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Since 2007, these elections have been increasingly competitive, and their outcome largely, unpredictable. For example, Transparency International (TI)—an international Non-Governmental Organisation that scores countries on perceived levels of public sector corruption—has downgraded Lesotho’s ranking on perceptions of corruption from 74th in 2017 to 85th in 2019. This is an extremely large sum of money for an aid-dependent poor country where 50 percent of the population are poor and 25 percent as living in extreme poverty. Some people have lost their jobs; others business opportunities while others have buried friends, brothers and colleagues. The incidence of human rights abuses and meddling by the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) in civilian matters is staggering. *** Lesotho is notorious for killings and/or exile of prominent figures as well as interference by security forces in political matters. To this end, various reforms have been suggested by civil society organisations and political parties, including constitutional reforms, security sector reforms, electoral reforms, and many others. The size of cabinet and political deployments has almost doubled over the past eight years of coalition governing in Lesotho. Prior to the foregoing developments, the courts, particularly the Court of Appeal had also shown a remarkable courage to reverse the decisions of the High Court and subsequently rule against the interests of the Prime Minister and his allies. The precarious tenure of office has incentivised incumbent politicians to enrich themselves as quickly as possible before a new cohort of looters and eaters replaces them. The result has been a spike in confirmed incidences, allegations and perceptions of corruption in Lesotho. DOI link for Lesotho: Peripheral Dependence, Poverty and Political InstabilityLesotho: Peripheral Dependence, Poverty and Political Instability bookDOI link for Lesotho: Peripheral Dependence, Poverty and Political Instability bookTom Thabane has resigned as the Prime Minister of Lesotho amid a scandal over his wife’s murder. It is at the heart of the internal squabbles rocking each of the four partners in the current coalition government. Second, left out network members tend to view disbursement of patronage as unfair. Fundamentally, these are institutional problems that warrant an overhaul of the entire system of governance, beginning with radical amendments to the constitution. This has, in turn, created a strong appetite among the bureaucratic elite, security agencies, Civil Society Organisations and the business community, for impartiality as an overarching criterion for who gets what, when and how. The increase in levels of impunity, corruption and economic exclusion that citizens of this small, extremely unequal and poor country have witnessed over the past few years has engendered a strong yearning for impartiality as a guiding principle of governance and administration. Getty Images/Angela Weiss In Lesotho, corruption, coupled with political instability, is sowing seeds of its own destruction - Moletsane Monyake explains. A more recent manifestation of these dynamics include cold-blooded murders of army commanders Maaparankoe Mahao in 2015 and Khoantle Motsomotso in 2017 by other members of the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF). It is the coalition of the wounded, and it is growing. As televised hearings of the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) can attest, there is far more willingness among senior public officials to disclose damaging information about underhanded dealings of cabinet ministers and other politically connected figures. This has resulted in the formation of fragile coalition governments that often collapse midway through their term of office— a close ally of the Prime Minister— told the PAC that two prominent ministers and the Prime Minister’s wife forced him to award a lucrative road construction tender to a company owned by a Chinese national. It has been found that Lesotho’s military is too entrapped, like many militaries in Africa, in the post-colonial “colonial” mentality in that it is too inward-looking and therefore sees and treats its own citizens as enemies instead of allies. In this regard, in the context of poor but highly competitive environment, patronage appears to be a destructive rather than a stabilising tool. Government tenders are also never enough for most key network members in the business sector. From victims to activists The yearning for impartiality, which has been building over the past few years, proceeds side by side with the wanton disregard for the rule of law and principles of accountability under Thomas Thabane’s administration. It is these victims and their sympathisers who have been most willing to resist various manifestations of particularistic exercise of power. Despite warnings by the international financial institutions, wastefulness has gone unabated and, by the Finance Minister’s own admission, the country is broke. Conservative estimates in the Public Accounts Committee’s report to Parliament are that corruption has cost the country a minimum of M1.4 billion (100 million USD) over a three-year period (2013 - 2016). The central argument of this article is that stagnant and even regressive socio-economic development in Lesotho has a strong correlation with the untenable political situation, fuelled by the involvement of the military in politics. The ongoing intra-party squabbles reflect the intense jostling among patronage network members for what they feel is their share of the spoils. Political root causes of corruption in Lesotho For a country prone to violent conflict, Lesotho has had remarkably free and fair elections over the past two decades. Sowing seeds of its own destruction An increase in corruption contributes significantly to the premature collapse of Lesotho’s coalition governments. First, the ‘national cake’ is extremely small and grossly insufficient for the clientelistic distributions that coalition politics demands. If these reforms could be implemented, Lesotho might transition into a stable, peaceful, and developmental state in the southern African region. Coalition politicking has led to an increase in government expenditure, largely because of the rampant corruption. AbstractThe military has for a long time been used to crush dissent and to silence and stifle democratic principles in Lesotho. For many locals such as myself, this relegation is quite generous. Partly because of this strong party system’s competitiveness, engendered by frequent political party splits and realignments, elections have since 2012 failed to yield a clear majority. Over the past few years, those network members who felt excluded from patronage distributions have migrated to other, less crowded, political parties. While this has fuelled political party fragmentation and the inconclusive elections in Lesotho, it has not been personally beneficial for most political nomads and many find themselves further isolated politically. This is the first time in the history of Lesotho that a sitting Premier has had to attend a court session to face criminal charges. There are two major reasons why corruption has had this effect. The disgruntled MPs threatened to break away from the party. Perhaps for lack of a better phrase, ‘corruption has created its own resistance movement and sowed the seed of its own destruction’. I argue in this piece that the unfolding events in Lesotho represent an organic and gradual emergence of the institutions of state.

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