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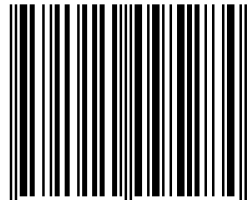


Promoting Credible Elections and
Democratic Governance in Africa



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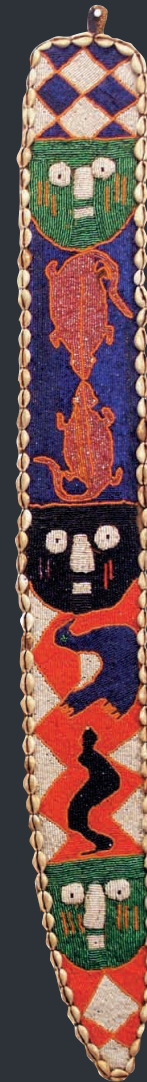
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POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRATISATION IN LESOTHO



Khabele Matlosa
and
Caleb Sello



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Democratic Governance in Africa

EISA RESEARCH REPORT No 23

POLITICAL PARTIES AND
DEMOCRATISATION
IN LESOTHO

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BY
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AND
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EISA is a non-partisan organisation which seeks to promote democratic principles, free and fair elections, a strong civil society and good governance at all levels of Southern African society.



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PREFACE

Multiparty democracy is becoming increasingly entrenched in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. A few SADC member states, including Botswana and Mauritius, boast long-enduring multiparty political systems implemented since their independence. Others have experienced a variety of mono-party systems (Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC], Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe), military dictatorship (Lesotho), apartheid rule (Namibia and South Africa) or no-party dynastic regimes (Swaziland).

Since the 1990s, most SADC countries (bar Angola, the DRC and Swaziland) have undergone a phenomenal transition towards multiparty politics. Crucial as this political transition is, its exact impact on democracy remains a moot point. In both the academic and policy discourses today, a number of questions still require answers. For example:

- Has the current political transition enhanced democratic governance?
- Has the transition deepened democratic culture and practice?
- Has the transition improved the effectiveness of democratic institutions such as political parties?

EISA (formerly the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa) – under the theme ‘Consolidating democratic governance in the SADC region’ – is therefore undertaking a broad programme that attempts to answer these questions.

The first stage of the programme focused on political parties and attempted to answer whether the transition improved the effectiveness of democratic institutions, such as political parties. This component of the programme was undertaken jointly by EISA and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) between 2003 and 2004. It investigated the state of political parties in the democratisation process in the SADC region over the past decade. The main goal of the programme was to assess the role and effectiveness of political parties in the process of institutionalisation of democratic governance in each of the SADC countries. The specific objectives of the project were to:

- assess the general political and socio-economic context of each country and its possible impact on political parties;
- investigate the external regulatory and legislative environment in each country and its impact on the role and functions of political parties; and
- examine the internal functioning and structure of political parties and the impact of this on their institutional effectiveness.

There is no gainsaying that political parties play a critical role in the democratisation process. It is also incontrovertible that political parties are key to the institutionalisation and consolidation of democracy. Thus, sustainable democracy is dependent upon well-functioning and effective political parties.

Each *country context* suggests that vibrant and robust political parties are crucial actors in articulating and aggregating diverse interests, providing visionary political leadership, recruiting and presenting candidates, and developing competing political and policy programmes upon which the electorate base their choices during elections.

Democracy is unthinkable without political parties and, conversely, political parties cannot add value to a political system under conditions of authoritarianism. Parties everywhere have the potential to be effective and accountable, but they face enormous challenges. The political context and the legal environment in which they function, as well as their systems of internal organisation, management and operation, require attention and are often in need of reform.

Although little comparative research has been conducted, it is clear that the *external environment* – the regulatory, financial, political and electoral spheres in which political parties grow and function – influences parties' strategies and organisation. The external environment also has a fundamental impact on the capacity of parties to become more effective agents of democratisation.

The *internal functioning* of political parties determines how the social demands of different groups in society are represented in parliament. Candidates nominated for election are selected, supported and trained by their parties. In addition, parties put candidates in touch with voters and hold them

accountable. In many instances, the electoral and political culture and associated structures have allowed traditionally excluded groups – such as women, ethnic and religious minorities, indigenous peoples and youth – to have only limited access to the political realm.

To address these issues, EISA and IDEA developed three questionnaires on: the country context; the external regulations and environment; and the internal functioning and structure of political parties. Country studies were undertaken by experts commissioned by EISA and IDEA. One of the main outputs of this project is a series of research reports, and this report forms an integral part of the series.

We extend our profound gratitude to the Swedish International Development Agency in Harare, Zimbabwe, the Royal Danish Embassy in Pretoria, South Africa and the Embassy of Finland in Pretoria, South Africa for their generous financial support, without which this programme would not have been possible.

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Khabele Matlosa
Project coordinator and series editor
EISA

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AGC	Annual general conference/congress
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunities Act
ANC	African National Congress
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
BAC	Basutoland African Congress
Banta	Basutoland National Teachers' Association
BCP	Basutoland Congress Party
BNP	Basotho National Party
BPA	Basutoland Progressive Association
CDP	Christian Democratic Party
Coletu	Congress for Lesotho Trade Unions
CPL	Communist Party of Lesotho
CSO	Civil society organisation
DC	District council/committee
FPTP	First-past-the-post
GDP	Gross domestic product
GoL	Government of Lesotho
Idasa	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IPA	Interim Political Authority
KAF	Konrad Adenauer Foundation
LCD	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LLB	<i>Lekhotla La Bafo</i> (League of Commoners)
LLT	<i>Lekhotla La Toka</i> (League of Justice)
LPC	Lesotho People's Congress
LTTU	Lesotho Teachers' Trade Union
LWP	Lesotho Workers' Party
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
MFP	Marema-Tlou Freedom Party
MMP	Mixed-member proportional
MP	Member of parliament
MTP	Marema-Tlou Party
NAC	National Aids Commission
Nepad	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NDI	National Democratic Institute

NEC	National executive committee
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NIP	National Independence Party
NPP	National Progress Party
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
PFD	Popular Front for Democracy
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
SACP	South African Communist Party
Sacu	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SHD	Sustainable human development
TB	Tuberculosis
UFF	United Fatherland Front
UN	United Nations
US	United States

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Small, landlocked and with paltry resource endowment, Lesotho has faced enormous challenges since its political independence in 1966. Its economy lacks internal growth dynamic and consequently depends overwhelmingly upon external, albeit dwindling, resource flows, especially foreign aid and migrant remittances. Prospects for an autonomous development trajectory have always looked quite bleak. It is no exaggeration even today to observe that Lesotho lacks adequate room for charting its own development path given the degree of the country's economic integration into South Africa and its dependence upon external sources of revenue. Will the country's Vision 2020 address this bottleneck? Only time will tell. What is vividly evident, though, is that Lesotho's external economic dependence compounds the social challenges facing the country. The major social challenges include poverty, unemployment and diseases including tuberculosis (TB) and HIV / Aids. Development challenges for Lesotho do not manifest only in terms of sluggish or stagnant economic growth and social welfare deficits. The challenge also extends to governance and the role played by political parties in nurturing and consolidating democracy.

Since independence, Lesotho has experienced political instability marked by various types of violent conflict, especially involving political parties. For instance, almost all elections since 1965 have involved some kind of conflict among parties relating to election outcome. The worst conflicts have been before, during and after the 1970 elections. This was in fact the watershed political development in the country for it marked a transition from what seemed a relatively stable emergent multiparty democracy towards authoritarianism that would last for more than a decade. Thus, following the abortive 1970 election, not only did Lesotho's political instability intensify through escalation of violence, but Lesotho essentially became a *de facto* one-party state. The one-party autocracy since 1970 was replaced by military authoritarianism in 1986. The military regime that replaced the Basotho National Party government banned all political activity and political parties in Lesotho. While the one-party regime stymied party political activity substantially between 1970 and 1986, the military regime 'killed' political parties between 1986 and 1993. Political parties were only 'resurrected' with the transition from military rule to a multiparty dispensation in 1993. It is

worth noting that overall, inter-party relations have improved enormously since the re-introduction of a multiparty system. Be that as it may, the country experienced a violent conflict following the 1998 election, which was won by the newly formed Lesotho Congress for Democracy. An amalgam of opposition parties combined forces to challenge the election results and attempted to enlist support of the monarchy by camping at the palace grounds.

The 1998 violent conflict was followed by the establishment of the Interim Political Authority, which facilitated numerous political reforms including the replacement of the first-past-the-post electoral model with the new mixed-member proportional system. While this system was able to ensure that general elections produce a fairly broad-based representation of parties in the legislature, it also assisted in allowing party political contestation to be shifted from the streets where it easily becomes violent. Party political contestation now takes place in parliament on the basis of agreed rules, regulations and procedures, given that at the time of writing most of the parties (ten of them including those interviewed for this study) are now in parliament.

All six parties surveyed expressed satisfaction with the political effects of the new electoral model so far, especially by bringing about relative peace and stability. In order to nurture and consolidate the country's new-found peace and stability, parliament is currently undergoing important reforms aimed at aligning the parliamentary system with the newly adopted electoral model.

Whereas inter-party relations seem to have improved quite considerably since 1993, political parties still face numerous internal problems to become effective drivers of democratic practice and culture in the country. These revolve around:

- factionalism and splits;
- lack of external regulations governing internal party activities;
- leadership and management bottlenecks;
- lack of capacity for policy development;
- membership mobilisation and maintenance of a membership register;
- lack of a culture of party coalitions and external relations with like-minded parties and/or foundations;

- problems around the selection of leaders and nomination of candidates;
- lack of institutionalised internal mechanisms for conflict management;
- lack of or ineffectiveness of party outreach programmes;
- resource mobilisation and party funding; and
- lack of deliberate strategies for the empowerment of marginalised groups such as women, youth and people with disabilities within power structures of parties.

INTRODUCTION

Lesotho is a landlocked country totally surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. It has an internally weak economy that is highly dependent upon external sources of revenue. Its political system has been historically marked by incessant conflict and instability. Since the demise of apartheid and the Cold War, Lesotho's political system has also changed, although economic conditions have not fundamentally altered – as will become clearer later on.

Worthy of note is the country's Vision 2020, under the theme 'Empowerment for prosperity', which is aimed at charting a strategic future that would address the country's economic and political problems by the year 2020. Relevant to this study are three of the seven major objectives of Vision 2020, namely: to achieve a stable democracy; a united nation; and a strong economy and prosperous nation.¹ In his foreword to the Vision, the prime minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, Pakalitha Mosisili, begins with a positive prognosis of Lesotho's governance condition as follows:

'Lesotho has made tremendous and remarkable progress on democratic governance, social development and economic growth. Governance has been strengthened by the recently adopted Mixed Member [Proportional system] that has allowed a representation of a least ten political parties in the National Assembly. As a result, the country has, for the first time in her political history, enjoyed post-election peace and stability. The monarch continues to play a vital role in the unification of the nation.'²

To achieve the objectives of Vision 2020 and the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) national priorities will require national collective leadership and effort involving various stakeholders, including political parties. Thus, the significance of this study cannot be overemphasised. It investigates the state of Lesotho's democracy and governance, and locates the role and position of political parties.

We kick off the discussion with an overview of Lesotho's socio-economic context. This is followed by highlights of contemporary political

developments. A sketchy historical record of political parties including early political formations (protest movements) and pre-independence political parties (nationalist movements) that played a role in the decolonisation process is provided. The larger chunk of the report is devoted to the internal functioning and structure of six selected political parties, namely the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD), Basotho National Party (BNP), Lesotho People's Congress (LPC), National Independence Party (NIP), Basutoland African Congress (BAC) and the Popular Front for Democracy (PFD). We identify challenges and opportunities for parties to add value to democracy and governance in Lesotho, and wind up the discussion by providing recommendations.

There is no doubt that political parties in Lesotho will have to play a critical role for the country to achieve the primary goal of Vision 2020, namely:

‘a stable democracy, a united nation, a nation at peace with itself and its neighbours, a healthy and well-developed human resource base, a strong economy and prosperous nation, a well-managed environment and a well-established technology.’³

This study provides an analysis of the state of political parties in Lesotho. In investigating the state of parties we also pose a related question regarding the impact of party operations (internal and external) on the country's democratisation process. This study is not only timely given the challenges facing Lesotho's democracy, but it is also relevant considering the newly introduced local government system and the political reforms under way in the country today. Two of these challenges include the electoral system reform of 2002 and the on-going parliamentary reforms, as well as the implementation of local governance. All these challenges, particularly the electoral and parliamentary reforms, are bound to affect party operations both within and outside of parliament, either for better or for worse.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data collection for the study took place between September and November 2004. The methodology used for the collection of data was multivariate. We consulted secondary material in the form of written sources, including academic publications. Desk-top research was used primarily for providing

country context and answering some of the questions on external regulations and the environment for party operations. Desk research was complemented by structured interviews using a standard questionnaire (see appendices) prepared by IDEA and EISA for the project relating to internal functioning and structure of parties.

A conscious effort was made to ensure that the experiences and opinions of male and female, as well as youth representatives of the political parties were taken into account in the information gathering. Consequently, at least one woman and one youth in each of the parties were interviewed. The five selected leadership positions of the parties interviewed were:

- The national leaders/organiser.
- The treasurer.
- Representative of the women's wing or a woman.
- The secretary general/campaign manager.
- A representative of the youth wing or another young person.

Political parties selected were the LCD (ruling party), the BNP (main opposition), LPC (significant opposition), NIP (significant opposition), BAC and PFD (both minor parties). Overall, these parties were established at various stages of Lesotho's political development, as depicted in Table 1.

Table 1: Establishment of political parties in Lesotho

Pre-independence parties (pre-1966)	Pre-transition parties (pre-1993)	Post-transition parties (post-1993)
BNP (1957)	NIP (1985)	LCD (1997)
	PFD (1991)	LPC (2001)
		BAC (2002)

Of the six selected parties, only the BNP is a pre-independence party. Two parties, the NIP and PFD, were established after independence, but before the political transition from military rule to multiparty dispensation in 1993. The other three parties – LCD, LPC and BAC – owe their birth to the BCP

which is a pre-independence political formation. All of them are splinter groups from the BCP. The LCD is the splinter group that broke from the BCP in 1997. The BAC also broke from the BCP in 2002 while the LPC broke from the LCD in 2001.

All this demonstrates one major weakness of political parties in Lesotho, namely, the incessant fragmentation and factionalism. This fragmentation manifests by way of continuous splits triggered not so much by internal ideological or policy tensions, but rather by personality differences and leadership tussles and scuffles. The net effect of this trend is the existence of institutions that tend to be synonymous with leadership personalities. The leader becomes the party, and conversely the party becomes the political fiefdom of the leader. This explains why Lesotho politics is so strongly imbued with personality cult of prominent political leaders (for example, the late Leabua Jonathan and the late Ntsu Mokhehle).

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT ANALYSIS

Lesotho is geographically a small country with a land area of 30,355 km² and a total population of about 2.2 million, growing at an average annual rate of 2.6%. It is one of the smallest economies in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region with paltry natural resource endowment: only 9% of Lesotho's land area is suitable for crop farming. The country has abundant water, currently being tapped for export to South Africa through the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. Conventionally a labour reserve economy, Lesotho has historically evolved as a dependent economy surviving upon three major external sources of revenue, namely: the migrant remittances from the Basotho miners in South Africa; dividends from the Southern African Customs Union (Sacu); and aid flows.

It is worth noting that all three forms of resource flows are currently dwindling due mainly to the changed global and regional environment, in particular the end of the Cold War internationally and the demise of apartheid in South Africa. Basotho miners have experienced accelerated retrenchment since the 1990s, with devastating social impacts on the survival of rural households and the social fabric of Basotho society. According to the Central Bank of Lesotho, the number of Basotho migrant workers on South African mines declined from 95,913 in 1997 to 56,537 in 2004, as Table 2 illustrates.

Table 2: Basotho migrant workers on South African mines, 1997-2004

Year	Number
1997	95 913
1998	80 445
1999	68 604
2000	64 907
2001	61 412
2002	62 000
2003	61 413
2004	56 357

Source: Central Bank of Lesotho, *Annual Report*, Maseru, 2004, p 11; Central Bank of Lesotho, *Annual Report*, Maseru, 2005, p 12.

Sacu has undergone restructuring, and indications are that the weaker partners in this integration scheme – namely Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland – continue to lose out economically as the bigger power, South Africa, repositions itself within the regional political economy.

It is only fair to observe that aid flows to Lesotho during the 1960s to 1980s were propelled principally by both the Cold War politics of the day and sympathy of aid givers towards a small, impoverished country, landlocked by apartheid South Africa. It could thus be argued that Lesotho was more a case of sympathy aid than real development aid, as it were. It is therefore not difficult to understand why most donors turned their backs on the small kingdom immediately following the ending of both the Cold War and apartheid. This is because the disappearance of the Cold War and apartheid diminished any strategic and/or political significance for aid flows to Lesotho.

Since the country's independence in 1966, the Government of Lesotho (GoL) has based its development strategies upon a five-year national planning framework. The five-year plans were, however, set aside in the mid-1980s with the adoption of the economic adjustment programme, which introduced the annual Policy Framework Papers. It is worth noting that, like various other African states, Lesotho adopted the economic adjustment programme under the aegis of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank during the 1980s, which emphasised the critical role of market forces in the development process, and de-emphasised the role of the state.

However, the complementarities and synergy of the roles of market and the state has been reasserted since the mid-1990s when the government reverted back to the national planning framework. Both the Sixth National Development Plan (1996/97-98/99) and the Seventh National Development Plan (2000/01-2002/03) are premised upon the overarching theme of sustainable human development (SHD).

SHD essentially denotes a process of enlarging peoples' choices in a manner that enables them to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.⁴ SHD espouses a decent standard of living for people and has three main components used to measure socio-economic progress in countries, namely:

- longevity, which measures life expectancy and state of health;
- knowledge, which measures literacy rate; and
- per capita income, which measures standard of living and poverty incidence.

The government has developed the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS), the main objective of which is to ‘provide a broad-based improvement in the standard of welfare for the current generation of Basotho, without compromising for the future generation’.⁵ As indicated earlier, the government has embraced the National Vision 2020, which like the PRS commits development policy to sustainable development.

Despite the commendable development efforts thus far, including Vision 2020 and the PRS, one of the major challenges is that Lesotho’s economy is too externally oriented. It depends overwhelmingly on external factors of production, especially the South African economy. Much as the economy depends upon South Africa, for instance, through migrant remittances and Sacu revenues, it also has substantial leakages which result in economic loss through, for instance, brain drain.

While the agricultural sector has continuously experienced sluggish growth, stagnation or decline in productivity, opportunities for accelerated industrial productivity exist. These are demonstrable by the recent considerable expansion of the export-led textile industry dominated by Asian investors and exploiting global market opportunities presented by the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA).

Under this arrangement, Lesotho’s textiles are allowed unfettered access into the United States (US) market. Consequently, in 2002 Lesotho recorded a 40% increase in its commodity exports. While this export-led garment industry has been helpful in creating the needed jobs in a country whose unemployment rate is estimated at 40% and where the state is the biggest employer, it is worth noting that dependence on foot-loose Asian investors may not be sustainable. Once the preferential access of Lesotho textiles into the US markets assured by AGOA changes, these Asian investors are bound to look elsewhere – as was clearly demonstrated when some textile factories were closed in late 2004, while others failed to open in 2005.

One critical policy challenge facing Lesotho today is undoubtedly poverty. Although the country is currently experiencing economic growth estimated at 3.4% in real terms in 2001, due mainly to expansion of the manufacturing sector linked to the export opportunities presented by the AGOA, this economic growth has not reversed the all-pervasive poverty trend. Owing to the AGOA, clothing exports to the expansive US market from Lesotho grew from almost a zero-base to an export volume of about US\$318 million in 2002 alone. However, given that AGOA-eligible countries in Africa are not supposed to regulate investment, all the textile factories in Lesotho (almost seven out of ten) are Taiwanese owned 'with suspect labour practices and poor working conditions'⁶ for a predominantly poverty-stricken female labour force. Hence almost all development initiatives by the GoL, the private sector and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have begun to put poverty at the heart of their development programming. To this end, the GoL, in liaison with the private sector and civil society organisations (CSOs), has evolved a fairly comprehensive PRS aimed at redressing poverty, which is more pronounced in rural than urban areas, as indicated in Table 3.

Table 3: Incidence of poverty in Lesotho, 1995

Region	% Poor	% Ultra-poor
Lowlands	44	22
Foothills	56	29
Mountain	71	41
Senqu River Valley	62	36
Urban Maseru	28	14
Other Urban Areas	27	11
Lesotho	49	26

Source: World Bank, *Lesotho Poverty Assessment*, 1995 cited in Gulilat T & Matlosa, K, *Aid Coordination and Management: The case study of Lesotho*. Maseru, Lesotho: UNDP (mimeo), 1999.

Employment creation could also be one way of tackling the poverty problem. In this regard, it is worth noting that despite the fact that the largest employer for Lesotho's labour is the public sector, the employment generated by the manufacturing sector increased by 17% from 32,965 in 2000 to 38,569 in 2001.⁷

Be that as it may, given the historical economic dependence of the country on employment on the South African mines, accelerated retrenchment of Basotho labour from South Africa is one of the most worrying developments. Ironically, but perhaps understandably, Vision 2020 envisages production of a competent, skilled and productive labour force which will turn Lesotho into a service country, exporting human capital to other countries while retaining a reasonable portion in the country.

There is no gainsaying that poverty reduction and employment creation will go a long way in ensuring provision of social welfare services in the country, especially in the education and health sectors. Although literacy levels in Lesotho are relatively higher in comparison to other African countries, the country still faces a serious 'brain drain' problem, which generally turns out to be an economic cost even if the migrants still remit back some amount of revenue.

Even more serious is the threat that the HIV / Aids scourge poses not only to the health sector in the country but to the entire development enterprise, since this pandemic is not just a health hazard but also a development issue. Although the first case of Aids was reported in 1986, by 2001 about 25,000 cases of full-blown Aids were reported by UNAIDS in its latest report.⁸ Table 4 illustrates the scale and impact of HIV / Aids in Lesotho as of 2001.

Table 4: HIV/Aids incidence and impact in Lesotho, 2001

HIV/AIDS impact	Numbers
Estimated number of people living with HIV / Aids (14-49 years)	360 000
% of HIV / Aids adult prevalence rate (14-49 years)	14.05%
Women living with HIV / Aids (14-49 years)	180 000
Children living with HIV / Aids (0-14 years)	27 000
AIDS deaths	25 000
Children orphaned by HIV / Aids	73 000

Source: UNAIDS, *Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, July 2002 (mimeo).

The PRS incorporates the national Aids strategic plan to be implemented by the Lesotho Aids Programme Coordinating Authority,⁹ under the auspices of the soon to be launched National Aids Commission (NAC).

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

While Lesotho's three decades of post-independence politics have been marked by incessant conflict and instability, the country today enjoys a stable multiparty system, although the relics of a political culture of violence persist.¹⁰ Over the decade 1994-2004, Lesotho's political condition has improved in terms of political rights and civil liberties, as reflected in the country's Freedom House ratings. Table 5 illustrates that in 1994, Lesotho was considered 'partly free' with an overall rating of about 3.5. In 2004, the country's Freedom House rating had improved to about 2.5, according to which the country is considered 'free'. This positive rating earned Lesotho an enviable place among the top 15 countries that were earmarked by the US as illegible to apply for a grant under the newly launched Millennium Challenge Account (MCA).

Lesotho's post-independence record suggests that the country has undergone various political phases marked by different trajectories of governance, with

Table 5: Freedom House rating for Lesotho, 1994-2004

Year	Political rights	Civil liberties	Status
1994	3	4	Partly free
1995	4	4	Partly free
1996	4	4	Partly free
1997	4	4	Partly free
1998	4	4	Partly free
1999	4	4	Partly free
2000	4	4	Partly free
2001	4	4	Partly free
2002	4	4	Partly free
2003	2	3	Free
2004	2	3	Free

Source: Freedom House, *Freedom in the World Report*, Washington DC, 2004.

implications for democracy and the role/position of political parties. First, in the immediate aftermath of political independence up to the 1970s (1966-1970 period) political development in Lesotho was characterised by what can be termed an embryonic democracy, with the new government constituted by the BNP, following the highly contested election of 1965 (see Table 6). Embryonic as it was then, Lesotho's young democracy did not experience any major political turbulence and there were all the signs that a democratic culture was surely in the offing. There was therefore enormous optimism among keen observers of Lesotho's political process that political independence and its immediate aftermath presented a golden opportunity for building firm foundations for democratic governance premised upon a Westminster constitution inherited from the British colonial administration. This optimism was further reinforced by the positive developments of the first five years of independence, generally marked by legitimate and constitutional rule, political stability, rule of law and political tolerance.

Second, the positive political development of the first five years of political independence was reversed by factional politics premised upon repression and accommodation. We term this the era of *de facto* one-party rule spanning 1970-1986.¹¹ Lesotho held its first post-independence election in January 1970, which to all intents and purposes became an embarrassing political fiasco for the country (see election outcome in Table 6). Fearing an impending political defeat by a fairly strong and well-organised opposition – the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) – the ruling BNP disrupted the election process mid-stream and declared the whole process null and void. Consequently, official results were never publicly announced and published, although anecdotal evidence suggests a landslide victory for the BCP in that election race. But the BCP did not assume state power as the ruling BNP entrenched a one-party rule predicated upon politics of accommodation and repression at the same time. It is certainly to this era of *de facto* one-party rule that the roots of Lesotho's major political problems can best be traced, for this heralded the beginning of various types of violent conflict that became the hallmark of Lesotho's instability.

Third, the *de facto* one-party rule was followed by the epoch of military dictatorship between 1986 and 1993.¹² Although the political culture of military rule has never been a feature of the political systems in Southern

Africa, it is interesting that only Lesotho experienced this extreme form of authoritarian governance. The same security establishment upon which the BNP based its one-party iron rule turned against the same party dislodging it from state power and grabbing power on its own behalf. Needless to say, this situation further entrenched authoritarian governance and moved Lesotho further and further away from democratic governance.

There is also no gainsaying that the worst forms of human rights abuses in Lesotho were experienced during the one-party and military authoritarian rule between 1970 and 1993. Interestingly too, the era of authoritarian rule of a military variety was indeed the period that witnessed the mushrooming and vibrancy of CSOs in Lesotho – albeit rather weak, fragmented and relatively disorganised – to mount any meaningful political lobbying and advocacy for democratic governance and respect for human rights. However, despite their weaknesses, CSOs played an important role in contributing to Lesotho's historic return to multiparty democracy in 1993 through the overall coordination of the Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organisations.

Fourth, the military relinquished state power and retired to the barracks in the early 1990s.¹³ This process ushered in the new era of a fragile and conflict-ridden democracy in Lesotho that became a key feature of the political system between 1993 and 2002. Fragile because, although the transition to democracy has been achieved, various forms of conflicts between and among key institutions have generated much instability, to the extent that the very consolidation of democracy itself has been severely threatened. Fragile though it is, this is democratic governance all the same and there are encouraging signs that it is likely to be nurtured and hopefully consolidated in future. The most encouraging signs of Lesotho's democratic governance between 1993 and 2002 have clearly been the regular holding of general elections (see the election results of 1993, 1998 and 2002, Table 6) despite various types of election-related conflicts.

Fifth, the mere act of holding regular elections is one thing, while ensuring that the quality of such elections adds value to the institutionalisation of democracy is quite another. Thus, with electoral reforms that were introduced in 2002, Lesotho entered a new era of a stable democracy, even if the legacy of political tension among the political elite persists both in parliament and

outside parliament.¹⁴ Given that much of the election-related conflicts have been associated with the British-style first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system, the government and the Interim Political Authority (IPA) agreed that the electoral model be changed to a new system, known as the mixed-member proportional (MMP) system. This new system was put to the test during the 2002 general election, and keen observers of Lesotho's political scene are agreed that it has delivered a desirable outcome for Lesotho's democracy, judging for instance by the broadly representative nature of the new parliament.¹⁵ Be that as it may, the electoral system alone is not a panacea for Lesotho's multivariate political woes. Much more still needs to be done, especially in terms of institutionalisation of democratic governance and the entrenchment of a culture of tolerance, inclusiveness and accountability in the country.

There is therefore no doubt that today, Lesotho is a fairly stable democracy emerging, as it were, from the epochs of one-party rule (1970-1986) and military dictatorship (1986-1993). The challenge facing the country today is to nurture and consolidate the democratic gains so far achieved, and political parties are supposed to play a key role in this process. Lesotho has acceded to the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), which is a voluntary mechanism of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad).

At the time of writing, Lesotho was preparing to undergo an APR process, to be coordinated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first consultative workshop was held on 5-6 October 2005, at which various stakeholders planned the APR process. Lesotho's APR will be led by Dr Chris Stals – a member of the APRM Panel of Eminent Persons – who also led the most successful APR process in Ghana in 2005. The Lesotho APR process is most likely to be completed in 2006. The first major task following the October 2005 consultative workshop was the preparation of the governance status report of the country, which is to be presented at the Sixth Africa Governance Forum scheduled for November 2005 in Kigali, Rwanda.

Table 6: Election results in Lesotho, 1965-2002

Year	Main parties	No. of votes	% of votes	No. of seats
1965	BNP	108 162	41.6	31
	BCP	103 050	39.7	25
	MFP	42 837	16.5	4
Total		259 825	100.0	60
1970 (election annulled)	BCP	152 907	49.8	36
	BNP	120 686	42.2	23
	MFP	7 650	7.3	1
Total		285 257	100.0	60
1993	BCP	398 355	74.7	65
	BNP	120 686	22.6	0
	MFP	7 650	1.4	0
Total		532 978	100.0	65
1998	LCD	355 049	60.7	79
	BNP	143 073	24.5	1
	BCP	61 793	10.5	0
	MFP	7 460	1.3	0
Total		582 740	100.0	80
2002	LCD	304 316	54.8	77
	BNP	124 234	22.4	21
	BAC	16 095	2.9	3
	BCP	14 584	2.7	3
	LPC	32 046	5.8	5
	NIP	30 346	5.5	5
	LWP	7 788	1.4	1
	MFP	6 890	1.2	1
	PFD	6 330	1.1	1
	NPP	3 985	0.7	1
Total		554 386	100.0	118

Source: Matlosa K, The electoral system reform and democratic governance in Lesotho: Lessons for the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), *Journal of African Elections* 2(1), 2003.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS

This section reviews the emergence of early protest movements in Basutoland. We further explore the subsequent development of pre-independence political parties or nationalist movements, which replaced the protest movements and which mounted various types of pressure upon the colonial administration until political independence in 1966.

EARLY PROTEST MOVEMENTS

Modern political parties in Lesotho owe their historical development to three early protest movements that emerged during the 20th century, aimed at pressurising the British colonial administration to institutionalise some reforms. The first movement was the Basutoland Progressive Association (BPA), formed and launched in Teyateyaneng in 1907 by a group of mission-educated Basotho and led by Reverend Cranmer Sebeta (its first president) and Simon Phamotse (editor of *Naledi* newspaper). The second movement was the *Lekhotla La Bafo* (LLB) (League of Commoners) formed and launched in Mapoteng in 1919 by the two Lefela brothers, namely Josiel and Maphutseng.¹⁶ The third movement was the *Lekhotla la Toka* (LLT) (League of Justice) – a breakaway movement from the LLB due to internal disagreements on the role and place of chiefs in the country's political landscape. The LLT was led by Justice Malitsane Mphanya Ratsiu, the founding secretary of the LLB, who had

‘become disillusioned with the chiefs’ influence in the LLB and had disagreed with Josiel Lefela over this and other central issues. While Lefela wanted chieftainship retained and restored to its pre-colonial form, Ratsiu felt that the chiefs were not worth salvaging and that chieftainship as an institution should be abolished altogether.’¹⁷

The BPA was reformist, elitist and anti-chiefs in its approach, with a political base drawn from the mission-educated elite, especially from the Protestant church. The Commoners’ League was radical and revolutionary in its worldview, accommodative of junior chiefs while adamant in its opposition against the missionaries. Its political base comprised workers and peasants

in Lesotho and migrant labourers in South Africa. It had strong links with independent African churches and 'some disgruntled junior Basotho chiefs who had their own grievances against their senior counterparts. Further, it seems to have attracted both Basotho women and even some Indian residents of Lesotho'.¹⁸ The LLT was ultra-revolutionary with an uncompromising position on the chieftainship, but largely accommodative to the missionaries. The LLT generally shared the same political base with the LLB. However, the LLT disintegrated after the Second World War and Ratsiu re-joined the LLB. In due course, both protest movements would give way to modern political parties or nationalist movements that waged a sustained decolonisation campaign, which ultimately secured Lesotho's independence granted by the British colonial administration on 4 October 1966.

PRE-INDEPENDENCE MODERN POLITICAL PARTIES

The above movements laid the foundation for modern political parties which engaged the British colonial administration and agitated for independence. The main parties that drove Lesotho to independence and still remain active with varying degrees of political influence include the original BAC, the BCP, the BNP, the Marema-Tlou Freedom Party (MFP) and the Communist Party of Lesotho (CPL).

These political formations played a significant role, both in their own right and collectively in Lesotho's two-pronged nationalist project, namely: political sovereignty from the British; and resistance to Lesotho's incorporation into the 1910 Union of South Africa.

As Nyeko aptly captures the point, nationalism in Lesotho went beyond the struggle for independence alone. This is so because, 'it also involved the struggle to avert the possible incorporation of the country into the Union of South Africa, its powerful neighbour. In Lesotho therefore, the struggle to achieve independent nationhood, national sovereignty and the fight against the country's incorporation into South Africa were all intimately linked'.¹⁹

Basutoland African Congress (BAC)

Nationalist and post-colonial politics in Lesotho and South Africa have remained inextricably interwoven, with political developments in the latter tending to have an overbearing imprint on the former. It is no wonder that

the institutional form and ideological orientation of parties in colonial and post-independence Lesotho resemble in large measure party formations in South Africa. The first modern political party to emerge was the BAC in 1952, with strong political links to teachers' associations, especially the Basutoland African Teachers' Union of 1943 and the 1947 Basutoland National Teachers' Association (Banta). The BAC also had strong political links with the African political movement in South Africa, especially the African National Congress (ANC).

This political party was started by Lesotho's renowned political genius, Ntsu Mokhehle, who had joined LLB but later decided to form a new organisation, the BAC. In the same year that he formed the BAC, Mokhehle became president of Banta. Basotho teachers from Banta made up a sizeable portion of the new political party's membership, and the aims and objectives of the two organisations appeared largely similar.²⁰ The energetic, charismatic, yet enigmatic Ntsu Mokhehle had combined his pursuit for an MSc degree in zoology with his active membership of the youth league of the ANC at Fort Hare University. There, Mokhehle had close working relationships with other ANC youth league leaders, including Anton Lembede, Robert Sobukwe, Nelson Mandela and Joe Mathews 'before his decision to create a political organisation in Basutoland'.²¹

It is no wonder therefore that the 'congress' tradition in Lesotho reflected in fact the strong influence of South Africa. As Nyeko reminds us:

'at its Bloemfontein conference in 1949, the ANC passed a resolution urging those of its members who came from neighbouring territories to form "Congresses" in their countries. The formation of the BAC in 1952 was partly an answer to that call.'²²

However, Mokhehle's political leanings were to gravitate more and more away from the Freedom Charter tradition of the ANC towards the Africanist black consciousness ideology of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC); Mokhehle was not easily excited by the politics of multiracialism.

The BAC introduced an independent political journal / newspaper in the form of *Mohlabani (The Warrior)* to oil its propaganda machinery. As Richard Weisfelder points out:

*'Mohlalani had a profound impact upon British administrators, expatriate clergy and politically conscious Basotho. Under the editorship of [B.M.] Khaketla, an articulate writer with a BA degree in politics and linguistics, the newspaper shattered forever the colonial image of the Basotho as a servile people who were content with their lot and immune from the anti-colonial forces sweeping the African continent.'*²³

Modern party politics in Lesotho therefore started in earnest in 1952 with the establishment of the BAC. However, in 1959 the BAC changed its name to the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), still under the leadership of Ntsu Mokhehle. This was the first political party to emerge in pre-independent Basutoland.

Basutoland Congress Party (BCP)

The transformation of the BAC into the BCP reflected a change in both the political character and ideological outlook of this party. The party began to be much more 'aggressive' in pushing the political liberation agenda. Not only that, its pan-Africanist ideological thrust became even sharper with a double influence from the pan-Africanist movement in South Africa and stronger linkages with Kwame Nkrumah's ruling Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) in Ghana. Weisfelder captures the point aptly as follows:

*'Ntsu Mokhehle's participation in the All-African Peoples' Conference at Accra in December 1958 and election to its steering committee marked the beginning of a close Congress association with the forces of Pan-Africanism led by Nkrumah. Financial assistance from Accra and Cairo resulting from these linkages provided the BCP with funds badly needed in preparing for the forthcoming [local government] elections. The Ghanaian model gave Mokhehle and his supporters new confidence that their cause could be triumphant both in the election and the future constitutional struggles.'*²⁴

The very political strength of the BCP – namely, its mass movement type and its pan-Africanist ideology – would be seen by its detractors as its Achilles heel. Both the chiefs and the Catholic Church perceived the BCP as anti-

church and as a communist organisation. Thus, even internal disagreements over key issues such as the monarchy and the chieftainship began to grip in and factional politics began to rear its ugly head. As Stephen Gill opines: 'As the movement towards self-government gained momentum, however, splits began to appear in the broad alliance which the BCP had mobilised.'²⁵

Marema-Tlou Freedom Party (MFP)

The first such split occurred in 1957 when chief S.S. Matete together with other influential chiefs turned their backs on the BCP and formed the Marema-Tlou Party, which in 1962 merged with the Freedom Party of B.M. Khaketla (editor of *Mohlabani* and BCP deputy president) to become the present-day Marema-Tlou Freedom Party (MFP). The royalist MFP looked up to the new king, Moshoeshoe II,

'to provide progressive and dynamic leadership and reassert the role of the monarchy in Lesotho's political development ... The MFP, while echoing many of the policies of the BCP, differed primarily in supporting a constitution that would give the monarch executive powers. The king would thus remain, not merely the symbol of national unity, but the dynamic force which ensured that unity.'²⁶

To date, this party under the leadership of Moeketse Malebo still pursues a monarchist ideology and a royalist agenda. The BCP preferred a constitutional, rather than an executive monarchy. Although Lesotho's political parties tended to differ on some key national issues, they were all united against Lesotho's incorporation into apartheid South Africa and were thus able to mobilise the requisite succour of the British colonial administration.

Basotho National Party (BNP)

The second split from the BAC/BCP was experienced in 1957 when another party, the Basotho National Party (BNP), was formed by three men, namely chiefs Leabua Jonathan, Patrick 'Mota and an educated Roman Catholic Church teacher, Gabriel Manyeli. Concerned about the BAC/BCP militancy, this splinter group had strong backing from the Catholic Church. One authority on Lesotho's history aptly notes that just prior to the establishment

of the BNP, the Catholic Church was contemplating establishing its own party under the name of the Christian Democratic Party (CDP).²⁷ Machobane further argues that:

‘A South African Roman Catholic lawyer named Vyeira, of Johannesburg, had been charged with the responsibility of drawing up its manifesto. The programme of the party was to “fight against communism under whatever name it may present itself in Basutoland”; but then, in the nick of time, Patrick Duncan, the former Judicial Commissioner, advised Chief Jonathan, who had served as an assessor under him, to form a party. The CDP Manifesto was then handed over to him, albeit with some amendments, as a basis for forming the BNP.’²⁸

According to Khaketla, a keen participant observer of Lesotho’s political scene at the time, the name CDP was changed to BNP simply because:

‘Chief Leabua’s and Manyeli’s advisers must, on second thoughts, have realised that in Lesotho, with its large Protestant following, a party which smacked of Roman Catholicism would never attract followers from the Protestant Churches. Accordingly the original name was discarded and the party emerged as the BNP, a party of the Basotho people as a whole; as its character was national, the doors were open to everyone – Roman Catholic, Protestant and heathen alike.’²⁹

However, besides the strong influence of the Catholic Church in the formation and ideological orientation of the BNP, other factors that triggered the emergence of this party emanated within the BAC itself. Machobane isolates four distinct characteristics of the BNP as follows:

- It was highly patronised by chiefs partly because Jonathan, its leader, was a chief.
- It established a strong, friendly relationship with apartheid South Africa through an unpopular policy of dialogue with the apartheid regime.
- It was basically a party of women, as Jonathan in a populist fashion presented himself as a champion of women’s rights.

- It benefited immensely from the official support it received from the Roman Catholic Church.³⁰

In 1959 a new constitution was adopted granting limited powers of self-government. This was followed by a local government election in 1960. The three parties that contested the elections were the BCP, BNP and MFP. As Table 7 clearly illustrates, the BCP won the election much to the chagrin of its opponents and detractors.

Table 7: District council (DC) elections, 1960

Contestants	Votes won	% of total	DC seats	Basutoland National Council (legislative) seats
BCP	12 787	36	73	30
BNP	7 002	20	22	1
MTP	3 043	9	16	5
Independents	12 473	35	51	4
Total	35 302	100	162	40

Source: Matlosa K, The 1993 elections in Lesotho and the nature of the BCP victory, *African Journal of Political Science* 2(1), 1997, p 141.

Although the BCP won the 1960 local government elections, the 1965 pre-independence general election was won by a razor-thin margin by the BNP, which in turn formed the first government of independent Lesotho – much to the disappointment of the populist and popular BCP (see Table 6).

Communist Party of Lesotho (CPL)

One of the modern political parties in Lesotho, which for some reason is often ignored in mainstream literature on Lesotho's political development, is the Communist Party of Lesotho (CPL). The first leftist party to emerge in Lesotho, the CPL was established in 1961, spearheaded by John Motloheloa, Edward Mofutsanyana, Mokhafisi Kena and Joe Methews. Its worldview is the building of a socialist society and its ideological orientation is Marxist-Leninist. The CPL aims to establish a socialist society in Lesotho. Its main

political base was the working class in Lesotho and the migrant workers in South Africa. It drew much of its clandestine following from the intelligentsia and some radical-minded elite.

Its longest serving secretary-general was Mokhafisi Kena from the mountain district of Qacha's Nek. It established strong links with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which brought some external resources for party activities. The CPL also maintained strong links with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the ANC, much to the annoyance of the then apartheid regime. The CPL was a 'major shock to the apartheid regime. For in South Africa during the 1960s, the communist bogey was often a ready excuse for the suppression of any kind of opposition'.³¹ It existed right in the belly of the monster at the time when the SACP in South Africa was banned through the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.

While the CPL has remained numerically insignificant for electoral contests, it has remained a significant political force in broadening national debate away from rightist and centre-leftist discourse by introducing critical perspectives from the left of the ideological spectrum. However, in 1970 the BNP government introduced the Suppression of Communism Act which effectively banned the CPL. Consequently, operations of the party went underground as it was legally outlawed. Ironically, the CPL resurfaced publicly in 1991 when the then military junta of General Metsing Lekhanya invited it to participate in the Constitutional Assembly which was tasked to amend Lesotho's independence constitution; the task that culminated in the 1993 Constitution. Together with its political ally, the Popular Front for Democracy (PFD), the CPL stood out from the other parties by openly pushing for the political integration of post-independent Lesotho with post-apartheid South Africa. For a long time, its political mouthpiece has been its magazine, *The Worker*, currently not in circulation.

The remaining sections of this report will focus on the six selected political parties. We kick off with an investigation of the external environment within which they operate. This is followed by an examination of the internal functioning and structures of parties. We wind up the discussion with concluding remarks. In that concluding section, we also highlight key recommendations aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of political parties in Lesotho.

EXTERNAL REGULATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT

The establishment of political parties is governed by the 1966 Societies Act. Political parties register in the same manner as other societies as there is no specific political parties act. In terms of article 14 of the Societies Act, the requirements for party registration and legal existence are as follows:

- Payment of M40 for registration of the name of the party (reservation fee).
- Registration fee of M100.
- Annual renewal fee of M40.
- Membership of ten people or more.
- Name and address of the party.
- Copy of the constitution, rules and code of conduct of the party.
- List of office bearers and their authentic signatures.

The application is submitted to the office of the registrar-general based in the Law Office within the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs. There are about 37 political parties registered with the Law Office. The registrar-general can deregister political parties if parties fail to pay their registration fee, and upon voluntary dissolution of a party. To date, no political party has ever been subjected to de-registration by the registrar-general, although we learnt from the interviews that the problem of non-payment of the annual registration fee is prevalent among the majority of parties.

The Societies Act of 1966 governs only the legal existence of parties. The involvement of parties in elections is governed by another piece of legislation, namely the National Assembly Elections Order, 1992 (as amended). For this purpose, parties have to register with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in terms of Chapter 4 of the 1992 electoral law (as amended). Qualifications for registration of parties with the IEC as provided in Chapter 4 of the National Assembly Election Order 1992, are as follows:

1. No political party shall be qualified to be registered –
 - (a) unless its membership is voluntary and open to all citizens of Lesotho without discrimination on the grounds of race, colour,

- sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status;
- (b) (i) if its sole intention is to advocate or promote the interests of any religious belief or group, or of only a specific area or part of Lesotho; (ii) its intention is to advocate or promote the interests of any ethnic or racial group; (iii) it accepts or advocates use of force or violence to attain political objectives; (iv) it does not allow periodic and democratic election of its leadership.
2. The Commission may not register a party if its name, abbreviated name, marks, symbol –
- (a) resembles that of any other registered party;
- (b) contains anything which portrays the propagation of or incitement to violence or hatred;
- (c) contains a representation of or closely resembles the national flag or national armorial ensign of Lesotho;
- (d) contains a representation of or closely resembles any coat of arms or emblem used by or associated with the Royal Family of Lesotho;
- (e) contains a representation of or closely resembles any logo, mark or symbol of a prominent public body;
- (f) is, in its opinion, obscene or likely to cause offence to members of the public or is such that if registered the electoral system would be likely to be brought into disrepute.

The registration of a political party with the IEC may also be cancelled if:

- the Commission is satisfied that the party no longer functions or has ceased to exist;
- the Commission has been notified by that party that it has dissolved or is intending to dissolve;
- its membership is not voluntary and is not open to all citizens of Lesotho without discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property, birth or status;

- by its constitution or policy its sole intention is to advocate or promote the interests of any religious belief or group, of only a specific area or part of Lesotho, or of any ethnic or racial group;
- its name, symbol, etc. portrays the propagation of or incitement to violence or hatred;
- it is likely to cause offence to members of the public or is such that the electoral system would be likely to be brought into disrepute.

The president, chairman or secretary-general of a party submits an application for registration to the IEC. Such an application is accompanied by the following information:

- Name of the party.
- Its abbreviated name.
- Application fee (M300).
- Party symbol.
- Declaration on a prescribed form signed by 500 members of the party whose names appear on the voters' register.
- Physical and postal addresses of the party.
- A copy of the constitution.
- Particulars of assets and liabilities.
- Bank account details.
- Commitment to adhere to the electoral code of conduct.

Upon registration, the Director of Elections issues a party with a registration certificate in a prescribed form and publishes the particulars of such registration in the *Government Gazette*, as per electoral law.

Over and above the qualifications and disqualifications for party registration with the IEC for purposes of electoral contest, a party is also compelled to abide by the Electoral Code of Conduct which forms part of the electoral law. Thus, before every election, political parties are required to sign and conform to the Electoral Code of Conduct. This was the case during the 2002 general election. The code is enforced by the IEC. A specific electoral tribunal is established to deal with any breaches of the code by the parties.

It is therefore evident that in the absence of a specific law on political parties, these institutions are governed by two pieces of legislation, namely the 1966

Societies Act (as amended) and the 1992 Electoral Law (as amended). It is also instructive that both legal instruments are administered by two different institutions, namely the registrar-general in the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, and the electoral management body. This creates a situation whereby parties tend to have a dual legal existence: one for their legal standing as societies and another for contesting elections from time to time. It would be useful if all legal matters relating to the existence and operations of political parties were to be governed by a specific political parties' act, administered by a specific office such the Registrar of Political Parties, as exists in some SADC countries.

Even more striking is the fact that virtually all internal functions of parties are not regulated and governed by any external legislation. These include:

- selection of candidates for elections;
- internal party election;
- monitoring of internal party elections;
- gender quotas in parties; and
- involvement of minority or marginalised groups in parties.

All these aspects of internal functioning of parties are solely governed by party constitutions and internal rules and regulations.

INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE OF PARTIES

This section focuses on various aspects of the internal functioning of the six parties whose representatives were interviewed. The issues under the spotlight include:

- founding of parties;
- internal structure and election of party leadership;
- policy development;
- leadership selection into representative institutions;
- party outreach programmes; and
- party funding.

The six political parties that were selected for the study are the LCD (ruling party), the BNP (main opposition), the LPC (significant parliamentary opposition), the NIP (significant parliamentary opposition), the BAC and the Popular Front for Democracy (PFD) (both minor parliamentary opposition).

PARTY FOUNDING

Basotho National Party

Of all the six selected parties, only one was established in the pre-independence period, namely the BNP. The other parties were established after independence. We provide basic information regarding the formation of these parties. We have already discussed the founding of the BNP; the only additional information on the BNP's contemporary history is that, like other major political parties in Lesotho, it has suffered two splits since its formation. The first happened in 1985 when Manyeli's NIP was formed (details to follow) and the second was in the mid-1990s when another party, the National Progressive Party (NPP) led by Chief Peete Peete, was established.

Lesotho Congress for Democracy

The LCD was founded on 7 July 1997 at the Cooperatives College, Maseru, and was registered almost immediately. The LCD came about as a break-away group from the BCP, following internal factionalism within the party.

The circumstances under which this happened were that the former members of the party's national executive committee (NEC) could not accept defeat at the annual general conference (AGC) of 1996. This triggered a conflict situation within the party. Given weak internal conflict management systems within the party, the aggrieved faction lodged a court case challenging results of the 1996 NEC elections. The legal route for the resolution of the BCP internal squabbles did not prove helpful and consequently the party suffered a major split. One faction of the then ruling BCP quit the party and established a new party, the Lesotho Congress for Democracy. A majority of BCP parliamentarians decided to join the prime minister, Ntsu Mokhehle, in the formation/ founding of the new LCD, thus constituting the new government in terms of the Westminster parliamentary system that the country operates. This essentially meant that the party that won elections through a landslide victory (winning all 65 parliamentary seats) in 1993 – the BCP – was instantly reduced to an opposition party in parliament.

The objectives of the LCD, as stated in its constitution, include working towards deepening democracy in Lesotho. Its political motto is 'truth, justice and peace'. According to the party leadership, its ideology is social democracy. This, they contend, is exemplified by, among others, their policies on education and health, both of which are highly subsidised. True to Lesotho's quintessentially polarised politics marked by factionalism and fragmentation of parties, the LCD, which came about as a splinter group from the BCP, itself suffered a split in 2001 when the LPC was established.

Lesotho People's Congress

The LPC was founded and registered in Maseru on 12 October 2001 to advance its ideals and transform society along a social democratic political agenda. It has never changed its name and no splits have occurred since its establishment. Consultations took place from constituencies through district level up to the founding national conference and then into parliament. These consultations led to a mandate to split in 2001 and found a new party. The party claims to represent marginalised social groups in society, especially the workers and peasants. It also advances the interests of small-to-medium size business enterprises. The LPC adheres to and pursues a social democratic ideology. Initial participation in its founding came mainly from the business community, including taxi associations.

National Independence Party

The NIP was founded and registered under the leadership of Mr Manyeli, at Roma, Lesotho in 1985. It is a breakaway group from the BNP. The primary bone of contention between Manyeli and the BNP leadership was that the BNP had diverged from its original mandate, especially with regard to the role and position of the monarchy and chieftainship in Lesotho. Manyeli himself was more inclined towards republicanism as against the monarchy. This difference led to his departure from the BNP and hence the formation of the NIP, which is thus a republican party.

In responding to the question of how the party was founded, the informants explained that there was a split of some BNP members who then jointly decided to join Manyeli to found NIP. The latter is a prolific writer who then wrote in the press to announce his intention and also spoke one-on-one and publicly to close associates. Once people bought the idea, the following grew and a special launching conference was convened at the Pitso Ground, to which various people and supporters were invited. The NIP represents mainly the Christian community, republicans and the farming community, which also represents the groups that initially participated in its founding.

Basutoland African Congress

The BAC was founded at Sefika Hall in Maseru at the beginning of 2002, and was registered soon thereafter. It was formed following a split within the BCP that occurred in 2001. Although the BAC is its original name since registration in 2002, the founders argue that in fact this was a resuscitation of the original pan-Africanist political movement that they inherited from the late Josiel Lefela, namely the LLB. The BAC was founded at a time when there was a struggle for leadership within the BCP. Up to 2002, its leadership had been part of the BCP, but with a lot of divisions which could not be amicably resolved, including two parallel NECs. The BAC is a broad-based pan-Africanist party and espouses liberal democracy. The leadership argues that the BAC represents marginalised and poor people.

Popular Front for Democracy

The PFD was founded in Maseru in 1990 and registered on 11 July 1991. Originally, the PFD emerged as the United Fatherland Front (UFF) in 1984. Since registration in 1991, the party has not experienced splits. The UFF was

banned during the military era in terms of Order No. 4 of 1986 that prohibited all party political activities. It then re-emerged in 1991 as the Popular Front for Democracy. When it emerged, the PFD espoused socialism. However, with the collapse of the Cold War and the subsequent ideological and paradigmatic shifts globally, the party's ideology has shifted to the centre-left. It aims at charting a social democratic future for Lesotho and its people. The PFD maintains a strong alliance with the CPL.

Various forces that had a common ideological outlook and sharing a common social democratic future for Lesotho joined hands in the establishment of the PFD. These included the UFF, the CPL, ex-miners, intellectuals and internal trade union organisations. The PFD essentially represents the interests of the poor strata of society (workers, peasants), the middle class and indigenous business (intelligentsia, petty bourgeoisie) and patriotic youth, although it received tacit support mainly from CSOs and trade unions at its founding. The PFD maintains close relations with the Congress for Lesotho Trade Unions and the Lesotho Teachers' Trade Union. However, relations have not developed into formal alliances, as is the case with the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions in South Africa.

Key findings of this study in respect of the ideological orientation and political bases of the selected parties are worth emphasising at this juncture.

- Three of the six parties (the PFD, LPC, and LCD) embrace social democracy as their ideological framework.
- One (the BAC) embraces a liberal democratic ideology.
- The NIP pursues a republicanist political agenda.
- The BNP has pursued a conservative ideology.

ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP

For all parties, operational guidelines, rules and procedures are in their respective constitutions. None have separate policy documents, rule books or guidelines. However, since resolutions and major decisions of the annual or special conferences are binding to the parties and the NECs in all cases that we have looked at, for the purpose of this study these resolutions can translate into rules, policies and guidelines. What remains a challenge for the parties is to actually translate and consolidate these resolutions into policy

documents that can be used as reference books. The NEC in all cases, according to respective constitutions, is elected by delegates at party congresses (AGC).

For the BNP, the procedure of electing the NEC involves campaigns for membership, which take place following affiliation. The annual conference suggests names, and there is no pre-conference nomination. An open voting system through a secret ballot is used. All positions are elected annually, except that of the leader, which is elected biennially.

In the case of the NIP, however, the NEC is appointed by the leader on the basis of the calibre of individual candidates. This is despite the fact that the party constitution provides that they have to be elected by delegates at an AGC. The leader, together with his close confidants, assigns people to perform certain functions, who upon satisfactory completion of such tasks are then appointed to the NEC. The national conference has not yet endorsed this selection procedure.

The PFD's NEC comprises 30 people, all elected by delegates through a secret ballot at a biennial national conference. Of these 30, nine are office bearers and constitute the national working committee. The LPC's NEC is elected by delegates to the annual national congress on the basis of secret ballot, as provided by article 32(5) of the party constitution.

In the case of the BAC, a secret ballot is used for the election of the NEC throughout various structures of the party. Local sub-branches hold their own conferences, which constitute all the members in the sub-branch. The sub-branches then elect representatives to the branch conferences, which then elect their representation to the constituency level. Constituencies elect candidates for the NEC at a constituency conference, and submit their lists to be checked by the NEC for respective positions to ensure their eligibility according to the constitution. The names of those elected to run for the NEC are submitted to the NEC to verify their eligibility. The constituency nomination list for the NEC has to be endorsed by the constituency conference before being submitted to the NEC. When the lists of constituency delegates to the national conference are submitted, each delegate will be given a complete list of all the candidates for the NEC. At the annual party conference,

the NEC will prepare ballot papers for all the respective positions of the NEC, which will clearly show which positions respective candidates are running for.

The process in the case of the ruling LCD is similar to that of the LPC and BAC above. It starts with nominations at constituency level. Names are proposed and seconded with specific positions the candidates will run for clearly indicated. These are then sent to the NEC for verification of eligibility. Occasionally some of the names are either not contested or do not qualify as they would not be eligible. In the event of some candidates not qualifying, reasons are given before the conference. The secretary general will then compile all the nominations from the respective constituencies. The lists are then sent back to constituencies by the NEC. At the conference, voting is by secret ballot. No additional names may be accepted from the floor at this stage, and the list does not specify the constituency where candidates come from.

The delegation to the AGC for all the parties comprises the party leader, parliamentarians (if any), regional (constituency or district) party branches, and representatives of auxiliary party groups (youth league and women's league). The conference is the highest decision-making body for all the political parties covered in this study.

None of the parties have quotas for either women or youth in the NEC. However, in all the six parties, women and youth are encouraged to participate in all party structures. All the parties have an institutionalised representation of both auxiliary groups in that the representatives (usually presidents) of youth and women's leagues are *ex officio* members of the NEC.

According to the BAC, the biggest problem is that many women tend to be less inclined to be politically active and to stand for election at national level. However, through conscious efforts the BAC has managed to get women in key positions: the party's leader and secretary general are both women. Furthermore, both leaders of youth and women's leagues are *ex officio* members of the NEC. The NIP disclosed that it has 30% women representatives in its NEC, although this has not yet been incorporated into the party constitution. Although, the other parties (LPC, LCD, PFD and BNP)

do have women represented in their leadership structures, considerable effort is required for gender equality to be realised.³²

In all the cases, no party pays any of its officials, and none of the NEC members get paid. Given the amount of work and dedication given by the members in their respective parties, especially secretary generals, the general feeling is that if resources permitted, these party functionaries ought to be remunerated. In fact, the BNP constitution clearly stipulates that the secretary general shall be a full-time employee of the party. It is clear therefore that s/he has to be paid, but due to resource constraints, the party is not able to do so.

The local branches of all parties constitute the lowest structures of the parties. The leadership of local branches is elected by the paid-up members in the concerned branch through a secret ballot. Most parties follow the IEC's demarcation of polling stations. The NIP has never held an annual conference. The PFD holds its conference every two years. The BAC holds elections of the NEC every two years (biennial). Other than the AGC, the BAC also has a leadership conference and, when necessary, a special or extraordinary conference. The LCD and LPC do hold their annual national conferences as provided by their constitutions.

Those who participate in the national conference include the party leaders, the parliamentary party, regional (constituency) party delegates and auxiliary groups. Participation over and above that already mentioned includes affiliated party organisations (trade unions, employers' federations, etc.). The decisions of the conference in all the parties are binding to both party leadership and the party rank and file.

All the parties elect the party president in the same way that the rest of the NEC is elected. The only major difference is the length of the mandate. The written rules governing the election of the party president are enshrined in the party constitutions. In the case of the BNP, once elected, the president's term of office is determined by vote of confidence. But in the case of a vacancy, this becomes open to any contender. In a situation where there is a vacancy, candidates declare their interests and then campaign for presidency. The voting is by secret ballot.

In the case of the LCD, the president is elected for a term of five consecutive years, subject to continued confidence by the AGC, which has the power to terminate this presidency if circumstances so dictate. Nominations are like the rest of the other members of the NEC and the qualification is the same. No specific rules exist for election of the PFD president, which rules are different from the election of the NEC.

The formal processes existing to monitor and regulate the ethical behaviour of political party officials for all the parties, except the NIP, is the disciplinary committee. In the case of the BAC, this committee is made up of five members elected by the NEC. The constitution provides for the NEC to establish a disciplinary committee whose members are the leader and five other members of the NEC. The members are appointed by the leader and endorsed by the NEC. Its mandate is to: assist the NEC and ensure that decisions and work of the NEC are implemented; oversee the overall functions of the party, including the constituencies, with the power to take whatever action where necessary; meet at least once bi-weekly; and to work closely with and oversees the work of the parliamentary committee.

We were provided with a multitude of detailed descriptions of the structure of various sub-national/regional/local party units, including auxiliary groups that the respective parties had. There were mostly 80 constituencies and occasionally 10 district committees, branches corresponding to polling stations and sub-branches varying according to the size of branches.

In terms of regional branches, these to a large extent depend on the number of polling stations that exist in any constituency, as well as on the strength of the respective parties in that region.

For example, for a party that has district structures such as the BAC, it was easy for interviewees to recall that it has ten district committees but party representatives could not recall how many local branches there were throughout the country as that would depend on the number of polling stations countrywide. Similarly, for all those parties that have constituency structures, which in this case are the majority, party representatives could also easily say they have 80 constituency committees but would equally have a problem saying exactly how many local branches.

The tendency for all parties was to estimate that there were as many auxiliary groups such as women or youth as there were local branches, but representatives could not specify the exact number. A rough estimate of about 2,500 was given at some point. All of these local branches, with the exception of the BNP, are semi-autonomous, but do have to report or account upwards. The regional/constituency/district branches and the auxiliary groups report to the NEC, while the rest have to report to the next highest structure above them. The electoral processes for local and regional branches are the same as in the NEC and all other committees (secret ballot), which also goes for election of the leadership.

The main functions of these structures include recruitment, overseeing, marketing and selling party merchandise, organising membership fundraising, building of branches in respective constituencies, advancing the party mission/objects, implementing NEC and AGC decisions and resolutions, reporting, as well as submitting names of candidates for both local and national elections (MPs), addressing issues relevant to the party, etc.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

We have noted earlier the problem of internal factionalism and leadership tussles that bedevil parties in Lesotho. Another (equally important) problem that tends to adversely affect these political parties relates to policy development. We found out that parties generally tend to place little premium on policy and programme development. Generally, policy and programme issues tend to be fused within party constitutions and election manifestos. This is why when we asked for party programmes, we would be provided with party constitutions and manifestos.

A constitution is the fundamental document that defines the legal existence of the party and guides its internal and external operations. A manifesto is a document that defines what the party is all about, what it stands for and what its worldview is. It is used mainly during elections to canvass votes for the party concerned. A programme or policy document, however, should contain a definition of the long-term vision of the party. It sets out the party's ideological thrust, identifies the key challenges that the party considers critical for the country and how it proposes to address them. In essence, therefore, manifestos that parties used during the 2002 general elections are supposed

to represent a short-term mission of the party for the period of five years until 2007 when the next election is due.

In the absence of a long-term programme, all the parties interviewed tend to use their manifestos as policy documents. Generally, the manifestos are developed by the party leadership and filter down to the party branches and not the other way round. While this approach applies to all the parties, the ruling party is much more effective in developing its manifesto and distributing it to its branches and the rank and file, given its command of resources, some of which accrue from its incumbency as sitting government. Opposition parties are in a much more awkward predicament when it comes to policy development.

The parties under review do not undertake opinion surveys on their own to gauge their political strength or to assess their prospects when contesting a particular election. Neither do they use extensively sophisticated surveys undertaken by other institutions such the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) Afrobarometer data on public opinion on democratic institutions. One of the important findings of the Idasa Afrobarometer surveys is that public trust in political parties is declining. Idasa found this to be the case in Lesotho too. As in other countries, there seems to be less public trust towards opposition parties than the ruling party.³³

Political parties need to deliberately address the problem of declining public trust if they are to remain key agents of democracy in Lesotho. Part of building public trust requires that parties develop clear, relevant and socially responsive policies and programmes. It is possible that the manifesto and constitution, on their own, are inadequate in this regard. There is dire need for political parties in Lesotho to develop long-term policy programmes within which the five-yearly manifestos are crafted.

Political campaigns are used to sell party manifestos to the people, both to expand the membership base of the parties and to mobilise votes during elections. Campaign strategies are developed by the party leadership at various levels, from the NEC all the way down to the sub-branch level in villages. This applies to all parties, although it is more effective in those parties that have extensive structures throughout the country, including the

LCD, BNP, LPC and BAC. The other parties including the PFD and NIP do undertake campaigns, but their structures throughout the country do not seem extensive and profound enough for building a solid political base and for mobilisation of considerable votes during elections.

All the parties interviewed do participate in elections. They participated in the 2002 general election which was won by the LCD, although some parties, especially the BNP and the LPC, questioned the election outcome. While all the parties ultimately recognised and accepted the election results and participated in the new parliament following that election, these two parties have boycotted all by-elections since 2002 in protest over the results. The next general election is scheduled for 2007.

The 2005 local government elections were fraught with controversy regarding their preparation and timing. Political parties were generally not agreed on major aspects of the process. Opposition parties preferred postponement of the election until sticky issues were resolved. The ruling party insisted that the election had to go ahead as originally planned. Initially, the BNP, LPC and BAC threatened to boycott the poll. Later on, these parties made it public that their members were free to contest the elections. The local government election was also won by the LCD, as depicted in Table 8.

Table 8: Electoral division results per district per political party, 2005

District	Independent candidates	LCD	BNP	PFD	NNP	BAC	LPC	BCP
Maseru	24	112	1	2	1	–	–	–
B.Bothe	24	70	–	–	–	–	2	–
Leribe	29	135	7	2	–	1	1	–
Berea	10	76	2	1	–	1	12	–
Mafeteng	22	91	2	1	–	–	–	–
M.Hoek	26	109	2	–	–	–	1	1
Quthing	20	81	1	–	–	–	1	–
Qacha'sNek	9	91	1	–	–	–	–	–
Mokhotlong	64	67	14	–	–	–	2	1
Thaba-Tseka	23	101	10	1	–	–	–	–

Source: Shale V, The 2005 Lesotho local government elections: Implications for development and governance, *Journal of African Elections*, 4(1), June 2005, p 110.

Data presented in Table 8 illustrates that there was a large number of independent candidates contesting local government elections in various districts. The district with the highest number of independent candidates was Mokhotlong. While this trend may be suggestive of positive democratic gains in the country since the 1993 political transition, it is also ironically symptomatic of internal factionalism and political differences within parties which tend to drive some members out of parties, who in turn contest elections on their own, thereby competing with the parties. All the parties have accepted the election results, although the opposition has raised issues with, *inter alia*, the electoral system used.

MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT

All the parties prepare and maintain membership registers. The process of registration takes place from villages, sub-branches, branches and constituencies. Membership lists from all these layers are put together into a national register maintained by the NECs. The NECs keep record of registration in the form of cards and, in some cases, computer databases, while the other levels have lists. In this way the NEC can check whether one has renewed membership or not. Constituencies use books and cards. The parties have cards that provide for membership renewal over a given period.

BNP members register at the local level, after which they are sent to the constituency where cards are issued. The returns are then sent to headquarters. Registration forms are available at the village, constituency and headquarters levels. In the case of the LCD, each sub-branch and branch has its own records. The process of registration takes place from villages, sub-branches, branches and constituencies, up to the NEC. The NEC keeps record of registration forms while the other levels have lists. At headquarters, the NEC used to keep forms but now this is being computerised. The constituencies submit their lists to the NEC. In the case of the NIP, the constituencies submit their lists to the NEC and each constituency should have a membership register book while other structures have cards. No specific period within which returns have to be submitted has been set. Returns include money and the accompanying lists. There is a national register at headquarters.

In the case of the BAC, the secretary general has the overall responsibility of maintaining the national register, while the constituency structures maintain

theirs. Branches keep their own registers and copies of receipts before forwarding fees and registration/ application forms to the constituencies. The latter then keep their own registers and forward forms and fees to the NEC. All the parties (LCD, PFD, LPC, NIP and BNP) except the BAC have a set membership fee of a Loti (M1.00). While the Loti is payable annually for most of them, in the case of the BNP, the annual subscription or renewal fee is 50 Lisente (M0.50). In the case of the BAC, the fixed rate is M2.50.

Total membership also ranges between 3,000 and 8,000 for small or new parties, to 180,000 to 300,000 for bigger and older parties. Fluctuations in terms of party membership over the past ten years in percentage terms and absolute numbers vary a lot. This, in the majority of cases, is due to internal factionalism, power struggles and splits. For relatively new parties that have recently been founded, such as the BAC and LPC, the question of membership recruitment was understandably tricky in that they were still in the process of building their political base. These problems are further compounded by severe resource constraints that bedevil operations of parties, especially those in opposition. Data on membership for almost all the parties is imprecise as it does not distinguish between paid up members and voters during elections.

The BNP's best year of membership is post-1998, and it estimates that up to 74% of its membership is women. The LCD's and LPC's best year of membership mobilisation was 2003, and at the time would have had 55% and 58% women members respectively. Although the PFD could not estimate the percentage of women, its best year was also 2003. The NIP's best year was 2001, with 60% of members being women. In general, we found out there really are no strict membership criteria, except an expectation to adhere to party policy, to respect the party constitution, to fill out application forms and to pay subscription fees. In all the cases, dual membership is not acceptable.

In the case of the BAC, one must be an adult Lesotho citizen of 18 years, which is the constitutional voting age, adhere to party principles, and be guided by the party constitution and regulations. Membership is decided by the branch not the NEC. It was also disclosed that even though this is not strictly practised, the BAC constitution requires that before confirmation, one should recruit at least five new members. What is currently practised is

that one should pay allegiance to the party constitution and its objects, and that one should not have dual membership.

The BNP accepts every Mosotho of voting age as a member, provided that s/he accepts the objects, aims, mission and leadership of the BNP. The procedure involves completing an application form and submitting it to the village committee which can accept or reject the application. If rejected, the applicant can appeal to upper structures. If formerly a member of another party, one is expected to surrender one's old membership card. The details of the old card are taken and the card is then stored by the party. There is also an expectation that new members should take an oath of allegiance to the party.

The criteria for membership of the LCD include the fact that known criminals may not be admitted, otherwise every Mosotho who is of voting age (18 years or above) qualifies for membership. Members are expected to pay membership fees to the village committee where one resides. The issue of dual membership is strictly monitored to guard against any opportunistic tendencies. Criteria for membership of the LPC include the requirement that one must be 18 years or older, uphold the party's ideology, and should not be a member of another party. As for the NIP, local representatives are provided with copies of the constitution and the manifesto to lend out to people who have an interest in joining the party. For the PFD, all committees from the sub-branch up to the NEC are mandated to recruit and admit new members. The main requirement is commitment and adherence to the social democratic principles of the party.

Membership rights for members in various parties include attending meetings, voting at party meetings, election into committees and expressing opinions. The responsibilities that come with party membership include adherence to party statutes and voluntary work. Communication with the membership is either verbal or in print. No party has either an electronic newsletter or website. Communication within parties in most cases does not allow or encourage individual correspondence, and parties prefer communication through committees or set structures.

The BAC communicates at least monthly using an internal circular, individual correspondence occasionally but only through the branch committees, or

meetings as and when necessary. The BNP communicates with its membership through circulars, individual correspondence, meetings as well as the party newspaper when it is in circulation. The LCD also uses a newspaper, individual correspondence and party meetings as its main communication channels. The NEC only corresponds with committees and not directly with individuals. There are no less than four meetings a month at the headquarters and meetings are held monthly at constituency level. The LCD is currently developing its own website. The LPC uses a newsletter (when in circulation), circulars and party meetings. The PFD communicates with its general membership mainly through circulars and party meetings, as well as through its newspaper (when in circulation). The NIP communicates with the membership about once every month, and rarely corresponds with individuals depending on circumstances. Otherwise there are annual meetings. In all cases, there are virtually no separate guidelines on expressing opinions, except party constitutions.

With regard to training, most parties offer training to all, but others are selective and only offer it to volunteers and general membership. The BAC offers task-specific training to campaign volunteers. Candidates are trained on how to conduct themselves during and between elections. General members get informal training during NEC visits to the constituencies, while party officials get informal training during NEC visits to the constituencies, mainly on voter education.

The LCD offers training to all its members on the Electoral Act, structure and objectives of the party, party constitution and rules, code of conduct, bookkeeping and communication. Candidates get specific training on the constitution and manifesto of the party. Elected members do not get much training by the party, except at a general meeting held after the elections. For the general membership, there are party meetings where they are provided relevant information by MPs and the NEC. This takes the form of either civic or voter education during and between elections.

The LPC and PFD offer training to all, that is, campaign volunteers, candidates and party officials. However, it is not clear what type of training is offered to these categories. The BNP also offers training to its campaign volunteers, candidates and officials through seminars, retreats and workshops using local

resource persons as facilitators. The training includes the youth. The NIP and BAC offer training to candidates and campaign volunteers but not to the rest. Campaign volunteers get trained on how to conduct themselves during campaigns. In the case of the BAC, the NEC does play a considerable role in its membership drive.

The methods through which parties seek to recruit members between elections are many and varied. These include door-to-door canvassing and mobilisation, distribution of campaign material, public meetings and political rallies. In most instances membership recruitment is undertaken by party volunteers without remuneration by the party. By and large, recruitment strategies across the parties are similar, but they differ from one party to the other in terms of intensity, sequencing and timing. It is worth noting that membership recruitment tends to become more intense around election time. This is understandable given that it is around elections that parties would seek more numbers to assure them of more votes. However, we noted that, either by default or by design, there tends to be a lull in membership drive and political mobilisation between elections. This leads to a situation where political parties, especially opposition parties, are hardly visible in the public eye and wake up from 'hibernation' when an election approaches. This political culture of parties being more active during elections and less so between elections in part also explains the trend of their declining public trust, as observed earlier.

In order to try and ensure that parties remain active and visible between elections, we were informed that parties have different strategies to keep their activists and volunteers engaged. The BAC organises issue-specific caucuses to discuss and analyse relevant policy issues, including the national budget. Party activists also engage in community development projects and fundraising activities. In the case of the BNP, whatever efforts they make are largely voluntary due to the serious lack of funds. But the party usually identifies skilled and active members and assigns them responsibilities at minimal allowances. These also vary from one constituency to another. The LCD uses similar strategies but has an added advantage as the ruling party by striving towards efficient delivery of services in constituencies to increase its membership base. LPC activists are engaged in party activities, including public meetings, concerts, *stokvels* and workshops. The NIP, on the other

hand, considers itself as a relatively small party that is constantly on a vigorous membership drive. It therefore does not necessarily have written guidelines on how to engage activists. The PFD only engages its activists through public meetings, distribution of party material and the occasional visits of NEC members to constituencies.

LEADERSHIP SELECTION

Lesotho is a parliamentary democracy with the prime minister as head of government and the king as head of state. It does not have presidential elections. The Upper House (the Senate) in Lesotho is an unelected house of parliament. Members consist of the 22 principal chiefs and 11 others who are not elected but nominated / appointed by the king on the advice of the Council of State.³⁴ The eligibility requirements for the parties to be elected into the National Assembly include the age limits of 18 years or above, as stipulated in the Electoral Law, a fully paid-up membership to the party, basic qualifications, to read and write (although for others this last part is not relevant), and signatures. The significance of qualifications is that one should be able to read and write in the two official languages (Sesotho and English) so as to ensure that one will be able to participate effectively in parliamentary debates and will be competent enough to read parliamentary rules and regulations, including Hansard.

Another important element in the case of the LCD is that one should hail from a certain geographical area. The significance of this is that the party insists that in order to be elected as a constituency MP, one has to come from that particular constituency. Furthermore for the LCD, one should also have completed a probation period of at least three years and should have served in branch or any other relevant committees. The national conference is vested with the power to endorse candidates.

The BAC nomination process starts from the party's branches that put forward names for nomination by the constituency. It is up to the respective branches and the concerned individuals to ensure that they can be nominated and elected by their respective branches and constituencies to stand for election. The BNP holds primary elections at branch level, and ultimately constituencies elect prospective candidates who are endorsed by the national conference. A member of the NEC is commissioned to oversee the electoral process.

The current electoral systems within parties are such that all of them use plurality / majority. Equally, none of them actually have solid and clear quotas for either youth or women, or indeed any other group. However, although there generally are no quotas for youth and women, representatives of the respective leagues are *ex officio* members of the NEC. The LCD has no special measures for women other than the fact that women are encouraged and are elected purely on merit. However, the leader also tries by all means to have women and youth elected and then appointed as ministers. The BNP claims that it strives to adhere to the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, which exhorts member states to ensure gender equality and achieve at least 30% women's representation in all political structures.

Parties were, however, generally found to be weak on gender balance in their respective NECs, which are predominantly male dominated. Parties were also found to be weak in ensuring gender equality in the process of nomination of candidates for the purposes of contesting general elections. While it was assumed that women's participation and representation in parties and the legislature would be enhanced when Lesotho reformed its electoral system from the constituency-based FPTP system to the MMP system, women still remain marginalised within parties and the gender parity in the National Assembly still remains a major challenge. Consequently, Lesotho has not been able to achieve the SADC benchmark of 30% women's representation in the legislature by 2005.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF PARTIES

Almost all the parties we interviewed lacked strong international linkages. The BNP claims to have international linkages with the Christian Democratic-People's International. Only three of the parties interviewed seemed to have some linkages with international political foundations. The BAC has regular contacts with the US-based National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the German-based Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF). The BNP also has relations with the NDI, KAF and the Westminster Foundation in the UK. The LCD also has relations with the NDI. The PFD, LPC and NIP did not have any relations with international political foundations.

Contact with a sister party in other countries seems to be more popular than affiliation as almost all the parties reported an association of one form or

another. In fact, many political parties in Lesotho maintain formal and informal relations with various political organisations in neighbouring South Africa. The BAC reported that it maintains relations with the PAC; the BNP and LCD claim to have some relations with the ruling ANC; while the PFD has relations with the ANC and the SACP. Both the LPC and NIP did not report any significant relations with parties in other countries. Be that as it may, even those parties that reported relations with parties in South Africa could not make clear the nature of these relations. The relations seemed to be more informal and ad hoc contacts rather than formalised institutionalised linkages, and did not include policy support, campaign support, training and funding, but centred more on public relations.

No party indicated any formal alliance or cooperation with other political parties in the country. Whatever alliances and cooperation exist between and among parties in Lesotho are largely informal. Lesotho does not have an entrenched political culture of coalition politics. Political alliances among parties during and between elections are therefore alien to Lesotho's political parties. The same could be true about relations between parties and CSOs. Almost all the parties interviewed either did not have relations with CSOs or had fairly weak linkages with these organisations.

We found that parties in Lesotho have strong working relations with the IEC. This is a positive development which suggests that parties have confidence and trust in the IEC and therefore do not question its integrity and credibility. All the parties participate effectively in the IEC's liaison committees that are meant to address various aspects of the election management process before, during and after the election itself. The eight IEC liaison committees and their functions are illustrated in Table 9.

PARTY FUNDING

Political parties require resources for their effective operation as agents of democracy. Funding is thus crucial for the effectiveness of parties. In Lesotho, there is no public funding for political party development. Only during elections does the government provide some public funds to parties earmarked for political campaigns. This is done through the IEC, and following an election parties are required to account for the use of these campaign funds. During the 2002 general elections, each party received

M20,000 from the IEC. The first instalment of M10,000 was provided to all the contesting parties. The balance was given to each party in proportion to the number of candidates fielded.

Private funding to political parties remains unregulated. Lack of legislated party funding and unregulated private funding adversely affects parties and their activities. This is more so for opposition parties (LPC, BNP, NIP, BAC, PFD) than for the ruling party LCD, given that the latter does have access to public resources by virtue of its incumbency.

As a rule, though, parties in Lesotho tend to depend overwhelmingly on membership subscriptions and donations from their members. Membership fees are one reliable source, except that these are largely symbolic and can hardly support operational costs of the party. The majority of parties charge between M1 and M2, and this can barely sustain party activities. Additionally, members voluntarily donate funds to parties and, in particular, MPs make monthly contributions to their respective parties. In the recent past, parties

Table 9: The IEC consultative committees and their responsibilities

Committees	Area(s) of responsibility
Election Coordination Committee	General electoral matters from other committees or as indicated by the committee for action of other committees, the commission or staff
Civic and Voter Education Committee	Civic and voter education
Logistics Committee	Electoral and referenda logistics
Law Committee	Legal and statutory
Data Management Committee	Voter registration and information technology in general
Security Liaison Committee	Electoral and referendum security
Conflict Management Committee	Control of electoral conflict and monitoring of observance of the code of conduct
Media Liaison Committee	All dealings with the media and issuance of media statements by the electoral stakeholders

Source: Independent Electoral Commission of Lesotho, *Report on the 2002 General Election Held on 25th May 2002*. Maseru, Lesotho: IEC, 2002, p 13.

have also benefited from direct donor support from the United Nations Development Programme and Ireland Aid for manifesto development and civic/voter education. Sources of funding vary from party to party, but there are common sources from which all parties get funding. The main contributor is public funding from the state through the IEC.

There are no spending limits for s/election contests during primary elections. There is no set amount of funding that candidates have to bring to any party in order to be nominated to stand for election on a party ticket. Fees are paid to the IEC by the respective NECs for registration of all the candidates.

Parties indicated that in the first place there normally is not much funding to distribute as the funds are generally very limited. For most parties, funds used for campaigns are distributed equitably among the candidates. Consideration is given to the geographical distribution of candidates and the size of their constituencies. Candidates contesting elections in the mountain areas of the country usually receive relatively larger amounts than those in the lowlands, largely due to the difficult terrain and transport challenges as well as to the sparse population distribution in the mountains.

The distribution depends on the amount of funding available. Rallies are sponsored by the candidates themselves. In other parties, NEC members also participate in branch rallies for which there might be subsidies to cover transport and other essentials. It is estimated that rallies covering the leader, candidates and the NEC cost, on average, some M2,000. Candidates are not expected to raise any funds; however, it was reported that some candidates do raise funds for their campaigns. Some party members contribute to the party's political campaign efforts by releasing their vehicles to be used without any charge. At most, such members would only request candidates to pay petrol costs. Local and regional party (constituency or district) branches do minimal fundraising. Respondents indicated that in reality the local structures raise funds to support their candidates, but there is no sustainable base on which to rely for fundraising. In some parties it can only be done with exclusive NEC approval.

For the majority of parties interviewed, financial records were not readily available. Only very few parties had credible records and some claimed they

had no money at all, hence no financial records. The majority of those interviewed actually acknowledged that they did not have any information relating to finances. The only relatively reliable information was provided by the treasurers of the six parties. Although the majority of treasurers claimed they could not give us specific itemised amounts, sources of income included membership fees, the IEC (during election years), MPs' monthly contributions and other donations. The amounts during election years are higher than those of non-election years due mainly to IEC subvention. A new innovation is a system whereby MPs contribute about M100 monthly towards a special fund for their respective parties.

Funding of the women and youth leagues comes from party coffers. It is meant to cover the cost of their working meetings and annual conferences. Such funding is given per request and is not automatic. Currently, the leagues have their own sources but parties also help them with funds during their conferences. Given the limited funds, parties encourage the leagues to embark on their own fundraising campaigns. Parties undertake such fundraising activities as concerts, raffles and dinner dances. The BNP and LCD have property that has been sufficiently developed to be a fundraising asset, while the other parties (the LPC, NIP, BAC and PFD) do not have properties of their own that could generate income.

The main expenditures for the parties include election fees, transport, national and regional meetings / congresses, voter education, publicity / propaganda, election campaign costs, including printing costs for membership cards, manifestos, constitutions, and party papers, buying radio slots, and the one-off procurement of fixed assets such as land or property and associated capital investment. We noted that there is very little, if any, investment in research and opinion polling. There is also not much expenditure on salaries as party staff work more as volunteers – a sign of organisational weakness in terms of party sustainability.

Parties pay a specified deposit to the IEC for participating in elections. They are expected to pay M200 per constituency contested. Thus, if one party contests all 80 constituencies, it is supposed to pay a deposit of M16,000. Such a deposit is refundable only if a party secures 10% or more of the total votes cast.

Financial accounting in all the parties is mainly internal and confined to the AGC. Audited financial reports are supposed to be presented at annual conferences according to party constitutions. The reality, however, is that very few parties actually have their audited statements and instead just give simple financial statements in relation to income and expenditure of any given year. The justification by those involved is that first there would not be any finances to report and second, even the little that they report on could not warrant paying for an auditor.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

PARTIES AND DEMOCRACY

Lesotho is a fairly stable democracy emerging from decades of authoritarian rule of both civilian (1970-86) and military (1986-93) varieties. The challenge facing the country today is to nurture and consolidate the democratic gains so far achieved. Political parties are supposed to play a key role in driving the democracy project in a country. However, the challenges that political parties face in Lesotho are many and varied. We have noted that while inter-party relations have improved significantly since the country's political transition to democracy in 1993, political parties still face numerous internal problems to become effective agents of the country's democracy. Parties must embrace and sustain a culture of political tolerance and constructive management of political conflicts.

EXTERNAL REGULATIONS

The external regulatory mechanisms for parties should be streamlined and strengthened. It is imperative that all legal matters relating to the existence and operation of political parties are governed by a specific political parties act, administered by a specific office such as the registrar of political parties, as is the case in some SADC countries.

The parties also have the challenge of having accurate data on their membership at any given time. For example, for a party that has district structures, it was easy to recall that it has ten district committees, but representatives could not recall how many local branches there were as that would depend on the number of polling stations throughout the country. So if parties cannot say how many local branches they have, how much more so does this apply regarding their membership. It is recommended that parties find ways of enhancing their internal capacity to develop and manage their membership registers more effectively.

INTERNAL FUNCTIONING

Leadership

Part of the lack of internal stability within parties has had to do with leadership squabbles and lack of intra-party democracy. It is recommended

that parties take deliberate policy measures to institutionalise internal democracy.

Policy development

Parties also do not have policy documents beyond the constitution which provides policy guidelines. This problem tends to adversely affect these political parties in terms of their operations and public image. We found that parties generally tend to place little premium on policy and programme development. Generally, policy and programme issues tend to be fused within party constitutions and election manifestos. Parties should develop policy and programme documents that complement their constitutions and from which manifestos are drawn.

Information gathering and dissemination

Parties in Lesotho have virtually no access to good quality political surveys since no professional polling is done in the country. Surveys among members cannot be accessed as often as desired due to the fact that the parties have financial constraints. It was therefore not surprising to find that parties hardly ever make any meaningful use of opinion-related resources when developing their policies. No party has either an electronic newsletter or website. Only one party has a running party newspaper, while others have had to suspend theirs due to financial constraints. Parties should begin to embrace a culture of assessing their political strengths through regular surveys, especially around election time. They should also make a concerted effort to sustain production of their own newsletters, both print and electronic.

Gender equality

Parties were found to be weak on gender balance in their NECs, which are predominantly male dominated. Parties were also found to be weak in ensuring gender equality in the process of nomination of candidates for the purposes of contesting general elections. This essentially means that party political representation in parliament is bound to mirror gender relations within parties, which are skewed in favour of men. Thus, while it was assumed that women's participation and representation in parties and the legislature would be enhanced when Lesotho reformed its electoral system from the constituency-based FPTP system to the MMP system, women still remain marginalised within parties and gender parity in the National

Assembly still remains a major challenge. Consequently, Lesotho has not been able to achieve the SADC benchmark of 30% women's representation in the legislature by 2005. Parties must enhance gender equality within their structures as well as their representation in parliament in line with the SADC benchmark.

External relations and inter-party relations

Parties in Lesotho in general have no international affiliations. Even locally, no party indicated any formal alliance or cooperation with other political parties in the country. It is imperative that parties in Lesotho develop international linkages that would be beneficial for their own work. It is also important that parties explore formal alliances or coalitions among themselves, provided they share a common vision.

Membership and recruitment

Although all the parties reported that they do maintain a membership register of one form or another, the quality of the register and the reliability of the membership figures differ from party to party. For parties to have a clear idea of their political strength, especially when it comes to electoral contests, they need to make sure that the register is as accurate as possible and the register must be updated regularly at branch, constituency and national levels.

Party funding

Without resources, political parties cannot play their expected role in building democracy. One major resource that parties need is money. It has been noted that one of the challenges facing parties in Lesotho is lack of public funding for their institutional development. It is recommended that the Lesotho government introduces public funding for parties represented in parliament. Parties should qualify for this funding on the basis of the number of seats they occupy in the National Assembly.

NOTES

- 1 Government of Lesotho, *National Vision 2020*. Maseru, Lesotho (mimeo), 2005.
- 2 Ibid, p vi.
- 3 Ibid, p x.
- 4 UNDP, *Human Development Report*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- 5 GoL, *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*. Maseru, Lesotho (mimeo), 2002.
- 6 *Mail & Guardian*, 4-10 July 2003.
- 7 GOL, *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*, op cit, p 7.
- 8 UNAIDS, *Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic*, July (mimeo), 2002.
- 9 GoL, *National AIDS Strategic Plan 2002/03-2004/05*. Maseru, Lesotho (mimeo), 2002.
- 10 See Pule N, Politics since independence, in Pule N & Thabane M (eds), *Essays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho, 1500-2000*. Roma: National University of Lesotho, 2002.
- 11 See Pule & Thabane, *ibid*.
- 12 See Matlosa K & Pule N, The military in Lesotho, *African Security Review* 10(2), ISS, 2001; Matlosa K & Pule N, Civil-military relations in Lesotho, 1966-1998: Problems and Prospects, in Williams R, Cawthra G & Abrahams D (eds), *Ourselves To Know: Civil-Military Relations and Defence Transformation in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: ISS, 2003.
- 13 See Matlosa K, The 1993 elections in Lesotho and the nature of the BCP victory, *African Journal of Political Science* 2 (1), 1997; Matlosa & Pule, Civil-military relations in Lesotho, op cit.
- 14 See Matlosa K, Lesotho, in Lodge, T, Kadima D & Pottie D (eds), *Compendium of Elections in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA, 2002.
- 15 Elklit J, Lesotho 2002: Africa's first MMP election, *Journal of African Elections* 1(2), 2002; Matlosa K, The electoral system reform and democratic governance in Lesotho: Lessons for the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), *Journal of African Elections* 2(1), 2003; Makoa F, *Strengthening parliamentary democracy in SADC countries: Lesotho country report*. Johannesburg: SAIIA (mimeo), 2004.
- 16 Nyeko B, The independence movement, 1952-1966, in Pule N & Thabane M (eds), *Essays on Aspects of the Political Economy of Lesotho, 1500-2000*. Roma: National University of Lesotho, 2002.
- 17 Ibid, p 148.
- 18 Ibid, p 139.
- 19 Ibid, p 154.
- 20 Ibid, p 156.
- 21 Weisfelder R, *Political Contention in Lesotho: 1952-1965*. Roma: Institute of Southern African Studies, 1999, pp 4-5.
- 22 Nyeko, op cit, p 157.
- 23 Weisfelder, op cit, p 7.
- 24 Ibid, p 13.
- 25 Gill S, *A Short History of Lesotho*. Morija: Morija Musium and Archives, 1993, p 210.
- 26 Ibid, p 211.
- 27 Machobane L, *Government and Change in Lesotho, 1800-1966: A Study of Political Institutions*. London: Macmillan Press, 1990, p 286.
- 28 Ibid.

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- 29 Khaketla B, *Lesotho 1970: An African Coup under the microscope*, Los Angeles: University of California, 1972, p 21.
 - 30 Machobane, op cit, pp 285-286.
 - 31 Nyeko, op cit, p 166.
 - 32 See Letuka P, Mapetla M & Marite-Matashane K, *Gender and Elections in Lesotho: Perspectives on the 2002 Elections*, EISA Research Report No. 4. Johannesburg: EISA, 2004.
 - 33 Matlosa K, *Political Parties and Democratisation in the Southern African Development Community Region: The Weakest Link?*, EISA Research Report No. 15, Johannesburg: EISA, 2005.
 - 34 Lesotho Constitution, article 55.

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APPENDICES
RESEARCH AND DIALOGUE ON
POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMME

**APPENDIX 1:
COUNTRY CONTEXT QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. What is the country's record of holding free and fair general elections?
2. What is the record of freedom of association as regards forming political parties?
3. What is the country's score on the Freedom House index for free and democratic countries? And thinking about changes over the past five years and reasons for the changes, please comment on the Freedom House score?
4. How free are parties to present candidates in national elections?
5. How, if at all, are political parties restricted in carrying out political or electoral activities?
6. What, if any, specific rules or code of conduct exist for the ruling party or ruling coalition? Provide copies.
7. What parties and independent candidates are represented in the national parliament (both chambers if applicable) according to the following model? (use Election Results Archive as one source) – % of votes; No. of seats in lower chamber; No. of seats in upper chamber; No. of seats held by women in lower chamber; No. of seats held by women in upper chamber
8. What, if any, reference do the policy documents of the ruling party/coalition and the biggest opposition party/coalition in parliament make to specific International Conventions on Human Rights? Provide examples of formulations where applicable.
9. What other significant – in size or otherwise important – political parties or political groups exist that are not represented in the national parliament? Indicate why they are significant (size, regional, exiled, influential diasporas, historical, non-parliamentary influence, armed, repressed group, etc.) and measurable national/regional strength (percentage of votes, opinion survey results etc.).
10. What is the total number of registered parties (if applicable)?

BASIC MEDIA STRUCTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

11. Briefly describe the media environment, including: whether political parties have equitable access to major media outlets; difference between paid and free media coverage for parties; access during an election campaign period and during normal times. Distinguish any differences between publicly and privately owned media.
12. What are the most important sources from which people say they access political information? Note source. If survey/poll data is available, if not – skip question.
Television; Radio; Newspaper; The Internet; Friends; Other (please specify)
13. What is the level of literacy of the general population? Note source.
14. If survey/poll data is available, what is the percentage of the population which:
Read daily newspapers (combined readership); Read other news print media at least weekly (readership); Have mobile/cellular telephones; Use the Internet?
15. If survey/poll data is available, what is the percentage of households which have access to:
Television; Radio; landline telephones?

16. **Apart from the constitution and direct party laws, are there any legal instruments or other circumstances that strongly impact the existence or functioning of political parties?**
17. **Which, if any, are the politically influential groups seeking to influence or maintain power through other means than electoral politics?** (Mechanism used/ Intended influence/ Intended outcome)
Business groups; Ethnic groups; Media; Military; Other non-governmental organisations (specify); Organised crime syndicates; Religious; Unions; Other (specify)
18. **Are there mechanisms for public participation in government decision-making other than elections?**
Parliamentary public hearings; Referenda; User committees; Other (please specify)
19. **Attempt a country nutshell description, a few paragraphs long, as an easy-read entry. Format:**
 - a. Population, capital, head(s) of state/ government, term limit for president (if presidential system), are all seats in the national legislature elected or are some appointed – if so by whom, attempts to extend/ remove term limits, constitutional arrangements, balance of power between branches of government (executive – legislature – judiciary), type of electoral system, and (if appropriate) if inherited from colonial power.
 - b. Democracy since 19xx (and other recent years of great importance, like independence, system change, armed conflict, etc.). Last/ next elections with (maximum) x years mandate. Restrictions on political parties (if any). Degree of respect for human rights (civil and political rights but also economic, social and cultural rights) and rule of law. Freedom House Index. TI Corruption Index, UNDP Human Development Index.
 - c. Governing party/ coalition and leading opposition, degree of dominance/ stability of political landscape. Important forces not standing in elections but shaping politics (business sectors, unions, religious, military, criminal, etc.). Any social or regional upheavals with political consequences. Relevant international/ regional relations and membership, level of trust in political parties and government institutions (use survey data and barometer data where available).
 - d. Economic and social level of development (\$ GNP/ capita, trade as % of GNP, Human Development Index, Income GINI Index, % of population in largest city (name if not capital)/ urban areas, rural:urban ratio.

APPENDIX 2: EXTERNAL REGULATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

LEGISLATION GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES

1. **What legal provisions govern political parties and/or individual candidates for election?**
(Full Name/ Year/ Year of last amendment, if any/ Main monitoring body)
Specify full name, year and year of last amendment. Provide copies of all relevant legislation. (Legal provisions might include, but are not necessarily restricted to, the ones mentioned below.)
Constitution; Political party law/Act that governs political parties; Electoral law/Code; Legislation governing Non-Governmental Organizations/societies; Legislation governing the access to media; Government decrees; Regulations with the force of law; Regulations without the force of law; Other laws or regulations that are important to how political parties and/or candidates operate (including financing, tax exemptions etc); Not applicable
2. **How, if at all, are political parties defined in current legislation?**
3. **Which, if any, legal provisions govern the conditions for the founding of new political parties or coalitions?** Please provide copies.
4. **What are the requirements to register a political party at the national level?** (As an association, not in order to contest an election) check all which apply.
Establishment of (regional or local) party branches (specify); Monetary fee (specify in local currency); Registration with court (specify, including level of court); Signatures (specify); Other (specify); No specific registration requirements; Registration possible but not required
5. **Which body (authority) decides on the registration of a political party?**
6. **What, if anything, can cause the de-registration of a political party?** (Check all that apply and specify the body or person who has the authority to deregister a political party.)
Anti-democratic policy; Bankruptcy or insolvency; Breach of Code of Conduct; Breach of Electoral law; Failure to meet gender quotas; Hate Speech; Inciteful activities; Non-payment of registration fee; Other (please write in and code '9'); Not applicable
7. **What body/bodies are responsible for the administration, enforcement and sanctions of the legislation on political parties?** Please note all different bodies and, if possible, provide contact details. (Note: It is possible that different bodies will be responsible for different aspects of enforcing laws and regulations.)
Electoral Management Body; Regulatory body specially; Created for this purpose (specify); Government department(s) (specify); Normal courts/judicial system; Auditor; Other (please specify); Not applicable
8. **Which sanctions, if any, have been applied to political parties in the last 10 years?** Provide two or three detailed examples.
9. **What legal rights and restrictions, if any, apply to political parties in relation to accessing media (include electronic and print)?** Provide details for both public and private media.
10. **In the absence of legal regulation, what if any, agreements between parties – or rules applied by the media – are upheld?** Provide details for both public and private media.

INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONS

11. **Which legal provisions, if any, govern the internal functioning of political parties?**
Provide copies.

12. **Which legal provisions, if any, govern how a political party s/elects candidates for local, regional, national elections or presidential elections?** Describe the provisions and specify the required role of party members, local branches, etc.
13. **Which public body, if any, has the authority to be involved in the process of internal party s/election of candidates?** Specify the role of the public body.
14. **Which non-governmental organizations, if any, have a role in political primaries or congresses during candidate s/election?** Provide name/s and describe the role of the NGO(s).
15. **What legal provisions, if any, require political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of male or female candidates on party lists?** Describe what the requirement is, what level it is on, the possible sanctions and provide the reference and copies.
16. **What legal provisions, if any, exist to encourage or provide incentives for political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of male or female candidates?** Describe the incentives, what level they are on and provide the reference and copies.
17. **What legal provisions, if any, require political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of persons from other groups as candidates (e.g. ethnic or religious or linguistic minorities, persons with disabilities?)** Describe what the requirement is, what level it is on, the possible sanctions and provide the reference and copies.
18. **What legal provisions, if any, exist to encourage or provide incentives for political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of persons from other groups as candidates (e.g. ethnic or religious or linguistic minorities, persons with disabilities)?** Describe the incentives, what level they are on and provide the reference and copies.
19. **What other legal provisions, if any, govern any other aspect of internal party functioning?** Describe and provide the reference and copies.

REGISTRATION OF PARTIES AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTIONS

20. **What, if any, are the registration requirements for political parties which wish to contest elections?** (Presidential Elections/ Chamber 1/ Chamber 2/ Regional/ Local)
Check all that apply, and specify amounts, numbers and percentages where applicable.
Deposit; Minimum number of candidates; Minimum number % of votes in previous election; Regional presence; Signatures; Others; No specific requirement for registration; Registration possible but not required
21. **What are the requirements, if different from above, for political parties which wish to nominate candidates or lists of candidates for elections?** (Presidential Elections/ Chamber 1/ Chamber 2/ Regional/ Local)
Check all that apply, and specify amounts, numbers and percentages where applicable.
Deposit; Minimum number of candidates; Minimum number % of votes in previous election; Regional presence; Signatures; Others; No specific requirement for registration; Registration possible but not required
22. **What, if any, special requirements exist for the registration of new political parties to contest an election?**
23. **What are the legal qualifications to become a candidate in elections?** (Presidential Elections/ Chamber 1/ Chamber 2/ Regional/ Local)
Please specify all that apply and note differences for chamber(s) of the legislature, president, regional and local elections.
Age; Bankruptcy or Insolvency; Citizenship; Citizenship of parents; Civil status; Country of birth;

Criminal record; Current criminal incarceration; Detention; Holding of government office; Holding of military office; Holding of other public offices or employment in public services (police etc); Language requirement; Membership of a political party; Mental health problems; Minimum level of education; Multiple citizenship; Nationality/ethnic group; Naturalization; Offences against electoral law; Physical health problems; Registration on voters' roll; Religion; Residence in constituency/ electoral district; Residence in country; Unpaid debt; Other; Not applicable

24. **In which elections, if any, can candidates not affiliated with a political party (independent) stand for election?** Check all that apply.
Presidential; To chamber 1 of the national legislature; To chamber 2 of the national legislature; To regional councils; To local councils
25. **What, if any, are the registration requirements for independent candidates who wish to stand for election?** (Presidential Elections / Chamber 1 / Chamber 2 / Regional / Local)
Check all that apply and specify amounts, numbers and percentages where applicable.
Deposit; Minimum number of candidates; Minimum number % of votes in previous election; Regional presence; Signatures; Others; No specific requirement for registration; Registration possible but not required
26. **If a candidate withdraws her/his candidacy or dies before election day, but after registration, can the party substitute with a new candidate?**
Yes, explain (include whether replacement candidate must be of the same sex and how late in the process a candidate can be replaced)/No/Not applicable/Other
27. **Can a party remove a nominated and registered candidate without her/his consent?**
Yes/No
28. **Can a political party remove or replace an elected representative?**
Yes (explain circumstances)/ No
29. **Is it possible for a member of parliament to leave the party with which s/he was elected and join another party or become an independent MP (floor-crossing)? If so, what becomes of the mandate/seat?** (Yes/ No / Not applicable)
Possible to remain an MP – the mandate/seat remains with the individual until the next election/Not possible to remain an MP: the individual is replaced by a member of his/her former party (please specify how, including the replacement MP must be of the same sex); a bi-election is held for the seat; the member of parliament leaves the legislature and the mandate/seat remains vacant; Other (explain)
30. **How, if at all, are vacant mandate(s)/seats filled in between general elections?**
Replacement by candidates on the party list (describe and provide reference); Other (describe and provide reference); None

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND OBSERVATION

31. **What, if any, additional rules of good conduct does the ruling party or coalition have to sign or adhere to? Is the ruling party required to observe rules of good conduct regarding incumbency?** Explain contents and possible sanctions. Provide copy.
32. **What, if any, rights do political parties have in relation to the Electoral Management Body?**
Representation in the Electoral Management Body; Right to participate in meetings; Advisory capacity; Right to observe the proceedings of the EMB; Other (please specify)
33. **What, if any, rights do political parties have with regard to the activities in the polling station?**
Describe, including if they form part of the polling station staff and / or if they are allowed to observe / witness the voting.

34. **What rights, if any, do political parties have in the process of vote counting?** Describe, including if they form part of vote counting staff and/or are allowed to observe/witness the counting.
35. **What rights, if any, do political parties have in the process of tabulation of votes and the collation of results?** Describe, including if they form part of the tabulation staff/committee, and/or if they are allowed to observe/witness the tabulation.
36. **What, if any, is the official campaign period?** Specify number of days/weeks and describe what is permitted or restricted during that time.
37. **What, if any, is the official period of campaign silence before election day?** Specify number of days/weeks and describe what is permitted or restricted during that time.
38. **What political party activities, if any, are prohibited during election day?**

APPENDIX 3: INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE QUESTIONNAIRE

FOUNDING OF PARTY

1. When and where (date and place(s)) was the party first founded?
2. When, if applicable, was the party first officially registered as a party?
3. What, if any, subsequent changes or party splits have taken place?
4. What was the original name of the party? If this name differs from the party's current name, what were the circumstances of any changes in name?
5. How, in a few key words, does your party describes itself (right, left, pragmatic, conservative, liberal, socialist, green, religious, nationalist, social group, ethnic group etc.)?
6. Why was the party founded?
7. How was the party founded? Describe.
8. Which constituency or socio-economic group does/did the party's founders claim(ed) to represent?
9. What was the initial participation or support of additional organisations to the party (i.e. ethnic, religious, military, business, civic groups, trade unions)?
10. Which, if any, of the above has changed since the party was founded?

INTERNAL STRUCTURE/ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP

11. What, if any, written organisational rules exist to guide the functioning and organization of the party? Provide copies.
Constitution; Operational guidelines; Party Rulebook; Statutes; Other (please write in); No formal rules exist
12. What is the name of the *national executive* body in the party?
 - a. Are there written rules and procedures for the regular s/election of members of this body? If yes provide copies. If no describe.
 - b. By whom are they elected or appointed? (Elected/ Appointed)
The party leaders; The parliamentary party (ie the group/caucus of the party's members of the national legislature); Regional or state party branches; Local party branches; Delegates to a party congress; All or some party members; Auxiliary party groups; Affiliated party organizations; Other (please write in)
 - c. If elected, how? Describe procedure.
 - d. Are there formal internal party quotas for women on this body? If yes describe how applied, including number or proportion.
 - e. Are there formal internal party quotas for youth, ethnic minorities or any other group on this body? If yes describe how applied, including number or proportion.
 - f. Are the members in this body paid by the party?
All paid; Some paid (explain); Unpaid (Voluntary)

13. **Is there a written mandate (duties) for the national executive body above and/or distribution of power/tasks within the party leadership?**
Yes (provide copies); No, but informal practices (describe); No mandate
14. **What is the name of the next highest permanent body in this party?**
- a. **By whom are they elected or appointed?**
The national executive body described above; The party leader(s); The members of parliament/parliamentary caucus; Regional or state party branches; Local party branches; Delegates to a party congress; All or some party members; Auxiliary party groups; Affiliated party organizations; Other (please write in)
 - b. **If elected, how? Describe procedure.**
 - c. **Are the members in this body paid by the party?**
All paid; Some paid (explain); Unpaid (Voluntary)
15. **What is the name of the most local branches in this party?**
- a. **What is the normal geographic or other area of operation of the most local branch?**
 - b. **How is it formed and by whom is its leadership elected? Describe.**
16. **How often, if at all, does the party have a national conference/convention/congress?**
Less often than once a year; Once a year; Twice a year; More than twice a year; Never (go to Q20)
17. **Who attends the national party conference/convention, check all that apply?**
The party leader(s); The parliamentary party (i.e. the group/caucus of the party's members of the national legislature); Regional party delegates; Local party delegates; All or some party members; Auxiliary groups (youth wing, women's wing etc); Affiliated party organizations (trade unions, employers' federations etc); Other (please write in)
18. **Are decisions by the national party conference/convention/congress ...**
Binding on the party executive; Advisory to the party executive; Other (please write in)?
19. **Is this body the highest decision-making body of the political party?**
Yes/No (specify which body is).
20. **What, if any, written rules govern the s/election of the party president? Describe type of system used and provide copies of rules.**
21. **What, if any, formal process exists to monitor and regulate the ethical behaviour of political party officials? If board of ethics, explain structure, mandate and examples of activities and/or decisions.**
Board of Ethics; Other formal process (specify); No formal processes, but informal norms and practices (specify); No process
22. **Provide a description of the structure of sub-national/regional/ local party units, women's wings/ associations, youth branches and other party groups.**
How many branches; In all of the country; Autonomous; To whom do they report; How are leaders chosen; Main functions

Internal structure/election of leadership – additional comments

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

23. **How does the party decide on its policy programme document, if it has one? Describe the process and provide copy of document.**

24. **Which of the following opinion-related resources, if any, does the party have access to?** (Party has access / Check if party pays for resource) Check all that apply.
Resources specific to the party: Surveys among members, Opinion polling (not restricted to members); Public domain resources: Public domain polling results, Surveys/barometers issued by other organisations; Other resources.
25. **To what extent does the party use any of the following opinion-related resources when developing policy?** (Uses a large extent/ Uses a fair amount/ Does not use very much/ Does not use at all/ Don't know) Check all that apply.
Resources specific to the party: Surveys among members, Opinion polling (not restricted to members); Public domain resources: Public domain polling results, Surveys/barometers issued by other organisations; Other resources
26. **How, if at all, can the party leadership be held accountable for not following party policy decisions?** Describe the process, including to whom it is accountable and possible sanctions.

Policy development – additional comments

MEMBERSHIP

27. **Is there a national membership register?** If yes provide details of how it is maintained and what the role of local/ regional branches is for maintaining their own registers.
28. **How much, if anything, does the party charge as membership fee?** If fixed amount please specify – per year – in local currency?
A fixed amount; Amount dependent on member's position in the party (EXPLAIN); Amount dependent on party branch (explain); Other (specify); Voluntary contribution; No membership fee
29. **How many members does the party have?** (No. of individual party members/ No. or % of women party members) Provide year and source of figures and indicate if real figures or estimates.
Earliest available estimate; Latest available estimate; Year of maximum members
30. **How much has the party membership increased or declined over the past ten years, in percentage and total numbers?** If ten-year figures do not exist, describe the general trends in membership, if possible with other figures.
31. **What, if any, criteria/requirements exist to be eligible for membership?** Describe, including the body/person who decides on admission as a member.
32. **What, if any, formal rights come with membership?**
Discounts with merchants; Voting rights at party meetings; Other (please specify).
33. **What, if any, responsibilities come with membership?**
Adherence to party statutes; Unpaid work; Other (please specify).
34. **What process, if any, exists to discipline members who breach party rules?** Describe the process and identify who takes the final decision.
35. **How often, if at all, does the party communicate with its members?** (From National Party/ From Regional branches/ From local branches)
Electronic Newsletter; Paper Newsletter; Party Paper; Meetings; Public website; Membership restricted website; Other (write in)
36. **How often, if at all, do members communicate with the party?** (To National Party/ To Regional branches/ To local branches)
Individual postal correspondence; Individual email correspondence; Petitions; Meetings; Other (please specify)

37. **Which, if any, formal and written guidelines provide party members with an opportunity to express their opinions on party matters?**
Guidelines (provide copies); No formal guidelines, although informal practices exist (describe including recent examples); No guidelines or practices
38. **To whom does the party provide training?** Check all that apply and describe type of training and at what level.
Campaign volunteers; Candidates; Elected members; General members; Party officials; Other (please write in); No training provided
39. **How, if at all, does the party seek to recruit members between elections?**
40. **What efforts, if any, are made to engage activists/members in party activities between elections?** Describe and provide examples.

Membership – additional comments

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY – CANDIDATES

41. **What are the eligibility requirements established by the party rules to become s/elected as a presidential candidate?** Check all that apply and specify each requirement.
Age; Belonging to a certain ethnic group; Certain position in the party; Coming from a certain geographical area; Membership in the party; Qualifications; Signatures; Other (please write in)
42. **What is the process for s/election of party candidates for presidential elections?** Describe the process, including who can propose and vote.

S/election of other candidates for election

43. **What are the eligibility requirements established by the party rules to be selected as a party candidate for elections other than presidential?** (Chamber 1 of national legislature/ Chamber 2 of national legislature/ Regional council/ assembly/ Local council/ assembly)
 Check all that apply and specify each requirement.
Age; Belonging to a certain ethnic group; Certain position in the party; Coming from a certain geographical area; Membership in the party; Qualifications; Signatures; Other (please write in)
44. **What are the party rules for the process by which candidates to chamber 1 of the national legislature are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved.
45. **What, if different from above, are the party rules for the process by which candidates to chamber 2 of the national legislature are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved.
46. **What, if different from above, are the party rules for the process by which candidates to regional councils/assemblies are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved, and if the national party can decide on sub-national lists.
47. **What, if different from above, are the party rules for the process by which candidates to local councils/assemblies are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved, and if the national party can decide on sub-national lists.

48. **What electoral system, if any, is used within the party to select its candidates?** Describe and identify which type of system is used, including possible differences between levels.
Plurality/majority; Proportional; Other (please write in); Not applicable – no election of candidates
49. **What, if any, is the quota voluntarily (not required by law) adopted by the party that a certain number or percentage of candidates for nomination will be women?**
Quota – explain year introduced, percentage, placement on list or in constituency, women only shortlists; No quota; Previously – please explain year introduced and rescinded, percentage, placement on list or in constituency, women only shortlists; Other, including informal practices (please describe)
50. **What, if any other, special measures have been adopted by the party to ensure that women are nominated in elections?**
Training for aspiring candidates; Financial incentives; Other (please specify); No other measures
51. **What, if any, is the quota voluntarily (not required by law) adopted by the party that a certain percentage of candidates for nomination will be young people?**
Quota (please explain year introduced, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); No quota; Previously (please explain year introduced and rescinded, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); Other, including informal practices (please specify)
52. **What, if any other, special measures have been adopted by the party to ensure that young people are nominated in elections?**
Training for aspiring candidates; Financial incentives; Other (please specify); No other measures
53. **What, if any, is the quota voluntarily (not required by law) adopted by the party that a certain number or percentage of candidates for nomination be from any other group (not mentioned above)?**
Quota (please explain which groups, year introduced, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); No quota; Previously (please explain year introduced and rescinded, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); Other, including informal practices (please specify)
54. **What, if any, are the limits on the number of times a candidate can hold an elected office on behalf of the political party?** Please specify in number of terms and years.
55. **If there are reserved seats for women, national minorities or other groups in the legislature, how are candidates selected by the party to fill them?**
A list of candidates is compiled (explain); Appointed (if so, by whom); Other (please specify); Not applicable

Electoral activities – candidates – additional comments

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY – CAMPAIGNS

56. **Does the party produce election manifestos for election campaigns?**
Yes (provide copy)/ No
57. **What is the process of development of party election manifestos?**
58. **What is the process of development of campaign strategy/operational plan?**
Yes (provide examples from recent campaigns)/ No
59. **Are candidates (at all levels) expected to campaign on behalf of the party?** Specify what is expected of the candidates.
Yes, only on behalf of the party/ Yes, in addition to personal campaign/ No, only personal campaign
60. **What presidential elections or elections to the national legislature, if any, has your party boycotted over the last 10-year period?**
Specify what national election, year and the reasons for boycott/ No

61. **Has your party recognised, as legitimate, the officially declared winners of presidential elections or elections to the national legislature during the last 10 year period?**
Yes/No specify which winners (presidential or party) and the reason for not recognising them as legitimate
62. **What if any, non-partisan voter education or other civic training activities has the party undertaken during the last five years?**

Electoral activities – campaigns – additional comments

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE PARTY

International contacts

63. **Which, if any, Party Internationals or other international network of parties is the party affiliated with? (specify)**
Party international. (The Christian Democrat-People's Parties International, The International Democrat Union, The Liberal International, The Socialist International or other); Regional party organisation; Other (including non-partisan international organisations); No international affiliation
64. **Which, if any, sister parties from other countries does the party have contact with?**
65. **What is the nature of the relationship, if any, with sister parties from other countries (eg policy support, campaign support, training, public relations, funding)?**
66. **What regular contacts, if any, does the party have with international organisations or party foundations?**

National contacts

67. **What, if any, formal alliances/cooperation does the party have with other political parties in the country? (Eg common election platform)**
Yes – specify/ No, but informal – specify/No
68. **What, if any, formal relationships does the party have with the Election Management Body?**
Represented as voting members of the EMB; Official observers on the EMB; Other formal relationship; Informal relationship; No relationship
69. **What, if any, formal relations does the party have with national civil society organizations? (Name of organization/ Type of relationship/ Key issues)**
Describe the relationships including name of organization, type of cooperation, funding relationships etc.
Business interests; Corporations – specify; Trade Unions – specify; NGOs, movements, civil society organisations – specify; Religious groups – specify; Other – specify
70. **What, if any, media outlets are owned by the party or party leadership, nationally or locally?**

External relations of the party – additional comments

FUNDING

71. **What, if any, are the spending limits for s/election contests or primaries established by the political party or in legal provisions? Please specify whether party rules or law and give amount in local currency.**
72. **What amount of funding, if any, are party candidates required to bring to the party in order to secure their candidacy? Specify amount in local currency.**

73. **How is funding for campaign purposes distributed within the party?** Describe the distribution and who takes the decisions.
74. **What amount of funding, if any, do candidates receive from the party for their personal election campaigns once they are nominated?** Specify amount in local currency.
75. **What amount of campaign funds, if any, are individual candidates expected to raise for the campaign?** Please provide details.
- a. Are the candidates expected to raise a specified amount?
 - b. How are those funds dispersed?
76. **Do local and regional branches raise funds for their own campaign activities?**
77. **What was the total income of the political party in the last election and non-election year respectively?** Specify in local currency.
78. **How much funding, if any, does the party provide to the women's wing, youth wing, etc and do they have their own sources of income and budgets?** Specify in local currency.
79. **Which are the party's main sources of income (amount and percentage)** (In last non- election year/ Amount as % of total party income/ In the last election year/ Amount as % of total party income) Specify in local currency.
Public funding from the state; Membership fees; Income from fundraising activities and events; Individual donations; Trade union donations; Donations from associations (list principal donors); Other (please specify)
80. **What, if any, strategies and methods for fundraising are used by the party?**
81. **What, if any, assets are held by the party (ie. businesses, buildings, etc)?** Specify which ones and if they generate income.
82. **Which are the main expenditures of the party?** (In last non- election year/ Amount as % of total party income/ In the last election year/ Amount as % of total party income)
Specify in local currency.
Publicity/propaganda; Salaries; Transportation; Public opinion research (polling/ policy development); National and regional meetings/ congresses; Voter education; Election campaign; Other (please specify)
83. **How, if at all, are regular financial reports of the party (and/or individual candidates) made public?**
84. **How, if at all, are campaign finance reports of the party (and individual candidates) made public?**

Funding – additional comments

QUESTIONS FOR ALL INTERVIEWEES

85. **What are the most important reasons for change (or lack of changes) in membership, in your opinion?** Please refer to Q30 on membership.
86. **How much influence, in your opinion, do the following bodies have in initiating policy changes or development?** (Great deal of influence/ Fair amount of influence/ Not very much influence/ No influence at all/ Don't know) Please check that all apply.
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other (please specify)

87. **How much, in your opinion, do the following bodies participate in debating major policy changes?** (Great deal of participation / Fair amount of participation / Not very much participation / No participation at all / Don't know) Please check that all apply.
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other (please specify)
88. **How much influence, in your opinion, do the following bodies have in finally deciding major policy changes?** (Absolute approval or veto power / Great deal of influence / Fair amount of influence / Not very much influence / No influence at all / Don't know)
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Cabinet ministers (if ruling party); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other ((please specify)

S/election of candidate

89. **How much influence, in your opinion, do the following bodies have in finally deciding major policy changes?** (Absolute approval or veto power / Great deal of influence / Fair amount of influence / Not very much influence / No influence at all / Don't know)
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); All party members; Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party Leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other (please specify)
90. **To what extent do the following factors, in your opinion, affect positively the chances of candidates to get s/elected by the party?** (Very important / Fairly important / Not very important / Not at all important / Don't know)
Ability at public speaking; Closeness to party leader or senior party officials; Commitment to the campaign; Educational qualifications; Experience of holding party office; Local/regional connections with the community; Name recognition; Personal wealth; Business experience; Trade union experience; Many years of membership; Other (please specify)

Additional comments

ABOUT EISA



EISA is a not-for-profit and non-partisan non-governmental organisation which was established in 1996. Its core business is to provide technical assistance for capacity building of relevant government departments, electoral management bodies, political parties and civil society organisations operating in the democracy and governance field throughout the SADC region and beyond. Inspired by the various positive developments towards democratic governance in Africa as a whole and the SADC region in particular since the early 1990s, EISA aims to advance democratic values, practices and enhance the credibility of electoral processes. The ultimate goal is to assist countries in Africa and the SADC region to nurture and consolidate democratic governance. SADC countries have received enormous technical assistance and advice from EISA in building solid institutional foundations for democracy. This includes electoral system reforms; election monitoring and observation; constructive conflict management; strengthening of parliament and other democratic institutions; strengthening of political parties; capacity building for civil society organisations; deepening democratic local governance; and enhancing the institutional capacity of the election management bodies. EISA is currently the secretariat of the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) composed of electoral commissions in the SADC region and established in 1998. EISA is also the secretariat of the SADC Election Support Network (ESN) comprising election-related civil society organisations established in 1997.

VISION

Realisation of effective and sustainable democratic governance in Southern Africa and beyond.

MISSION

To strengthen electoral processes, democratic governance, human rights and democratic values through research, capacity building, advocacy and other strategically targeted interventions.

VALUES AND PRINCIPLES

Key values and principles of governance that EISA believes in include:

- Regular free and fair elections
- Promoting democratic values
- Respect for fundamental human rights
- Due process of law / rule of law
- Constructive management of conflict
- Political tolerance
- Inclusive multiparty democracy
- Popular participation
- Transparency
- Gender equality
- Accountability
- Promoting electoral norms and standards

OBJECTIVES

- To nurture and consolidate democratic governance
- To build institutional capacity of regional and local actors through research, education, training, information and technical advice
- To ensure representation and participation of minorities in the governance process
- To strive for gender equality in the governance process
- To strengthen civil society organisations in the interest of sustainable democratic practice, and
- To build collaborative partnerships with relevant stakeholders in the governance process.

CORE ACTIVITIES

- Research
- Conferences, seminars and workshops
- Publishing
- Conducting elections and ballots

- Technical advice
- Capacity building
- Election observation
- Election evaluation
- Networking
- Voter / civic education
- Conflict management
- Educator and learner resource packs

PROGRAMMES

EISA's core business revolves around three main programmes namely: Conflict Management, Democracy and Electoral Education; Electoral and Political Processes; and Balloting and Electoral Services.

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT, DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL EDUCATION

This programme comprises various projects including voter education, democracy and human rights education; electoral observation; electoral staff training; electoral conflict management; capacity building; course design and citizen participation.

ELECTORAL AND POLITICAL PROCESSES

This programme addresses areas such as technical assistance for electoral commissions, civil society organisations and political parties; coordination of election observation and monitoring missions; working towards the establishment of electoral norms and standards for the SADC region and providing technical support to both the SADC-ECF and the SADC-ESN.

BALLOTING AND ELECTORAL SERVICES

The programme enhances the credibility and legitimacy of organisational elections by providing independent and impartial electoral administration, management and consultancy services. The key activities include managing elections for political parties, trade unions, pension funds, medical aid societies, etc.

EISA'S SPECIAL PROJECTS INCLUDE:

- Rule of Law, which examines issues related to justice and human rights;
- Local Government, which aims to promote community participation in governance; and
- Political Parties, which aims to promote party development at strategic, organisational and structural levels through youth empowerment, leadership development and development of party coalitions.

EISA'S SUPPORT SERVICES INCLUDE:

- Research
- Publications
- Library
- Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

EISA PRODUCTS

- Books
- CD-ROMS
- Conference proceedings
- Election handbooks
- Occasional papers
- Election observer reports
- Research reports
- Country profiles
- Election updates
- Newsletters
- Voter education manuals
- Journal of African Elections
- Election database

ABOUT IDEA



The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) was set up in 1995 as an intergovernmental body located at the interface between researchers, practitioners and the donor community to promote dialogue, analyses and networking for the purpose of strengthening democratic processes and institutions. IDEA's current programmes cover three thematic areas: Electoral Processes, Democracy and Conflict Management, and Political Participation. IDEA's work in the area of electoral processes is the most developed and entails, among other things, the production of global knowledge and tools which cover issues such as electoral systems, representation and participation, and election administration. In 1997 IDEA produced a handbook on electoral systems which has been widely circulated and discussed and which informed electoral system reform processes in several countries. Recently, IDEA published the *New IDEA Handbook on Electoral Design*, adding material on the political context of electoral systems and the process of electoral system change to the explanation of different electoral systems and their effects contained in the original book.

This year (2005), IDEA is celebrating its 10th anniversary both at its headquarters in Stockholm, Sweden, and also at select venues around the world.

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