

MANIFESTO 2004

Botswana National Front	Botswana Alliance Movement	Botswana Peoples Party
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Together We Shall Deliver

ELECTION MESSAGE

Dumelang Bagaetsho!!

The 2004 general elections come against the backdrop of the ever increasing poverty, an ever increasing unemployment, and the growing inequalities between the rich and the poor, corruption and the rising crime rate.

The national elections Batswana with another opportunity to elect a government of their choice. Botswana's democracy gives you an opportunity to cast a vote of your choice as an individual, and the majority wins.

Bagaetsho Mathata a Botswana ke marakana-mantsi, a tlhoka Motswana nongwe le mongwe. We believe that Botswana's problems are many and needs all of us.

Motswana a re kgetsi ya tsie e kgonwa ke go tshwaraganelwa. Our experiences of split votes in different constituencies such as Kgatleng, Ngwaketse, and Francistown, has only helped the BDP.

BAM, BNF and BPP are now working together.

We believe our pool of votes can change the BDP government.

We have not gone into the PACT to experiment.

We have a firm believe that a Pact is the only way forward.

ALL PACT members are in agreement that the BDP policies have over the years created a glaring social and economic inequalities.

To demonstrate the BDP misrule, here is a simple illustration.

Statistics show that: The richest 20% of the population owns 60% of the national wealth.

The middle 40% of the population owns about 30%.

The poorest 40% own only 10% of the national wealth.

Whilst the BDP can bask in the mythical glory of Botswana's strong economy and democracy that they have created, this manifesto gives you, the voter, some hard facts about our country that the BDP has been hiding from you, for example, the state of affairs about national unity, political representation, good governance, labour relations, political party funding, poverty and unemployment, law and order, education and housing, to name just a few.

We also give you, the voter, an alternative.

Although the BDP will say our alternative is unrealistic because it is expensive, and will chant their usual refrain "Gago gona madi", we say there is nothing for free.

We even have to pay for the air we breath.

Botswana democracy and economy are supposed to be in the league of the best in the world, but you and me know that is not true, because we experience it.

This scenario is not acceptable and must be changed.

Use your vote to change government.

1. NATIONAL UNITY

Botswana is a country that is plagued by the ever-deepening class and ethnic tensions.

These tensions, inhere from the ruling Botswana Democratic Party policies that have resulted in increasing poverty, unemployment and social inequality.

The number of households living under conditions of poverty, for example, is close to 50 percent, unemployment is about 25 percent, and corruption and economic crime is on the increase.

In addition, in most urban areas, there is an acute shortage of housing and urban transport is in shambles.

These growing inequalities have resulted in an upsurge in crime because of deprivations and envy.

The Botswana Democratic Party continues to denigrate the cultures and Languages of various Botswana communities, thus creating an atmosphere of ethnic chauvinism.

In order to prove its credentials as standard-bearer of the so-called western civilization the BDP has, at national level denigrated the Setswana language and culture and replaced it with English language and culture.

At the political level, the current electoral system of First-Past-The-Post has created a feeling of exclusion by those who vote for the opposition.

The BDP government has on some occasions cut the subventions to the Local Authorities controlled by the opposition parties as punishment for voting for the "wrong" parties.

The sum total of all these factors mentioned here makes it well nigh impossible to create national unity and cohesion.

The Pact Government will have as its major goal, service to the nation, social justice and the building of a united nation free from poverty, disease, ignorance, deprivation and political powerlessness.

The resources of the nation should be used to eradicate the social evils of poverty, unemployment and social inequality as a precondition for a truly proud, happy and democratic nation.

The BDP believes such social evils to be natural phenomena, but we maintain these evils are the results of an iniquitous social system driven by individualism and greed.

The Pact Government shall:

1.1 Create a nation with a shared vision of total equality for all Batswana and promote a belief in every person's right and ability to create, together with others, a democratic society in which each person will be of equal value, and enjoy the right to work and to a decent life, regardless of their origin, gender, ethnicity, religion, creed, race or class.

1.2 Ensure that each linguistic and cultural entity that makes up Botswana will have every right to use its own language and to preserve the best of its cultural heritage.

1.3 Institute a system whereby the medium of instruction at primary school level for various ethnic group communities will be their own languages.

The long-term intention of this policy will be to ensure that all languages in Botswana are developed to written form.

1.4 Ensure equitable use of these languages in the public media (television,

radio and the public print media) in order to expose all Batswana to the linguistic and cultural heritage of our nation.

1.5 Develop a dynamic, progressive and democratic cultural policy that will enrich and emancipate our people from all feelings of doubt and inadequacy and instil a sense of pride in their cultural heritage.

1.6 Develop a cultural policy based on a synthesis of the best of different cultural traditions and experiences of our people.

1.7 Encourage Batswana artists to participate in the formulation of a national cultural policy, as we believe that such policy will not be successful without indigenous artistic input.

2. POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

The current system of First-Past-The-Post does not reflect the political preferences of the electorate and thereby creates a feeling of exclusion amongst those who vote for the opposition.

There is absolutely no correlation between voting and representation.

For example, the 1999 general elections clearly shows that the popular vote for the opposition stood at 46% whilst that of the ruling BDP stood at 54%.

However, Parliamentary representation shows that the BDP controls 83 percent of the seats whilst the Opposition controls only 17 percent.

In our view, this leads to political apathy, tension and instability that in turn could translate into civil strife.

Even recent arrivals like Mozambique, Namibia, Lesotho, and South Africa have more representative Parliaments that reflect the peoples' will.

More over, the ruling BDP is the one which determines the cut off dates for eligible voters and dates of elections.

The Pact Government shall:

2.1 Introduce a system of Proportional Representation as a guarantee of political stability and national consensus.

This way political parties will gain seats in the national assembly in proportion to their numerical strength.

2.2 Create a truly independent Electoral Commission (IEC) whose Chief Executive shall be elected by the commissioners.

2.3 Create an enabling legal environment for the IEC to exercise its full control and independence in the running of elections. To this end, the Pact government shall:

2.4 Give the IEC the powers to set up the Delimitation Committee to:

- Determine constituency and ward boundaries
- Determine the cut off dates for voter registration
- Decide on the date of elections
- Set up an Elections Tribunal to speedily adjudicate on election disputes.

3. GOOD GOVERNANCE AND EXEMPLARY LEADERSHIP

The Constitution of Botswana gives the State President sweeping executive powers.

Section 47 (3) of the Constitution states that the executive power of Botswana

shall vest in the President, (who shall) "act in his own deliberate judgement and shall not be obliged to follow the advice tendered by any other person or authority".

The concentration of executive powers in a President, especially an unelected President, contravenes the general notion of democracy.

Even In the neighbouring countries Like, Angola, Mozambique, Malaw, Zambia and Zimbabwe, the President subjects himself to the judgment of the people.

This is in sharp contrast to the President of Botswana who is elected by a small group of party followers.

On several occasions, President Mogae has whined that he is at the mercy of the BDP Parliamentarians.

This means he is accountable to that cabal of BDP Parliamentarians and not the nation.

It is also surprising that the BDP government has just ignored the Parliamentary motion to introduce a Register of Member Assets and Liabilities.

We do not know what the BDP has to hide.

We believe however that the culture of integrity and accountability, which is central to any true democracy, has been severely undermined.

We believe that leaders should be honest and transparent in their words and their deeds.

Leaders should reflect, represent and instil the highest values of the society.

The political leadership should not be judged only by its stated commitment to democracy but also by its uncompromising commitment to integrity and openness.

The Pact Government shall:

3.1 Amend the Constitution to ensure that there is a popularly elected President who shall be accountable not only to Parliament but to the electorate in general.

3.2 Entrench the supremacy of Parliament over the Executive in both the Constitution and in the Powers of Parliament Act to make sure that the Executive is accountable to Parliament.

3.3 Observe the doctrine of separation of powers and ensure that Parliament has the powers to impeach the President for impropriety.

The current system where the President is immune from both the legal process and political control is undemocratic.

3.4 Ensure that for the purpose of true accountability and transparency the Independent Electoral Commission, Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC), Auditor General, and the Ombudsman shall report directly to Parliament that shall have the powers to act on their recommendations.

3.5 Initiate a national debate on our Constitution with a view to amending it to strengthen democracy and in particular, to guarantee social, economic and cultural rights, and freedom of the press.

These rights shall be enshrined in a Bill of Rights.

4. POLITICAL PARTY FUNDING

Since its formation in the early 1960s, the BDP has been a recipient of very generous funding from anonymous foreign organisations whose intention towards our nation are only known to a handful of BDP leaders.

BNF BAM BPP 2004

Under the BDP government, Botswana has been reduced to the position of a wholly owned subsidiary of anonymous special interest groups and the BDP government is nothing but a local board of directors.

Secret funding of any political party by anonymous organizations constitutes and present a clear danger to Botswana national security and national interests.

A political party that receives secret funding from secret groups can only by accountable to those groups with secret and sinister agenda for Botswana.

- The Past Government shall:

4.1 Create state fund to support all political parties to ensure fairness, accountability and transparency in elections.

The fund will be administered independently by the IEC and funds will be allocated based on the party's electoral support.

4.2 Ensure that all the parties account to the IEC and Auditor General and all books of accounts of parties be made public.

4.4 Ensure that all private funding for parties and donor names are made public.

5. CORRUPTION, ECONOMIC CRIME AND TMNSPAWENCV

The prevalence of crime, especially white-collar crime and the rather high levels of corruption within our senior management and leadership circles is unacceptable.

Acts of fraud by both public officials and private employees have increased significantly yet at the same time standards of control and supervision are declining.

Transparency International Botswana has observed that, in contrast to the situation prevailing in previous years, efforts to recover moneys and goods lost through negligence or improper conduct by public officials, or to take disciplinary action to surcharge or punish offenders, have diminished or are less effective."

Lack of openness and transparency in party funding, for example, and the current governments' opposition to state funding of political parties leaves the country open to corruption and bribery by secret donor countries and organizations.

The Pact Government shall:

5.1 Exercise ZERO TOLERANCE to corruption and will deal firmly with any individual found to be connected in any way with or involved in corrupt practices.

To this end, legislation will be introduced to punish severely any individual or entity attempting to entice a third party into illegal or shady deals.

5.2 Ensure that the principle of corporate governance form the basis of our operations and will be a pre requisite at all levels of management.

Conflict of interest in any form will be viewed seriously and will be closely monitored.

6. ECONOMIC PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

The BDP's vision does not go beyond physical infrastructure development.

That is why after almost FORTY years of BDP government, Botswana's manufacturing sector is still pathetically small, foreign dominated, incoherent, distorted and characterized by final assembly of goods already manufactured in other countries.

Botswana's economy is currently extremely dependent on mining and in particular diamonds.

The present government's strategy has clearly failed the nation by being unable to come up with a sustainable and more diversified economy.

Consensus amongst development specialists is that for an economy to be sustainable, the contribution of the manufacturing sector to GDP must be about 20 percent, but in Botswana manufacturing accounts for less than 5% of GDP and is actually on the decline, whilst the agricultural sector is trailing dismally behind at less than 2.5 percent.

The Pact Government shall:

6.1 Identify strategic national industries and accord top priority to the coherent development of manufacturing industries with forward and backward linkages between the economic sectors.

To this end, we will endeavour to achieve the international norm of the manufacturing sector's contribution to GDP of at about 20% to ensure sustainability.

6.2 Continuously create conditions for private sector investment by identifying those areas of the economy regarded as essential for sustained economic growth and development, such as food production and agricultural programs, and ensure the design and implementation of adequate financing for Botswana entrepreneurs.

6.3 Pursue a targeted and aggressive citizen empowerment programme in which Botswana will participate with pride and confidence in the development of their country's economy.

Special emphasis will be placed on Botswana's participation in business and commerce to ensure that we effectively participate in the economic mainstream.

6.4 Protect Botswana infant industries and commercial ventures for an initial period to be reviewed from time to time, the aim being to ensure that Botswana are not unduly exposed to unfavourable global business practices and / or dumping.

This should enable them to grow and stabilize.

ACTIVELY ADDRESS THE FOLLOWING:

6.4.1 International Trade

Botswana's international trade, investment and political relations are not strategically coordinated, but are administered by different line ministries, i.e. Foreign Affairs, Finance and Development Planning and Trade and Industry etc.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and international Cooperation should be strengthened to play a coordinating role, to rationalise Botswana's relations with other countries and international organisations and to eliminate wastage.

Existing trade agreements between Botswana and other countries should be reviewed to protect our interests and the wider economy.

The Pact government pledges that the current mining and exploration agreements between government and various mining houses will be respected and upheld.

There is, however, need to move towards a more equitable ownership by citizens at large.

Citizens will be empowered to own shares in the mineral sector.

Any new contracts negotiated will focus on local processing of minerals exploited and will be guided by the principle of mutual benefit and the right of ownership by the Botswana nation.

Furthermore, the Pact government will take a deliberate stand on promoting Local trade activities and industry from various mining activities.

6.4.3 Finance and Banking

It is recognized that this sector is vital to a healthy economy.

It is disturbing to note that after about FORTY years of BDP rule, all commercial banks, insurance companies and other major financial sector companies are still majority foreign owned.

The Pact government shall put in place policies to empower Batswana to actively participate in this sector with a view to reflect citizen ownership and control.

6.4.4 Taxation

The level of corporate tax in Botswana is indeed attractive and competitive when compared to most levels in countries around our region.

Corporate tax rate is at 25% with a reduced Level of 15% for the manufacturing sector.

This has been implemented by the BDP government to attract investment as well as to encourage manufacturing.

The reality however is that our manufacturing efforts are not coordinated with the result that very little is being achieved by this sector (as shown by the relatively small contribution to GDP Less than 5 percent and declining).

Further more, a larger number of manufacturing concerns report marginal profits hence a limited contribution is made to the government coffers in tax revenues.

In its endeavour to generate revenue required to fund certain of its ill-conceived projects, the BDP government introduced a consumption tax in the form of VALUE ADDED TAX (VAT).

To achieve its absolute budgeted revenue income from this stream, (P1, 2 billion for year 2002 / 2003 and growing), the present government introduced a broad based VAT regime of 10%.

The effect of this has been a detrimental "knock on" effect on the cost of basic and critical life sustaining commodities such as most basic staple foods and medical services / supplies.

This lack of understanding the real effects of such a potentially regressive tax reveals that the BDP government is insensitive to the basic needs of the majority of Batswana.

The Pact Government shall:

6.5 Implement a full assessment process in order to understand the effects of the current tax regime on Batswana and the Botswana economy.

6.6 Immediately narrow the base of VAT to completely remove the additional cost on staple foods, basic shelter and health care.

6.6 Bring about a system that will adequately recover revenue from Luxury consumables.

6.7 Ensure adequate systems of collection that will minimize leakages, that is, make sure that the system of collection is simple and effective and will collect from those who are indeed liable to contribute to this revenue stream.

7. LABOUR RELATIONS AND THE TMDE UNION MOVEMENT

While the BDP Government has recently given in to pressure from the progressive forces in the country to introduce reforms to expand workers collective rights,

such reforms do not go far enough.

The right to strike is still heavily regulated in such way as to make a legal strike practically impossible.

The Minister responsible for Labour retains the unilateral right to define what essential services are.

This practice severely compromises the principle of tripartite structure of industrial relations and the right to strike.

Workers will still be punished even if they go on a legal strike since employers will be entitled to withhold wages during legal strikes.

It is indeed undemocratic to punish people for exercising a Legal right.

The BDP Government has also dismally failed to come up with ways and means of protecting the rights of low- income workers such as domestic workers, retail workers, workers in textile industries, bad is a and seasonal workers.

Regional and international experiences have shown that because of the type of work these people do, unionization is either generally non-existent or very low in these sectors to the extent that collective bargaining does not generally have an impact on their conditions of employment.

In Botswana, these categories of workers are marginalized, exploited and subject to "starvation" wages.

The BDP Government has committed Botswana to numerous free trade agreements that will bring pressure on national labour markets and will impact negatively on workers' welfare.

Such agreements will lead to unemployment and Low wages as producers adjust to increased foreign competition.

We are concerned about the BDP Government's practice of committing the country to trade arrangements without properly planning for the negative social and economic impact of such arrangements.

The current pay structure is not reflective of the importance of various sectors in the economy.

Workers for example in the teaching service, medical services, prisons, police and defence force are not remunerated according to their training and overall contribution to the society but lumped together under a unitary pay structure.

At the moment a worker at the bottom of the scale has to work for about 35 years to earn what the Permanent Secretary to the President earns in a year.

The Pact Government shall:

7.4 In recognition of the central role of labour in economic development, create a Ministry of Labour whose mission will be to address working conditions, social welfare, remuneration, and other benefits of workers.

The Ministry will be responsible for workers in both the private sector and the public sector.

In addition, the Directorate of Public Service Management will be restructured and transferred to the new ministry.

7.2 Depart from current policy of a unitary salary structure for the entire public service and adopt a pay structure and conditions of service, which reflect the peculiar nature of employment in specialized cadres such as teaching service, medical service, prisons, police and the Botswana Defence Force.

7.3 Build a relationship of true partnership between government and the trade union movement. We recognize that the Botswana workforce is the main generator

of wealth.

It is for this reason that we believe that the union must work; side by side with government and the private sector to shape the socio-economic future of the country.

7.4 Mainstream labour market adjustments into Botswana's trade policy to ensure that workers are shielded from possible negative and socially destructive impact of free trade agreements.

7.5 Introduce minimum wage for all sectors of the economy.

Our approach to the national minimum wages will be guided by the need to reduce the gap between high and low income earners in Botswana and establish a living wage regime to be agreed to between government, trade unions and the private sector.

7.6 Create a Tripartite Labour Commission comprising the private sector, trade unions and the government to look into problems of job creation, working conditions, social welfare and wages and salaries.

This Tripartite Commission will advise Government on which services should be considered essential, and develop parameters of such definition to mitigate the Government's discretion since we recognize the right to strike as fundamental.

8. UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY

The conservative estimates put the current unemployment rate in Botswana at about 25 percent and successive Household Income and Expenditure Surveys (HIES) reveal that there is widespread poverty and income inequality in Botswana.

This is despite the much talked about economic progress and national wealth.

Whilst the youth constitute 44% of the Labour force, they account for about 70% of the unemployed.

Junior secondary schools produce as many as 20,000 dropouts every year.

These dropouts join the ranks of the unemployed at an early age, as they have neither the relevant skills nor any meaningful educational exposure for gainful employment.

The incidence of poverty in Botswana is alarming. Virtually all rural populations are experiencing severe destitution.

Low-income dwellers in urban centres are faring no better.

With Botswana's reputed wealth, such poverty could only be explained in terms of the indifference of the ruling party.

Not enough has been done to use the natural resources such as minerals, agricultural and tourist potential to mitigate this challenge.

Very little has been done to encourage positively the full potential of the informal sector.

In many developing countries, the informal sector is an important engine for economic growth and employment creation.

This sector in the current Botswana is almost non-existent and, where there are activities, these are generally looked down upon by policy makers.

The following figures clearly indicate the position:

The richest, 20% of the population, own about 60 percent of the national wealth.

The middle, 40% of the population, own about 30 percent of the income.

The poorest, 40% of the population, own only 10 percent of the income

The Pact Government shall:

8.1 Spearhead job creation programmes that will be marched with timely action to distribute wealth equitably through a collectively financed policy of social security.

The taxation system, designed for the equalisation of incomes and wealth, will be used to provide scope for social insurance and social services such as health, education and social welfare.

Social safety nets to provide basic survival and dignity for the poor will be designed as a practical feature of this strategy.

8.2 Encourage local processing of locally obtained raw materials and other resources to augment economic development.

To this end, the Pact government will make available assistance programmes to citizens to venture into profitable processes.

Further more the Pact government will take over the role of kick starting relevant business processes where there is an apparent need for such businesses even if there is no immediate citizen participation.

8.3 Recognize the informal sector as a vehicle for employment creation by putting in place a structured assistance program that will, by considering the bankable nature of the venture, enable relatively easy access to finance.

8.4 Encourage large-scale commercial farming for employment creation by taking the responsibility of building dams and making water and land available.

Central markets and products from these ventures will be put in place with the farmer being guaranteed uptake of his produce.

Botswana can boast of some of the world's major tourist attractions such as the Okavango Delta (one of the largest inland wetland), the Moremi and Chobe National Parks, the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve and the Makgagakgadi Salt Pans, to name just a few.

Under the BDP Tourism Policy of 1990, which encourages the so-called high-income low-density tourism, foreign tourists, especially those from Europe and North America, buy tour packages that include full board and lodging and aerial tours.

All the payments are made in countries of departure and very little accrues to the local economy.

The majority of Botswana are also excluded by the price mechanism from enjoying the natural heritage of their country.

The Pact Government shall:

9.1 Ensure that different communities benefit directly from tourist resources in their respective areas through meaningful employment and / or private entrepreneurship.

Locals will be assisted to have direct contact with tourists and trading of their artefacts will, in as much as possible, be done directly with the tourist.

9.2 Ensure that there is greater citizen ownership of tour operators and lodge ownerships.

9.3 Bring about Legislation to ensure that tourism revenues to Botswana destinations accrue and accumulate in Botswana to give proper effect to our tax revenue.

10. LAW AND ORDER

The current position of increased lawlessness and the inability by the BDP to contain this evil is completely unacceptable and reflects very badly on policy priorities.

The numbers of cases of criminal violence have increased from 195, 949 in years 2001 to 222, 966 in year 2002.

Murder cases have increased by 19, 5% between the two periods from 21 3 to 251 in year 2002.

Rape cases, unlawful wounding, burglary / theft and robbery all showed the same trend of increase of between 10% to 39, 6% over the two years.

We are concerned at the rampant criminal incidents such as armed robberies, murder, rape, violence against women, child abuse and molestation and sexual harassment in the work place and outside the work place and will not tolerate them.

Furthermore, we believe that all persons in Botswana have a right to enjoy personal safety and peace in both the home and outside.

Crime will continue to grow unless the law enforcement officers' grievances are met.

We are also worried by the current arrangement whereby both the Police and the Military fall under one ministry.

Whilst it makes sense for the BDF should be in the Office of the President, the Police Department must go to Home Affairs where it will join cognate departments such as Immigration and Prisons Services.

The Pact Government Shall:

10.1 Remove the police service from the Office of the President and place it under the restructured Ministry of Home affairs.

10.2 Introduce VISIBLE POLICING. This will be achieved by considerably increasing the size of the police force in order to put more officers on the beat, and increase police foot, bicycle and motor patrols.

10.3 Make sure that the police are reasonably remunerated, well housed and properly equipped.

Inadequately remunerated and ill-equipped police force is unlikely to have the motivation to perform to acceptable standards.

10.4 Prisons and Correctional Services will be maintained to acceptable international standards as institutions for reform and rehabilitation, not as places of humiliation of offenders.

10.5 Provide reformatories and rehabilitation centres that offer youth counselling and care.

Support systems such as self-employment skills will be treated as a priority.

10.6 Botswana's population growth, urbanization and unemployment subject our young people to so much social and psychological pressures that they easily succumb to anti-social behaviour.

The foregoing initiatives will be carried out as a part of the process of creating a national police service that shall be close to the people.

The basic ideals shall be that of patriotism and selflessness in service.

Although we recognize that crime is a symptom of the disease in the society,

criminals of all kinds will nonetheless be met with punishment that is both firm and swift.

11. DECENTRALIZATION

The current governments administrative structure is highly centralized and all the powers and responsibilities that in a democracy should be in the hands of Local Government Authorities are concentrated in the hands of the Minister for Local Government.

This method of management brings about unnecessary delays in quality service delivery.

The Pact Government shall:

11.1 Decentralize all administrative functions and services to Local Government Authorities.

This will mean giving more responsibilities and resources, such as planning, administrative and financial powers, to local government.

11.2 Restructure the Ministry of Local Government in order to achieve a more efficient delivery system.

The rural populations will be given the necessary skills, financial assistance and extension services, to enable them to promote self-employment activities.

11.3 Put in place a system of periodic forensic auditing of local government authorities to ensure consistent and quality implementation of plans and projects.

12. GENDER EQUALITY

Women constitute more than 51% of the population but only 37.5% of all cash earners.

On average, they have more dependents and 75% are confined to the informal sector of the economy.

This sector is characterized by Low income, poor working conditions and lack of job security.

Average income levels for female-headed households, when compared to their male counterparts, reflect that they are far worse off as they are at about half the level of their male counterparts.

Although the impetus of women's movements in Botswana has yielded results in the last few years, the lowly status of women in our society still prevails.

There has been obdurate reluctance to mainstream gender issues and to bring about real transformation and paradigm shift in the way women's issues are understood and addressed.

There is evidence of a half-hearted and fragmented approach in implementing existing action plans and programmes.

The Pact Government shall:

12.1 Create a practical and sustainable plan of action to raise national awareness to gender equality and values.

12.2 Ensure that gender consciousness is infused into our national policies and development plans.

12.3 Sensitively monitor any tendencies towards discrimination on the grounds of sex and, where such is detected, take immediate and firm corrective action, bearing in mind that actions that tend to discriminate violate our Constitution.

12.4 Recognize and acknowledge the invaluable role played by women in nation building, in the family, the work place and civic society.

13. EDUCATION

In our view, the best guarantee to basic freedom is the education and general enlightenment of our people.

To build a Botswana that will compete with other countries in the coming years, will require that the development of human resources takes off in break throughs and quantum leaps.

We also advocate for Education with Production which, we firmly believe, will develop individuals mentally, physically, spiritually and socially and will encourage human creativity.

The BDP government practices a two-tier education system - the public school system for the vast majority of our people and the private school system for the privileged few.

The learning conditions, including the state of classrooms, instructional material, and conditions of service of teachers in public schools are appalling.

At primary school, level there is no specialization and teachers teach up to ten subjects.

It is common cause that the standards at public schools are low compared to those at private schools.

The current curriculum emphasizes academic certification with little or no inclination for providing alternatives such as life skills.

We believe that for Botswana to achieve excellence in education, a deliberate start should be made as soon as possible at pre-school and primary school level.

The Pact Government shall:

13.1 Make basic education free and compulsory.

13.2 Make education easily accessible to enable all those who can benefit from instruction to have full use of educational facilities.

Teaching Aids, activities for youth and the whole training will be aimed at developing self-reliance, selflessness and abhorrence of greed, and shall aim at promoting a spirit of patriotism.

13.3 Abolish the responsibility of Local Government in Primary School Management.

13.4 Institute a comprehensive science and technology policy to increase the productivity and contribution of this sector to society.

13.5 Provide classroom accommodation for all children, that is, accommodation built to minimum standards.

13.6 Ensure that pupil : teacher ratio is at an acceptable level, not to exceed twenty-five students per teacher.

13.7 Provide, timeously, sufficient and essential learning equipment, textbooks, writing material and furniture.

13.8 Equip schools with basic computer facilities so as to introduce children to information technology at an early age.

13.9 Regulate private school fees by making sure that these institutions are not

turned into backdoor profit making organizations.

We believe that teachers will deliver excellence when they feel valued, appreciated and recognized.

This appreciation and recognition should manifest itself in the way we prepare and develop our teachers, the quality of their working environment, their recognition and pay, their career incentives and continuous learning opportunities.

It should also be evident in the provision of housing and accommodation for them, the quality of their relations with government leaders and senior bureaucrats.

Community support, opportunities to influence education policy and administration, as well as building a consensus on what needs to be done to create a culture of duality, sustainability and continuous improvement in education.

We believe that this is the minimum a country should guarantee its teachers if it expects to have world class teachers.

14. HEALTH CARE DELIVERY SYSTEM

Since 1572, the present government has encouraged and fostered the institutional approach to health care.

Primary Health Care language has been articulated beautifully but community involvement has not been done.

Proper implementation of the Primary Health Care strategy has not happened.

That is why we were "caught napping" when the need for home nursing arose.

Whilst the infrastructure of health facilities has been developed to some extent, throughout the country, performance in the human resource development for this sector has not matched infrastructure development.

Almost forty years on, our health sector is still dominated by expatriate personnel in the high skills category.

Recently we have noted that even bedside nurses are expatriates while local nurses are forced by circumstances to seek greener pastures elsewhere.

The current medical services have gained notoriety for their poor service delivery with long queues, atrocious hygienic conditions, poor customer service, shortage of drugs and more recently even shortage of beds, bedding and bare essentials.

The Pact Government shall:

14.1 Put in place a radical development strategy to ensure adequate quality and efficiency of health delivery service.

14.2 Ensure that the Primary Health Care system is employed as a strategy for health care delivery in Botswana.

In this strategy, a humane system that acknowledges the health seeker as an individual with capabilities (of self-care and judgement) and responsibilities will be developed.

14.3 The system will acknowledge the partnership between a health care service seeker and a health provider.

The health care delivery system will move health care to the people, build a culturally based approach and make the family and the home, instead of clinics and hospitals, the centre of health activity.

14.4 Intensify and fast track training of health personnel to ensure that within the shortest time possible the acceptable patient / nurse and patient doctor ratios are met as a minimum standard.

Health staff development will at all times be in line with the Health Care Delivery system to reflect that Primary Health Care is in use.

14.5 Emphasize quality and efficiency in the delivery of health services and bring about a reward system that encourages performance and retains good clinicians in the clinical area.

14.6 Train a low-level cadre of health education providers to create a healthier nation that is Less costly.

The focus on health rather than illness will reduce morbidity and the cost associated with high morbidity rates.

14.7 Put in place a stringent monitoring and evaluation system to continuously assess health care delivery.

14.8 Ensure the importance and need for an adequate judged to allow the system to run efficiently.

To this end, the role of Government / Private partnership will be encouraged as an option for those who can afford to pay for private health care and thereby allow a subsidized delivery system for the low-income groups.

14.9 Traditional Health Care and Medicine

The current regime has no clear policy towards traditional health care and medicine.

In a way this is not surprising because the BDP government is committed to extolling everything foreign and denigrating everything indigenous.

We believe that traditional health plays an important role in the well-being of our people especially in the rural areas.

The Pact Government shall:

14.10 Create a non-begrudging attitude towards the traditional health care system to foster dialogue and partnership between western and traditional approaches.

14.11 Ensure that research be brought about to bridge and understand the gap between western and traditional medicines and will further be used to harness some natural resources (herbs) best known by the traditional healing system.

15. HIV AND AIDS PANDEMIC

Botswana is paying heavily for years of past government's ambivalence and indecision on the HIV / AIDS scourge.

It is only of recent (past five years or so) that government has changed its attitude towards this pandemic.

However, it is still failing to arrest the spread of HIV / AIDS.

Statistics show that the prevalence rate increased rapidly between 1992 and 1999 with slower growth between the periods 2000 to date.

Figures between 2001 and 2003 reflect prevalence rates of 36.2%, 35.4% and 37.4% respectively.

We believe that there is a strong link between the infection rates and the high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequalities.

The Pact Government shall:

15.4 Integrate the fight against HIV / AIDS into its overall development strategy of eliminating poverty and other hardships.

15.2 Have a multi sectoral national response strategy.

We will wage a total onslaught on what has clearly become Botswana's number one enemy.

We will spare no effort in mounting an appropriate prevention campaign, strengthening home based care capabilities, planning for HIV / AIDS orphans, assisting those responsible for feeding and nutrition schemes and investigating ways to alleviate suffering and improve the quality of life.

15.3 Financial assistance will be given to Non Governmental Organizations who look after terminally ill AIDS victims.

16. SOCIAL SECURITY AND WELFARE

The vast majority of Botswana live in abject poverty in the midst of plenty, with more than 50 percent of the people never knowing where their next meal is going to come from.

This has unfortunately resulted in increased crime and violence against the individual, both rich and poor.

Senior citizens are often entrapped in providing child minding care duties for grand children, especially in the villages.

Single young mothers have become a major feature of our demographic composition.

In the main, they are of lowly means, school dropouts, and unemployed or employed at non-skilled levels.

There is no provision in our planning system that considers these people.

Most Botswana, in both rural and urban areas, including farms and agricultural communities, have no access to decent housing and basic utilities such as electricity and water in their homes.

The Pact government shall study all problems of social security and welfare for all communities and introduce a comprehensive social security and welfare system (as opposed to BDP's Old Age Pension) that will give every deserving Botswana a minimum level of dignity as a human being.

In addition:

The Pact Government shall:

16.1 Put in place policies that aim at helping single mothers cope with their new status as providers and enable them to engage in self-improvement schemes.

16.2 Introduce care facilities for babies of such mothers, so that the babies receive basic professional care and support.

16.3 Provide pre-school care systems for children to ensure professional care and basic nutrition at an early age.

This will also release young mothers to engage in employment and / or gainful informal sector activities or go back to school as the case may be.

17. PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

The current government has paid a lot of lip service to this part of the Society.

Relatively easy to implement policies and processes, that would add value to the lives of this sector of the Society, have in most instances taken forever.

In the case of required legislation, documentation has been pushed from pillar to post.

The Pact Government shall:

17.1 Create an enabling environment for Batswana with disabilities to access social and economic opportunities available to all citizens.

Laws will be passed to standardise public buildings and social facilities to make sure that people with disabilities enjoy equal access to these facilities.

For those without means the government will create a special medical care subsidy scheme.

17.2 More urgently, look into and reverse the appalling conditions of special education for Batswana with disabilities.

We believe this sector of our education has suffered severe neglect and requires urgent and major resource allocations, financial, human and material.

17.3 Bring about policies that will truly empower this sector of the Society where they will be able to access funding should there be potential for entrepreneurial skills.

17.4 Ensure that a minimum of unemployment from this group is brought about.

18. AGRICULTURE, LAND AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The present government has placed emphasis of rural development on infrastructure only.

While this has helped to overcome some of the constraints to development, efforts are still required to strengthen the rural economy and improve rural Livelihoods.

The present government has presided over the total collapse of arable farming.

Whilst in 1971 agriculture employed 255000 workers, by 1995 this number had fallen to a mere 48000.

The government's area of interest has been animal husbandry, which was allocated more resources than crop production.

With our vast land area, Botswana produces only 10% of its national cereal requirement of 210750 metric tons.

We believe that as a country we have all the pre-requisites (land, labour, technology, capital, water) for self-sufficiency in food production with the only missing factor being the political commitment.

We believe that Batswana must be taught to appreciate the commercial value of land and how to use it to their benefit.

The Pact Government shall:

18.1 Regard agriculture, especially large scale mechanized agriculture as the foundation for sustainable economic development.

Food security and self-sufficiency in basic foods like grain, beans vegetables, poultry, meats, fish and dairy products shall be top of the Pact government agricultural policy.

18.2 Gear agricultural production primarily towards local consumption and as input to the food processing industry.

The Pact Government will positively support the processing industry and will ensure that structured markets are created that will receive the agricultural

produce for consumption and onward supply to these industries.

18.3 Provide basic infrastructure in areas where people are still engaged in farming and those in which agricultural potential exists.

This would mean the building of roads, provision of power and water.

Dam construction so badly neglected in Botswana will be a key strategy for the provision of irrigation water.

18.4 Agricultural research will be systematized and intensified to determine areas and crops that can be further exploited for food production.

The next step of the initiative is to raise rural incomes by providing produce markets and distribution end-points to facilitate producer and consumer meetings.

18.5 Establish schemes in which Botswana can use the Land as collateral or equity in joint ventures with foreign investors or as a contribution for bank loans.

18.6 Establish a land bank that will deal with the acquisition, management, protection and transactions relating to the land matters.

18.7 Develop and implement rural development policies and programs that will involve community participation at all levels i.e. planning, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation Levels.

18.8 Review and re-design past rural development strategies in order to satisfactorily achieve its main objective of improving the rural economy, incomes and employment.

19. THE MEDIA

National cohesion, development and unity of purpose can only come about in an atmosphere in which issues of national interest are debated openly and national consensus created.

At the moment, there are no real debates on national policy issues.

This is mainly because the BDP government stifles debate by controlling Radio Botswana's two radio stations, Btv, Daily News, Kutlwano etc.

Whilst the BDP government is on record as saying the involvement of the state in the economy can crowd out the private sector, the same government is now crowding out independent media through its backdoor commercialization of the Daily News and R.B 2.

We argue that what the BDP government really wants is to destroy the private media in order to control public opinion.

This control is done under the pretext that the government media channels are used for national development whilst in fact they are being used as BDP propaganda machines.

The Pact Government shall:

19.1 Establish an independent media base for Botswana.

This is inspired by our belief that an independent media is a crucial lubricant in the growth of democracy.

The small independent media in Botswana has ably demonstrated this.

We will do all in our power to promote a strong media industry in which Botswana have a meaningful share and role.

19.2 Establish a public broadcaster, in both radio and television under the

Botswana Broadcasting Corporation which will be administered by an independent board.

19.3 Introduce Freedom of information Act as key legislative initiative to promote transparency, free flow of information and freedom of speech.

19.4 Uphold the principle of free airwaves for independent community radio stations broadcasting in the indigenous languages.

To us the media, especially community radio stations, are important vehicles for cultural regeneration.

19.5 Set up an independent Media Trust to assist both community radio stations and community newspapers in order to encourage the use of indigenous languages and cultivate a sense of pride in Botswana's various indigenous languages and culture.

20. THE ENVIRONMENT

The Pact understands the environment in its holistic form as an equation balanced by broad spectrum of factors in complex interaction with one another, and recognition of this breadth is fundamental at any understanding of its protection.

There is a trend to totally separate social, economic and environmental factors at the policy, planning and implementation levels.

This separation has influenced the actions of environmental groups in the society, industry, individual members of the community and, indeed, governments.

The Pact Government shall:

20.1 Make a fundamental reshape of policy decision-making in order that the environment is placed at the centre of all economic and political decision-making.

20.2 Develop programmes where industries contributing to the pollution of the environment will be identified and required to contribute to a fund for the continued research of environmental matters and the subsequent health problems relating to pollution.

Similarly, all environmental hazards will be closely monitored particularly, the disposal of industrial and any hazardous waste.

21. HOUSING

The provision of adequate housing for the general population has totally collapsed.

There is no reason for settlements such as Old Naledi in Gaborone, Botshabelo in Selibi-Phikwe and others in major towns and cities mushrooming in Botswana.

It is regrettable that the people who provide labour for constructing beautiful buildings that the ruling party is so proud of, do not themselves, have decent no housing for their own families.

The Botswana Housing Corporation, which was established for and charged with the specific task of housing the nation, has become a glorified estate agency that only provides housing to a small proportion of the nation.

This corporation has failed the nation dismally in this respect.

The current national waiting list, running into tens of thousands, is still growing and will not be contained.

To aggravate the problem the present government has increased Botswana Housing Corporation rentals to unaffordable levels and have recently decided to sell off flat units currently housing desperate home seekers.

21.1 Formulate a National Housing Policy that will address the myriad of obstacles that impede the ownership of a home across the spectrum of the population.

This policy will also address [and tenure, ownership and allocation to ensure a fair distribution of this scarce commodity.

21.2 Restructure the Botswana Housing Corporation and make public housing provision a statutory responsibility of Local Government Authorities.

21.3 Provide properly serviced land with a target of ten thousand low cost units within the first five years of its governing.

22. YOUTH, SPORTS AND RECREATION

Sport in Botswana is where it is today, almost forty years into our independence, because the ruling party has been frozen into the belief that sport is a mere playing process that is best left to the designs of volunteers.

The BDP government has created an impression that it is wholly committed to the development of sport but in reality, this is a mere rhetoric.

For example, where sporting facilities have been established, there is no structured management of such, making them almost impossible to be utilized.

We believe that the youth of Botswana are the leaders of the future and that the future starts today.

This means that our youth must be given active leadership responsibility now.

The Pact Government shall:

22.1 Design a national service program that will assist the participants to know who they are and build themselves and their society, in other words, to develop in themselves what should set a young Botswana apart from the rest.

This can only be achieved through proper structures, qualified and competent leaders and a continuing dialogue with parents.

22.2 Commit itself to a policy that first transforms the communities' attitude towards sport.

22.5 Ensure that integrated sport facilities become a standard provision in all schools, primary and secondary.

22.6 Ensure that training of physical educators and sport administrators becomes a priority.

22.7 Ensure that the position of the Botswana National Sports Council is reviewed with a view to giving that body an enhanced independent status consistent with their critical mandate in sports.

22.8 Ensure that adequate recreation facilities are put in place for the relaxation of the youth.

23. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The collapse of both the Soviet Union and the bi-polar relations system has made the sole superpower, the United States very reckless, vicious and arrogant in the conduct of international relations.

The 40 years economic blockade of Cuba, the invasion of Afghanistan and, more recently, the invasion and occupation of Iraq under false pretences are all a very frightening testimony of superpower arrogance.

The USA continues to aid and abet Israel in its defiance of several United Nations Security Council resolutions, in particular Resolution 242 calling on

Israel to withdraw to its internationally recognized borders and for all states in the Middle East to live securely within their internationally recognized boundaries.

We stand for universal disarmament and world peace and applaud the decision of Libya to dismantle its weapons of mass destruction and call upon the United States and Israel to do the same.

We note with satisfaction the advent of the African Union and sincerely hope that it will revive the spirit of Pan Africanism and reverse Africa's slide into ethnic and religious wars.

Around the world, struggles for self-determination and national independence are still going on as international monopoly capitalism, under the guise of globalization, is adopting new methods for world domination.

The Pact Government shall:

23.1 Cooperate closely with all progressive and social and democratic governments and organizations around the world to resist every form of unilateralism and and promote the principles of self- peoples and great Or

23.2 Encourage interactions amongst the region's institutions of civil society in order to strengthen solidarity.

We believe that the Southern African Development Community should not be confined to governments and big businesses only.

It should be supported and encouraged to bring all peoples of the sub-continent closer together.

23.3 Ensure that Botswana is not just a member of international organizations but that Botswana serve in these organizations at the highest level possible.

24. DEFENCE AND SECURITY

The Opposition Alliance accepts the principle that Botswana have the right to live securely within the borders of their country, and that to this end a certain amount of military capability is required.

We note that the BDF has done an excellent job in areas such as anti-poaching and disaster rescue operations.

BDF has also been a good ambassador of the country in its peacekeeping operations abroad.

Nonetheless, we believe that the defence of the country can be best carried out most efficiently and less expensively by training all able-bodied citizens to defend their motherland, with the present Botswana Defence Force only as a core.

But the BDF should at all times maintain the required level of combat readiness.

The Pact Government shall:

24.1 Create a fully-fledged Department of Defence in the Office of the State President.

Such a Department would be staffed by both military personnel and civilians with expertise in defence and security matters.

24.2 Make the BDF a truly peoples defence force.

During peace times, various BDF units such as engineering and medical corps will be involved in civilian work like construction work and paramedical services, especially in the rural areas.

24.3 The role of women in the military.

Whilst we accept the historical fact that most military organisations are moulded around the male person, this should not be a permanent structural barrier to women.

The role of women in the military should however be viewed within the context of a National Defence and Security Policy, which we note with disappointment, does not exist now.

This means that our defence and security measures are carried out on ad hoc basis.

The Pact government shall formulate a National Defence Policy that will address not only the role of women in the military, but also the role of the military in peace times, civil defence and the reserve forces, and in operations other than war.

Mathata a Botswana, a mantsi-ntsi... a re tlhoka Rotlhe!!!