on 17 August 1997. This led to serious
political instability characterised by major civil unrests and violent protests and demonstrations all over the country (Denis, 1999: 1-5).

Just like in many other countries in Southern Africa, Lesotho’s desire for multi-party democracy emanated in the 1990s. This aspiration for multi-party democracy came into reality later in the year when a multi-party election was organised in Lesotho after twenty-three years. During the 1998 elections, the BCP lost to the newly formed party, the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD). It is worth noting here that this election was not without criticisms from opposition parties which argued that the elections had been rigged. They also argue that 95% of the elections were not free and fair and compromised hence giving way to violent demonstrations and strikes (Qhobela, 1998: 252). In a similar manner, the Freedom House Survey maintains that the 1998 elections were characterised by rampant vote-rigging and also that the government had poorly organised the elections, as there were differences between the total number of people who voted and the announced results considered to be implausible (Freedom House Survey Team, 1994: 27). From the above, one can see that multi-party democracy which is considered to be way of curbing discrepancies in an elections is considered to be the opposite in Lesotho because since the birth of democracy, the country has been in deep political instability. This is based on the grounds that the election results were questioned by opposition parties on grounds that, the elections were fraudulent, not free and fair, and that the container carrying the voting equipment seal was broken and packages left open when normally, a High Court order was required to open them (Qhobela, 1998: 252).

In a series of historical happening, such as the Rwanda, Congo and Kenya conflicts, they have often been linked to their diverse ethnic cleavages. For instance, the case in Rwanda where the conflict escalated due to the clash between the Tutsis and Hutus. However, in the conflict in Lesotho, ethnicity cannot be blamed for its escalation. This is based on the premise that the majority of people in Lesotho identify themselves as Basotho and speak Sesotho. Rather, political violence is seen as the result of polarisation in the country; as power is vested in the hands of a small group of elite both within the ruling and opposition parties. As such, citizens become fed up with the same
people ruling the country and consequently, violent protests in the country seeking for change.

Furthermore, political, social unrest and instability in Lesotho can also be attributed to the role played by the King. It is worth noting that the role of the king is to perform ceremonial rights and promote unity among the Basotho people. Quite often, this has not been the case. In 1994, King Letsie III went an extra mile by unconstitutionally dissolving parliament and installing a hand-picked government, and a constellation of forces that included the BNP and BCP. The Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP) unsuccessfully called on him to do the same in 1998. This time, the King showed little effort to respond to the demands of the combined opposition parties, hence the massive violence in the country, which completely paralysed the government. This led to the collapse of law and order as security forces declined to intervene on grounds that this was a political problem that needed the intervention of political leaders. The Prime Minister at the time requested the South African government to intervene which led to the restoration of peace and stability to a large extent.

The political instability in Lesotho can also be attributed to the weak and poor dependent economy. As stated by Ajulu:

“The post-colonial state in Lesotho was, and remains relatively weak in comparison with other post-colonial states in Africa. The country did not inherit a manufacturing, commercial or a secure agricultural base. In short, it was a dependent state par excellence. This dependent nature placed restrictions on what the state was capable of achieving, irrespective of whichever class or alliance of classes secured control of state power” (Ajulu, 1995: 9).

This has contributed to political instability in the country since the former colonial master left them with no manufacturing advances. On the contrary, the country was left to depend on other countries such as South Africa. As a result, the Kingdom of Lesotho cannot provide its citizens with good jobs opportunities. Even the few jobs opportunities that are available are often occupied by members of the ruling party. This, in essence,
creates competition among political parties for access to jobs and contributes to political tension as well as increase the likelihood of violence (Rakuoane, 2003).

Another reason for violence in the country is, however, the disapproved alliance between members of Lesotho’s governing coalition and certain branches of the security forces, including the police and the army. The decision by the prime minister to replace the head of the army, Lieutenant General TlaliKamoli with his ally, Mahao was totally uncalled for by his opponents since it was to his benefit (Smith Flessner, 2014). This event sparked instability in Lesotho.

Furthermore, the misappropriation of funds in the country can also be considered as one of the reasons for political instability and social unrest in Lesotho. In light of the above, most financial resources which could have been used to develop the country were constantly being diverted or invested to purchase military arms. A country like Lesotho undergoing financial economic crisis, does not need ammunitions. Hence, disgruntled citizens who did not see the need of investing in military equipment instead of job creation, went on the rampages seeking calling for change in the country.

The most recent cause of the outbreak of the conflict could be attributed to the coalition government established in 2012. In June 2014, Mothetjoa Metsing, deputy minister and leader of the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD), formed an alliance with the Democratic Congress (DC), the largest opposition party in parliament in order to oppose Prime Minister Thabane and leader of the All Basotho Convention (ABC) insisting that his rule over the country was hanging in the balance. Thabane, then closed down parliament in order to prevent his political foes from unseating him through normal democratic processes. Once more, protests arose, especially as Thabane who wanted to maintain and not relinquish power; left some members of the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) with no choice than to cut off power in the capital, shut down radio stations for several hours, and attacked three key police stations in Maseru. These actions resulted in riots and street protests. As a result of these protests and strikes, some civilians were wounded, most businesses run by women on the streets of Maseru came to a standstill, and people were un-willfully displaced from their homes, property damaged and deepened economic crises increased. It was thanks to the efforts of the South African
military and the mediation of Ramaphosa as well as observers that stability was restored in the country (ENCA news, 2014).

SADC is a political and economic organisation which developed from the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) formed in the 1980s. In 1992, SADC was formed with fifteen member states to provide a framework for regional integration in the region with headquarters in Gaborone, Botswana (Chingono M, & Nakana S, 2009: 398). The aim or function of SADC, among others, include the “promotion of defence and security, cooperation in the area of politics, peace and security as obligatory” (Malan, 1996: 4), poverty alleviation, achieve economic growth, and above all, enhance the standard and quality of life (SADC, 2012:16-20). SADC has been playing an increasingly important role in the area of peace, security and stability in the region. In order to achieve the above goal, SADC established a mechanism to ensure that peace and stability reign in the region. This mechanism includes the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (OPDS), or the SADC Organ created in 1996 to resolve both inter and intra-state conflicts in the region. This organ has played a pivotal role in maintaining peace and stability in the region (SADC, 2012:16). This was witnessed during the Zimbabwean crisis where SADC, under the leadership of South Africa, helped to restore peace and stability in the country hence, preventing external interference (International Crisis Group, 2010c). In addition, SADC, as a sub-regional organisation, has taken some major steps to address the issue of the proliferation of small arms in the region.

In the same vein, SADC recently launched the Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ (SIPO II), with the vision to strengthen cooperation among member states, in the areas of politics, Defence and security with the intention to promote regional integration. Since the establishment of SIOP 11, member states have been able to share ideas in the area of security challenges, share training institutions (the Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre – RPTC as an example), cooperate in peacekeeping programmes and support each other in times of crises. The organisation has also participated in the deployment of troops in crises in the region. During the crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo
(DRC), Zimbabwe, together with Angola and Namibia, deployed military troops as part of the collective Defence operation with the intention to protect a member state (DRC) against aggression from Rwanda and Uganda. South Africa and Botswana intervened in Lesotho in 1998 (Mollar, 2005: 6).

Furthermore, SADC has also established one of the five proposed regional brigades, SADCBRIG in the region with the police and army ready to be deployed in any country in the event of a crisis. Based on this premise, whenever there is instability in a country, the above brigades will eventually be deployed to maintain peace and stability (Cawthra, 2010: 11). It has also launched the Standby Force consistent with the requirements of the African Union (AU) Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), preparing the region’s readiness for joint collaboration in terms of any instability within member states.

In a similar vein, SADC has successfully established some key institutions such as the Regional Early Warning Centre (REWC) for conflict prevention and management, the SADC Electoral Advisory Council (SEAC) and the SADC Mediation Unit (SMU) (SIPO II, 2012:14-15).

Besides military interventions in the maintenance of peace and stability in the region, SADC has being very active in non-military functions in ensuring that peace and security reign, including preventative diplomacy, peacemaking, and mediation. For example, during the conflict in Burundi, former president Mandela was deployed as a mediator. Furthermore, during Thabo Mbeki’s reign, he was sent to mediate during the crisis in Zimbabwe, later Ivory Coast. He was also sent as a facilitator during the 2009 referendum in Sudan (SADC, 2001:14-17).

Despite the above achievements by SADC in the region, the organisation has some challenges as well. Firstly, there is division among leading member states in terms of military and diplomatic intervention which resulted in severed tensions in the 1990s (Adetula, 2008: 9-21). To this end, Williams (2005: 1-12) argues that the division between the leading countries was evident in SADC’s 1998 intervention in the DRC, where it acted as a ‘bipolar’ entity, adopting two different strategies led by the two sub-
regional powers. This division or rivalry has hampered SADC’s objective of achieving sustainable peace and stability in the region. Hence, the case of DRC remains an illustration that continues to hamper the region.

Hammerstad (2005:269-280) suggests that despite SADC’s establishment of strong protocols on security cooperation and safeguards on democracy and human rights, the organ still continues to operate on the pillars of absolute sovereignty and solidarity which serve as a setback in the promotion of democracy in the region (Hammerstad, 2005:269-280).

Another challenge faced by SADC is the problem of insufficient resources and the availability of funds to finance operations. Since the funding of SADC operations is done by equal contributions of member states, it becomes difficult for the organisation to have sufficient funds to finance its operations due to division of member states in their approach to intervene in a country. In order to operate as envisaged, SADC OPDSC requires a sustainable source of revenue. In a nutshell, SADC is still facing some threats in the region basically in the area of peace and security which include the following: political and electoral violence in some countries such as Lesotho, and Congo, economic insecurity, poverty, refugees and illegal migrants, unconstitutional changes of government, food insecurity and fragmented ideology in terms of conflict management by member states (SADC, 2012:16). Despite the above flaws in the past years, the region has enjoyed enormous peace, political stability and security resulting in economic development in the region.

South Africa, considered in southern Africa as a centre to promote its foreign policy, remains committed in enhancing the African agenda, particularly regional peace, security and stability, as the key determinants for socio-economic development in the continent at large. The history of South Africa since apartheid, and it relations with other southern African countries shows that South Africa is dominating over the other states in the region. However, this concept of South Africa as a regional power was strongly supported by the first democratic president, Mandela who, in 1993, stressed the fact that “Pretoria foreign policy should reflect the interest and concerns of the African continent” (Mandela, 1995: 2).
However, before looking at South Africa as a regional power in the region, it of necessity to provide a brief definition of the term ‘regional power’. Regional power can refer to as a state considered as powerful in its own region irrespective of whether the state represents regional relationship of enmity or amity (Wright, 1978). According to Osterud (1992:12), regional power can still be refer to a state which is highly influential in regional affairs and able to stand up against any coalition of other states in the region.

South Africa, as a regional power in the SADC region, is expected to play a pivotal role in resolving conflict through dialogue and reconciliation, and maintenance of peace as one of the primary goals in its foreign policy objectives. Since the dawn of democracy in 1994, South Africa has been playing an important role to ensure peace and stability in the region.

In southern Africa, South Africa is considered as a regional power because it’s military might, economic dominance, abundance of minerals and other natural resources and above all, its promotion of peace and stability in the region. Economically, South Africa has span across the African continent by dominating in export and investments in other African states; for instance, MTN in Nigeria and Cameroon. In addition, South Africa’s military power is projected through its involvement in peace keeping missions in the region; for instance, the country has established a military base in Congo, it also provided a utility helicopter, which is a much-needed resource in UN peacekeeping missions in order to ensure peace and stability in that region (defenceweb, 2015). South Africa further deployed 400 South African National Defence Force (SANDF) soldiers in the Central African Republic (CAR) in an effort to ensure peace and stability in CAR (SA year book, 2013). In order to promote the African agenda, South Africa has been actively involved in mediation with mixed results in countries such as Burundi, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Côte d’Ivoire, Madagascar and Zimbabwe (ibid).

Through the promotion of good democracy in Africa and the sub region in particular, South Africa has helped some countries like Lesotho in the region to set up institutions such as the Independent Electoral Commission. The latter has also contributed 1,268 personnel to MONUC, and provided financial, human, and logistical support for the
2006 presidential and 2007 provincial elections in the DRC (Gwinyayi, Dzine and Laker, 2010: 2).

It is also actively involved in humanitarian crises in the continent, especially in countries such as Mali, Chad, Niger, Mauritania and Mozambique in the region in the wake of the humanitarian crisis facing them and donated products and materials that were directly requested by these countries (ibid).

Broadly speaking, South Africa, as a regional power, cannot be limited only to the country’s involvement in the maintenance of peace and stability. Regionally and continentally, South Africa has provided support to SADC and the African Union (AU) (Kagwanja, 2009:8). South Africa continues to support the AU at different levels, key among which is South Africa’s pivotal role in the establishment and development of the AU and became its first chair in 2002. Again, it has contributed to the establishment of the organisation. South Africa supported the ratification of the AU treaty establishing the organisation’s peace and Security Council. It has also contributed military force to AU’s peace keeping missions which includes Dafur, DRC, among others. Globally, South Africa has also played a pivotal role in the UN system, and particularly within the UNSC as a non-permanent member (Kagwanja 2009:9). Despite the above strengths of South Africa as a regional power, the country, over the years, has undergone some challenges. There are ongoing social strikes in the country, especially in the mining sector, protests for social facilities, and the recent xenophobic attacks which put South Africa on the world map and questioned its hegemony in the region. Another challenge that could jeopardise South Africa as a regional power is the quiet withdrawer of South African forces during the conflict in CAR which raised a lot of questions about the strength of the country’s military power and also the inability for south peacekeeping forces to meet UN serviceability standards.

South Africa is thus, considered to be a regional power because of its resources, economic stability and military might. Its quest for leadership role in the region is most visible based on the country’s involvement in the region. To crown it all, South Africa’s population outnumbers that of its regional neighbours.
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Conflict and political instability continues to characterise most states in Africa. Post-independent Africa has been a breathing ground for conflicts, especially after independence from the colonial masters. The causes of conflict differ from one region to another and from one country to the other. In the case of Lesotho, the outcome of elections coupled with other factors such as factionalism among political parties has led to instability in Lesotho. This has transformed into violent conflicts and has affected the political and economic status as well as caused the death of several people in Lesotho. The conflicts in Lesotho reached their peak, especially in the 1998 when the people went out of control and the government sought intervention from South Africa. Given this gap, this study therefore, assesses the role of South Africa in conflict management in the SADC region and Lesotho in particular from 1993-2014. Based on this premise, the researcher examines factors that sparked the conflict and how the outcome of elections is being used by disgruntled citizens to demonstrate their dissatisfaction as seen in the 1998 and other elections in Lesotho. This is of paramount importance because it helps to determine that violent conflicts on the African continent have changed direction as most conflict situations in Africa have moved from ethnic and religious to elections and other motives.

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

The main aim of this research was to evaluate the part played by South Africa in conflict management in the SADC region and Lesotho in particular. This was achieved by drawing inferences from a series of electoral crises such as the 1993 elections, among others since the advent of democracy in Lesotho.
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions derived from the research problem were as follows:

- What are the factors contributing to the conflict in Lesotho?; and
- What role has South Africa played in conflict management and maintenance of peace and stability in Lesotho?

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study were to:

- Examine the role played by South Africa in conflict management and mediation in Lesotho; and
- Assess the impact of the conflict in Lesotho in the period under review.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study is intended to provide insights into the role played by South Africa to manage and maintain peace and stability in the SADC region and Lesotho. This is in line with the fact that over the years, with the introduction of democracy, the kingdom of Lesotho has been experiencing a lot of political instability.

Lesotho is a country faced with numerous challenges such as poor governance and adverse social conditions. The study is vital because the Mountain Kingdom of Lesotho fuels skirmishes in the region and if there is peace in Lesotho, it will reduce violence within the Southern African Development Community (SADC). A stable Lesotho will liberate the country as it will have total control of its political activities and control over its natural resources and hence, limit the interference of foreign players in the country. The study is also relevant as it serves as a reference document for other countries in
Africa in order to respect the will and auspices of citizens or the practice of democracy. By so doing, there will be no consequences such as tensions and conflicts in any given country.

This study is also significant because it adds to the body of knowledge in the field of Political Science and International Relations. The study is geared towards providing a comprehensive assessment of the part played by South Africa in managing and maintaining stability in the region and Lesotho in particular. Furthermore, the study is vital because it will document information and recommendations that could be used to sensitise the public and governments.

The people who stand to benefit from this study are scholars, resolution makers and policy makers. The study is beneficial to stakeholders in that it will be a model for peace making in Africa in general, Lesotho, Southern Africa and the SADC region in general. The research will be very beneficial to Africa in general, particularly to countries that still practice undemocratic regimes to be conscious of the consequence of the outcome of elections, especially in situations where elections are not properly conducted. This study will enhance knowledge on already existing studies on the role played by South Africa in managing and maintaining peace in Africa. The study is also expected to provide the researcher with tangible arguments on how conflicts can affect a country as well as assist the researcher to understand how to separate personal life from activities that could result in violence in the country and hence, pave a good way for a well-organised human being in this contemporary society.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is an over-all approach to study a research topic; it includes the whole aspect of conducting a research project, developing appropriate methods of data collection and comparing and constructing different techniques and methods. It also offers a theoretical underpinning for understanding which method is best suitable for the research. According to Silverman (2006: 275), the entire purpose of methodology in a research is keen to explaining why certain methods are used in a research project by a
researcher. Further it explains the reasons why particular methods used to collect data, why such methods are chosen, their advantages and disadvantages, how such data is analysed and finally, the limitations of the method of data analysis.

Considering the fact that the current study is based on the socio-political conflict faced by the Kingdom of Lesotho and the role played by South Africa in conflict management and mediation in the SADC region, particularly Lesotho, given the fact that the research conducted is based on the effects on the society, the researcher made use of the qualitative approach given that qualitative research is based on a real life situation and not an experimental situation. It helps demonstrate a common belief that can offer a deeper understanding of a social occurrence. The research methods are flexible and sensitive in the social context in which data is generated and produced (Mason, 2002:3).

Furthermore, a qualitative research method is said to include symbolic material which needs explanation; different interpretations of the same materials are of importance; and material practice that made the world visible. The qualitative approach deals with a variety of other methods, including, interviews, observations and research questions exploring personal or social meaning (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 3). Yin (2003: 309) refers to a case study research as a research approach, an empirical inquiry that examines a phenomenon within its real-life context.

Case study research simple means one or more case studies; which includes quantitative evidence; relies on multiple sources of evidence and benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions. With a case study, the researcher is representing or showing a case among a series of numerous cases that exist in order to describe the importance of the study.

A qualitative research approach helps to bring out the dynamic evidences by developing discussions, gathering and getting people to talk through their own words how they understand a particular idea; the procedure and result of data gathering derived from documents, such as journals, newspapers, articles, artifacts, internet sources, theses and even quality data in order to be able to guarantee a worthy and understandable
assessment of the study as well as give much room for explanation. Based on the fact that there are similar cases peculiar to sub-Saharan Africa, one of them is used to demonstrate the general trend of political instability and the part played by South Africa to manage and maintain peace and stability in such situations (Congo, Mali, Burundi and Sudan).

1.8 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Document analysis, reviews, interviews, and questionnaires were used in the study to collect data. These are important qualitative methods of collecting data as they help guide the researcher not to lose focus of the unique purpose of the study. Other studies have been conducted by South Africans in managing and maintaining peace and stability in the African continent, on what triggers violence in the continent and a deductive reasoning from facts and evidences as well as the assessment of qualitative data.

1.9.1 Primary source of data collection

Primary sources were used to collect data such as questionnaires and interviews. These techniques were used in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the research problem. Furthermore, it helped the researcher to extract data from target groups and individuals. This method was vital because it aims at seeking and interpreting the meaning people bring to their own activities rather than to describe any regulation on statistical association between variables. An interview is also probably the most widely employed method in social sciences because the researcher gets information through well-placed and organised individuals in relevant institutions and the society. Furthermore, an interview is considered suitable because of its flexibility and moreover, 'gives voice to the voiceless' in the society.

1.9.2 Secondary source of data collection

The study relied also on secondary data sources from published (and un-published) materials, such as books, journals, newspapers, articles, and magazine sources. Data
was also collected from existing documentation on the subject matter from libraries, lecture notes, theses, and internet sources. Note should be taken of the fact that verbal discussions were also taken into consideration in order to obtain a complete understanding of the research problem. This method provided detailed knowledge of the researcher’s area of study.

1.9.3 Methods of data analysis

According to Churchill (2002: 35-136), data analysis is the application of logic to understand and interpret data that has been collected about a research problem. In this study, several techniques were used to analyse the multiple sources of data. Considering the fact that data was collected from interviews, questionnaires and documents analysis, each approach helped to develop and come up with a comprehensive and effective purpose of the study. Here, content analysis was suitable since it deals with documents, speeches, texts and presentations and to examine emerging themes. Content analysis is used when working with narratives such as diaries, or journals to analyse qualitative responses to open-ended questions and to transform texts into useful objects of the research. Secondly, it is very systematic as it deals with details in both qualitative approaches thus; it is not tied to a single theoretical interpretation (Abercromie and Warde, 2002).

In addition to qualitative orientations, the researcher also employed another method by carrying out discussions with students of International Relations in order to obtain valuable information to enhance the research problem. In other to confirm the data, strengthen findings and draw conclusions from the study, a system of triangulation was utilised. Triangulation involves various methods such as qualitative and quantitative approaches to ensure that each concept is examined thoroughly from different angles. In this viewpoint, the triangulation method was best suitable in the context of the complexity associated with the subject matter of the study; to assess the part played by South Africa in conflict management in the SADC region (a case study of Lesotho from 1993-2014).
1.9.3.1 Triangulation of data

According to Jick (1979: 602-611), triangulation refers to the use of different kinds of methods or data, including qualitative and quantitative approaches for the purpose of enhancing the study. Sarantkos (2005:145) states that the word triangulation came into existence because it involves three parts of action and originally, was used to reflect multiple operations.

Jick (1979: 601-611) maintains that triangulation, as a multiple function, can help inspire the researcher to create inventive approaches. This permits the researcher to view a particular aspect in the research from different perspectives, hence, to enhance knowledge and test validity of the subject matter as well as to enable the researcher to be more confidence in his or her outcomes.

Denzin (1978: 301-302) identifies five types of triangulation as follows: data triangulation explains that range of data sources used in the study in order to cross check the same information; theoretical triangulation is the use of multiple theories or perspectives to interpret the same data for the purpose of increasing the validity of the findings; investigator triangulation uses more than two different researchers or evaluators in the same study such as interviews; analysis triangulation uses more than two methods of analysing the same data (that is, qualitative and quantitative) and lastly, methodological triangulation involves the use of various methods to gather data for the same study. These methods have been widely used by social science researchers.

The purpose of triangulation is that it allows for cross checking of data or findings from other methods; it can also simultaneously address a range of confirmatory and exploratory questions, provide a better, stronger inferences and the opportunity for greater assortment of divergent views. Flick (2000c: 18) states that the use of triangulation is to create incentives for the researcher so that he or she will be able to increase knowledge to enrich the research data, and a develop higher degree of credibility, validity, utility and finally, overcome the deficiencies of one–way studies.
Furthermore, Green et al. maintain that the importance of using triangulation in a research is for complementarity which clarifies and illustrates results from one method with the use of another method which stimulates the research difficulties obtained through one method and expansion which provide richness and detail to the study exploring specific features of each methods (Green et al., 1989: 271). This argument is therefore to buttress the fact that the research strategy used in this study produced better results in terms of quality and scope. However, it is important to note that triangulation within a qualitative approach can be acquired by combining both observations, interviews and mixing different kinds of purposeful samples, for instance, both intensity and opportunity sampling, hence, this source of information gives more insight into the study.

Denzin (1978: 301-302) further explains that triangulation could be within methods. The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative approaches in the same study with the aim of achieving convergent validity. In the case of qualitative methods such as assessment research, this can take the form of multiple scales, meanwhile, in the case of quantitative approaches, such as participant opinion, inference can be drawn from multiple comparison groups (Glaser and Strauss, 1965:7) so as to employ more confidence in the study. Despite the fact that triangulation methods have been criticised by Lamnek and Silverman (1993) that by expanding the variation of the research through the use of triangulation does not guarantee better results, but the truth remains that the use of triangulation produces more and reliable results than the use of single methods hence, the use of triangulation was necessary for this study for the purpose of complementing other data sources.

1.10 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of the study is to access the role played by South Africa in conflict management, and-maintaining peace and stability in the SADC region, a case study of Lesotho given the fact that since independence, the country has been a breeding ground for political instability caused by the non-acceptance of election results by the
various political parties. Much attention is focused on the factors that caused instability and electoral processes and its outcome in the Kingdom of Lesotho. In order to strengthen this study, some countries in Africa facing similar challenges such as Mali, Burundi, Sudan, Ivory Coast and Congo were used as examples to portray the general trend. However, greater emphasis was placed on analysing the role played by South Africa in the conflict in Lesotho as vividly experienced with the recent 2014 instability in the Mountain Kingdom of Lesotho.

1.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.

Inadequate funds to travel to collect data in the Kingdom of Lesotho constituted a limitation to the study. The country is several miles away from the North West University. This was a limitation because there were no funds to go to Lesotho to observe and collect primary data from citizens of the country. The researcher relied on data from Lesotho citizens based in South Africa and other foreigners such as Congolese and from documentaries on conflicts in Lesotho.

This being a sensitive research topic, participants were rather skeptical of the whole political environment and the responses were not straightforward. A language barrier was another difficulty encountered due to the fact that some respondents could not express themselves well in English. Furthermore, the researcher does not originate from Lesotho.

The main limitation that could have hampered the study was the issue of insecurity, especially as there are still instances of violence in Lesotho. This prevented the researcher from travelling to the country. The difficult terrain also constituted another limitation.
1.12 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher ensured that the appropriateness and confidentiality of data obtained from respondents was maintained considering the fact that some of the subjects were actively involved in government services and post-war reconstruction. Subject personnel were informed that participation was voluntary. The researcher provided subject personnel with a report of the findings. Interviewees and institutions that requested anonymity about the information provided were assured of their privacy and anonymity. Assurance of the outcome of the research was made available to all participants and furnished to them upon request. Personnel identities were not included in the data for confidentiality and anonymity reasons.

1.13 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The research is divided as follows:

Chapter 1 (introduction) presents the subject of the study, which is an assessment of the part played by South Africa in conflict management in the SADC region (the case study of in Lesotho from 1993-2014). The chapter also presents the background and the general causes of conflict in Lesotho. The chapter then looks at SADC in enhancing stability, and South Africa as a regional power. The chapter then proceeds with the problem statement, the research question, aim of study, objectives of the study, rationale for the study, research methods, method of data analysis, scope of the study, limitations of the study and ethical considerations.

Chapter 2 constitutes the literature review and theoretical framework. The literature review provides the background and the general trend of the causes of conflicts in Lesotho, and how elections could be used as a tool to fuel conflicts in Africa. The states of Congo, Burundi, Sudan and Ivory Coast are used as examples to analyse the general trend of conflict in Africa as a whole, and the role played by South Africa to manage these conflicts. On the other hand, the theoretical framework examined the various theories used in this study and portray the relevance of the research area of study.
Chapter 3 is the presentation, analysis and findings from the data. The data presented was collected from a series of documents, journals, and other sources and further analysed through content analysis and triangulation. The data collected on the field was analysed and presented in this chapter to give the research a clear indication of the findings of the study.

Chapter 4 presents the conclusion and recommendations. The conclusion provides a summary of the findings while the recommendations are suggestions to the Lesotho government on how to avoid the escalation of future conflicts.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter comprises of the literature review and the theoretical framework. A review of key literature regarding the study is presented. The purpose of a literature review is to explore and present what other researchers have done on the subject matter and to provide the researcher with coherent and current issues concerning the research. It also ensures that the works of others are not reproduced; better still, it identifies limitations in literature and contributes something original to the body of knowledge thereby providing something different about South Africa’s role in conflict management in the SADC region (a case study of Lesotho) and understanding to the field of study (Denscombe, 2007). Literature review is very important in research because, it sharpens and deepens the theoretical framework of the research as well as familiarises the researcher with current developments in the field of study and in related areas. The researcher thus, becomes familiar with the problems, hypothesis and results obtained by other researchers and can discover flaws by comparing investigations.

Additionally, a theoretical framework is very vital in any study because it describes the relevant theories that can be used to support targeted studies. It also explains how the research topic is linked with the theory. It further identifies key variables that are related to the research problem. This allows the researcher to shed light on the dependent variables with the independent variables.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Several studies have been carried out on how conflict can be managed but this is different because scholars have not yet researched on the role played by South Africa in conflict management in Lesotho. This chapter examines some countries where South
Africa has intervened in order to restore stability and the factors fueling conflict in these countries. The wind of change that swept across the Africa continent in the 1950s championing calls for self-rule and independence from colonial rule were also actively heeded to by the tiny kingdom which had suffered under British imperialism since 1868 (Bukae, 2012). Most countries in Africa, including Lesotho, have experienced political stability. The struggle for democracy on the African continent has been long and strenuous to achieve. This is because post-independence African governments were predominantly regimes characterised by authoritarianism wherein the head of state dominated his/her population and did not accept or tolerate any form of resistance on the part of citizens in terms of how the country was governed. States in Africa that were involved in this art did so as a measure to addressing the heterogeneous nature of their statehood and to bring about economic and social development. In an attempt to achieve their goals, leaders showed little respect for the civil liberties or the citizens’ right to objection (Ismaila, 2008).

Despite the fact that countries in Africa started gaining independent from their colonial masters in the 1950s, since then, there have been significant progress made in consolidating stability in Africa. The paragraphs that follow discuss factors responsible for instability in Africa and the role played by South Africa in managing and ensuring stability in some countries such as the Central Africa Republic (CAR), Congo and Burundi.

Firstly, the birth of democracy in Africa, among other factors fueling conflicts in Africa, can be considered as one of the main causes of conflict in the African continent. Since the birth of democracy in the 1990s, Africans still struggle to defeat military and authoritarian rule which in most cases, turn into violent conflicts. It can be said that African people and societies since 1990, have embraced democracy as “the only game in town” and that mandates and legitimacy for leadership shall only be granted to individuals and political parties through a ballot box. This condition was driven by the belief of African civil society that a plural democratic society will greatly contribute to the promotion and attainment of good governance.
The reality, however, remains that most African leaders indirectly still practise authoritarian rule and thus, make African countries like Lesotho, Mali, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Congo and Tanzania (Staffan, 2006: 143) to be considered as practising hybrid regimes wherein African government adopt partial aspects of democracy like multi-party elections but on the other hand, have held on to some elements of authoritarianism (Archer, 1995; Collier and Levitsky, 1995; Joseph, 1997; Przeworski, 1988). The above is evident when one takes a close look at the outcomes of previous elections in countries such as Lesotho, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Nigeria, the Central Africa Republic and Zimbabwe.

All the countries cited above have a common similarity (conflict following the outcome of electoral). Though different in geographical location or the occurrence of their various resistances did not take place in the same year, they were all aimed at establishing democratic states. As Francis (2002: 2-3) comment:

“the sovereignty lies with the people and therefore the government is responsible to the people; and that the will of the majority is more important than that of the minorities” (Francis, 2002: 2).

This view is consistent with that of Aristotle who contends that:

“In a democracy, the people are the king because they are in the majority and because the will of the greatest number has the force of law” (John ed. Korwa et al, 2008).

Besides the fact that the birth of democracy in Africa has brought instability in most parts of Africa, there are other factors responsible for fueling conflicts in the continent. Ethnicity can be considered as one of the reasons why conflict is inevitable in Africa. Collier and Binswanger (199) argue that Africa is a continent with the highest diversity of ethnic groups and that many countries in Africa are distinct and have multiple groups with a strong identity. It is therefore difficult to organise rebellion against ethnic divisions since each group will want to defend its own identity.

Mozzato (2010) argues that conflict in Africa could be attributed to the former colonial master who indirectly still practises neo-colonial attitudes, especially in former French
colonies. This was clearly seen during the 2010 elections in Ivory Coast where the French militarily were present in the territory and showed their involvement in Ivorian politics. This, in other words will mean to say that some conflicts or civil wars in Africa are partly caused by former colonial masters who practise-neo-colonialism on the African continent (Mozzato, 2010).

Furthermore, social changes of some sort in a country can emerge into conflict. If the society is defined by dominator coercive relationships, there is likelihood that conflict would emerge (Galtung, J 1969: 167-191).

Additionally, some scholars have argued that the struggle over natural access of and the control of natural resources has sparked off conflict in many parts of Africa (Brundtland et al., 1987: 2). Resources such as crude oil are capable of fueling conflicts in a country, for instance, the Niger Delta conflict in Nigeria, Sudan, among others. Humphreys (2005: 510) suggests that countries whose wealth is depend mostly on the exportation of primary commodities such as agricultural products and natural resources are largely to be victims of violence and conflict. For example, most intrastate conflict in Africa is based mostly on the struggle and control of natural resources such as the conflicts in Angola, over oil, Diamond and Burundi over land.

According to Collier and Hoeffler, conflict can be stimulated either by greed or grievance (Collier and Hoeffler, 1999: 3). This is based on the fact that relative deprivation, social exclusion and inequality, due for example, in a society, make up different cleavages (Gurr, 1970: 2). In light of the above, a country with natural resources is prone to conflict because the minority rich will hold tight to the resources and grievances might occur because of inadequate compensation by the tribes that own the land where the resources are being exploited.

Some scholars argue that the rapid increase of the African population, environmental degradation, climate change and resource scarcity stimulate conflict, especially contemporary intrastate conflict in Africa. The African population is rapidly increasing as years unfold. For instance, in the 1950s, the population growth rate increase from 8.9 per cent to 14.0 per cent and it is estimated to increase to 21.3 per cent in 2050s (UN
Department, 2004: 5). In light of the above, the increase in population presents the largest and most complex of threats to human security since most natural resources that can be used to accommodate the growing population are becoming scares under certain conditions. For example, the conflict in Rwanda in 1994, South Africa in pre- and post-apartheid Senegal in 1989 and Zimbabwe from 1960 to 1980 were, among other factors, the result of demographic pressures that created scarcities (Maphosa, 2012: 5).

Maphosa (1995: 5) argues that the unequal distribution and access of natural resources in which the less privileged are being marginalised from equal access could spark off conflict since the resources are controlled by the few (elite). For instance, in South Africa, the system of apartheid provided whites with 87 per cent of the land, while almost 75 percent of the country's black population lived in squalor and areas that accounted for only 13 per cent of the land. In the black community, the situation was worst because resources were inequitably distributed as the local elites controlled most of the land.

The kingdom of Lesotho is largely surrounded by South Africa. The country was previously a British protectorate. On 4th October 1966, the country gained independent from Great Britain. On attaining independence, Lesotho adopted the King as the head of state and the Prime Minister as head of government (Tlohang 2009: 6). Since independent in 1966, the country has held several elections as follows: 1970, 1998 then in 1993 when the country returned to democracy. Statically, most of the elections held after independence in Lesotho was contested, leading in some cases, to bloody conflicts between the losers and the winners killing civilians and the destruction of properties.

This situation gave room to question the role and effectiveness of international observers such as South Africa in the case of Lesotho to ensure peace and stability. However, the point of contention in the paragraphs beneath shall be an overview of factors that trigger conflict Africa. Firstly, the history of elections in Lesotho provides an important lens for examining how the outcome of elections can be used as a tool to fuel
conflict in the said country because voters treat elections as a principle of democracy and how politicians undermine them for their own selfish interests.

Generally, in Lesotho, elections have been the source of frictions, triggered numerous conflicts, undermining the very process of democratisation. Since Lesotho gained independence in 1966, the country has never experienced true democracy. The origins of Lesotho’s instability began with the elections of 1965. These elections were actively contested by political parties. Most often, the outcome of elections, coupled with other reasons such as the domination of power by the ruling elite, high levels of inequalities as well as high unemployment have been contributing factors for instability in Lesotho. These socio-economic problems have negative consequence on the prospects of democratic consolidation.

Lesotho has suffered political instability since independence from Britain in 1965. After independent, the country has conducted a series of elections which in most cases, have ended up in violence. The violence in Lesotho began following the 1965 elections where the outcome was contested by political parties. Their protests led to tensions that have plagued Lesotho since independence. The results of the elections showed that the BNP won with 41.6% of the votes, the BCP obtained 37.7% while the MaremaTlou Freedom Party won the remaining 16.5% of the votes (loc-cit: 2). After the announcement of the results, Leabua Jonathan was still installed as Prime Minister despite the fact that his party, the BNP, won minority seats as the party did not win 50% of the votes cast. This, therefore, paved the way for contestations by opposition parties such as the BCP which refused to accept the results accusing the BNP of rigging the elections, and that they will not be ruled by a minority government under the BNP (Ibid : 39).

In a similar vein, electioneering has been unfolding in Lesotho since independence putting the country into serious political instability. In the 1993 general elections, the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) won 65 constituencies as against the BNP which won a single seat in the legislature. This therefore, gave room for many observers to interpret the landslide victory as the “righting of the wrongs in the 1970s” when the party was rightfully denied claims to rule the state (Southall & Petlane, 2005:14). Following the humiliating loss to the BCP, the BNP claimed that the elections were rigged, and
even went further to challenge the results in court (Kadima 1999:76). Secondly, they claimed that the BCP government lacked support from civil servants, and called for the reinstatement of King Mshoeshoe II who was exiled in 1991 during the military government of Lekhanya. Having failed to persuade the court to nullify aspects of the elections, the BNP launched protests which threatened the political stability of Lesotho. This, however, resulted into conflicts, especially by disgruntled unemployed youth, coupled with those excluded from social and political activities in government.

Some scholars argue that election violence in Lesotho was, however, due to serious discrepancies which were highly compromised (Qhobela, 1998: 252). They further argue that discrepancies were found between the total number of people who voted and the announced results considered to be implausible due to explanations given by the independent electoral commission. Moreover, election materials that were supposed to be in sealed containers were open, which in most cases, the High Court is the one responsible to open it prior to the date of elections. This set the scene for a mutiny in among members of the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) which broke out in mid-September 1998, at the main army barracks in Maseru (Matlosa, 1999: 12-13). Against this backdrop, King Letsie III went ahead and dissolved the BCP government claiming he was instructed by the Basotho people to take such a drastic decision (Mothibe 1999: 49). Thus, violence continued in Lesotho (which was popularly referred to as “Palace Coup”) by the opposition. Stability was restored when the BCP was reinstated thanks to the interventions of South Africa and Zimbabwe (Selinyane, 1999: 41).

According to Mothibe (1999:490-91), conflict in Lesotho can be partly blamed but the First-Past-The-Post and winner takes-all systems are likely to encourage violence, especially in a divided society like Lesotho (this system was not in line with the monarchy). This could be seen in the 1998 elections when the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) won 78 of the 79 constituencies, hence the LCD had 99% of the parliamentary seats (Southall, 2003: 288). While results of the elections were being announced, the BNP, MNP, BCP and other smaller parties gathered to protest the results of the elections (interview, 2003). Furthermore, they refused to recognise the government of the LCD complaining that the elections were rigged and that the
elections were fraudulent (Ibid). The same trend has resurfaced in almost all elections held in Lesotho since independence and one may question the authenticity of liberal democracy in Lesotho.

Furthermore, another reason that has accounted for violence in Lesotho can be the colonial master. This is based on the fact that at the dawn of independence, the country simple adopted the constitutions handed to it the former colonial master. According to this model of electoral, some parties were excluded from parliament in spite of the fact that some of these parties had some degree of popular support, for instance, the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP) and the BNP which managed to secure only one seat in parliament. The newly formed Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) won 78% of the seats (Matlosa, 2004: 44). 29% of the voters were not represented in parliament. This then called for protests at the King's Palace by the opposition consisting the BNP, MFP and the BCP due to the fact that the FPTP system seriously disadvantaged the losing parties (Rule, 1998:11). They then pleaded with the King to dissolve the LCD government and parliament and establish a caretaker government, which would prepare for fresh elections based on the full Proportional Representation (PR) system. The overall assessment is that the FPTP system did not serve Lesotho’s political system well in terms of deepening democratic governance and ensuring political stability. The above-mentioned reasons have accounted for instability in Lesotho and have pushed made scholars such as Weisfelder (2001, 75) to comment as follows: “Recurrent political crises in Lesotho are rooted in constitutional and electoral systems and party politics dating back to the 1960s.” For example, with the elections of 1965, 1970, 1993 and 1998, among others, the FPTP system delivered an electoral outcome in which opposition parties felt extremely excluded, cheated and marginalised.

Following the unprecedented violence in Lesotho, the Prime Minister, Pakalitha Mosisili, appealed to South Africa to intervene militarily to put the situation under control. In September 1998, South African Defence Force (SADF) troops entered Lesotho and were later joined by Botswana. With the help of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to facilitate mediation talks between opposition parties and the
government, stability was restored with the introduction of the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system to address the problem of exclusivity inherent in the FPTP model (ibid).

2.2.1. South Africa’s intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

The democratic Republic of Congo, formerly known as `Belgian Congo`, like many other countries in Africa, gained independence from Belgium in June 1960. Since independence, there have been recurring political and economic instability in the country (Lipset, 1995:1403) characterised by conflicts as well as periodic civil violence. The conflict in DRC has been unfolding since 1998 both internal and external leading to the death of almost 4 million people with the displacement of citizens to neighboring countries. The crisis in DRC has also resulted in the decline of economic growth contributing widely to political instability (Montague 2002:103).

Some scholars argue that the conflict in Congo can be traced from the tap root of colonial activities (Lusignan, 2004). When the colonial master (Belgium) arrived Congo, they made promises to the Congolese, assuring them that they will build schools, homes, and to liberate the Congolese people from Arab slave traders. Very little was done, instead, a regime was instituted that operated solely through force of might where people were tortured, women and children brutally raped, murdered and worst still, treated like animals (Hochschild, 1998: 176). In a similar vein, Hochschild (1998:176) contends that, despite independence, the Congo government, under President Mobutu, was still acting as a puppet taking instructions from the West. The United States and European countries used Mobutu to foster both economic and political decisions in an effort to maintain control of their investments and operations in the country leading to the exploitation of Congolese people ((Hochschild, 1998: 303). Mobutu closed all opportunities that could have benefited Congolese, even those that did not endanger his hegemonic position. His puppetism to western countries only resurrected and reminded the Congolese of the harsh, brutal and inhuman rule of Leopold and the Belgians escalating anger among citizens.
Furthermore, ethnicity can be considered as one of the factors fueling conflict in the DRC. The problem of ethnic differences spans the domination or oppression by one ethnic group to the other. Since independence, the issue of ethnicism has been fueling conflict in DRC based on the fact that some ethnic groups are being excluded from benefiting from the country’s rich natural resources. Instead, their labour is being exploited by other major tribes for selfish reasons. Societal discrimination on the basis of ethnicity is a common practice by members of virtually all ethnic groups and is evident in private hiring, especially among ethnic groups that are not represented in government (GS: 2000-9).

Furthermore, the unpreparedness of Congolese politicians to handle political organisation also contributed to political crisis in the country. This, however, have resulted to poor governance characterised by corruption, bad economic and development policy choices, and externally imposed structural adjustment programmes which have further destroyed the state. The consequences were the serious nationwide army mutiny and secessionist movements in Katanga and southern Kasai.

The fight for land ownership, access to mineral resources, and political participation in decision-making can be seen as a factor fueling conflict in DRC. This is very common among tribes such as in South Kivu and in the north which are areas endowed with mineral resources. Hence, conflict is inevitable in such areas because the struggle and control of power among the different tribes on the exploitation and management of the above resources will definitely spark conflict. Therefore, the struggle for the control of minerals resources can be seen as the centre of violent conflict in DRC.

Overall, elections in Congo can be seen as one of the factors fueling conflicts in the country. This is based on the fact that most of the elections organised in the DRC were not without contention. This is evident from others in the 2005 democratic elections. This election was not without conflict. After the second rounds of presidential contestation, violent clashes erupted in Kinshasa between Kabila and the opposition Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC) leader, Jean-Pierre Bemba’s supporters arguing that the elections were rigged; there was also suspicions manipulation of ballot
boxes as well that the fact that there were very few registration centres (Michela 2009:11-12). This resulted in massive killings in the country.

Scholars such as Le Potentie (1994) argues that the Mobutu system of governance became the biggest contributor to the weakening of the state, although other factors also contributed (such as poor economic performance, dependence on primary commodity exports, uneven distribution of resources and competition over scarce resources within different ethno-region entities). Corruption was the main factor undermining state capacity (Le Potentiel, 1994). This resulted into constant riots and revolts by citizens who felt that their voices were not respected or that the government in place was not competent enough to efficiently rule the country.

Other possible reasons that can accounted for the violent conflict in DRC include the internal divisions within the AMP and the decreasing popularity of the president in the eastern region due to continuous wars, and inadequate security control and general dissatisfaction with the government, both in the west and the east owing to lack of service delivery, rampant corruption and escalating levels of poverty.

Despite the fact that the DRC is geographically far away from South Africa, the has been working hard through mediation and peacekeeping under the banner of the United Nations to ensure stability in Congo, precisely in the Eastern region of the country. During the 1998 war in Congo, South Africa played a vital role organising a forum for negotiations between all Congolese belligerents and political groups where a peace deal was signed in Sun City, South Africa, ushering in a transitional government in June 2003. The deal saw Kabila sharing power with four vice-presidents restoring stability in the country.

Furthermore, in 2002, Pretoria provided a forum in which an agreement was reached between the Congolese government and rebel groups. The strength of this agreement was, however, based on the fact that it committed the Congolese government to support disarmament, demobilisation and repatriation of the Rwanda and Burundi arm forces (Pretoria, 2002). In 2002, Pretoria also provided a venue where the Global and All-Inclusive Peace Accord between the DRC and main rebel groups were signed which
was endorsed at Sun City on 2 April 2003 (Kabemba, 2004:1). In order to strengthen the above accord, the South African former President, Thabo Mbeki played a vital role in keeping the accord alive during his presidency by sending the troops from the South African National Defence Forces and equipment to Congo as part of SADC force. Since 2000, SANDF has been working alongside UN forces in Congo in order to promote efforts in stabilising the country's internal peace and post-conflict reconstructions, infrastructure and developments (GCIS 3012). It also provided utility helicopters in order to facilitate the work of rescue teams in the DRC. The numerous contributions made by South Africa, from the deployment of troops, among others, have been highly appreciated in curbing instability in Congo.

According to News24 (2013), South Africa, under the auspices of the UNSC, deployed about 1,345 troops to DRC in June 2013 as part of the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) in order to counter the March 23 (M23) insurgence in the eastern part of the country. However, due to the joint support by South Africa, Tanzania and Malawi forces, the Congolese army, that is, the Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC), the M23, rebels were officially defused and entered into a peace agreement with the Congolese government between November and December 2013 (ibid).

It is feared that without international recognition and domestic pressure to curb the ongoing exploitation, DRC's future will be one that is trapped in a vicious cycle of human rights abuses and conflict. Hence, South Africa played a substantive role in supporting the country's first democratic elections in 2006 and acted as a successful mediator for the AU when President Kabila’s challenger contested the results (Khadiagala 2009). Also, the South African military transported ballot papers printed in South Africa to 13 transit points in Congo.

2.2.2. South Africa's role in the conflict management in the Central African Republic (CAR)

The Central African Republic (CAR) has been characterised with unfolding conflicts of state coups, armed conflicts and violence despite various peace agreements. These
recurring conflicts in CAR have attracted the attention of the international community including South Africa in order to restore peace where violent conflict has resulted into political instability and a serious humanitarian crisis. With a population of about 5.2 million, dominated by the Christians with 85% and 15% Muslim (World Factbook, 2014: 4). The Central African Republic gained independence from France in 1960, but since independence, the country has been facing continuous political instability due to several coups d’état with the very first coup occurring in 1965.

Some scholars have suggested that conflict in CAR is a consequence of rivalry for political power between the government and various communities within the country. This was an impediment because it created a week democratic government, which could not provide security to the northern part of the country, hence, the formation of armed groups such as the Seleka which has been carrying out violence in order to overthrow the ruling government. Political instability can thus be considered as a factor fueling conflict in CAR where rebel groups in the north often use this as a tool to carry out murder and other casualties on civilians.

Internal political instability and violent conflicts in neighbouring countries such as Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Chad where most rebels groups are found also contributed to the conflict in CAR. Rebels in the neighbouring countries mentioned above often use conflict situations as a shell to carry out raids in villages in CAR. This has highly contributed to the conflict in CAR because, often, rebels will attack civilians from neighbouring countries.

Furthermore, some scholars suggest that colonialism can partly be blamed for the recurring political instability in CAR. This is based on the premise that France, the former colonial master, neglected CAR. France shared its power of sovereignty over CAR to Grandes Compagnies Concessionaires, which used it as a resource extraction site and a reservoir for slaves (Saulier, 1997: 3). By independence in 1960, CAR inherited a web of contradictions from its colonial period marked by disequilibrium between rural areas and Bangui, preoccupying public finances, and inequalities between different groups within the population – all leading to the underdevelopment of the country (Téné-Koyzoa, 2005: 3).
Vircoulon and Lesueur (2014: 3) suggest that violent conflict in CAR can be blamed on the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP). This is based on the fact that with the advent of SAP, most foreign companies drastically left the country; this was an impediment to CAR because the country’s economy started experiencing a drastic fall resulting in unemployment, poverty marginalisation which has badly affected the economy of the state. Some scholars also suggest that the conflict in CAR is as a result of the exacerbation of current and ancient political, social and economic tensions (Mayneri, 2014: 93).

Furthermore, economic disparity between the north and the south seems to be a driver of conflict in CAR. The south is considered to be economically viable than the north. The northern part of CAR is considered marginalised and lacks basic services such as schools, water, tarred roads or electrified towns, good medical facilities, proper sanitation and hospitals in communities. In most remote areas in the north such as the Vakaga province, state structures are virtually non-existent; there is no police officer, teachers and administrative officers compared to the southern part of CAR where the donor community and the World Bank are supporting large-scale development initiatives. This marginalisation has contributed to political instability in the country. This is, however, evident because a village leader in the Vakaga province maintains that “since independence, until now, the State has ignored us. We have problems of bad roads, no hospitals, no schools, no clean water in our communities” (HRW, 2007: 2-3). The marginalisation of a significant part of the population and more importantly, the outright negligence of regions such as the northeast (with a majority Muslims), leave some youths frustrated and with no choice rather than to be recruited into armed militias seeking for justice which has turned the country into conflict zone.

The civil war that broke out in the Central African Republic (CAR) in 2012 was between the government and the Muslim rebel group known as the Seleka Rebel Coalition (Uppsala, 2013:1-2). The immediate factor that sparked-off the 2012 conflict in CAR was based on allegations that the Bozize government had failed to implement the DDR programme in the northeast, declining to investigate rebel and government crimes that had been occurring since 2005. They also demanded that President Francois Bozize
step down from power (Security Council, 2013: 3). This generated anger and frustration which prompted the Seleka rebel group (made up of Muslims) to carry out insurgences which resulted in bloody confrontations between the rebel military and the civilian population. In light of the increasing violence and the inability to prevent it, the South African government had to intervene in the crisis in CAR, through the deployment of troops in order to maintain peace.

South Africa’s involvement in CAR was, however, based on bilateral military agreements signed between South Africa and CAR in 2007 and renewed in 2012. The aim of the agreement was for South Africa to contribute to peace and stability in CAR through the disarmament and reintegration of Seleka rebels (Ngoupana, 2014).

To this end, in 2007, South African troops were deployed in CAR. A special force unit known as Operations Morero was sent to protect president Bozize, (RSA 2013). It’s Defence Minister, Nqakula was also sent to the said country in 2012 to assess the situation (Fabricius, 2013: 14). South Africa also provided a forum for negotiations during the visit of the former President Bozizé in Pretoria in order for him and Zuma (AFP2013) to discuss the way out concerning the 72-hour ultimatum that the rebels had given him (Glynnis, 2013). In January 2013, some 200 South African troops were deployed to CAR by President Zuma in order to ensure peace and stability. The South African troops suffered severely in battle. The 1000 members of the Seleka rebel coalition advancing into Bangui resulted in the death of Fourteen South Africans and 27 wounded, (Christopher, 2013). From the above paragraphs, it could be concluded that despite the numerous studies done by scholars on the causes of conflict in some countries in Africa, this study is different because, research has not been done on the causes of instability in Lesotho and the role played by South Africa in maintaining pace and stability in the tiny kingdom over the years.

2.3 Theoretical framework.

A theoretical framework is a detailed analysis of how theories are linked to the research topic. The concept can be referred as an explanation based on observation and
reasoning, especially one that has been tested and confirmed as a general principle, explaining a large number of facts (Burchill, 2001). There is no single theory that is widely thought to provide the basis for understanding a phenomenon. This research is guided by two theories of international relations, namely, grievances theory and the theory of liberalism. These theories explain factors contributing to the violent conflict in Lesotho.

2.3.1 Grievances theory

This theory examines inequality, political oppression, ethnic and religious divisions as causes of conflict. These differences in social values could lead to the development of conflict. This is because the more those social facilities are being dominated by the minority group, the more likely will the majority groups (made up of employed youths) will react in order to call for justices. Collier and Hoeffler (2000:13-28) identify three types of elements in the above theory that can result to conflict if not handled properly. These include hatred between groups, political exclusion and vengeance which can lead to the escalation of conflict in a country such as Lesotho. Hatred is very common in societies which have diversified ethnic groups and is believed to be one of the causes of conflict in society. Fractionalisation, which is the order of the day in Lesotho is at the root of conflict and hatred and very common among different political parties. For example, the LBC splintered from the BNP and others thus, resulting to violence. In essence, a polarised community is more prone to conflicts.

In a similar vein, political exclusion can occur when a certain group of people with legal rights like others are denied political rights and participation in the governing the country. It can also occur when minorities are not protected through constitutional provisions. When applying this concept to the Lesotho context, it could be observed that there are elements that have been existing since independence that have prevented people or some political parties from taking their full responsibility to participate in the government. For example, the 1998 elections were based on First-Past-The-Post (FPTP). This system greatly excluded some parties such as the
Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP) and the B NP despite their popular recognitions. This eventually led to conflict in the said country. Hence, democracy which is said to be cherished worldwide is not being practised in a country like Lesotho since some groups are being excluded.

In a country such as Lesotho, which is made up of different communities, violence, especially election violence is inevitable since communities consist of different segments and some of these segments may have grievances that can lead to violence in an attempt to resolve grievances. This is often common after elections when all promises made by the incumbent cannot be accomplished. For peace to reign there is a need openness of political institutions which will reduce the risk of conflict. This was not true for Lesotho as the country became less democratic, due to poor institutions and a deteriorating economy, hence, prevailing conditions to spark conflict.

In addition to the above, political fractionalisation, ethnic polarisation and ethnic dominance were found to be very common in Lesotho which consequently fuelled violence in the country. For instance, fractionalisation among political parties has been one of the main causes of violence in the country. After the 1993 elections, some members of BNP broke away from the ruling party to form the BCP which resulted in conflict since the newly formed BCP won the 1997 elections. This, however, resulted into conflict because the ruling party, the BNP, refused to hand over power to the BCP. Disgruntled citizens went on the rampage as a way of demonstrating their dismay as they thought they were been marginalised (Helen, 2015). The grievance theory as explained above is suitable to the Lesotho conflict as exclusion in Lesotho has affected the political, economic and social life of the people.

South Africa, as a regional power in the SADC region, has been playing an instrumental role in conflict management and mediation in Lesotho. This was evident during the 1998 intervention and establishment of an electoral commission in Lesotho, among others in order to ensure smooth elections. For instance, the 2014 elections in Lesotho were without violence. Furthermore, South Africa intends to promote democracy in the region because it believes that democracies do not fight one another or neither engage in militarised disputes with one another (Weart, 1998: 77-78). This is due to the fact that
they share common norms of live-and-let-live and domestic institutions that constrain the recourse to war. It is considered as probably the most powerful liberal contribution to eliminate factors that cause conflict or war, hence the absence of war (Bueno, 1997: 791-812). Furthermore, this theory is strongly supported by American presidents from the two major parties. Former President, Bill Clinton of the Democratic Party, during his 1994 State of the Union address remarked as follows:

“Ultimately, the best strategy to ensure our security and to build a durable peace to support the advancement of democracy elsewhere. Democracies do not attack each other.”

In a similar vein, President George W. Bush of the Republican Party declared as follows:

“The reason why I’m so strong on democracy is that democracies do not go to war with each other. And the reason why the people of most societies don’t like war, they understand what war means….I have faith in democracies to promote peace” (Bush speech, 2004).

2.3.2 Liberalism

Liberalism stresses the importance, respect and protection of individual human rights and liberties (Ball, 1993; Hague et al, 1992). Hence, in order to be free, individuals need access to the requirement of fulfilment, including protection from exploitation, education, right to food, right to vote and shelter (Coady, 1995). To better understand human rights, it is imperative to visit some of the works conducted by scholars such as John Locke. Lock strongly emphasises on the concept of “natural’s rights”, right to property and liberty and making a way for an opportunity for individuals to carry on with their own interests by exercising their own choice and by choosing where to live, what to buy, who to live with and the kind of position in contemporary society (Lane, 1996:176.8). This is totally different in Lesotho because most people, especially those that are not connected to the ruling party are denied their liberty to job opportunity and other
privileges. Again, some political parties such as the BCP, despite the fact that they managed to win elections, were denied the right to take over government, which eventually led to conflict.

In a similar vein, John Stuart Mill, an early liberalist also emphasises on individual freedom and liberties as contained in almost all constitutions of constitutions. According to Mill, liberty implies the right to do as one wants, free from the interference of others, so long as what one wants does no harm to others (Mill, 2002: 44). Based on the above, individual freedom and liberty can be achieved by government taking positive steps to make its citizens happy. In contemporary Lesotho, if individual rights, freedom and liberty are promoted, violent conflicts will be avoided. Furthermore, South Africa, as a regional power in the region, and who strongly believes in the promotion of peace, stability and the respect and promotion of human right as part of its foreign policy objective, has been playing a pivotal role in conflict resolution and management in Lesotho. This is based on the premise that resolving a conflict or problem does not necessary mean using violence. The use of violence in resolving a conflict is disastrous since there are many other ways of resolving conflicts peacefully. This was witnessed during the 2014 violence in Lesotho where South Africa used diplomatic means to restore stability by sending Ramaphosa to Lesotho for negotiations (e–news, 2014).

Thus, the mountain Kingdom must learn to abstain from using violence to resolve its problems and rather use diplomatic channels such as peace agreements or peace settlements. Consequently, it is important for Lesotho citizens like those in other countries in Africa and SADC regions, in particular, in order to avoid future conflicts, to embark on diplomatic channels and other ways of settling disputes. This study has theoretically analysed the problem, attention will now be shifted to the answering questions pertaining to the specific case study as follows: Examine the role played by South Africa in conflict management and mediation in Lesotho; assess the impact of the conflict in Lesotho during the period under review.
CHAPTER THREE
DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with delineation of research variables. Recent experiences in countries such as the Central African Republic (CAR), Zimbabwe, Congo, Sudan, Burundi and Lesotho have shown the role played by South Africa in maintaining peace and stability. In an attempt to analyse the research questions below, the researcher examined the role played by South Africa in conflict management and mediation in Lesotho and assessed the impact of the conflict in Lesotho. Southern Africa is one of the regions in Africa that has witnessed deadly conflicts caused by civil wars and political instability. Failure by the United Nations (UN) to resolve conflict in Africa, coupled with lack of support from the United States left regional organisations and neighbouring countries to deal with their regional conflicts. Thus, solving conflict in Africa is the sole responsibility of Africans. South Africa is considered as the one country in the region that has been playing a pivotal role in conflict management in the SADC region and Africa as a whole. In this light, the study focuses on the role played by South Africa in conflict management in Lesotho (1993-2014).

It is important to start by noting some of the reasons that have influenced South Africa’s involvement in conflict management on the continent. Firstly, South Africa believes in the conviction that conflicts delay development on the continent through destruction that includes massive death and displacement of civilians as well as the destruction of the little infrastructure in existence. Secondly, conflicts portray the negative image of Africa as the ‘dark continent’ and by extension, prevent external investments which are necessary for unblocking the continent’s riches. Since its readmission into the international community in 1994, the country has been widely involved in several conflict resolution efforts in a number of conflict-stricken countries in Africa such as Burundi, Côte d’Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho and Zimbabwe. Its involvement in conflict management and resolution in Africa has come in different forms
which include peacekeeping, peacemaking, diplomatic mediations and military interventions by the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) (Miti 2012: 26-42).

3.2 Data presentation

3.2.1 The role played by South Africa in conflict management and mediation in Lesotho

Since South Africa’s readmission into the international community in 1994, the country has spearheaded the role in conflict management and resolution in Africa in different forms either through peacekeeping, peacemaking and diplomatic mediation. This is, however, based on the fact that the country is economically and military stronger than most of the countries in the continent. At the down of democracy in 1994, the new South African government adopted the policy of promoting peace and stability in the region and Africa at large as part of its foreign policy goal. Thus, Pretoria had to take respond to challenges facing the region and precisely Lesotho.

When former President Mandela came to power in 1994, the hopes of South Africans and Africans in general were raised that conflict could be settle in a peaceful manner. This hope came as a result of the peaceful settlement of conflict in South Africa itself. Again, when Thabo Mbeki took over power, he followed the footsteps of his predecessor by declaring that he wanted to solve conflicts in the region and on the continent in a peaceful manner using diplomatic means “African solutions to Africa conflicts” (Jan, 1997:13).

The tension or instability in Lesotho served as a direct test for South Africa in terms of solving conflicts peacefully in the region. This was based on the premise that Lesotho is very close to South Africa, thus the interventions by South Africa to restore peace and stability in Lesotho was of great concern because, solving conflicts peacefully in the sub-region falls within Pretoria’s foreign policy objectives. The vision of South Africa’s involvement in peaceful settlement of disputes in Africa was strongly supported by the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Aziz Pahad when he started that:
“We did not see ourselves as playing a leading role in the region, but now we have come to understand that there is an expectation from Africa and the rest of the world that we have a role to play, a role of contributing to peace and stability in our continent and the African economic renaissance” (Pahad, 1996:2).

Therefore, South Africa’s intervention in Lesotho was guided by its foreign policy commitment of maintaining peace and stability in the region. The 1994 tensions that sparked off in Lesotho was as a result of political parties trying to gain access to state resources. This was evident during the 1994 elections where the BCP emerged as the wining party. The BCP victory, however, caused turmoil because other political parties refused to recognise its government because of little support from civil servants. This gave opposition parties the green light to protest against the government which resulted to instability in Lesotho. The 1994 conflict gave South Africa the green light to implement the objective of its foreign policy towards Southern Africa in to practice. This also happened at a time when South Africa emerged into a new democracy, hence maintaining stability in Lesotho was of great concern to South Africa to spread its democracy. The first response to the crisis in Lesotho by South Africa was diplomatic whereby the former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, together with the Zimbabwean president, Robert Mugabe, who happened to be in south Africa at the time for a state visit, decided to hold negotiation settlements in Pretoria where King Letsie III and the Prime Minister were invited. The outcome of the negotiation was a success as the government of NtsuMokhehle was reinstated; this was further strengthened by the statement made by the minsters that:

“We are happy the situation in Lesotho shows signs of hope. The king has indicated to us that, he will act to preserve the peace, stability, unity and understanding of the people of Lesotho” (Simon, M 2007: 42).

Historically, virtually every election since independence has been followed by contestations from opposition parties. On the other hand, the winning party will not want to relinquish power since it will want to continuously benefit from state resources for survival. The weak economic base, coupled with insufficient resources and institutional
capacity to resolve its own political problems, resulted in South Africa’s interventions in 1994, 1998, 2007 and 2014 respectively.

Following the 1998 elections in Lesotho where the BNP lost the elections to the newly formed LCD, tension immediately emerged as adversary political parties, including the BNP, BCP, and MTFP joined by other smaller parties, went to the palace protesting the outcome of the elections based on the fact that the elections were rigged and ballot boxes stolen. The protest reached its peak when workers, together with students, held a night vigil at the king’s palace demanding King Letsie III to close down parliament and form an interim government (interview, 2003). Pretoria then intervened peacefully in order to resolve the conflict. This was led by the then South African safety and security minister, Sydney Mafumadi. He encouraged negotiations between the conflicting parties. The negotiations were successful as stability was restored in the country. Again, the various political parties accepted to create a new electoral model that would include all the parties in the country. A few days after the negotiations, tension sparked off in Lesotho since the root causes of the problem were not addressed. In the climax of the conflict, Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili wrote to the President of South Africa (Chairman of SADC), appealing for military intervention to quell the coup (www.wsws.org/03.11.04). The letter stated that “intimidation, violence and arson, to worsen situation, the parliament has been forcibly closed… we have a coup in our hands (MoAfrika, 2007).

On 22 September 1998, under the auspices of SADC, a combined force of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and Botswana Defense Forces (BDF) stormed Lesotho known as operations Boleas in order to deal with the deteriorating insecurity issue that had turned the mountain Kingdom of Lesotho into a conflict zone (Molefe, 2004: 1). In light of this, the former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela authorised six hundred South African troops (later supported by approximately 200 Botswana National Defence Force (BNDF)) to intervene in Lesotho with the main objectives to ‘prevent a military coup, disarm the mutineers and create a safe and stable environment for diplomatic initiatives as well as find a peaceful solution to the political crisis in Lesotho (Coning, C 1998). Again, SANDF concentrated in recapturing strategic
places which included: the Katse and Mohale dams, and parts of Lesotho Highland Water (www.trinstitute.org.za/2004). On their arrival in Lesotho, South African troops expected little resistance. Instead, Basotho junior troops opened fire from a strategic position in defiance of the South African-led SADC intervention. This resulted in scores of unnecessary deaths and massive destruction of property and infrastructure (Landsberg, C 2004: 16). To this end, operation Bolesas was somehow successful since it dissolved the opposition coalition that had camped outside the palace and laid siege to the LCD government (Makoa, 1999:81; and Molomo, 1999:133). Furthermore, a new political institution was established known as the Interim Political Authority (IPA) with two members from each political party that took part in the May 1998 elections. The IPA was then charged with the responsibility to mandate the upcoming elections (Elkit, 2002:2).

South Africa’s intervention in Lesotho was as a result of the political upheavals that emanated as a result of the 'royal coup' staged by King Letsie III. The event leading to the coup was caused by the military demanding a pay rise while making a bid for power. Secondly, opposition parties also made demands calling for the restoration of King Moshoeshoe II to the throne, when the government could not meet up with the demand. Consequently, the King dissolved the government and instituted a provisional government in August 1997 (Kadima, 1999: 1-5). The whole country was plunged into serious political instability characterised by major civil unrests leading to the death of some civilians and destruction of properties. The military had to intervene in order to calm down the hostility. At the peak of the crisis, South Africa deployed troops to Lesotho in order to restore peace and attempt a resolution of differences between the various political parties (Southall, 2001: 153-72).

In an attempt to quell the situation in Lesotho, President Nelson Mandela, under the banner of SADC, together with his Zimbabwe and Botswana counterparts, formed the ‘SADC Troika’ with the responsibility to resolve tensions and oversee the development of Lesotho. After some heavy arm-twisting, the then Director General of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Rusty Evans, was able to come up with a successful agreement on the restoration of the government without leading to military intervention (Mmutle, 2007).
To manage conflict in Lesotho, South Africa intervenes by establishing an Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to administer elections in the country. The main aim of the IEC was to ensure free and fair elections, organise a referendum and manage any conflict related to electoral issues (Piper, 2005: 36). Peace was thus restored in Lesotho after the 2001 elections as there were no contestations by opposition parties, hence the elections were declared “free and fair.” In a similar vein, South Africa also provided loans to Lesotho for the country to rebuild infrastructure destroyed during conflict. It also called on the international community such as the IMF and the World Bank to lend financial assistance to Lesotho with terms such that the government can use to carry out development in a country that has been badly affected by violence and political stability.

According to Santho (2000:2), the 1994 and 1998 crises in Lesotho were influenced by rivalry among elites’ dominance over state resources and power which benefited only a few. This was not suitable to a country like Lesotho which is experiencing intense poverty, unemployment and limited economic options. The above environment paved the way for the introduction of multi-party democracy in the country in 1993.

Following the outbreak of conflict in Lesotho in 2014, South Africa intervened by sending the Deputy President, Ramaphosa as a mediator to facilitate talks between the conflicting parties. It was successful as stability was restored and the parliament which was closed down was reopened, a date for upcoming elections set for 2015 (E-news, 2014). Peace and stability was restored as the 2015 elections were without contestation. According to Buthelezi and Roux (2002: 159), there has been a significant increase in the number of women in Parliament, civil society organisations and other important centres of power in the country as a result of stability in Lesotho compared to 1965 when the country gained independence.

Throughout of South Africa’s involvement in conflict management in Lesotho, Pretoria remained committed to finding lasting solutions to the crisis in Lesotho and facilitated numerous internal peace talks among the Basotho. This was important for South Africa as it served as a green light to promote democracy and regional stability. Therefore, South Africa's involvement in Lesotho has turned out to be far more successful as
today, Lesotho stands a better chance of reaping the advantages of stability and democracy.

3.2.2. Assessing the impact of conflict in Lesotho

The essence of this section is to examine the impact of conflict in Lesotho. This study assesses the impact of conflict under social, economic and political perspectives since independence in 1966.

3.2.2.1. Economic effects of the conflict in Lesotho

Lesotho is a small landlocked country with a population of about 2 million inhabitants (Lesotho Bureau of Statistics, 2006). The country had a low level of urbanisation of about 18.7% in 2005 (UNDP, 2007: 4). Since independence in 1966, there has been recurrent instability in the mountain kingdom, which in a way has retarded economic growth and development over the years. The economic effects of the conflict in Lesotho are discussed under different categories as follows: unemployment, poverty and inequality, among others.

Economically, nothing was done by the former colonial master to develop the country. Sejanamane (1996: 61) argues that virtually, the former colonial master left the tiny kingdom with no industrial commercial infrastructure that the country could benefit economically to build its economy. But after independence in 1966, despite the recurring conflict, efforts have been made by the government to enhance economic development in the country (Khaketia, 1971: 13). On the other hand, the low effort to promote economic development could be blamed on the country’s difficult landscape that made infrastructure development very difficult.

Weisfelder (1974:366) argues that during British rule in Lesotho, there was an insignificant amount of British aid in the mountain kingdom. This was apparently due to colonial neglect based on "parsimony, convenient laissez-faire and paternalism". Weisfelder(1974:367) maintains that over the decades of British rule in the country, the total amount of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds made available to Lesotho
was nothing more than just a mere $23 million. Consequently, it became difficult for the tiny country to set up sustainable development programmes that could boost the economy.

Despite the above backdrop by the former colonial master, coupled with the recurring conflict in the country, the government of Lesotho has engaged in comprehensive development projects in order to boost economic growth and development. These include the National Development Plans (NDPs), the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) and the National Vision 2020 (BTI 2014: 4). The government further created a Joint Operation Centre comprised of some sectors of the Lesotho government, such as the Royal Mounted Police, and with some external representatives from countries such as South Africa and Botswana. The objective of the joint operation was to ensure a workable cooperation between the governments of Lesotho and some civil administration. This, to an extent, paved the way forward for economic progress in Lesotho.

Furthermore, the unfolding instability in Lesotho has discouraged investors to come into the country. This is because a country like Lesotho, which is politically unstable, will definitely not attract foreign investors; some donors who have already invested in Lesotho have withheld their aid. This is one of the reasons for low development in the country, especially on the industrial sector. According to Gulilat and Matlosa (1999), and the Lesotho Social Science Review, Special Issue on Lesotho’s Recent Conflicts (1999: 1-5), the situation in Lesotho worsened during the 1998 conflict which resulted in the burning of some urban towns and businesses throughout the country. Based on the above premise, the country, over the years, has experienced great challenges in foreign aid investment. Nevertheless, since foreign investments in the country is minimal, labour laws were ignored and union meetings prohibited in some sectors of the economy leading to poor economic development (BTI, 2014).

According to the BTI Report (2041: 15), there has been low progress in terms of the human development index (HDI) of Lesotho which remains as low as 0.450 in 2011; consequently, a fall in the human development index from 141 in 2010 to 160 in 2011 (Ibid). On the contrary, despite the fall in human development index in Lesotho, the
country has recorded some progress in terms of the gender equality index which was 0.532 in 2011. This is evident in the significant number of women in parliament and other civil society organisations as well as other important sectors of power in the country. According to the HDI estimates, the ratio of female to male enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary education has registered significant progress.

Matlosa (1993) suggests that the unemployment rate over the years has been exacerbated due to political instability in the country. Due to lack of jobs in the country, there has an out-flux of young people to South Africa in search of greener pastures. This has a negative effect on the economy of Lesotho since there is an increase in the movement of the working population. With the increased dependence on South Africa, Lesotho citizens are left with the fear that the country’s economic situation may deteriorate.

On gaining independence, the economy of Lesotho started on a low Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of M55.6 million6 in 1967 and 1968 financial years (David, 2009:14). However, over the years, the country keeps on experiencing improvement in its GDP from M1 863.9 million in 1982, and an estimated M4 529.3 million in 2005 (Ibld, 14). This improvement in GDP was due to the fact that during the above years, the country depended on agriculture which was the main drive of economic growth. In 1985, agriculture accounted for about 28.8% of GDP while the manufacturing sector accounted for only 9.9% GDP.

However, as from 2002, the agricultural sector, which had boosted the economy of Lesotho in the past, started declining while the manufacturing sector galloped from 9.9% to 15.8%. Consequently, increase in the manufacturing sector resulted in high rate of unemployment since majority of the population live in rural areas and depend mostly on agriculture to sustain their livelihood. The table below shows the disparity between the rural and urban population in Lesotho.
Table 1: Population of rural and urban dwellers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Percentage distribution of the de jure population by urban and rural residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>89.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Nevertheless, the country has experienced a severe drop in the agricultural products. The decline in agricultural activities was followed by a decline in migrant mineworkers. The number of migrant mineworkers experienced a decline from 126361 in 1990 to 65727 in 2000 and to a further 46520 by the end of 2007. The decline in the number of migrant mineworkers does mean a fall in revenue for the vast population of households in Lesotho (Tuner, 2003: 14). This was further compounded by a drop in remittances due to urban migration, which was a challenged by economic growth and diverted the maintenance of agricultural development, resulting in agricultural weakness and instability.

Furthermore, the economic development of Lesotho has been constrained by insufficient resources, lack of jobs, high dependence on South Africa for finished products, dependence on migrant remittances and lack of income-generating industries (Makoa, 2002b). In light of the above, the implication of this dependency is that the tiny mountain kingdom will survive on this dependence, feed on it, and grow within this dependence, which will consequently retard economic growth and development (Matlosa, 1993: 127).

On the other hand, recently, there have been improvements in poverty reduction. Nevertheless, it is considered to be minimal. This is in line with express public opinion with regard to service delivery. This is because of the fact that though household sizes increased from 4.9 in 1994 to 1995 to 5.0 in 2002 to 2003, the rate of dependency
decreased from 0.78 in 1994 to 1995 to 0.67 in 2002-2003 respectively (Household Budget Survey Dependency, 2009: 14). This is in consonant to food poverty changes from M42.92 to M 84.41 within the stipulated time (Food Poverty Line, 2009). In addition, the 2002 to 2003 and 19994/95 household budget survey indicate that people below the poverty level in relation to headcounts was 66.61% in 1994/95 but improved in 202/03 to 56.61%. This shows a 10.0% drop in the level of poverty in Lesotho over the suggested period of time. However, irrespective of the improvement in service delivery and little drop in the overall poverty level, there is still a wide gap between the rich and the poor. Although progress has been made in terms of economic development in Lesotho, over the years, poor infrastructure due to difficult terrain continues to exacerbate inequality.

3.2.2.2. Social impact of the conflict

This section discusses service delivery in three areas (education, health and housing) and the problem faced by the government since independence. In the educational sector, the country has experienced an increase in the level of enrollment in schools, that is, from 72 437 in 1999 to 83 104 in 2003 (David, 2009:16). This was, however, due to the introduction of free primary education in 2000 by the government. Between 2000 and 2001, school enrolment went up to 6.8%. This increase in enrollment in schools was noticed when the ministry of education reported a tremendous increase in expenditure in both primary and secondary education in order to boost high literacy rate and promote development in the country (Davide, 2009: 16). Nevertheless, an increase in pupils / teachers has been an area of concern. This is so because firstly, the large class size affects the quality of education and definitely has an effect on development. Secondly, it shows lack of investment in terms of teacher training institutions in Lesotho. Thus, the minister of education and training reported that Lesotho had done well in terms of public expenditure on education, particularly in primary and secondary schools with an average increase of 10.8% compared to SADC’s average estimate of 6%. In 2002, SADC had an estimate of 78.6%. For Lesotho, the percentage is 85.8%. Lesotho has done very well in terms of educational expenditure. The government of Lesotho
has also embarked on school feeding and the promotion of the easy access of school book loan project. This project enables access to books by school pupils, especially those from poor background who could not afford to buy them (Ibid, 16)

Despite improvements in the educational sector, there is a major challenge in terms of fees paid in higher secondary schools. Nonetheless, the country still faces the problem of sustainability and affordability since most of the recent schools were funded by donors, hence a threat to the educational sectors as most of the citizens fear that if the country maintains long-term funding, it may not guarantee the sustainability of education in Lesotho.

Furthermore, the government of South Africa has committed itself in many ways such as economic development and stability in order to assist Lesotho in developing its economy. On the economic domain, the government of South Africa has extensively been involved in the development of the Highlands Water Project, which has provided employment and increased the GDP of the country. On the contrary, according to Encarta (2002: 51), the above project has been criticised and there is massive outcry by many poor farming families who were displaced in the course of the construction of the project and who have not been compensated for their land.

Furthermore, the government of South Africa has been of great help to Lesotho in terms of agricultural assistance to farmers, especially during heavy snowfall. The South African government also provided humanitarian assistance to the Basotho people, especially after conflict. South Africa committed itself to provide treatment to those injured during conflict. For instance, some members of the Royal Lesotho Defence Force (RLDF) who were injured during the conflict, received treatment South Africa. In order to ensure good medical care, the South African medical health services merged with that of Lesotho to form part of the Disaster Management Committee in Ladybrand. In light of the above, primary health care was also given to more than 5000 people. Furthermore, lectures were given to victims by medical professional, especially primary health care (www.mil.co.za 2004). The South African government provided blankets and tents and also ensured the safe repatriation of displaced persons to their countries, especially after the 1998 intervention.
Moreover, there has been massive destruction of state and private properties as well as an increase in death rate, rape of women and children and kidnappings. During conflict, government vehicles were hijacked, the radio station closed down and killing of innocent people and the spread of diseases became rampant. Progress in terms of service delivery has been hampered by the inequality in the distribution of social services. This is because most services are accessible to urban dwellers, while majority of the population who live in rural areas have little access to state resources. The record of public service infrastructure is mixed. While only 26% of the population has access to sanitation, 78% has access to clean water.

3.2.2.3. Political impact

Lesotho is a country with two types of government (Local and National). It operates the Westminster parliamentary system adopted from the colonial master. These systems consist of the upper and lower houses of parliament. The power of the legislature resides with the lower house while the upper house does the supervisory work made from the lower house (Matlosa and Shale, 2007: 5). The establishment and democratisation of local authorities in 2005 was an important milestone in Lesotho. The local government elections of April 2005 brought an end to an era of trial and error that charaterised the kingdom since independence (Shale, 2006: 5). Before the 2005 elections, officials of the local authorities were appointed to help execute central government policies. Consequently, when the 1959 election results were proclaimed, powers were invested in the district councils with membership of 15-28 councilors. In 1969, the district councils were dissolved by the ruling party. This made the people to distrust the government because they were stripped of their powers to made decisions on matters that concerned them directly. It is important to note that all council officers were elected to serve the interest of the ruling political party. What is relevant is that the introduction and establishment of different forms of government helped facilitate rural and community development. As a result, it becomes possible for communities to concentrate on issues of importance to them and call for effective government intervention in rural and community development.
Additional GDP was used as a yardstick to analyse democratic principle since the rebirth of democracy in 1993. Therefore, it is important to justify that the framework of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Macro-economic yardstick, especially the secondary yardstick (indicator) of targeted growth rate of 7% was recommended while setting the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Hence, to achieve the above goals, there should be equal distribution of wealth in order to address issues of poverty. Another important issue of concern in assessing GDP was the issue of different systems of governance in Lesotho, since the different regimes did not lead to higher GDP growth. It was only after the 2002 elections that the electoral system changed.

Furthermore, in light of the above, it appears that Lesotho has been performing well after the reintroduction of multiparty elections. Using the yardstick of voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, rule of law and control of corruption, it was believed the tiny kingdom has improved in the areas of voice and accountability and corruption (Kaufmann et al., 2008:33). Nevertheless, the move to counter corruption saw the Lesotho government adopting the Lesotho Highlands Water Project Anti-corruption Policy on 1 October 2011 (Ibid: 33). Since the adoption of the above corruption policy, there has been an increase in the number of government officials in to the court of law on charges of corruption. Also, some top government officials in the Prime Minister’s office who were victims of corruption were even suspended from their duties.

The fight against corruption was further strengthened when the government of Lesotho signed the Highlands Water Project. The project was signed between Lesotho and South Africa in 1986 in order to supply water in certain provinces in South Africa especially the Gauteng province. The result is in line with the Ibrahim 2008 index of African government which showed that Lesotho improved its rating from 2007 to 2008, as shown in the table below.
Table 3.1: Lesotho government from 2007-2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>2007 score (out of 100)</th>
<th>2008 score (out of 100)</th>
<th>2008 score (out of 48 SSA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safety and security</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule of law and development</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation and human rights</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable economic opportunity</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human development</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Mo Ibrahim Foundation

The score for the five government yardsticks of 2008 was 63.3 out of 100, showing a high rate of good governance with total positioning of 12 in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The kingdom of Lesotho, so far, has experienced improvements in five areas as shown in the Table above. Though improvement in government is quite slow, it is getting towards the right direction in order to attract foreign investors that will facilitate government efforts to carry out development in the country. In a similar vein, the role played by civil society organisations in order to settle disputes between political parties is of great importance since it has ensured the country’s progress towards a sustainable democracy (BTI, 2014: 12).

3.3 Data Analysis

This section presents a discussion of the results and analysis of findings of the study. The data collected on the field is analysed and presented in this section to give the reader a clear indication of the findings revealed in the course of the study. The kingdom of Lesotho, just like other countries in Africa, has experienced violent conflicts. The following factors led to conflicts in Lesotho: extreme poverty, weak and dependent
economy due to lack of an industrial base, flawed electoral system, unequal distribution of resources and weak political institutions. Since independence, most of the elections in Lesotho have been contested by opposition parties leading to violent conflicts which saw the intervention of South Africa in Lesotho in order to resolve conflicts and ensure peace and stability.

In light of the above, this section of the research study analyses data collected from the field as indicated in the methodology section of this study. Data was gathered through a questionnaire and interviews from Basotho students at the North West University, Mafikeng Campus Lesotho nationals based in Johannesburg, South Africans and Basothos working in the city of Mafikeng. This gave the researcher a better idea and to collect important data for the purposes of solving the problem. In order to collect primary data, the researcher issued out a considerable number of questionnaires to Basotho students and workers in Mafikeng and Johannesburg coupled. An electronic questionnaire was also emailed to Lesotho. The researcher personally collected the questionnaire handed out to respondents. In addition, the researcher also went out to interview a few people, especially students and workers on their views patterning to the situation in Lesotho.

The questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions with ample space provided to give respondents the freedom to express themselves. The open-ended items of the questionnaire were used because of the advantages which they have over closed-ended questions. Bryman (2004: 25) posits that questions do not suggest certain kind of answers to respondents and therefore, respondents' level of knowledge and understanding of issues could be tapped. This helps to explore new ideas in which the researcher has limited knowledge. To further complement the primary data, the researcher also collected secondary data through documentary studies, literature review and journal articles considering the sensitive nature of the study.

Triangulation was used to analyse primary and secondary data. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used in the process. These approaches enabled the researcher to examine issues regarding conflict in Lesotho and the role played by South Africa in maintaining peace and stability from different angles. Secondly, the reasons for
using both methods to analyse the data was to avoid any challenges that could arise when using a single method.

3.3.1. Questionnaires

50 questionnaires (soft and hard copies) were sent to Lesotho. The age of respondents ranged from 25-50. Purposive sampling was used in the study. Purposive sampling is done to increase the utility of the information obtained from small samples. The sample was gender neutral in order to enable the researcher to gather different opinions from both men and women and to avoid research bias. Out of the fifty questionnaires issued out, forty-eight were filled and returned representing a response rate of 95%. The returned questionnaires revealed that majority of respondents were females while males constituted a minimal proportion. Out of the fifty questionnaires issued out, thirty-five were issued out to females while thirteen were issued out to males. The majority of respondents were between the ages of 25 to 50 years. Most of the participants who took part in the study were educated. This indicates that most of the respondents were aware of the situation that is prevailing in the country.

Regarding the role played by South Africa in conflict management in Lesotho, 65% of participants reported that South Africa, as an envoy with hegemony dominance in the SADC region, has been actively involved in resolving conflict in Lesotho by calling on all political leaders in Lesotho for peaceful negotiations. It was also found out that South Africa used military intervention in Lesotho, especially during the 1998 political crisis in Lesotho in order to quell down instability. Again, South Africa, through the auspices of SADC, is playing a significant role in maintaining peace and stability in the mountain kingdom by holding meetings with stakeholders to find lasting peace in Lesotho. In a similar vein, some respondents maintained that South Africa sent deputy president Ramaphosa to oversee the February 2015 elections. On the other hand, 30% of respondents contradicted the above view by pointing out that South Africa’s involvement in the conflict in Lesotho is for their own interest not for the interest of the Basotho people because the focus was to calm down the situation and not to look at the root cause of the problem, hence they failed to address security challenges faced in the country.
From the secondary data collected, it was revealed that South Africa’s involvement in the tiny kingdom was for its own economic benefit since Lesotho supplies water to some parts of South Africa. In addition, South Africa’s involvement in the Lesotho crisis was for political motives because instability in Lesotho posed a threat to South Africa (since the mountain kingdom is rounded by South Africa) (Huntington, 1991:25).

Respondents were asked about the main causes of conflict in Lesotho. Majority of the respondents (60%) confirmed that the main cause of the conflict in Lesotho is the electoral model used in the country (First-Past-The-Post) (FPTP). This electoral system favour the ruling party against other opposition parties. Based on this model, almost all elections in Lesotho have been contested by opposition parties as they believe that in most cases, the elections are rigged and not free and fair. For instance, the 1993 elections were disputed because the BNP claimed the elections were rigged in favour of the BCP.

45% of respondents believe that there are other factors fueling conflict in Lesotho such as extreme poverty, weak and dependent economy, and failure to accept defeat by losing parties and lack of leadership, particularly from political leaders. Factionalism and coalition of parties can also be considered as a cause of conflict in Lesotho. It was revealed that unemployment, domination of political power and easy access of state resources by the ruling elite, and high levels of inequalities contribute to instability in Lesotho. The outcome of elections is one of the yardsticks used by disgruntled Basotho people to demonstrate their feelings. Elections are considered a good tool to garner support from angry citizens; most politicians in Lesotho use elections to achieve their selfish motives. All participants in this study accepted that conflict in Lesotho always emanates after the announcement of results of elections. In light of the above, the minority (45%) of respondents claimed that political instability in Lesotho is not only rooted on the electoral model adopted from the former colonial master (Britain); rather, Lesotho politicians who did not want to relinquish power and lost access to state resources for their selfish interests, used elections as to pursue their own undemocratic agendas. This, in effect, raises concerns as to whether Lesotho is a democratic country or not. Participants were also requested to indicate what has been done by the
government of Lesotho to resolve conflict in the country. 40% of respondents indicated that the government of Lesotho coupled with civil society organisations (such as the Lesotho Network for Conflict Management (LNCM), have been actively involved in resolving conflict in Lesotho. Among the 40% respondents, some suggested that quite often, the government has used the security force (Lesotho Defence Force and Lesotho Mountain Police service) to quell political instability in the country. Some participants suggested that the government of Lesotho has done a lot to ensure peace and stability by organising meetings involving all the parties concerned. It has also asked for assistance from South Africa and other organisations such as SADC and even the African Union (AU) in order to resolve conflict. It was also revealed that the new government has initiated and encouraged dialogue between the military and police officers urging them to cooperate together as the way forward to ensure stability in the country. The government has also created a forum to educate citizens to explore innovative ways of handling conflicts, instead of men expecting to fight.

55% of respondents contradicted the above view by pointing out that the Lesotho government has done nothing to resolve the crisis in the country. This is in line with the fact that the government, under Mosisili, never wanted to resolve the conflict in the country as they only wanted power for their selfish interests. 55% of respondents suggested that all what the government has been doing is propaganda through certain radio stations and newspapers which claim that all is well and measures have been taken to ensure peace in the country. Furthermore, some non-governmental organisations are willing to assist but the government is not looking for means to address the main issue fueling conflicts in Lesotho. Some respondents were very negative about the government indicating that the government is the main reason for conflict in the country since it does not want to relinquish power in a democratic manner.

With regard to the success of institutions put in place by government (the Independent Electoral Commission) to ensure the smooth running of elections in the country, from the responses gathered, 50 % agreed that the IEC, to some extent, has been playing a pivotal role to erase discrepancies and ensuring free and fair elections, 45% of respondents disagreed with the above reason. They believe that the IEC is at the root of
elections-related conflicts in Lesotho. Hence, the actions of the IEC are the direct opposite of its mission. Some respondents are of the opinion that the commission is answerable to the ruling party, as such; there has been no total success as shown by reported cases of irregularities and vote counting problems during elections. The IEC has thus been slammed labelled as the watchdog of the ruling party.

The majority (50%) of respondents maintained that the IEC is doing its job correctly and is only used as a scapegoat by those who want to pursue their own undemocratic agendas. Respondents in favour of the IEC, indicated that it is unfair to label the IEC as being biased as the IEC has been working with all parties involved at each stage of elections. It has also ensured that organised elections are free and fair. SADC has credited the IEC for being transparent and fair in managing elections in the country. Furthermore, the ICE has been credited as successful because, during elections, the body brought in advanced and employed qualified people to ensure free and fair elections.

In addition, the ICE has established a conflict management mechanism at both national and local levels to educate people on how to go through elections peacefully. It has also organised workshops on conflict management made up of all political leaders encouraging them to voice out differences and share ideas on how to build on what has been done and to accommodate all challenges in order to ensure the vision of free and fair elections is met. The IEC has been promoting the principles of inclusive democracy going beyond the electoral strategy (IEC, 2001).

With regard to the impact of the conflict to the people of Lesotho, 80% of respondents maintained that there has been massive destruction of valuable properties during the conflict and lack of freedom of political views. Consequently, opposition leaders are forced to leave the country because they are being threatened. It was further revealed that as a result of the conflict in Lesotho, there has been a massive loss of lives and mistrust among the Basotho people. In addition, the economy of Lesotho is stagnant because instead of focusing on developing the economy, there is tug of war among political leaders enhancing conflict. Money that could have been used to develop the economy is used to purchase arms and equip the military. There has been a rapid
increase in inflation and a decrease in gross domestic product due to high dependence on consumable goods from South Africa. Some respondents suggested that because of the instability in the country, there is a high rate of unemployment, increase in transport and rapid decline of investors and capital flight which has negatively affected the country in all domains. Furthermore, there is an increase in starvation because during conflict, economic activities become stagnant or do not function properly. All these aspects have negatively affected the economy considering the fact that it has reduced the GDP of the country. Socially, the conflict has led to the death of thousands of people and many unwanted displacements. This has led to psychological trauma because many children and adults saw their parents as well as close family members and friends dying in drastic conditions, a stigma that cannot be easily forgotten. Other respondents pointed out that there has been an increase in security at the top and a decrease at the lower level, hence a huge gap in the security sector. As a result of the continuous instability in Lesotho, the country is no longer known as a peaceful kingdom because of the presence of too many political parties in the country.

There were, however, few participants who did not consider force or conflict to be the best option to settle disputes in Lesotho. Their argument was based on the fact that there are other means to resolve disputes peacefully such as negotiations. They believed so because when they look at the impact of conflict in a small country like Lesotho, which include, among others the massive killing of people, unwanted displacement of people and the destruction of valuable properties, they will rather prefer other means of resolving disputes than through force or war.

3.3.2. Interviews

70% of interviewees were males consisting mostly of students from the North West University, Mafikeng Campus and workers around Mafikeng. In other for the researcher not to be biased, some business people were also interviewed for the data to include the views of both intellectuals and ordinary people. Among those interviewed were Tsheple, Peter and Agnes, all students at NWU.
According to Tsheple, the electoral model adopted since independence plays a role in the instability of the country. Tsheple does not only consider the FPTP model as a problem enhancing political instability in Lesotho, but rather, the politicians who have been using this model as a shield to achieve their selfish interests. However, Tsheple and 55% of respondents do not categorically agree that violence in Lesotho can be solely blamed on the FPTP model. Participants believe that since independence in 1965 until 2014, there has been recurring political stability, though the electoral model has been replaced by the MMP model. However, the 55% of respondents maintained that the problem in Lesotho lies not with the electoral model, but with mistrust in political leadership, and lack of political will to resolve differences amicably. It was also revealed that unemployment, poverty, nepotism, corruption and unequal privileges between different sectors as well as different regions in the country, which have not been addressed lead to conflict in Lesotho. In addition, disagreement and lack of cooperation among political leaders and the involvement of the media and chieftaincy in politics can be partly blamed for the instability in the country as well as the outcome of elections.

In the same perspective, some participants suggested that the discriminatory use of state resources, especially during elections, is a common cause of conflict. According to Peter and the other respondents, during election campaigns, preferential privileges are enjoyed by the ruling party in terms of the use of state resources. One of the respondents reported that the “ruling party have all its rallies air on both radio and television and use state vehicles for free”. Nevertheless, this has never been the case for opposition parties that rely more on private radio stations which do not cover the entire country. In the same vein, the recent outbreak of the 2014 conflict in Lesotho could be blamed on the coalition government and the refusal opposition parties to accept defeat. According to Peter (one of the participants), “Mosisili’s refusal to leave parliament has been the major problem to Thomas Thabane’s government which led to the attempted coup on 30th August 2014”.

Furthermore, looking at the role played by South Africa in conflict management in Lesotho, 75% of respondents maintained that South Africa, through SADC mandate, has been actively involved in resolving the conflict in Lesotho. They argue that through
the influence of South Africa, the mixed member proportion (MMP) model was established in 2002 replacing the old FPTP model, and the IEC replacing the Electoral Office. It was also revealed that South Africa has been acting as the mediator between the opposition and government in trying to resolve the conflict in the country. Furthermore, it has also intervened militarily by sending police officers to ensure peace. Through the influence of President Jacob Zuma, acting as the main co-coordinator, successful dialogue was coordinated which resulted in the dispatching of SADC observer team to monitor the situation in the mountain kingdom. In the same vein, through the influence of South Africa, a pathologist team was sent to the country to investigate cases of murder, abuse, rape and other crimes against humanity. At the at dawn of the 2014 conflict, South Africa played a leading role by sending Ramaphosa as a mediator to Lesotho to facilitate and hold reconciliatory talks with opposition parties. Police officers were sent to escort Thabane to Maseru and for extra security purposes, parliament was also ordered to be open and a date of the 2015 elections agreed upon. With the involvement of South Africa in the conflict in Lesotho, stability has been ensured as seen in the past elections which were declared free and fair with no discrepancies or election rigging and fraud.

Following this perspective, 30% of the participants were of the view that South Africa’s involvement in the conflict in Lesotho was for personal interests. This was based on the fact that Ramaphosa’s visit to Maseru was for his country’s interest to ensure that the same political leaders stayed in power. If there is any change of government, it will be a big challenge for South Africa to penetrate the country. Others suggested that the main causes of the conflict were addressed by Ramaphosa, hence the failure to address the above problem led to conflict.

Nevertheless, participants were also asked of the challenges faced by the government of Lesotho to restore peace and stability. According to responses gathered from interviewees, Agnes and 70% of participants maintained that lack of unity among political leaders is a major challenge for the government. It was also revealed that lack of cooperation among rivalry groups in order to achieve common goals was another problem faced by the government to ensure peace and stability. According to some
respondents, the country’s constitution is a big problem because it bestows a lot of power on the Prime Minister which, in most cases, tends to abuse state power for his own personal interest. In addition, lack of political intolerance and unity within parties is also a major hindrance for government to achieve its goal of maintaining peace when there is a dispute. So far, poverty, unemployment and the dissatisfaction of citizens regarding service delivery, especially in rural areas is a stumbling block for government to resolve conflict. On the other hand, some participants maintained that in order for government to maintain stability in the country, security forces should not be involved in the politics of the country and government should implement rules that will ensure that the losing party accepts defeat. The government must take the bull by the horns and stop depending on other states and organisations for the settlement of disputes.

3.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The findings are based on the observations and primary data collected through the questionnaire and interviews. The data was analysed through content analysis and document review in the literature.

The kingdom of Lesotho, like many other African countries, has not enjoyed peace since independence. This is because almost all elections in the tiny country have been contested for one reason or the other leading to violence. The most disputed elections in Lesotho that led to the involvement of South Africa was the 1970 and 1998 elections. According to the data collected through primary and secondary sources, the researcher concluded that the instability in Lesotho which led to South Africa’s involvement and even SADC to ensure peace can be partly blamed on the electoral model adopted from the British after independence. In reality, the conflict in Lesotho has not been influenced by the electoral model per se, but the model has been used as a scapegoat by politicians who use any trick to remain in power. Other factors such as political polarity that has charaterised Lesotho politics since independence is also a cause of conflict. Political polarity can be justified by the refusal by political leaders to relinquish power which therefore, leads to the split of political parties in the country. The conflict can also
be attributed by the refusal of the losing parties to concede defeat since they will no longer enjoy economic benefits as Member of Parliament.

In the course of the study, the researcher also found that a weak and unsustainable economy is considered another factor intensifying conflict in the country. The former colonial master did nothing to improve the country’s economy. There are no industries as well as other investments or aid to subsidise farmers who depend largely on subsistence farming for their income. Consequently, the country has to depend highly on South Africa since it cannot meet up with the demands of the citizens. This has affected the tiny country negatively and increased inflation due to price fluctuations in South Africa. There is also low GDP and high rate of unemployment due to low foreign direct investment (FID) that could have created job opportunities in the country.

It was also revealed that greed and grievances were among other factors fueling dispute in Lesotho. This is based on the fact that due to the prevailing and weak economic environment in Lesotho, the only means of survival is to belong to the ruling party or government as most elites and politicians who are in influential positions do not want to step down, hence posing a challenge to government. This has been an issue in the country because those who do not belong but have been supporting those at the top, consider that they have been deprived of their right to enjoy the resources of the nation as others, thus rallying themselves behind other opposition parties to demonstrate their disgruntlement.

Furthermore, due to the weak economy, many political parties have been formed, not because of political ideology, but for personal reasons such as the quest for positions of leadership, control of party resources and other benefits. For example, according to Pule (1999), the split in the BNP that gave birth to the LCD was because of the selfish interest to control the party’s National Executive Committee (NEC).

The findings of the study further indicate that the failure of government to provide fair security at both higher and low levels fuel instability in the country. Those at the lower level feel relegated in society and strongly believe that they have the right to enjoy all benefits as others. The researcher also found that the failure of institutions such as the
IEC to perform its functions during elections by ensuring free elections conflict because of its dependence on the ruling party. Most elites usually support the party that is closely linked to the IEC for their own personal interests and for financial favours. The problem in Lesotho is not how elections are conducted or the model in place. It is rather how problems are addressed at the domestic level and also how the government delivers services to the people.

Furthermore, it was also revealed that South Africa, as a leading hegemony in the region, has been very instrumental in conflict management in Lesotho. This was seen in the military intervention in the country during the 1994 conflict in Lesotho and its involvement in different negotiations involving various parties in order to restore peace and stability. Through the influence of South Africa in conflict management in Lesotho, the old Electoral Office was replaced with the IEC in 2002. It also saw the establishment of the AIP involving members of various political parties in the country and an increase in the number of members of parliament from 80-120. During the recent outbreak of dispute in Lesotho and through the influence of South Africa, parliament which was closed down was reopened and some South African police officers were sent to monitor the situation and to provide security in the country. A date for elections was set for 2015. From the above paragraphs, it cloud be concluded that, the involvement of South Africa in the instability that has plagued the mountain kingdom since independence has seen some progress since stability has been restored but a lot still needs to be done in order to ensure total peace and stability in the tiny country.
CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 CONCLUSION

The mountain kingdom, like many other countries in Africa, has been plagued by conflicts, which at times, have been very violent. Since independence in 1965 from the former colonial master (Britain), the country has not experienced stability due to the recurrence of violence, either as a result of the losing party’s refusal to accept defeat, claiming that elections were rigged, or that they were not transparent. For instance, during the 1993 elections when the BNP lost to the LCD, the BNP refused to accept the LCD’s victory based on the fact that the elections were not free and fair. However, other opposition parties congratulated the LCD for its victory. Based on the above allegations the king was forced to close down parliament which resulted into disputes in the country. Even though some scholars attribute the root causes of instability in the country on the elections model adopted from Britain at independence and the failure by the British to prepare the leaders after independence, according to the researcher, the main problem in Lesotho is how the election model is being manipulated by politicians and the ability of leaders to relinquish power peacefully from one prime minister to another. The reality, however, is the desire of leaders to rule for as long as they deem necessary which makes the principle of democracy in Lesotho difficult, hence “democracy is under question”. Furthermore, unemployment, weak and dependent economy, poverty, corruption, lack of cooperation among parties in the country and the series of vote rigging and electoral manipulations by the incumbent government and above all the unlawful respect of the citizens’ rights can be considered as factors responsible for conflict in Lesotho.

The resultant effect of violence in the country was the killing of thousands of people, unwanted displacement of Basotho people, distrust among people which has badly affected social gathering, destruction of valuable state properties, high inflation and above all, a stagnant economy. Economically, the country’s Gross Domestic Product
(GDP) tremendously fell and because of the inability of citizens to continue working due to the violence, were unable to provide for their basic needs, hence the dependence on remittance from South Africa which has a negative impact on households’ income. As a result of the recurrence of political instability in the country, the current government is faced with challenges such as reconciliation between political parties and the military, reconstruction of the country, redevelopment, and rebuilding political and economic confidence in the country in order to encourage foreign investors. South Africa’s involvement in conflict management in Lesotho to some extent has been a breakthrough. This can be seen in the various roles that the country played to ensure stability in the mountain kingdom. However, the main aim of South Africa’s involvement in the mountain kingdom was to ensure peace and stability. This was a success because with the help of South Africa, coupled with the support given by the Royal Lesotho Mountain Police, peace was restored. Furthermore, peace was restored in Lesotho when conflict broke out in 1998.

South Africa has been the backbone in promoting peace and stability in the SADC region as seen in its involvement in the Lesotho and DRC conflicts, Angola and Ivory Coast during the 2010 conflict. Without losing focus of the study, the role played by South Africa in conflict management in Lesotho has been of great success. Through South Africa’s influence, the old model of elections was replaced by the IEC in order to ensure free and fair elections and transparency during elections. Furthermore, the number of parliamentarians has increased from 80 to 120. So far, Lesotho has experienced peace because the 2015 elections were without disputes and were declared free and fair.

The recent attempted coup on 28 August 2014 that led to economy suffering of the Basotho people made the researcher to recommend that in order to avoid future coups in the country, the government should address the issue of security and put to an end the involvement of security officials in politics and learn to engage collectively for change and the betterment of the country.

Finally, despite the stability in Lesotho, there are still chances that conflict may still escalate in the country since the main issues fueling conflict in the country have not yet
been dealt with. In conclusion, despite all initiatives and efforts made by the government and the involvement of South Africa, a lot still needs to be done because all the efforts have failed to yield positive results as there are signs of conflict.

4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The aim of this study was to assess the role played by South Africa in conflict management in the SADC region (case study of Lesotho: 1993-2014). The findings of the study revealed that despite efforts made by South Africa to ensure peace and stability in Lesotho, a lot still needs to be done since there are still signs that conflict may escalate in the country. The following recommendations are made in the study for policy and decision-makers in Lesotho and for the South African government to address the situation and to avoid further conflict in Lesotho:

• The government of Lesotho should depoliticise the military and police in order to ensure stability in the country.

• Political parties should respect and apply provisions of the electoral code and the Lesotho constitution in order to guarantee and accept the outcome of elections.

• The government should endeavor to fight and condemn corruption in the most possible way, especially during elections to prevent the rigging of elections.

• The government should desist from forming a coalition government in order to ensure that power is in the hands of a particular government.

• The government of Lesotho should accommodate one another and resolve its own problems. In order to achieve this, there is the need to form a truth and reconciliation commission to deal with politics in Lesotho.

• The king should be allowed to play a pivotal role in intervention since it is believed that the role of the king is to bring peace in communities and the country as a whole. In this way, future conflicts will be avoided.
To South African government

• The South African government should work hand in hand with the Lesotho government to find a strategy to improve security in Lesotho.

• The government of South Africa should be impartial in its conflict mediation by putting the interest of the Basotho people first rather than its own interest.

• In order to restore stability and promote democracy, the government of South Africa should ensure that all possibilities of vote rigging and electoral manipulations by political parties are prevented.
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