

**Botswana General Elections**

**2014**

**Key Human Rights issues from Civil Society and Summary of Political Party Manifestos**

**KURU FAMILY OF ORGANISATIONS** 



**DITSHWANELO**

**LEGABIBO**



**Rainbow Identity**



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## Foreword

This booklet is a production of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) NGO Working Group. The UPR NGO Working Group was established in 2012 for Botswana's second cycle of its Universal Periodic Review (UPR) process in 2013. The members of the UPR NGO Working Group are: Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (BOCONGO), DITSHWANELO – The Botswana Centre for Human Rights, Kuru Family of Organisations, Lesbians Gays and Bisexuals of Botswana (LeGaBiBo), Media Institute of Southern Africa (Botswana) and Rainbow Identity Association (RIA).

During 2012 and 2013 the UPR NGO Working Group strongly encouraged the adoption of the Comprehensive Human Rights Strategy and National Action Plan (CHRSNAP) by the government, through the lobbying of relevant stakeholders, both in Botswana and at the Human Rights Council. Lobbying was aimed at the adoption of a UPR recommendation for a Comprehensive Human Rights Strategy and National Action Plan (CHRSNAP) linked to national development priorities of Botswana. The recommendation for the production of a CHRSNAP was made during Botswana's 2013 UPR Process. The CHRSNAP comprises five phases - Preparation, Elaboration of the National Action Plan, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation. The UPR NGO Working Group is working with civil society organisations and the Government of Botswana on this process and has been specifically working with the Ministry of Defence, Justice and Security (MDJS) to ensure that the process moves forward.

In April 2013, soon after the second cycle of Botswana's UPR session a workshop was held. It was decided that a National Coordinating Committee (NCC) would be established to oversee the coordination of the process and the production of the CHRSNAP. The National Coordinating Committee, comprising both civil society organisations and senior government officials, was headed by the Ministry of Defence, Justice and Security (MDJS). This however is no longer the case, because a Presidential Directive was issued in

June 2014 which transferred the human rights mandate from the Ministry of Defence, Justice and Security (MDJS) to the Ministry of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration (MOPAPA).

We intend to continue working closely with other civil society organisations and with the Government of Botswana on the Comprehensive Human Rights Strategy and National Action Plan process. Through this work the UPR NGO Working Group members are contributing to Vision 2016 – A long Term vision for Botswana: Towards prosperity for All and NDP 11 as part of the Comprehensive Human Rights Strategy and National Action Plan (CHRSNAP) process.

We wish to thank all who have joined hands with the UPR NGO Working Group to make this work possible. We also wish to acknowledge the invaluable contributions from colleagues at various organisations, including Ms Tlatsetso Palime and Mr Lemogang Moremi.

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October 2014

## Introduction

The Universal Periodic Review (UPR) is a unique process which involves a review of the human rights records of all UN Member States every four years. The UPR is a State-driven process, under the auspices of the Human Rights Council, which provides the opportunity for every State to declare which actions they have taken to improve the human rights situations in their countries and to fulfill their human rights obligations. As one of the main features of the Council, the UPR is designed to ensure equal treatment for every country when their human rights situations are assessed.

The UPR was created through the UN General Assembly Resolution 60/251 of March 2006, which established the Human Rights Council itself. It is a cooperative process which, by October 2011, had reviewed the human rights records of all 193 UN Member States at least once. Currently, no other universal mechanism of this kind exists. The UPR is one of the key elements of the Council which reminds States of their responsibility to fully respect and implement all human rights and fundamental freedoms. The ultimate aim of this mechanism is to improve the human rights situation in all countries and address human rights violations wherever they occur. Botswana has been a member of the UN Human Rights Council for the period 2011 to 2014 and is seeking re-election for another three year term.

In January 2013, the Government of Botswana appeared before the UN Human Rights Council for its second cycle of Botswana's Universal Periodic Review (UPR) process. One of the recommendations made to Botswana by South Africa, Australia and Mexico was the production of a Comprehensive Human Rights Strategy and National Action Plan (CHRSNAP) to deal with human rights in Botswana. The Botswana government accepted the recommendation. Soon after the January 2013 UPR session, work on the CHRSNAP process began with a workshop in April 2013 to discuss how to proceed with the Strategy and National Action Plan.

In September 2013 there was a civil society CHRSNAP consultation workshop, which was part of the CHRSNAP process. The aims of the workshop were to inform civil society organisations about the CHRSNAP, to identify which issues they sought the Strategy to address and how to facilitate the process. Key human rights issues were identified by the workshop.

At a February 2014 civil society workshop marking the beginning of Phase 2 of the CHRSNAP process, more priority human rights issues were identified by civil society organisations. The human rights issues from the September 2013 workshop and that of February 2014, were narrowed to thirteen key issues. These are: Access to Justice; Children and Youth ; Freedom of Information; Gender; Governance and Accountability; Indigenous Peoples' rights; Land Rights; Marginalised Groups; People with Disabilities; Refugees and and Asylum Seekers; Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI); Substance Abuse and Workers' Rights.

The Universal Periodic Review (UPR) NGO Working Group analysed the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) and Botswana Congress Party (BCP) manifestos to assess whether or not they include the thirteen (13) key issues identified by civil society.

These same thirteen issues were clustered into the following five development priority areas, for the preparatory process of the National Development Plan 11: Access to Justice; Active Citizenship; Comprehensive Human Rights Strategy and National Plan; Gender and Governance; and Accountability.

This booklet aims:

- to inform the public about the position of the parties on the thirteen (13) key issues identified by civil society through the different consultation workshops;
- to ensure that voters are well-informed about party commitments when they exercise their vote on 24 October 2014 and
- to enable the public to hold parties accountable in relation to their election promises.



## 24 October 2014 General Elections - Analysis of Manifestos

The analysis is based on the following thirteen key human rights issues identified by Civil Society organisations in Botswana, in consultations (held between April 2013 and February 2014) in the Comprehensive Human Rights Strategy and National Action Plan (CHRSNAP) process identified by the following civil society organisations: Botswana Christian AIDS Intervention Programme (BOCAIP), Botswana Coalition for Education for All (BOCEFA), Botswana Council for the Disabled (BOFOD), Botswana Society for the Deaf (BSD), Botswana Substance Abuse Network (BOSASNET), Botswana Khweadom Council, Young Womens' Christian Association (YWCA), DITSHWANELO - The Botswana Centre for Human Rights, Kagisanyo Women's Shelter, Kitso ke Matla, Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals of Botswana (LeGaBibo), Lifeline Botswana, Makgabaneng, Marang Childline Network, MISA Botswana, Mochudi Centre for the Blind, Ngamiland Council of NGOs (NCONGO), Pilot Mathambo Centre for Men's Health, Rainbow Identity Association, Reteng, Skillshare International Botswana, Trainers and Allied Workers' Union (TAWU), Tshole Trust, and Youth and Health Organisation (YOHU)'. This analysis was done in preparation for the 24 October 2014 General Elections in Botswana.

1. Access to Justice
2. Children and Youth
3. Freedom of Information
4. Gender
5. Governance and Accountability
6. Indigenous Peoples' Rights
7. Land Rights
8. Marginalised Groups
9. People with Disabilities
10. Refugees and Asylum seekers
11. Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity
12. Substance Abuse
13. Workers' Rights

	Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)	Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)	Botswana Congress Party (BCP)
1. Access to Justice	Yes	Yes	Yes
2. Children and Youth	Yes	Yes	Yes
3. Freedom of Information	Yes	Yes	Yes
4. Gender	Yes	Yes	Yes
5. Governance and Accountability	Yes	Yes	Yes
6. Indigenous Peoples' Rights	No	Yes	No
7. Land Rights	Yes	Yes	Yes
8. Marginalised Groups	No	No	Yes
9. People with Disabilities	No	Yes	Yes
10. Refugees and Asylum Seekers	No	No	No
11. Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity	No	No	No
12. Substance Abuse	Yes	No	Yes
13. Workers' Rights	Yes	Yes	Yes

<i>Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
1. Access to Justice	<p>Justice system continues to be pride of the nation and envy of other nations</p> <p>Justice system continues to guarantee democracy</p> <p>Footprint of Judicial Institutions is second to none and continues to grow, ensuring that justice is taken to the people and thereby improving access to Justice</p> <p>Innovative strategies, programmes and institutions have been introduced to quicken the wheel of justice (Legal Aid Pilot Project, Small Claims Court, Stock theft Court, Traffic Court and Judicial Case Management)</p> <p>Botswana Police Force and Batswana have embraced the notion of community policing and this has contributed significantly to the reduction of crime in the country</p> <p>Police Force has done well in rehabilitation of convicts and has also done a good job in keeping convicts away from the public, until they are ready to be re-integrated into society</p>	<p>Mobilise communities throughout the country to fight crime</p> <p>Continue to fight crime against women, children and other vulnerable sections of the population (including: rape, armed robbery and other violent crimes)</p> <p>Train and equip our defence and security agencies to be able to deal with new and emerging threats to national security and safety</p> <p>To continue to educate our communities about the dangers of abuse of drugs and alcohol <b>{Substance Abuse}</b> and how they are detrimental to the country's moral and family fabric.</p> <p>To introduce alternative sentencing through legislation to reduce overcrowding in prisons</p> <p>To introduce Police/Defence national service programmes</p>

<i>Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
<p>2. Children and Youth</p> <p><b>I. Education and Training</b></p>	<p>Education is still the party's number one priority. There is a commitment to ensuring that all Batswana receive high level education at all levels</p> <p>The setting up of 10 decentralised education regions in 2009 ensures support to teachers and students is provided both efficiently and effectively</p> <p>In order to improve the quality of teaching and learning, teachers are regularly given short and long term training. This is to ensure that they meet the new demands of the profession. Currently all primary school teachers with a certificate in teaching have been upgraded to diploma level</p> <p>In the area of technical and vocational education, there has been expansion and improvement of brigades and government has taken over their management</p> <p>Enrolment in the Botswana Technical Education Programme (BTEP) has increased over the years and new courses have been introduced</p> <p>Senior Secondary Schools were constructed in</p>	<p>Ensure that the quality of education remains competitive in Africa and globally. Continual review of the curriculum to close any gaps.</p> <p>Commitment to higher quality of teaching and learning in the classroom</p> <p>Continue to put more funding into education</p> <p>Drive education reform at all levels</p> <p>Intensify in-service training for teachers</p> <p>Nurture unique talents of every child through schools of excellence and other strategies</p> <p>Commit to ensure that all schools have good links between parents, students and teachers</p> <p>Ensure that the quality of education in the country remains globally competitive</p> <p>Introduce national service for university graduates</p>

<b>Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)</b>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
	<p>Mogoditshane, Nata, Shakawe and Mmadinare at a combined cost of P2.1 million</p> <p>Gaborone Technical College was upgraded and Serowe College of Education was expanded. Francistown College of Education was completed. Oodi College of Applied Arts and Technology was completed and so was the first phase of the Botswana International University of Science and Technology (BUIST) in Palaype</p>	
<p>Children and Youth</p> <p><b>II. Sports and Culture</b></p>	<p>BDP has introduced talent identification programmes such as <i>Re ba bona ha</i> programme in sport development</p> <p>The Youth Development Fund, Boot Camp, Youth and ICT and Internship programmes have absorbed a substantial number of youth</p> <p>President Day performing arts competitions have been held annually since 2008 and continue to demonstrate the diversity of the culture in Botswana and to promote national unity and pride</p>	<p>Plan to adopt a multi-pronged strategy to tackle youth unemployment</p> <p>Ensure that the youth is competitive in the global economy</p> <p>Offer employment incentives in exchange for creating jobs for the youth</p> <p>Improve schools' sport programme</p> <p>Increase the hosting of high-profile sports events and facilitate enhanced sports decentralisation and talent identification</p>

<i>Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
	<p>In order to create a conducive environment for learners and support the national Vision 2016 pillar of an educated and informed nation, libraries were completed in a number of locations such as Tonota, Serowe, Molepolole, Ramotswa and Jwaneng</p> <p>Other libraries have been built through support from donors like the Bob and Sara Rothchild Foundation at Molalatau, Matlhako, Shakawe and Sebina</p>	
3. Freedom of Information	<p>According to the Legatum 2012 Personal Freedom Index, Botswana is among the top 30 high ranking countries in the world whose “citizens enjoy high levels of personal freedom of expression, belief and organisation, as well as personal autonomy in a society welcoming of diversity”</p>	<p>Continue to create a conducive environment for a free, independent and professional media in Botswana</p> <p>With the advent of a plethora of private newspapers, radio stations and social media in recent years, the BDP will continue to help the growth of the media and enhance media professionalism through various policy and legislative structures</p> <p>The media is a platform for the free flow of information and to act as a watchdog on the public discourse and resource mobilization, while contributing to public accountability and good governance</p>

<i>Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		Continue to work towards sustenance of democracy, good governance, respect for the rule of law and the promotion of human rights through free press and protection of freedom of expression and personal communication rights
4. Gender	<p>Government coordinates gender relations in Botswana through the Department of Gender Affairs, in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs. The Department has developed a national policy on gender and development</p> <p>Broad-based economic empowerment of women</p> <p>Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has been domesticated into the national statutes</p> <p>Public education and sensitisation about gender-based violence is continuing as well as various gender mainstreaming efforts</p>	<p>BDP continues to strive to create a society in which women and men are equal</p> <p>Continue to advocate for gender equality in all areas of society</p> <p>Create and strengthen a supportive environment for an effective national gender-sensitive response</p> <p>Adopt and apply affirmative measures where necessary</p> <p>Advocate for and support the strengthening of national capacity for gender mainstreaming in sector policies and programmes and eliminate all forms of gender-related discrimination and gender-based violence</p>
	In 2012 Ibrahim Index of African Governance rated Botswana number one in	Continue to work towards enhanced democracy, governance and respect for the

<i>Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
5. Governance and Accountability	<p>Africa with an overall score of 88% on accountability</p> <p>According to the World Bank Governance Indicators, Botswana's performance has improved over the years</p> <p>In the 2012 African Leadership Index, President Lt. Gen. Seretse Khama Ian Khama was one of two African Leaders awarded an "A" grade as a "best performer"</p> <p>In 2012, the Mo Ibrahim Index placed Botswana high in Africa in overall governance at third place and first in Africa in the areas of accountability and the rule of law</p> <p>Overall Botswana was one of 12 countries and territories, out of 200 surveyed, which are considered to have "negligible risk" in terms of political risk, civilian unrest and acts of terrorism</p> <p>The 2012 Global Peace Index (GPI) and Positive Peace Index (PPI) both ranked Botswana as one of the world's most peaceful countries</p> <p>Transparency International has ranked Botswana the least corrupt country in Africa and as well as one of</p>	<p>rule of law</p> <p>Continue to work towards sustenance of democracy, good governance, respect for the rule of law and the promotion of human rights through free press and protection of freedom of expression and personal communication rights</p>



<i>Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
	<p>the least corrupt countries in the world</p> <p>The efficient management of the public sector plays a strategic role in shaping the growth and success of the economy</p> <p>Leadership development programmes have been developed for all employees to efficiently and effectively perform at all levels of responsibility</p> <p>The 2012 Democracy Index ranked 30 out of 167 countries in terms of the overall democracy in the country</p>	
7. Land Rights	<p>The Town and Country Planning Act, Land Policy and Land Tribunal Act have been reviewed to bring efficiency and effectiveness in the planning process</p> <p>Many achievements in housing programmes, especially targeting low income groups</p> <p>Government continues to fund housing initiatives such as Self-Help Housing Agency (SHHA) and Poverty Alleviation Schemes</p>	<p>Strive to increase access to land for all</p> <p>Mount land tenure reforms that respond to emerging land rights issues and promote equitable and transparent land distribution</p> <p>Promote access to land and property rights as a basis for economic development and poverty reduction</p> <p>Promote private sector participation in land servicing and delivery</p> <p>Promote settlement planning and development</p>

<i>Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
	<p>Introduction of integrated farming. This will allow for new farming practices</p>	<p>Strengthen land institutions for effectiveness in administering land in a transparent, predictable and accountable way.</p> <p>Manage the emerging tensions between customary and state land</p> <p>Secure property issuance of registrable certificates for tribal land, computerising and surveying all plots before allocation</p> <p>Making land servicing a priority</p> <p>Committed to provision of affordable housing in urban areas</p> <p>Develop policy to enable the efficient delivery of shelter and increased use and maintenance of the existing stock, through ownership, rental and other options</p> <p>Continue to increase access to decent housing for all Batswana</p> <p>Accelerate delivery of housing by the public and private sectors</p> <p>Promote and support housing for vulnerable groups</p> <p>Support innovative strategies aimed at improving access to</p>

<i>Botswana Democratic Party</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		materials
12. Substance Abuse		To continue to educate our communities on the dangers of the abuse of drugs and alcohol and how they are detrimental to our moral and family fabric
13. Workers' Rights	<p>The government has been ensuring harmonious labour relations in the country through the Department of Labour and Social Security</p> <p>The Trade Dispute Act is under review to facilitate speedy resolution of labour disputes</p> <p>Providing efficient, effective and friendly services in dispute resolution, work permit processing, labour inspections, workers' compensation, registration and servicing of trade unions and the facilitation of training and localisation management and employment services</p>	<p>Cherish and promote the prevalence of harmonious labour relations</p> <p>Continue to comply with obligations under ratified International Labour Organisations (ILO) conventions</p> <p>Review relevant national labour laws to ensure that they meet prevailing labour market needs</p> <p>Nurture harmonious relationships among all stakeholders in the labour market</p> <p>Ensure that trained personnel are available to deal with labour disputes</p> <p>Promote high work ethic in the labour force</p>

*The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)*

Issues	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
1. Access to Justice	<p>Current Laws give Central Government excessive powers, and unduly restrict Local Government authorities' ability to plan, budget and implement development and service mandates efficiently</p> <p>Appointments of the Chief Justice and Judges is not subject to rigorous checks and balances</p>	<p>Consult citizens on proposed review of the Constitution</p> <p>Review the Constitution to grant Parliament its full legislative mandate</p> <p>Promulgate law that makes the appointment of Executive such as Permanent Secretaries, Commissioner of Police, Commander of the Army, Head of the military departments, Head of DIS, Head of National Security Council, Ambassadors, Governor of Bank of Botswana and other key government officials subject to confirmation by a parliamentary process and others by the Public Service Commission</p> <p>Develop a Bill of Rights which includes second generation rights such as the right to reasonable levels of education, healthcare, housing and minority language rights.</p> <p>Establish a Human Rights Commission to consider, probe and solve human rights violations</p> <p>Erect an Independent Police Appeals Commission as a</p>

<i>The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		<p>check and balance against police brutality or neglect</p> <p>Reform the DIS law to ensure that the rights of citizens are safeguarded and to ensure oversight by the Legislature</p>
<p>2. Children and Youth</p> <p><b>I. Education and Training</b></p>	<p>A mismatch between the graduates produced and the professionals needed by the economy</p> <p>Poor collaboration of universities with the private sector</p> <p>Inadequate technical education</p> <p>Underdevelopment of entrepreneurial skills among the young</p> <p>Shortage of teachers, especially in the sciences</p> <p>Poor management of and in schools</p> <p>Less than satisfactory development of non-academic fields</p> <p>Large disparities in the quality of education between public and private schools or between urban and rural schools</p>	<p>Improve the education system and focus on making the system more practical and technical</p> <p>Introduce/Establish compulsory pre-primary education through expanding existing primary schools and involving non-governmental organisations and churches</p> <p>Create the best learning environment and learning systems which empower the people of Botswana with skills and information.</p> <p>Improve the management of education and training systems in all fields and institutions of learning.</p> <p>Empower all citizens with lifelong learning skills and knowledge that will lift them from poverty</p> <p>Introduce modern school</p>

*The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)*

Issues	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
	<p>Access to higher learning and tertiary institutions is low</p> <p>Life-long learning is not developed</p> <p>Non-existence of centres of excellence or specialisation at the early stages</p> <p>Low morale of teachers</p> <p>Poor sporting and other facilities in schools</p> <p>Lack of computers in schools and other modern learning technology</p>	<p>management systems and practices</p> <p>Involve private stakeholders in syllabi formulation</p> <p>Allow students the choice of a technical stream, music/ arts stream, sports stream and general stream as early as secondary school</p> <p>Vastly expand the national stock of teachers at all levels, especially science teachers and for technical subjects</p> <p>Improve teacher remuneration by establishing incentives linked to outcomes</p> <p>Significantly enhance tertiary uptake to at least double the current uptake within five(5) years</p> <p>Establish Botswana as a continental centre of excellence in education and educational services</p> <p>Broaden access to tertiary education to the rural and marginalised youth</p> <p>Ensure that every student graduate from the tertiary education system is self-confident and skilled in at</p>

<i>The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		least one functional area within the nation's selected priority sector
3. Freedom of Information		<p>Introduce an accountable, transparent and ethical system of governance through a regime declaration of assets by public officials, freedom of information bill and the establishment of an electoral tribunal</p> <p>Appoint a public broadcasting board independent of government control, and responsible for Botswana Television, Radio Botswana and future public broadcasters</p>
4. Gender	<p>High incidents of violence against women</p> <p>Low participation of women in national decision-making and in reaping from economic opportunities available in Botswana</p>	<p>Promote gender parity and empower the girl-child and women, in particular, to enjoy similar social and economic rights and opportunities as males</p> <p>Create a legal, practical, and psycho-social environment conducive to embracing women as equals (to men) as stakeholders in the development process of the nation</p> <p>Important to provide women with access to good education and health, land, and economic opportunity</p>

*The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)*

Issues	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
		<p>Work towards the equality of women with men before the law</p> <p>Eliminate violence against women</p> <p>Ensure equal access to economic opportunity, education and resources</p> <p>Eliminate violence against women</p> <p>Erect support structures to empower the girl-child and also empower the boy-child to appreciate the equal status of women</p> <p>Appoint women to key positions based on merit and the ratification of the SADC protocol on gender and development, with acknowledgement that it is necessary to consult citizens for the most appropriate timeframe for the implementation of its provisions</p>
<p>5. Governance and Accountability</p>	<p>Leakage of large sums of money in the government tender system and tender awards based on favouritism are common</p> <p>Poor implementation of projects including cost overruns, poor adherence to agreed – to deadlines</p>	<p>Revitalise and entrench a culture of commitment to transparency, accountability and aspirations for effectiveness and efficiency among civil and political servants</p> <p>Restore professionalism in public service management</p>



*The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)*

Issues	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
	<p>and generally low delivery standards</p> <p>Long lag times for service delivery to citizens (including long waiting times for land applications, water connections, power connections, sewerage connections and other services)</p> <p>Poor maintenance of public infrastructure (in schools, hospitals, roads and other infrastructure)</p> <p>Human and financial resources are thin at the local authority level</p> <p>Low morale in public service, including the teaching service, police, Botswana Defence Force and workers in general</p> <p>Poor coordination of government institutions, plans and assignments to the nation</p> <p>Lack of capacity to conceive and execute efficiently and effectively largely infrastructure projects necessary to boost economic development</p> <p>Poor information management and</p>	<p>Forge a culture of open assessment of service delivery by recipients (the public) as a base for development of an accountable bureaucracy</p> <p>Encourage and improve systems which enable participation of ordinary citizens, non-governmental organisations, media and other institutions in the democratic process</p> <p>Introduce strict standards for efficient infrastructural systems, quality services and products offered by, or to government</p> <p>Reduce over-reliance on Central Government for service delivery that places unnecessary burden on local communities when accessing such services</p> <p>Build institutional capacity to manage and implement large-scale projects and programmes</p> <p>Review current electoral system with a view to developing proposals for a more democratic hybrid of proportional representation and first past the post system</p>

*The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)*

Issues	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
	<p>integration for purposes of managing performance and improving delivery within government</p> <p>Poor government-labour relations</p> <p>Absence of political will to cultivate a culture of fairness, excellence and meritocracy</p> <p>Low participation of citizens in the democratic process (including voter apathy, under-representation of people living with disabilities, youth and women in key decision making bodies)</p>	<p>Create a culture of fairness and excellence by appointing on merit, including sending nominations for key government offices for approval by parliament</p> <p>Give local/town councils more powers, stronger budgets and introduce direct elections for mayors, regional police chiefs and regional premiers as will have been determined by the constitution's review/revision process</p> <p>Restructure Ministries to align more efficiently with plans to transform Botswana</p> <p>Provide training to develop capacity (i.e. required human resources) to manage large scale projects.</p> <p>Introduce e-government to facilitate service delivery (e.g. check applications for licenses, status of applications and making queries online)</p> <p>Integrate government services by providing service points at which citizens will receive a menu of government from a single service point</p>

<i>The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		<p>Introduce transparency by publishing a six (6) monthly review of the nature of involvement in business by government Ministers and senior government officials based on guidelines as will be prescribed by the auditor general</p> <p>Restore cordial relations between government and trade unions, as well as embrace the strengthening of established institutions such as the Bargaining Council</p> <p>Improve overall morale in the civil servant through a raft of incentive-based initiatives (linking increases to performance of government services and revenues)</p> <p>Change legislation of the Directorate of Intelligence Services (DIS) to make it a more accountable arm of government</p> <p>Restore professionalism in the top echelons of the security forces by curtailing undue influence of the Presidency in the affairs of such institutions</p> <p>Consult citizens on the proposed review of the constitution, based on the</p>

*The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)*

Issues	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
		<p>need to improve the democratic structure of our governance institutions and processes</p> <p>Review the Constitution to grant Parliament its full legislative mandate through the establishment of its fully-fledged administrative autonomy (an office with full administrative and economic analysis capacity independent of the Executive wing of government)</p> <p>Entrench all key institutions in a democracy: make the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), Auditor General and Ombudsman directly accountable to government</p> <p>Promulgate law which makes the appointment of executives such as Permanent Secretaries, Commissioner of Police, Commander of the Army, Heads of the military departments, Head of the DIS, Head of National Security Council, Ambassadors, Governor of Bank of Botswana and other key government officials are subject to confirmation by a parliamentary process by the Public Service Commission</p>

*The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)*

Issues	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
		<p>Review the electoral system to promote broader representation (particularly women, and also youth and people living with disabilities), as well as take all the steps necessary to cultivate an environment of fair and credible elections</p> <p>Introduce an accountable, transparent and ethical system of governance through a regime declaration of assets by public officials, freedom of information bill and the establishment of an electoral tribunal</p> <p>Appoint a public broadcasting board independent of Government control, and responsible for Botswana Television, Radio Botswana and future public broadcasters</p> <p>Introduce political funding in accordance with international best practice. Private contributions should also be made subject to full declaration to an appropriate authority and to the Botswana public to ensure transparency and accountability</p> <p>Strengthen parliamentary oversight committees to</p>

*The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)*

Issues	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
		<p>accountability of security organs</p> <p>Establish a Human Rights Commission to consider, probe and solve human rights violations</p> <p>Erect an independent Police Appeals C commission as a check and balance against police brutality or neglect</p>
6. Indigenous Peoples' Rights	Rights and freedoms of the people of the Kalahari (prefer to be called bushmen) are trampled upon by the current government	<p>Ensure elimination of any form of discrimination through development of social and economic support systems which are accessible to all hunting rights and application mechanisms for such rights</p> <p>Rights to establish or manage through collaboration certain tourist attraction sites</p>
7. Land Rights	<p>Ordinary citizens should have timely and fairer access to land for establishing a home and for improving their sustenance</p> <p>Few citizens own land or a home and most do not participate meaningfully in the means of production</p>	<p>Ensure that every citizen is assisted to acquire or build that first home through a combination of progressive home-ownership and housing policies</p> <p>Housing policy will focus on creating an environment for adequate availability of affordable serviced land and adequate supply of houses and flats for sale</p>

<i>The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)</i>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		<p>Significantly enhance land planning and swift affordability of land and homes to ordinary citizens</p> <p>Ensure smart mechanisms for ensuring affordable housing especially for low and medium income groups</p>
9. People with Disabilities		<p>Put in place an overarching legislation for people with disabilities</p> <p>Enhance their rights and access to good health, education and economic opportunities</p> <p>Create a quota system for representation in parliament and other decision-making bodies</p> <p>Create comprehensive access to special education until tertiary levels and beyond</p> <p>Consider people with disabilities in the design for access to public transportation and infrastructure</p>
13. Workers' Rights	<p>High unemployment rate and experiences of jobless economic growth</p> <p>Poor nurturing and developing of entrepreneurs and small</p>	<p>Create a balanced supportive eco-system of civil service, tradesmen, entrepreneurs and small businesses, private sector and corporations</p>

*The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC)*

<b>Issues</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
	<p>developing of entrepreneurs and small businesses</p> <p>Lack of fairness in the Government procurement system which tends to favour those who have close ties with high ranking Government political leaders</p>	<p>and corporations</p> <p>Catalyse a balanced industrial organisation that generates sustainable jobs</p> <p>Build cordial relations between employers and trade unions and ensure mutually beneficial rewards of a robust economy</p>



*Botswana Congress Party (BCP)*

<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
1. Access to Justice	<p>Botswana's democracy is underdeveloped</p> <p>Parliament lacks independence and is virtually under Office of the President</p> <p>There is no separation of powers, because Judiciary is shrouded in absolute secrecy and is primarily decided by the Executive</p>	<p>Set up a Constitutional Review Commission headed by a Judge to look into possible amendments of the constitution including the bill of rights to include socio-economic and cultural rights, the right to a clean environment, reduction of powers of the President and qualifying the immunities given to a sitting President</p> <p>Introduce legislation to ensure that resolutions of Parliament are binding on the Executive for implementation</p> <p>Entrench the position of Leader of Opposition in the constitution and make it accountable to the Speaker</p> <p>Ensure that the Botswana judiciary fully complies with the international Bar Association minimum standards of Judicial Independence</p> <p>Improve the conditions of service for the Judiciary so that we attract and retain the best judicial officers</p> <p>Ensure that all judicial officers (Judges and magistrates) enjoy personal and substantive independence.</p> <p>In the conduct of their</p>

*Botswana Congress Party (BCP)*

Issue	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
		<p>duties, judicial officers will be subject only to the law and their conscience</p> <p>Review the composition of the Judicial Service Commission to increase the number of members not appointed by the President</p> <p>Include representatives from the Judges and Magistrates Association, civil society and academia in the Judicial Service Commission</p> <p>Allow for transparency in the appointment process of the judges and introduce public hearings by a Parliamentary Select Committee</p> <p>Broaden the scope of Legal Aid to cover more deserving cases</p> <p>Ensure one centre for power of the judiciary and also the President of Court of Appeal</p>
<p>2. Children and Youth</p> <p><b>I. Education and Training</b></p>	<p>Education system is in a state of crisis.</p> <p>In the past five (5) years students' performance in public schools has been declining</p>	<p>Transform Botswana into a truly educated and informed nation by giving all its citizenry quality education relevant to the real world of work</p> <p>Segment education ministries into Ministry of</p>

*Botswana Congress Party (BCP)*

Issue	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
	<p>Infrastructure in most schools is in a state of despair and shortage of books and teaching materials is common</p> <p>A number of schools are operating without science laboratories</p> <p>The size of classes in most schools is not conducive for effective learning</p> <p>Teachers' morale is low on account of poor working conditions which remain unattended after many years</p> <p>Lack of accommodation, poor remuneration and poor opportunities for professional and self-development are amongst some issues which teachers are faced with</p> <p>Relations between the Ministry of Education and teacher organisations are acrimonious and not conducive for the development of the education sector</p> <p>Graduates of tertiary</p>	<p>Basic Education and Ministry of Higher Education</p> <p>Redefine basic education to mean early childhood, primary, junior, and senior secondary schools.</p> <p>Provide free and compulsory basic education</p> <p>Ensure that learners with special needs have access to educational opportunities</p> <p>Provide all schools with information and communication technology infrastructure as a tool to facilitate learning.</p> <p>Promote lifelong learning by widening access to higher education and providing government sponsorship for post-graduate studies, facilitating universities and other tertiary institutions to develop relevant and appropriate distance education programmes at both graduate and post-graduate levels to reach out to the needs of learners in all parts of the country and maximising shared use of government institutions' resources by Distance Education providers</p>

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
	institutions remain largely unemployed after graduation	<p>Promote education equality by establishing an autonomous Educational Inspectorate which audits educational provision and monitors quality at all levels of the education system</p> <p>Develop and implement a policy of multicultural education. The policy is aimed at building a nation which respects unity in diversity and equality.</p> <p>Promote teacher professional development by setting up a staff development agency to ascertain opportunities for professional development and reward excellence in teaching</p> <p>Restore teachers' self-esteem and dignity, provide teachers with adequate accommodation, remunerate teachers fairly and establish a teaching council to professionalise teaching</p> <p>Transform the school curriculum for relevance and to highlight vocational skills acquisition</p> <p>Strengthen collaborative partnerships in educational development through fostering participation of</p>

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		<p>students, teachers, parents, community and industry in the education process</p> <p>Introduce boards and councils to oversee technical and higher education institutions</p> <p>Encourage leadership development in schools by supporting Student Representative Councils, which will be supported through legislation</p>
3. Freedom of Information	Fundamental laws required to ensure freedom of information are not in place	<p>Guarantee press freedom in the constitution and forbidding Parliament passing any law which restricts press freedom</p> <p>Transform state broadcasters such as Radio Botswana and Botswana Television into public broadcasters with independent boards free from political control</p> <p>Establish Community-based media platforms such as radio stations and newspapers to promote cultural diversity</p> <p>Promote access to parliamentary debates through live broadcasts of debates</p> <p>Enact, as a matter urgency,</p>

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		the Freedom of Information Act and a Whistle Blowers' Act
4. Gender	<p>Women in Botswana form 52% of the population and despite this dominance in numbers, women remain the most marginalised in society</p> <p>Efforts to empower women have not yet yielded much success, mainly because development processes have continued to encompass patriarchal values and norms</p> <p>To a large extent women are not seen as legitimate actors in the political, economic and social arenas of society</p> <p>Women need to transition to a level where they can participate as equal partners in development</p> <p>Women are faced with limited access to higher education, particularly in the</p>	<p>Establish the Ministry of Home Affairs, Gender Development and Culture to coordinate the mainstreaming of gender in all government ministries</p> <p>Promote public awareness on issues of gender development</p> <p>Introduce curriculum geared at promoting gender equality at an early age</p> <p>Incorporate gender issues and analysis in all policy making and programme development in all sectors of the economy</p> <p>Adopt, domesticate and ensure compliance with the SADC Gender Protocol, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and other conventions which seek to end discrimination and violence against women</p> <p>Strengthen legal instruments to protect women, including legal obligations of paternity and equality of access to property and inheritance</p>

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
	<p>areas of science and technology</p> <p>Women are faced with high unemployment, high levels of vulnerability to diseases and limited access to social, political, economic and cultural resources</p> <p>Low level of participation in business and political leadership</p> <p>Gender-based violence</p>	<p>Facilitate economic justice for women by mainstreaming gender issues in economic structures and policies</p> <p>Ensure that there are specific policies which ensure increased access for women to employment, credit facilities and appropriate training</p> <p>Tax incentives will be provided to companies and groups that support women's economic projects</p> <p>Strengthen health services for women, with emphasis on the improvement and strengthening of diagnostic and clinical technology and services to address women specific illnesses such as breast cancer and cervical cancer</p> <p>Make education and training more accessible to women. The curriculum and other school programmes and activities will address subject choices by girls to ensure girls entry into the science and technology streams in larger numbers</p> <p>Promote the participation of women in politics, by introducing civic and leadership training</p>

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		<p>programmes to empower women</p> <p>Affirmative Action will be used as an instrument to ensure a fair representation of women at both local and national levels</p>
5. Governance and Accountability	<p>Botswana's democracy is underdeveloped</p> <p>The election process is presided over by the government of the day and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is not truly independent</p> <p>The security sector, especially the Directorate of Intelligence Services (DIS) is personalised and serves the interest of the presidency with no oversight or accountability</p> <p>Absence of certain laws (Disclosure of Assets and Liabilities, Protection of Whistle-blowers, Conflict of Interest and Insider Trading) has made it difficult to convict ministers and other officials suspected of corruption</p>	<p>There is a need for an ethical, accountable and transparent government which promotes participatory democracy and collective decision making</p> <p>Ensure that the Ombudsman and the Auditor General are directly accountable to Parliament</p> <p>Ensure that oversight institutions are made more accessible to the public and are capacitated to undertake their duties efficiently</p> <p>Ensure an open and transparent recruitment process for the Ombudsman by providing for vetting of candidates by a Parliamentary Select Committee</p> <p>Undertake a comprehensive review of all relevant legislation dealing with and /or linked to corruption including, but not limited to: The Penal Code, The Criminal Procedure and</p>



*Botswana Congress Party (BCP)*

Issue	What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue	What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)
		<p>Evidence Act, the Finance and Audit Act, The Public Service Act, the Police Act, the Ombudsman Act, the Corruption and Economic Crime Act and the Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Act</p> <p>Make the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC) truly independent by reporting directly to Parliament</p> <p>Establish a special Parliamentary Oversight Committee on anti-corruption to monitor the work of the DCEC</p> <p>Expand the DCEC and provide it with the necessary professional mix that can meet the demands of the job</p> <p>Introduce a system of Declaration of Assets and Liabilities by senior civil servants, Chief Executives of parastatal organisations, judicial officers and Members of Parliament</p> <p>Introduce a law to prohibit political and public officers from participating in decision making processes where their interests or those of their immediate relatives are involved</p>

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		<p>(conflict of interest)</p> <p>Effective development must be anchored on a decentralised system to allow for the voices of the people to inform planning and service delivery</p> <p>Empowering local authorities to expand their revenue generating opportunities and reduce their reliance on central government for financial support</p> <p>Carry out an extensive review of all government departments to identify services that will be more efficiently delivered by local authorities in line with our policy of decentralisation</p> <p>Enhancing efficiency of local government by strengthening their capacity to attract and retain appropriately skilled personnel</p> <p>Formulate a law on citizen economic empowerment compelling the involvement of citizens in all major economic activities</p> <p>Re-formulate the citizen reservation policy to target more high value ventures</p>

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		Improve the capacity of the government to monitor the implementation of the citizen empowerment strategy
7. Land Rights	<p>Many Batswana unable to secure land for residence, business and farming activities despite the huge mass of land in Botswana</p> <p>Huge tracks of land belonging to absentee landlords remain underdeveloped while state land allocation is shrouded in secrecy</p> <p>In some parts of the country residential plots are allocated in areas without services such as roads and water, but are required to be developed within short periods</p> <p>Allocation criteria is inconsistent across different land boards On account of the poorly managed land allocation, most people find it difficult to develop property</p> <p>The artificial shortage of land has led to high property prices and a thriving black market</p>	<p>A just, equitable, transparent and accountable institutional structure for land administration is an essential prerequisite to establishing a just society</p> <p>Undertake a comprehensive land audit to appreciate the current land ownership scenario</p> <p>Impose a development covenant on undeveloped free hold land</p> <p>Phase out the Certificate of Right and the Land Grant Certificate issued for tribal land plots and replace them with the title deeds to allow those allocated</p> <p>Prohibit the allocation of land without services</p> <p>Impose a tax on allocated freehold land that remains underdeveloped beyond the development covenant</p> <p>Undertake accelerated land servicing and reduce the waiting period for land applications to twelve (12) months by 2019</p>

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
	<p>for land</p> <p>The Botswana Housing Corporation (BHC) houses are unaffordable for the average working Motswana</p> <p>Huge pool of people exist who can not afford BHC low cost units but are considered to be above the income threshold for the Self Help Housing Agency</p>	<p>Stronger role for government in housing delivery particularly for low income groups and the poor. For the middle income and high income groups, priority will be to avail them the serviced land</p> <p>Ensure a fast and efficient acquisition, servicing and allocation of land for housing to reduce the waiting periods</p> <p>Transform BHC to focus on building affordable houses and its mandate will shift from treating provision of housing as a profit driven commercial undertaking to a basic need for citizens</p> <p>Introduce flexible packages for BHC tenants to buy the houses they rent</p> <p>Offer tax incentives to private companies that promote home ownership for their staff</p> <p>Abolish Value added Tax on home purchases by first time home owners</p> <p>Engage private property developers to construct multi residential units for sale at pre-determined prices</p>

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
		sale at pre-determined prices
8. Marginalised Groups	<p>High levels of poverty and deprivation in Botswana</p> <p>Government should specifically target and prioritise for social and economic upliftment as well as sustenance</p>	<p>Create economic opportunities for all people who are poor and vulnerable as this is the best form of social welfare</p> <p>Re-orientate social welfare policies and programmes towards a developmental approach, where emphasis is placed on human development and rehabilitation</p> <p>Accord social safety nets to the poor, people living with disabilities, orphans and the elderly</p> <p>Extend psychosocial and financial assistance to child headed households</p> <p>Set 60 as the age for which people qualify for old age pension and this will be based on the prevailing cost of living</p> <p>Introduce special programmes for children in difficult circumstances such as street children to integrate them into society</p> <p>Provide support services and facilities for people living with disabilities</p>

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
9. People with Disabilities		<p>Accord social safety nets to the poor, people living with disabilities, orphans and the elderly. The value of safety nets will be guided by the cost of living as well as the need to prioritise graduation out of dependency on government assistance</p> <p>Provide support services and facilities for people living with disabilities</p>
12. Substance Abuse		To provide access to youth friendly reproductive health services and establish substance abuse rehabilitation centres.
13. Workers' Rights	<p>Botswana workers are confronted by multiple challenges which include inadequate earnings ; jobs insecurity, unsafe working environment, limited social security, ineffective dispute resolution mechanisms and limited engagement between the tripartite partners (employer, employee and government)</p> <p>Government has adopted an anti-trade union stance and perceives organised labour as an impediment to good</p>	

<i>Botswana Congress Party (BCP)</i>		
<b>Issue</b>	<b>What Party manifesto says in relation to the issue</b>	<b>What Party Promises to do on the issue (Electoral Promises)</b>
	<p>economic development</p> <p>Labour Department is under resourced and lacks capacity to resolve routine labour disputes, which has resulted in the Industrial Court being flooded with cases up to four (4) years to resolve</p> <p>Employees have no regard for the Labour Department and employees have lost faith in the Departments' ability to ensure justice in the work place.</p> <p>Low wages have expanded the pool of people who can be termed as the working poor</p> <p>Upon retirement most workers are declared destitute because of limited social security</p>	

## Conclusion

All of the thirteen issues identified by civil society organisations, except for two, were addressed in all of the political party manifestos. The rights of **Refugees and Asylum Seekers**, as well as **Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity** rights are not addressed by any of the parties.

The rights of **Indigenous Peoples'** and the rights of **Marginalised Groups** are dealt with by only one of the three political parties.

It is hoped that following these 2014 elections, these thirteen human rights issues, identified by civil society through the Comprehensive Human Rights Strategy and National Action Plan (CHRSNAP) will be addressed through awareness-raising and human rights education of all.



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KURU FAMILY OF ORGANISATIONS 



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**Rainbow Identity**



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