

Democratization in Botswana, 1990-2007

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
award of the degree of

Master of Philosophy

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2009



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Declaration

I declare that the dissertation entitled "Democratization in Botswana, 1990-2007" submitted by me for the award of master of philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university

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Dedicated

to

my

Mother,

'Puthem Pate'

§

Father,

Late 'Puthem Chanda'

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Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I am expressing my deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor, Professor S.N. Malakar for his succinct instructions, guidance and reasoned criticisms to make my dissertation finalized. At every stage of the work bears his invaluable suggestions, which cleared my concepts and apprehensions. Without his constant guidance and advice, it would not be completed.

I also express my sincere regards to Professor A.K. Dubey, the chairperson, CWAAS, SAH, who had given a lot of academic guidance to my research.

I thank Ph. Newton who had given a lot of academic support and guidance at the time of writing my research work.

My profound gratitude to my entire family, special thanks to my mom, P. Pate Devi and brothers, sister-in-law and sisters for their valuable contribution not only while I am studying but also in my whole life.

I thank to all the staffs of Centre for west Asian and African studies, School of International Studies for their constant help in several matters, since I have been here. I am also extending my sincere regards to the library staffs of the Jawaharlal Nehru University.

I thank my entire friends who have morally supported during the time of my research. And again, I thank to my friends, Gouro, Vimal Pandey, Chitaranjan, Khirod, Kaptan, Sushmita, Abhiruchi, and Jaya who are supporting me in every moment.

Finally, I owe my patience and guidance to my father Late Puthem Chanda Singh. If there is any mistake in this research work, it is totally mine



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Table of abbreviation

ANC-	African National Congress
AAC-	African Advisory Council
AAC-	African Advisory Council
BDP-	Botswana Democratic Party
BPP-	Botswana Peoples Party
BCP-	Botswana Congress Party
BAM-	Botswana Alliance Movement
BNF-	Botswana National Front
BPU-	Botswana Progressive Union
BWF-	Botswana Workers Front
BTU-	Botswana Teachers Union
BOFESETE-	Botswana Federation of Secondary Teachers
BOPRITA-	Botswana Primary Teachers association
BOCONGO-	Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organizations
CKGR -	Central Kalahari Game Reserve
EAC-	European Advisory Council
GNP-	Gross National Product
IFP-	Independence Freedom Party
IEC-	Independent Electoral Commission

JSC-	Judicial Service Commission
LEGCO-	Legislative Council
NGO-	Non Government Organization
NAC-	Native Advisory Councils
POB-	Botswana Labour party
PAC-	Pan-Africanist Congress
SADC-	Southern African Development Community
SHAA-	Self Help Housing Agency
UAP-	United Action Party
YWCA-	Young Women Christian Association



Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Defining Democracy and Democratization

The concept of democracy has many meanings depending on views of the Scholars. It is sometimes associated with the political meaning while others associate it with socio-economic conditions. Therefore it is necessary to be specific about the definition. To put it in simple terms, democracy comes from the Greek word demo that means people rule.¹ It can be defined as a system where the authority has its legitimacy in the will of what the people have expressed. Democracy in its modern sense came into use during the course of the nineteenth century to describe a system of representative government in which the representatives are chosen by free competitive elections.² Democracy has been described as the one of the characteristic institutions of modernity as such it was the result of a complex and intertwined process of ideological, social and economic change.

Democracy is a guarantee for justice in as much as the prevailing disposition in political theory at the given time has to do with distributional values with justice and perhaps even equality³. In democracy, the significance of justice and equality are crucial, all the public decisions are taken by the approval of the majority, due regard may be to minority. Government is formed by the people through their representative who are selected from the election for the definite period. In fact, democracy has proposed a series of demands based on the intervention of general notions such as justice; freedom; happiness; equality.⁴

¹Helena (1999), *Democracy in Practice*, Rout ledge London and New York, p, 4-5.

²Anthony B. Birch (2007), *The Concept and Theories of Modern Democracy*, 3rd Edition, Routledge, Tylor & Francis Group, London and New York p, 110.

³Basile Ekanga (2005), *Social Justice and Democracy the Relevance of Rawl's Connection of Justice in Africa*, Peter Lang Europischer Verlag der Wissenschaften,p, 207.

⁴Ibid., p, 207.

The word 'democratization' refers to political change moving in a democratic direction. It has been a major phenomenon during the 20th century. Democratization is a transitional phenomenon involving a gradual, mainly elite-driven transformation of the rule that governs a political system.⁵ Democratization has often come about as a result of pressure from various sources including domestic civil society and the international community. The process of democratization and rapid political transformation began in southern Europe in the mid 1970s; where there were falls of right-wing authoritarian regimes after that it has been expanded towards Latin America and parts of Asia in the 1980s.⁶

In the early 1990s, the process of democratization moved on to the parts of sub-Saharan Africa. In the 1990s, Sub-Saharan African countries undertook reforms leading to more competitive and pluralist political system. These countries were inspired by the most fundamental of democratic principles that people should rule themselves through governments of their own choosing. So the democratization is the process all over the third world countries.

"Democratization is a process; it is neither unilinear nor static: it can move forward, stagnate, or be reversed. And furthermore, even though democratization is an elite-imposed political reform, the impetus for it need not come from the top. Indeed, in Africa as elsewhere, democratization has often come about as a result of pressure from various sources including domestic civil society and the international community"⁷. Democratization is a specific phase in its political development and also the state society relation.

Democratization might be described as a stage in the evolution of a country where the rules governing powers alternation and state society relations, though ostensibly based

⁵David Potter (1997), "Framework for analysis", in David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh, Paul Lewis, (eds.), *Democratization*, Polity Press in association with the Open Universities, p.3.

⁶ Ibid., p. 1.

⁷Jean German (1998), *Democratization in Late Twentieth Century Africa Copying with Uncertainty*, Westport, Connecticut , London Greenwood Press, p. 2.

on democratic ideals, have not been internalized⁸. Democratization is also the transition from authoritarian or semi-authoritarian systems to democratic political systems, where democratic systems are taken to be those approximating to universal suffrage, regular elections, a civil society, the rule of law and an independent judiciary.

A truly democratizing country must not only officially embrace multipartyism and principle of free and fair election; it must also show that it is committed to the establishment of a state of rights, which guarantee a broad range of civil liberties to its citizens. Democratization is a process that is made up and caused by different factors; these can be connected with political or socio-economic structures and political institutions in which they act. The democratization we speak of today does not only occur by domestic forces in particular countries but also as a result of international pressure.

It can be described that democratization is also seen as the overall process of regime change. More specifically, the word democratization refers to political change moving in a democratic direction. It acknowledges the establishment of liberal or constitutional democracy. Some scholars accept that the transitions involve two or three stages, comprising transformation in both political and economic structures. There are two stages involved in this process generally called transition to a liberal democracy and its subsequent consolidation.⁹ Democratic transition here refers to a stage of regime change commencing at the point when the previous system begins to collapse, leading to the situation when, with a new constitution in place, the democratic structures become reutilized and the political elites adjust their behaviour to liberal democratic norms.

With regard to Jean Germain Gros, there are two phases of democratisation that are political liberation and creation of condition that will lead to the rule of law.¹⁰ In these

⁸Ibid., p. 2.

⁹Geoffrey Pridhan and Tatu Vanhanen (eds.), (1994), *Democratization of Eastern Europe*, London: Routledge, p. 2.

¹⁰Jean Germain (1998), *Democratization in Late Twentieth Century Africa Copying with Uncertainty*, Westport, Connecticut, London Greenwood Press, p. 2.

phases, the political leaders and political parties are openly in competition and it has been creating to intrastate and state relations, separation of powers and administrative decentralisation. On the other hand, democratic consolidation is usually a lengthier process than democratic transition, but also one with wider and possibly deeper effects. It involves, in the first instance, the gradual removal of uncertainties that invariably surround transition. The next stages involve the full institutionalisation of the new democracy, the internalisation of its rules and procedures and the dissemination of democratic values.

The processes of democratization i.e. moving in a democratic direction are different in different regions of the world. In the early time of twentieth century, there was little regime change in Western Europe, North America and Australia, apart from Spain and Portugal moving to liberal democracy. The main democratization story in this region occurred for the most part well before 1975, during what has been referred to by many scholars as the 'first' and 'second' waves of democratization historically.

The wave of democratization with regard to Samuel P. Huntington,¹¹ 'first long wave' occurred in 1828–1926 and countries include United States of America, Britain, France, Italy, Argentina, and the overseas British Dominions et al. And the 'first reverse wave' was in 1922–42. Countries that succumbed to reversal were Italy, Germany, and Argentina et al. The 'second short wave' was during 1943–62, and the countries were West Germany, Italy, Japan, India, and Israel et al. Second reverse wave occurred in Brazil, Argentina and Chile during 1958–75. The 'third wave of democratization' is an ongoing process that started in 1974. Portugal and Spain in Europe, numerous countries in Latin America, Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe and countries of the former Soviet Union are included in this list.

Seymour Martin Lipset propounded one of the oldest theories on democratization in 1960. This was updated in 1983 in a book called *The Political Man*. His works remain the classic starting point or point of reference for the modernization approach to

¹¹P. Huntington, (1991), *The Third Wave: Democratization Late Twentieth Century*, Norman, Oklahoma University Press, p, 12.

democratization. This was followed by the groundbreaking work of Barrington Moore in 1966. His work again remains the basis for the structural approach to the study of democratization. Dankwart Rostow's article in 1970, 'Transitions to Democracy' was an early challenge to Lipset's thesis and the modernization approach. His work is a source for the transition approach to democratization.

Interestingly in the three cases, the authors did not refer to each other, sticking strictly to their explanatory focus and research strategy each employed. Over the years, however, researchers and scholars working with these different theoretical approaches have found that the empirical evidence related to democratization in any country is complex and multifaceted. No single theoretical approach completely captures that complexity and explains it satisfactorily. Theoretical convergence to some extent is in mode to the study of democratization. Nevertheless, the basic differences of explanatory focus and methodological strategy are still there. The different theoretical approaches shall be dealt in the following paragraphs.

1.2. Theoretical Approaches to Democratization

There are many theories, which concern with the approaches to the study of democratization. Each theory specifies a set of general causative factors. Generally there are discussions on three major approaches of democratization. David Potter outlines the three theoretical approaches, such as

1. **The Modernization approach** emphasizing a number of social economic requisites either associated with the existing liberal democracies or necessary of successful democratization,
2. **Transition approach** respectively emphasizing changing structures of power favorable to democratization.

3. **Structural approach** emphasizing political process and elite initiatives and choices that accounts for the moves from authoritarian rule to liberal democracy.¹² These approaches can be explained in the following ways:

1.2.1. The Modernization Approach

To the modernization approaches of democratization, Seymour Martin Lipset's essay 'Economic Development and Democracy' in his work *Political Man*, is regarded as the classic starting point for a set of ideas that has been used to approach the explanation of democratization. Lipset said that democracy is related to a country's socio-economic development or level of modernization. The claims of the modernization approach to serve as a satisfactory explanation of the emergence of democracies have been severely undermined. It is still however, a fruitful research tradition in the study of democratic survival.

The distinctive explanatory focus in this theory is on modernization variables or 'how well-to-do' a nation is, although other related factors are also brought into the explanation. The extent of modernization or levels of socioeconomic development is the key. There is also a preoccupation with indicators that can be measured. Quantitative evidence is essential to the modernization approach. Also each indicator or 'requisite' of democracy is expressed as a variable, as indicators of more or less democracy. The explanatory procedure consists of identifying significant correlations between a numbers of discrete socioeconomic variables each of which is associated with a democracy variable.¹³ This explanation establishes correlations, not actual causal mechanisms.

Lipset was aware that establishing correlation was not the same thing as establishing that democracy is caused by socioeconomic development. Therefore, he spent much of

¹²David Potter (1997), "Framework for analysis", in David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh, Paul Lewis, (eds.), *Democratization*, Polity Press in association with the Open Universities, p, 1.

¹³Ibid., p,12

Much of this discussion is in the section called 'Economic development..... and the class struggle'.¹⁴ He said for, example, 'economic development... and widespread higher education actually determines the form of the class struggle by permitting those in the lower strata to develop longer time perspectives and more complex and gradualist views on politics'.¹⁵

Also, 'the absolute lower the standard of living of the lower classes, the greater the pressure on the upper strata to treat the lower as vulgar, innately inferior' and hence unworthy of political rights and democracy.¹⁶ Socioeconomic development in a country can also strengthen the middle class and 'a large middle class' is good for democracy because it 'tempers conflict by rewarding moderate and democratic parties and penalizing extremist groups'.¹⁷ The causal mechanisms related to increased education also receive attention. Education, says Lipset, 'presumably broadens man's outlook, enables him to understand the need for norms and tolerance, restrains him from adhering to extremist doctrines, and increases his capacity to make rational electoral choices'.¹⁸

From this well-known theory, modernization theory, argues that there is one general process of societal development characterized by a gradual separation and specialization of social structures; one of the final facets in this chain of development is a specific political structure, democracy.

1.2.2. The Transition Approach

The Modernisation approach is challenged by the transition approach. As the pioneering text in the transition approach to democratization, potter et. al. suggest Dankwart Rostow's article 'Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model'

¹⁴Lipset, Seymour M, *Political Man* (2nd Edition), London, Heinemann, 1983. p. 45-53.

¹⁵Ibid., p, 45.

¹⁶Ibid., p, 51.

¹⁷Ibid., p, 51.

¹⁸Ibid., p, 39.

from 1970. This was an early challenge to Lipset's thesis and the Modernisation approach. Rustow drew attention to the fact that the correlations of Lipset and others using that approach 'are couched in the present tense', and are fundamentally motivated by a 'functional curiosity' which leads them to ask a functional question: what factors can best preserve or enhance the health and stability of a democracy? Rustow and other interested in developing countries asked the question, differently, of how a 'democracy comes into being in the first place'.¹⁹

At least two reasons may be cited against that choice. First, what is now generally called the 'transitions literature' (or even 'transitology') has obviously developed in response to third-wave democratization developments; Rustow's theorizing on the other hand built on a comparative study of the much earlier democratization processes of Sweden and Turkey. And, second, while the more typical contribution to the recent transitions literature is quite a historical in style and substance, Rustow's argument is explicitly historical. His theory comprises four developmental phases.²⁰

The first one (which he actually labels a 'background condition') is about the emergence of national borders and national unity; at least a majority of the population within a state must have developed a coherent national identity for democratization to occur. The second phase Rustow calls 'preparatory' and it is characterized by severe political conflicts between old and new elites where the new ones demand a greater say in national politics. Next, there is a 'decision phase' which implies an explicit acceptance on the part of key actors, especially the political parties, of a fundamental set of democratic rules and practices. Third, there is the first transition or decision phase. This is a historical moment when the parties to the inconclusive political struggle decide to compromise and adopt democratic rules which gives each some share in the polity. In Rustow's theory there is always a conscious decision by political elites to adopt democratic rules, for a country never becomes a democracy 'in a fit of absentmindedness' Finally, there follows an 'habituation phase' when basic democratic

¹⁹Rustow ,(1970), "Transition to Democracy" , *Comparative Politics*, p, 340.

²⁰Ibid., p, 340.

institutions are in place and the rules of the game are followed by all the important actors.

In transition approach it is cleared that it is different from the modernization, its explanation is important to the historical political processes marked by the social conflict. Rustow remarks that historically people who are not in conflict about some rather fundamental matters would have little need to devise democracy's elaborate rules for conflict resolution.²¹ Action, struggle, 'hot family feuds', and eventual conciliation historically in particular countries are what democratization is about, not in exorable movement on the comparatively bland terrain of timeless social requisites. What drives these historical processes is the agency of political elites in conflict. Democracy is produced by the initiatives of human beings.

From the comparative analyses of many democratic transitions in the latter part of the twentieth century, and on detailed case studies of the first transition in particular countries they formulate four 'ideal types of interim government'.²²

- i) Opposition-led provisional governments
- ii) Power sharing interim governments
- iii) Incumbent-led caretaker governments
- iv) International interim governments set up by the United Nation.

1.2.2.1. Opposition-led Provisional Governments

There are opposition-led provisional governments, in which a new ruling elite who claim to have broken completely from the old order, rules, following a revolutionary struggle or a coup d'etat. The elite usually declare itself a provisional government, thereby indicating its intention to lead a democratic transition via free elections within a

²¹Ibid., p, 362.

²²David Potter (1997), "Framework for analysis", in David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh, Paul Lewis, (eds.), *Democratization*, Polity Press in association with the Open Universities, p, 16.

short period of time.²³ Portugal is an example where a revolutionary provisional government dominated initially by radical elements replaced an authoritarian rule.

1.2.2.2. Power Sharing Interim Governments

These result either from a temporary coalition between representatives of the previous authoritarian regime and people from the democratic opposition or from an incumbent administration acting as a caretaker until a democratically elected government can take over. Such governments are generally formed when the incumbents, through their power is severely weakened, remain strong enough to exercise control and agree to share power in expectation of retaining some positions of power in the future democracy.²⁴ Poland is an example.

1.2.2.2.3. Incumbent-led Caretaker Governments

Third, there are incumbent-led caretaker governments. Such governments are the product of transitions in which the outgoing authoritarian regime initiates a transition in the face of growing economic deterioration, or a severe rupture within the ruling elite, or a threat of opposition and even revolt.²⁵ Spain and South Africa are examples.

1.2.2.4. International Interim Government set up by the United Nations

Fourth, there is an international interim government set up by the United Nations. Such governments are especially appropriate in situations where the prospects for power sharing are minimal because of historical and brutal rivalries and total distrust among the indigenous contestants, as well as the deep involvement of foreign states, and where

²³Ibid., p, 16.

²⁴Ibid., p, 16.

²⁵Ibid., p, 16.

none of the contestants, in or opposition, can claim total victory.²⁶ Namibia (1989-90), Cambodia (1989-93) and Afghanistan in the early 1990s are examples.

The second transition from interim government or preliminary political liberalization to the consolidation of liberal democracy involves historical paths that are complex and uncertain. In this transition, the actors who are committed to democracy are crucial to its success. Such actors are mostly in minority but certain factors work in their advantage. One is that an electoral majority in the country, although not necessarily committed to democracy, does not want the return of that authoritarian or regime which it recently had to endure.²⁷ Another is that authoritarian political discourse is ideologically much weaker on a global scale than democratic discourse. With such advantages, the minority of democratic actors can advance a policy toward democratic consolidation.

It can come to conclusion for the transition approach from the above ideal type of interim government that democratization is largely contingent on what elites and individuals do when, where and how. A clear distinction is made between initial democratic transition and democratic consolidation. Finally, the historical route to liberal democracy is determined fundamentally by the agency of elite initiatives and actions not by changing structures. Elite initiatives and choices never take place in a complete vacuum; they are shaped to some extent at least by structures—a set of physical and social constraints, a set of changing opportunities, and a set of norms or values that can influence the content of elite choices.

1.3. The Structural Approach

The structural approach and its explanatory focus are on long-term processes of historical change. It is different from the transition approach; however democratization processes are explained not by the agency of political elites but primarily by changing

²⁶Ibid., p, 16.

²⁷Ibid., p, 17.

structures of power. The abstract idea of changing structures of power needs clarification. There are many 'structures of power that constrain the behaviour and shape thinking of individuals and elites in society.'²⁸ For example the 'monetary system' is a structure of power for Anthony Giddens.

The most important thing in structural approach to democratisation is that the particular interrelationship of certain structure of power-economic , social , political- as they gradually change through history provide constrains and opportunities that drive political elites and others along historical trajectory leading towards liberal democracy.²⁹

In the structural approaches the classical starting point here is Barrington Moore's (1966) 'Social Origin of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of Modern World.'³⁰ The claims of the most prominent practitioners of the structural approach that the agency of one class whether Moore's bourgeoisie are the working class of Therbon or Rueschemeyer et al may be considered decisive for democratisation have also been undermined.

Within the structural approach in democratization theory, Moore has been criticized for having accorded too great a role to the bourgeoisie and for neglecting the historical importance of the working class in democratization, and also for having slighted the role of various forms of transnational power, including war and imperialism. In what is arguably the most important contribution to the genre since Moore's landmark study, Dietrich Rueschemeyer et al in *Capitalist Development and Democracy* launched both these criticisms and perform a wide-ranging empirical analysis of no less than 38 cases from a variety of regions and time periods. Their main thesis is that it was world capitalism that created the structural conditions for democratization and the working class that was the key agent in bringing it about.

²⁸Ibid., p, 18.

²⁹Ibid., p, 18.

³⁰Ibid., p, 19.

Working-class participation in democratization has often been a component of the process, so that a generalized image of democratization as an elite project or a process of elite strategic interaction is also misleading, even for the recent cases. Moore comes to the conclusion that, generally speaking, a common pattern of changing relationship between peasants, lords, urban bourgeoisie and state led towards the political form of liberal democracy. From this, Moore arrived at five general conditions for democratic development, which are as follows:

- The development of a balance to avoid too strong a state or too independent a landed aristocracy.
- A turn towards an appropriate form of commercial agriculture.
- The weakening of the landed aristocracy.
- The prevention of an aristocratic bourgeois coalition against the peasants and workers.
- A revolutionary break from the past led by bourgeoisie.³¹

By contrast fascism emerged in conditions where the urban bourgeoisie was comparatively weak and relied on the dominant upper classes to sponsor commercialization of agriculture through their domination of the state, which enforced labour discipline among the peasantry. Communist revolution occurred in conditions where the urban bourgeoisie was weak and dominated by the state, the link between the landlord and the peasantry was weak, and the landlord failed to commercialize agriculture, and the peasantry was cohesive and found allies with organizational skills. India was a rather special case for Moore. Some of the conditions on the democracy route were there, but others were not, for example, there was no commercialization of agriculture or transformation of the peasantry, and no vigorous dominant bourgeoisie. In 1966, Moore believed that India's liberal democracy was precarious.

³¹Ibid., p, 20.

1.4. Explanatory Factor

In our understanding, here, an explanatory factor is a condition, structure, or process that is associated with, or causes, democratization. Many such factors receive attention in different theories. Six explanatory factors are set out here to which theories in both the schools of thought refer, but in different ways. They are economic development, social divisions, state and political institutions, civil society, political culture and ideas, and transnational and international engagements including war. These factors with the exception of the last category are used repeatedly for the purpose of the study.

1.4.1. Economic Development

All explanations of democratization direct our attention to economic development as an important explanatory factor. For Lipset, Diamond and many others working within a broadly modernization approach, positive correlations between economic development (as stated above defined in terms of rising per capita income, growing per capita energy consumption, etc.) and democratization are profoundly significant. For Moore, Rueschemeyer and others, economic development is exactly capitalist development which structures fundamentally the historical route that countries take toward liberal democracy or some other political form. For Rustow, O' Donnell, Linz and others who approach the explanation of democratization in terms of transition processes, economic development helps to trigger the actions of competing elites.³² The different approaches also recognize that economic crises can destroy liberal democracy, and that severe underdevelopment is considered to be an unpromising context for democratization.

1.4.2. Social Divisions

Economic or capitalist development produces changing class divisions in society, divisions based on wealth and life-chances, which are important in explaining why

³²Ibid., p, 24.

some countries move toward liberal democracy and others do not. According to Lipset, socio-economic modernization leads to growth of the middle class whose values can be essentially pro-democratic.³³ Capitalist development, said Rueschemeyer et al., produces social classes some of which, like the urban working class, develop and interest in democratization. The inconclusive political struggle between classes and groups on the road to liberal democracy is also of central importance in the transition theories.

Class divisions are not the only forms of social inequality. Explanations of democratization also refer to group divisions defined in terms of ethnicity, race tribe, language, religion or other cultural criteria. Democratic forms of politics are grounded in the principle of popular sovereignty or consent by the people. Thus, the question of who are 'the people' is profoundly important. Where 'the people' became so divided by group antagonisms that there is no sense of shared political identity, then democratization is impossible. As Rustow pointed out, a country cannot even start on the road to liberal democracy until there is some sense of at least minimal national identity.

1.4.3. State and Political Institutions

Definitions of different forms of democracy and democratization rest to a great extent on the state. In all the theoretical approaches, the extent of the state power in relation to class divisions and/or civil society is an important explanatory factor. Barrington Moore and Rueschemeyer et al. said that democratization routes are marked by rough balances of power between the state and relatively independent classes, not by excessively powerful states and dependent classes or states dependent on more powerful landed classes. Similarly, in modernization theories, overwhelming dominance of the state in relation to civil society is bad news for democratization. Such statism, says Larry Diamond, has led to democratic breakdown in Africa, Asia and elsewhere because in countries with low levels of development, swollen states control

³³Ibid., p, 25.

vastly greater share of the most valued economic opportunities than they do at higher levels of development.³⁴

In consequence economic growth is obstructed because economic competition from the private sector is crowded out, pervasive fraud and violence during elections occurred because of the enormous advantages that accrue to individuals who win them, political corruption and rent seeking are entrenched as the chief instruments of upward mobility, virtually all developmental activities is subject to state mediation and control, making community and individual advancement dependent on state control and so on. Modernization theorists argue, in short, that democratization involves moving away from statism and all it entails toward leaner states and vigorous capitalist development.

State has difficulty in explaining variation in democratization experiences of countries with similar state/class relationships.³⁵ Therefore, intermediate level political institutions are considered to be better explanatory factors. Institutions have been defined as 'enduring regularities of human interaction in frequently occurring or repetitive situations structured by rules, norms and shared strategies as well as by the physical world'.³⁶ In this sense, the parliament, the military, a particular system of competitive elections, the structure of a party system, the particular relation between different government departments, and relationship between the trade unions and political parties are political institutions. Political parties are unusual in being located in both the state and civil society, and their nature can help explain different patterns of democratization. Thelen and Steinmo say, 'Institutional analyses do not deny the broad political forces that animate various theories of politics and a political institution'.³⁷ Such theories explain how institutions shape more particularly the political outcomes of broadly similar state-class relationships in different countries.

³⁴Ibid., p, 27.

³⁵Ibid., p, 27.

³⁶Ibid., p, 27.

³⁷Thelen and S. Steinmo, "Historical Institutionalism in *Comparative Politics*", in S. Steinmo, K. Thelen and F. Longstreth, *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 3.

1.5. Botswana: A Profile

After the decolonization process in African continent, democracy has been raised within the strong authoritarian system and single party system. Democracy is widely considered to be a necessary and important tool if a country is to develop politically, socially and economically. In African continent, it has been established generally in 1980s and it came forcefully only after 1990s, so called 'the third wave of democratization'³⁸. With the reinstating of democratic ideals a society hopes that it will prosper and develop. In the 1990s, African countries undertook reforms leading to more competitive and pluralist political system. These countries were inspired by the most fundamental of democratic principles that people should rule themselves through governments of their own choosing. In the late 20th century while democracy might be taken as a given right in most western parts of the world because of its basic principles it has not proved to have the same impact in other parts of the world. Although theorists may have different definitions of democracy they agree on at least what basic ideals it should contain, for example, free elections and universal rights for all individuals.

As a special case Botswana was one of the countries in African continent that democracy had established in very early time. Democracy has set up in Botswana since late middle of twentieth century. Botswana is a land-locked country in southern Africa, with South Africa to south and east, Zimbabwe to the north and east and Namibia to the west and north. Botswana got independence in 1966 from the British very long colonial rule.³⁹ Botswana was the one country which got independent in early time in the African continent.

In the first direct general election with universal adult franchise held in 1965, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) won 28 out of 31 seats and Khama, the first prime minister took power and it was seen as a liberator in the eyes of both the people and the

³⁸Makinda (1996), Democracy and Multi Party System Politics in Africa, *The Journal of Modern African studies*, p, 556-57.

³⁹Pierre Du Toit (ed.) (1995), *State Building Democracy in Southern Africa, A comparative Study of Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe*, Pretoria, p, 80.

western world.⁴⁰ The structure and functioning of democracy in Botswana was so much influenced by the colonial master, it is governed by a parliamentary system. One house of parliament, the national assembly, has power to make law and approve appropriations and taxes and other house is the house of chiefs with the power to advise the assembly or persists on matters that relate to the interest and organization of the tribes.⁴¹

Politics of Botswana takes place in a framework of a parliamentary representative democratic republic, whereby the President of Botswana is both head of state and head of government. Botswana is formally a multiparty constitutional democracy. Each of the elections since independence has been freely and fairly contested and has also been held on schedule. The country's small white minority and other minorities participate freely in the political process. There are two main rival parties and a number of smaller parties.

Since independence, the BDP has been successfully working as a one party dominant through the election of the people. In Botswana, the president has the executive power. The constitution empowers the president to appoint the chief justice of high court, country's foremost legal office holder.⁴² Botswana's democratization followed a process of gradual regime reform, as the franchise was extended through a series of reform since independence in a manner similar to England's.

While one can say that Botswana finds itself in a transition process there has been signs of progress to liberal democracy. The country has had the same type of government and leader of the same political parties for the past 43 years. And BDP also won in the recent elections. BDP power has proved to be totally absolute in ways of controlling the state.

⁴⁰Endre Sik, (1974), *The History of Black Africa, volume, III*, Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, p, 263.

⁴¹John D. (1988), "Botswana: a paternalistic democracy", in Larry Diamond, Jauan J. Linz and Seymour M. Lipset, (eds.), *Democracy in Developing Countries*. Volume, 2, p, 186.

⁴²Good (1997), *Realizing Democracy in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa*", Africa Institute of South Africa, p, 3.

Botswana has multi-party system however the BDP party is a dominant party and controlled the parliament and military. It has showed no steps of slowing down and has proclaimed itself to be the only party which can lead Botswana. The most important issue for Botswana is going to be how to tackle the obstacles that stand in the way of a democratization process.

1.6. Objectives and Hypotheses of Research

The above discussion provides the background for my subsequent chapters. In this further research, it would be discussed on the following objectives. The main objectives are such as:

The study will examined the Structure and Performance of the political institutions in the country to show it push further back towards Authoritarian rule or strengthening democratization.

The study will focus more on Botswana's political transition and examine the nature of one party dominant, ruling party and the issues raised in the election times.

The study will also try to find out the role of the Civil Societies; Non-State Organizations in democratizations.

The study will focus on the working of whole political system and people's participation in politics and political parties in Botswana since 1990s. It also explore involves the key external elements in democratization as well as the nature of the unfolding political changes and liberalized democratic system.

This dissertation would also be focused on the following hypotheses.

The foundation of Strong Political Institutions has contributed the consolidation of democracy in Botswana.

The participation of Multi-Party in Political System of Botswana has strengthened the process of democratization.

The Civil Society and Non State Organizations has been critically helped the process of democratization in Botswana.

The Opposition Parties in Botswana have not contributed the democratization in a very positive manner due to its weakness.

Again, I am adopting the methods of descriptive analytical in this research. This study will encompass the whole process of democratization in Botswana and it will be based on the above hypotheses. This also will try to find out the role of the political parties and Civil Societies such as NGOs, Medias, Employers organizations etc. in democratizations. The study will also be examined the Structure and Performance of the political institutions in the country to show they are retreating to the Authoritarian rule or enhancing democracy. It will cover the democratic consolidation of political system since 1990s.

1.7. Scheme of Chapterization

The above discussion is the background as an introduction for my whole dissertation. In the following chapters I should discuss all the political transition in Botswana. It

should be from the historical background to contemporary democratic consolidation. So, I divided the dissertation in the following chapters, such as:

In the 2nd chapter, I discuss the constitutional setting up and the political institutions and its functions. It will try to understand more on the historical background of constitutional development to the liberal representative democracy in Botswana. The constitution of Botswana had developed within the colonial politics. Politics of Botswana takes place in a framework of a parliamentary representative democratic republic. Here, the chapter will discuss on what the constitution of Botswana, the political institutions that has been with the constitution and its important feature.

In the 3rd chapter, I would be discussing the nature of the political parties and civil society and their role in the development of liberal democracy. In fact, each of civil societies such as Non Government Organization (NGO), Private Organizations, Media are taking a crucial role in democratization but in the context of Botswana, they are very weak and play an insignificant role in the whole process of democratization. However in later part of the last century, they have become important actors. Thus, the chapter will discuss the nature of relationship between the political parties and civil societies and how they facilitate the process of democratization in Botswana. The chapter will also focus on the important role of the political parties in the democratization process.

In the 4th chapter, I would like to find out how the political system has been working in process of democratization in Botswana. It would focus on the transition of political system and its way to the democratic consolidation. Here, I would also explain the process of democratic consolidation such as the governing system, wider participation in decision-making and implementing processes and the emergence of a strong viable and assertive civil society and promotion of minority rights. The role of the bureaucracy and economic factors for the development of democracy will also be described.

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Finally, in the 5th chapter, as a conclusion it should discuss all over the dissertation. It has been argued that the democracy in Botswana as a part of liberal democracy is based on extensive participation of the demos in the collective decision making and also it broadens the scope of democratic decision making by involving all the section of the society such as all the political parties and civil societies.

Chapter 2

Constitutional setting and Political Institutions

2. Constitutional Setting

The constitution of a country is significant to a democratic nation. The present Botswana constitution was not established in a day. It has been an outcome of a long progress with the freedom struggle of the people. This is a part of the nation and regime change from the colonial to self rule. Though the constitution of Botswana was framed during the period of independence, the spirits of constitutionalism had already gained ground among the people of Botswana due to the various constitutional experiments made by the British for over the many years.

The basis of the constitution lies in a belief in limited government. It is so because a constitution sets the parameters within which a government has to function. It is the fundamental law of a nation. All other laws of the land- be it an act of parliament or rules made under the principle of delegated legislation or judicial pronouncement – must conform to the constitutional provisions of the nation.

The form of government of the nation too is determined by the philosophy embodied in the constitution. It also establishes the main organs of the state—the legislature, the executive and the judiciary; defines their powers, responsibilities and their relationship with each other and with people.⁴³ Every constitution in the world embodies the social, political and economic values, ethos and aspirations of its people and, therefore, is its most important document.

⁴³See, Sahr John (1992), *Democratization in Africa: African Views, African Voices: Summary of Three Workshops*, National Academies Press, pp, 51-53.

The constitution of the republic of Botswana took effect after independence on September 30, 1966, and the name of the country also had changed from Bechuanaland to Botswana.⁴⁴ The constitution of Botswana had amended in August and September 1997.⁴⁵ The constitution was purposely drawn up in a manner which would enable the central state institutions to account to one another and to the public. The constitution setting of Botswana can be explained from the historical background.

2.1. Historical review

From the political history of Botswana, it provides little evidence of trend toward democracy until the nationalist movement began in the 1960s. The origin, stability, and dynamics of Botswana's experiences with democracy were developed with the three themes that were, many of the facilitating force for democracy were absent, the indigenous polity was highly authoritarian and the country's social class structure has always been one of the most in egalitarian in Africa.⁴⁶ From the long history, it can be discussed briefly the structure of politics, the tribal polities and the colonial system within the nationalist period.

2.1.1. The Tribal Polities

According to tradition, the founder of the Batswana tribe was a 14th-century chief named Mogale. His great-great-grandson Malope had three sons, Kwena, Ngwaketse, and Ngwato, who became the chiefs of the major tribes that now inhabit Botswana. The Tswana chiefdoms emerged during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from a large number of smaller groups in the area that is now eastern Botswana and northern South Africa.⁴⁷ These tribes defended themselves against Zulu armies moving up from

⁴⁴Endre Sik, (1974), *The History of Black Africa, volume, III*, Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, p, 263.

⁴⁵Ibid., p, 263.

⁴⁶John D. (1988), "Botswana: a paternalistic democracy", in Larry Diamond, Jauan J. Linz and Seymour M. Lipset, (eds.), *Democracy in Developing Countries. Volume, Two*, p, 179.

⁴⁷Ibid., p, 181.

the southeast, the need to protect constantly against the outside military threat both required and legitimated the growth of autocratic leadership.

The ability of the Tswana chiefs to expand their states through war and trade undoubtedly stemmed from the fact that they were already very powerful rulers. The chiefs was at once ruler, judge, maker and guardian of law, repository of wealth, dispenser of gifts, leader in war, priest and magician of the people; they dominated the tribal economy and all other important forms of collective action in the community.⁴⁸ In the social and economic structure the chief was the well positioned to dominate to community decision making. With regard to custom, chief was obliged to the two groups: his senior relatives and headman of the major foreign groups within the tribes.

The political system of the Tswana had little semblance of democracy that the authority ranked them as among the most rigidly stratified of any in southern Africa and there were also sufficient conflict within the ruling class to encourage the more astute chiefs to seek public support. A fairly developed system of law also provided a basis for the agreement between rulers and ruled as to what was acceptable chiefly behavior. These systems at the village level, and also in the very high populated towns were practiced. This political system still is practiced in the contemporary politics of Botswana.

2.1.2. Colonial System

The colonial powers introduced an entirely new framework of operation and a new system into their colonies. The colonial rule in Botswana had a very minimal impact compared to most of Africa. During the time of Africa scramble in 1880s there was many threats from the Afrikaners and colonial powers to southern Africa. Bechuanaland was independent until 1885. After this year it was caught between avaricious external forces over which it had no control. Britain moved into Bechuanaland in order to keep free the route to the north, which was being threatened by the Germans who had just declared a protectorate over South West Africa (Namibia)

⁴⁸Ibid., p, 182.

in 1884.⁴⁹ The Boers of the Transvaal were viewed with suspicion by the British Government. The Boers had caused Montshioa of the Barolong and Khama III of the Bangwato to appeal to the British for protection in 1876. Thus the route towards north was under threat from both sides. In 1885 the British Government dispatched a force under Sir Charles Warren to announce to the Bechuanaland rulers that they were now under British protection.⁵⁰ So the British declared a 'protectorate' over the area and it became a road to colonies. Botswana after ten year of proclaimed protectorate, British administration system was totally established.

In short, the colonial powers introduced an entirely new framework of operation and a new world into their colonies. It was a framework which oriented Africa outward toward the metropole rather than one which fostered integration between and within African colonies and peoples. And it was a framework which imposed the demands of international capitalism on social orders which had been communalistic, inward-looking, and self-sufficient.

The colonial institutions arrested the social, political, and technological development of the existing pre-colonial polities and made them irrelevant. The gradual social processes leading to greater integration of African peoples, which might have occurred in the absence of colonialism, were thwarted. Indigenous political and social institutions and the lifestyles they supported were robbed of their meaning and purpose.⁵¹ African village life began an inexorable decline, one from which it has never recovered.

As the diverse forces of colonialism imposed themselves on Africa, they created a new sector of the populace who would tie the continent to the rest of the globe and who would become the conduit through which the rest of the world could come to Africa. The legacy of colonial arbitrary creation of African nations has been the bane of most African nation-states since independence. Modern states have been left with a legacy of

⁴⁹Manungo, (1999), The role of Native Advisory Council in the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1919-1960, *Botswana Journal of Southern Africa*, 13:1, p, 25.

⁵⁰Ibid., p, 25.

⁵¹Bourgault Louise Manon (1995), *Mass Media in Sub-saharan Africa*, Indiana University Press, p, 23.

disparate ethnic and religious groupings with little or no cultural cohesiveness and little shared history save their common colonial experience.⁵² The oddities of this colonial legacy have imposed upon postcolonial governments the monumental task of forging national consciousness and national identity among disparate groups of peoples. It is significant that the single.

2.2. Development of Constitution

The constitution of Botswana had developed within the British colonial system. The entire administration and legal system were established by British with comfortable to Tswana chiefs and their tradition. Botswana has always been an integral part of southern Africa.

2.2.1. Background

The history of constitutional development and its politics in Bechuanaland protectorate traces back to the eighty years old history of colonial rule from 1885 to 1966. The period was dominated by two issues: the status of territory itself; and the relationship between the ingenious political system of Tswana Kingdoms and those of the colonial power.⁵³ The constitutional set up in Botswana was influenced by the British system. The Orders-in-Council 1885, by which the Bechuanaland was established, did not specify any system of law and administration for the territory but it reflected the initial intention to allow the local leaders, the maximum freedom to continue to govern on their own terms.⁵⁴ The idea of law and administration, political system were developed within the British administration.

“The general administration proclamation of 1891, which gave effect to the above order, as well as the proclamation No. 2 of 1896, made for the establishment of system of resident magistrates then operative in the Cape Colony. The general law

⁵²Ibid., p, 23.

⁵³Pierre Du Toit (ed.) (1995), *State Building Democracy in Southern Africa, A comparative Study of Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe*, Pretoria, HSRC Publishers, p, 80.

⁵⁴Ibid., p, 81.

proclamation of 1809 stipulated that the Roman-Dutch law of Cape Colony become the common law of the territory; it was the establishment of system of legal duality, which persists in present Botswana.”⁵⁵ The political system, societies of the nation has been organized through by law. These were the important way for emerging a strong state, legal and constitutional.

2.2.2. Native Advisory Council

One of the institutions very important to the constitutional development in Botswana can be traced back to the Native Advisory Councils (NAC) in 1920, which was established for discussion of the use of the recently-established Native Fund and to enable the chiefs and councilors to consult together and to advise government on native affairs generally.⁵⁶ The NAC was the organization which was linked with the then government. The NAC was a purely advisory body, but it became a forum for discussing issues of general importance and a platform for opposing unpopular ones, such as incorporation.

The meeting of NAC was normally once a year so its decision was less effective to the administration. It was dominated by diKgosi, who chose most of the delegates apart from themselves. At first the BaTawana and BaNgwato did not take part, joining in 1931 and 1940, respectively. In the latter year, the council became known as the African Advisory Council (AAC).⁵⁷ By 1944, the AAC members totaled thirty-five, with eight from BaNgwato, four each from BaNgwaketse and BaKwena, three each from BaTlokwa, BaRolong, BaKgatla, BaLete, and BaTawana, and two each from Kgalagadi and Francistown Districts. The AAC was dissolved in 1960, though its role was partly continued by the African Council.

⁵⁵Ibid., p,82.

⁵⁶Ramsay Jeff, Morton Barry, Morton Fred (1996), *Historical Dictionary of Botswana African Historical Dictionaries, No. 73*, Scarecrow Press,p.52.

⁵⁷Ibid., p, 52.

2.2.3. Joint Advisory Council

The immediate response by Government to legitimate demands for a Legislative Council in the Protectorate was the acceptance and commissioning of a Joint Advisory Council. By a circular from the Secretariat in Mafeking to the Heads of Departments and District Commissioners, the Acting Government Secretary informed them that a Joint Advisory Council meeting was to be held on 3 November, 1950. The list of delegates to the proposed Council meeting included eight members of the African Advisory Council and all the eight members of the European Advisory Council.⁵⁸

“The Joint Advisory Council was formed in 1950 for the purpose of uniting representatives from the AAC and EAC (European Advisory Council) in discussing the development of the Protectorate as a whole. It was made up of eight representatives from each council, as well as eight officials. Although without any powers or influence before 1958, it became instrumental in the formation of the Legislative Council and in bringing together future leaders of the territory.⁵⁹ From the later 1950s it became clear that Bechuanaland could no longer be handed over to South Africa, and must be developed towards political and economic self-sufficiency. The supporters of Seretse Khama began to organize political movements from 1952 onwards, and there was a nationalist spirit even among older 'tribal' leaders. Ngwato 'tribal' negotiations for the start of copper mining reached an agreement in 1959.

2.2.4. Legislative Council

The Joint Advisory Council was leading for the formation of a legislative council with law making powers. “In the 1950s, calls to form a legislative council came from members of the various advisory councils, most notably Tshekedi Khama and Bathoen II. Once it decided not to link the future of the territory with that of the Union of South

⁵⁸Manungo, (1999), The role of Native Advisory Council in the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1919-1960, *Botswana Journal of Southern Africa*, 13:1, p, 36.

⁵⁹Ramsay Jeff, Morton Barry, Morton Fred (1996), *Historical Dictionary of Botswana African Historical Dictionaries, No. 73*, Scarecrow Press p, 53.

Africa or the Central African Federation in 1958, the government allowed the JAC to form a Constitutional Committee to review the LEGCO (Legislative Council) question. The Committee's recommendations for the creation of LEGCO were accepted in full, and with the Order-in-Council of 21 December 1960, the Bechuanaland Protectorate Legislative Council came into being. The older councils were dissolved, but an African Council was established to continue the AAC's functions and to serve as an electoral college for the African members of LEGCO. The first session of LEGCO was held in June 1961.”⁶⁰

LEGCO consisted of twenty-one elected members, three ex-officios, seven nominated officials, and up to four nominated non-officials. One of the ex-officios was the resident commissioner, who served as LEGCO president and nominated the officials and non-officials. Only the European and Asian communities were entitled to direct elections (excluding South African citizens who after 1961 ceased to be citizens of the British Empire). The African Council selected the African members, five each from the Southern and Northern divisions.

2.2.5. Constitution of December 1960

In 1959, when Britain was preparing to quit Africa as a colonial power, they want to hand over the whole system of Botswana to the people of nation. So, a constitutional committee of the Joint Advisory Council drew up the Protectorate's first formal constitution, which came into operation in 1960.⁶¹ On December 6, 1960, the British government announced the introduction of a new constitution in Bechuanaland, providing for the establishment of legislative council on the model of the other protectorate.⁶²

⁶⁰Ibid., p, 53.

⁶¹Ibid., p,50.

⁶²Endre Sik, (1974), *The History of Black Africa, volume, III*, Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, p, 258.

This legislature council had 35 members: with the British resident commissioner as a chairman, it consisted of 22 European members (three ex-officio members and another seven appointed officials, two appointed unofficial members, ten Europeans, nearly all merchants, elected by the European settlers), two appointed and ten elected African members (who were elected not by the popular vote but were chosen by the tribal council from the candidates nominated by the chiefs), and one Asian member.⁶³ In this constitution, the European minority (3,200) amounting to less than one percent of the population had 23 members and the African majority (335,000) constituting 99 percent of the population had 12 members in the legislative council.⁶⁴

Again in the executive council, there had four unofficial members, two were European and two were the Africans in addition to six colonial official who were ex-officio members however the executive council, which was presided over by the Resident Commissioner, was in fact nothing else than a advisory body for its powers did not go beyond submitting recommendation to the British high Commissioner of South Africa.⁶⁵ From this constitution, there had an election on May 1961. The Bechuanaland had come closer to the independence. The British government offered the Bechuanas the 1960 'Constitution' as the first step towards independence, and the representative of the Bechuanas accepted it at face value. So the constitution of 1960 was the one of the most important document to understand present Botswana.

2.2.6. Second New Constitution Draft of 1963-64

In 1963 consultations began at Lobatse to prepare a second constitution, one which would confer internal self-government. In November of this year, the British Resident commissioner of Bechuanaland called the leaders of Bechuanaland parties and the European, Asian members of the legislative councils to a conference to discuss with them the matter of constitution. In this conference, the new constitution had adopted, but the draft of constitution, which the Resident commissioner presented as the charter

⁶³Ibid., p, 259.

⁶⁴Ibid., p, 259.

⁶⁵Ibid., p, 259

of self government of Bechuanaland, envisaged general elections to the legislature by the end 1964, with franchise granted to all adults without distinction as to race, and a Cabinet of ministers headed by the Prime Minister.⁶⁶

In this constitutional draft, the members of the legislative council, which had been called the National Assembly, were to be elected for a term of five year on the basis of general suffrage. Every adult inhabitants of the country has the right to vote. The president had been chosen for the five year by a majority of newly elected national assembly and also empowered to convene, adjourn or dissolve the national assembly at any time.⁶⁷ In this constitutional draft, it also provided that a separate assembly of chiefs to discuss bills affecting tribal matters. However, in this, the external affairs and finance, defence and internal security as well as the organs of administration remained under the British Resident Commissioner. So, the power for handling the constitution was almost with the British. This culminated in a new constitution which came into effect on 3 March 1965, and this, suitably amended, became the constitution of the independent Republic of Botswana in 1966.

2.2.7. Election of 1965 and Independence of 1966

1965 was very important year in the history of Botswana. The new constitution, under which elections were held in March in 1965, was closely modeled on the Westminster system of parliamentary democracy: a unicameral legislature of thirty-eight seats (thirty-two directly elected by universal adult suffrage, four chosen by elected MPs, and two officials); a prime minister and cabinet of five ministers responsible to the legislature; a Declaration of Fundamental Rights; and a House of Chiefs with consultative powers only.⁶⁸ At the election, in which 189,000 voters (out of the Bechuanaland population of 542,000) took part, Seretse Khama's Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP) won the absolute majority, gaining 28 of 31 seats. The

⁶⁶Ibid., p, 261.

⁶⁷Ibid., p, 261.

⁶⁸Ramsay Jeff, Morton Barry, Morton Fred (1996), *Historical Dictionary of Botswana African Historical Dictionaries, No. 73*, Scarecrow Press, p,50.

remaining three seats went to the People's Party.⁶⁹ With regard to this election result, the Botswana's first constitutional government was formed. Its old name had changed into new as Botswana.

On October 13, 1965, the British secretary of state for the colonies announced the British government's agreement to Bechuanaland's becoming independent as of September, 1966.⁷⁰ Again, on 30th 1965, it was made known that the British government called a constitutional conference to London for discussing a time-table for independence and it approved the new constitution which Bechuanaland legislative organs had drawn up and accepted. The constitution was adopted unanimously. On September 30, 1966, Bechuanaland became the independent state, its name also changed into 'Botswana'. At the independence celebration the Queen of England was presented by Princess Marina and British Resident Commissioner Norman Walker, who officially handed state power over to Seretse Khama.⁷¹ So the final constitution of independent Botswana was constituted.

2.3. Constitutional Institutions

2.3. 1. Background

Botswana has a parliamentary democratic system established when the country attained independence. For many years following independence, the country was among the very few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa which maintained a Westminster parliamentary type of the constitution, with a multi-party democratic framework entailing the holding of elections every five years. According to the constitution, it has also been characterized by a universal suffrage, a separation of powers between the three major organs of government, namely the executive, the legislature, the judiciary and the rule of law. The legislature, which comprises the National Assembly and the President, acting in consultation on tribal matters, with the House of Chiefs, is the

⁶⁹Endre Sik, (1974), *The History of Black Africa, volume, III*, Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, p, 262.

⁷⁰Ibid., p, 263.

⁷¹Ibid., p, 264.

supreme authority in the Republic. The functions and power of the system of the institutions are explained in the following paragraphs.

2.3 2. Executive

In the constitution of Botswana, the separation of power is implied but not expressly stated. The constitution of Botswana implicitly recognizes the separation of power by dealing with each organ in separate and distinct provisions. The Botswana model mixes the British parliamentary system with elements of the (United States) presidential system, but is much more similar to the British model with a number of unique features of its own'.⁷² The similarity between the Botswana and British systems is the mixing of executive and legislative powers.

Botswana operates a strong executive which is embedded in parliament and leads the governmental process. The executive draws its members from, and is accountable to, parliament through various institutionalized processes which have been used effectively to enforce accountability. Parliament has, for example, passed motions which have in turn led to the establishment of presidential commissions of inquiry into departments of the executive.⁷³

The executive branches consist of the President, the Vice President and the Cabinet and it is supported by the bureaucracy.⁷⁴ The cabinet headed by the President, which is responsible for initiating and directing national policy; the control of government ministries and departments, which are under ministers and are staffed by civil servants who implement government policy, and corporations which provide certain national services. The judiciary administers and interprets the law of the land and is independent of both the executive and legislative.

⁷²Maundeni, Dorothy Mpabanga, Adam Mfundisi, David Sebudubudu (2007), *Consolidating Democracy Governance in Southern Africa: Botswana*, EISA 14 Park Rd, Richmond Johannesburg South Africa, p, 11.

⁷³Ibid., p, 13-14.

⁷⁴Batlang Comma Serema, *Information and institution: the relationship between the Executive and Legislature in Botswana* p, 2. http://www.cais.acsi.ca/proceedings/2000/serema_2000.pdf

2.3.3. Presidency

The constitution of Botswana, the executive powers is vested with the President. The constitution of Botswana provides for a president who is both the head of state and government with strong executive powers.⁷⁵ The President of Botswana who is indirectly elected by a legislature whose members are directly elected every five years. There is a Parliament consisting of the President and the National Assembly and the House of Chiefs. The latter consists of traditional leaders.

In the exercise of the powers conferred on president by the constitution, unless otherwise provided, the President acts in his own deliberate judgment and shall not be obliged to follow the advice tendered by anybody⁷⁶. The President controls the key apparatus of the state such as the Army, Police, Broadcasting and Information, Directorate of Public Service management, Directorate of Corruption and Economic Crime, and Printing and Publishing.⁷⁷ The President not only appoints cabinet ministers but also chairs its proceedings.

The President is the personification of the State. In law, the President is head of the executive, commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic, and the President is also an integral part of the legislature.⁷⁸ The President has the power to dissolve Parliament, select or dismiss the Vice President, ministers and assistant ministers, and has the prerogative of mercy. In international affairs, the President as the Head of State has the power to declare war and sign peace treaties and to recognise foreign states and governments.

⁷⁵Molomo (2000), Democracy under siege: the Presidency and executive powers in Botswana, *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 14(1): p, 96.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p, 97.

⁷⁷Good (1997), "Realizing Democracy in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa", Africa Institute of South Africa, pp, 2-3.

⁷⁸Molomo (2000), Democracy under siege: the Presidency and executive powers in Botswana, *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 14(1): p, 96.

It can be summed up that the system is designed as the executive is strongly embedded in parliament and leads in the governmental system. As such, most of the country's legislation is initiated and driven by the executive, albeit through parliament. Thus, it is not that parliament fails to perform but that it acts through the leadership of the front bench or the executive. Botswana therefore has a strong constitutional executive which leads parliament from within. The power and functions of the president which had in the constitution were sometimes dominant exposes the executive to perceptions that it is corrupt or unaccountable.

2.3.4.Cabinet

In the Botswana constitution it provides that 'there shall be a Cabinet which shall consist of the President, Vice President and the ministers'. The vice president, whose office is also ministerial, the vice president is appointed by the president and deputizes in the absence of president.⁷⁹ The cabinet is responsible to the national assembly. The President appoints cabinet and can accept or reject its advice. Cabinet is legally bound to follow him, and those who strongly disagree have the option to resign. Thus, the President is authorized to differ with the seemingly consensus view of cabinet. Commonly, the President allows cabinet to decide. The secretary of the cabinet comes from the office of president.

Ministers are bound by the principle of collective responsibility and loyalty to the President. Section 50 of the constitution states that the cabinet shall be responsible to parliament for all things done by or under the authority of the President, Vice President or any minister in the execution of his office.⁸⁰ The cabinet scrutinizes the memorandums proposing new policies, or proposing policy reforms or change which was submitted by the principle of collective responsibility.

⁷⁹Ibid., p, 96

⁸⁰National Integrity Systems, "*Transparency International Country Study Report, Botswana*" (2006/7), accessed on 14th may 2009, www.Transparency.Org/Content/./NIS-Botswana-report-2007.pdf p, 11.

2.3.5. Legislature

The functions of Legislatures in democracies are distinguished from other political institutions, and it is an essential institutional component of all democracies. Legislatures are the institutional mechanism via which societies realize representative governance on a day-to-day basis. The legislature is the institutional arena where competing interests articulate and seek to advance their respective objectives in the policy-making process.

The supreme legislative authority in Botswana is Parliament, consisting of the President and the National Assembly, and where tribal and customary matters are involved Parliament is obliged to act in consultation with the House of Chiefs. The President is a member of the National Assembly and has the power to address, summon or dissolve it anytime. Normally the President addresses the National Assembly at the opening of a new Parliament every five years, or whenever there is an important national issue and at the end of the life of Parliament when he dissolves it to call a General Election which leads to a new Parliament.

2.3.6. The House of Chiefs

The House of Chiefs is an important political institution in the constitution of Botswana. A House of Chiefs was created as an institution which is purely advisory and it has no legislative powers. The house of chiefs was a chieftainship institution and related to traditional structure were retained in Botswana after independence and the chieftainship law provided the legal cornerstone for the recognition and functioning of the traditional institution. The House of Chiefs serves as a forum for the traditional leaders to make their contribution on matters of interest to them or their tribes. Kgotla is another forum where they could provide leadership to the community on matters

related to development policies or their implementation including aspects related to the traditions, customs, or challenges posed by the process of modernization.⁸¹

It has to be noted that during the colonial period, chiefs served in an advisory capacity through the so-called Native Advisory Council. Not all chiefs belonged to the National Advisory Council. Even today, not all chiefs are members of the House of Chiefs. According to the Act, paramount chiefs of all the “principal” tribes are members of the House of chiefs.⁸² The House of Chiefs consists of eight ex-officio members, four elected and three specially elected members. The ex-officio members are the substantive holders of the office of Chief of the Barolong, Bangwato, Balete, Batlokwa, Bakwena, Bakgatla, Bangwaketse and Batawana.⁸³

All the elected members are persons elected from among their own number by persons holding office of Sub-Chief in the Chobe, Francistown, Ghanzi and Kgalagadi districts. Specially members are elected by the ex-officio and elected members of the House from among people who have not been actively engaged in politics in the preceding five years.

The ex-officio members remain members of the House of Chiefs for as long as they continue to perform their chiefly functions. Membership of elected and specially elected members is renewed every five years following the dissolution of Parliament, which comes after every five years, while that of ex-officio members is more or less permanent in the House.

For the equal treatment of all tribes in Botswana, there was appointed a commission by the president in 2000, known as Balopi Commission. By this commission, the government has decided to change and enlarge the composition of the House. The title

⁸¹Keshav C., Community Empowerment and Social Inclusion Program (CESI), “*Role of Traditional Structures in Local Governance for local development: the case of Botswana*”, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/153055/Botswana.pdf>, p, 7.

⁸²Somolekae (1998), *Democracy, Civil Society and Governance in Africa: the Case of Botswana*, Botswana, p, 6.

⁸³Proctor (1968), The House of Chiefs and the Political Development of Botswana, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 6(1), p, 67.

‘kgosi’ is to replace ‘chief’ and the House of Chiefs given a new name: ‘Ntlo ya Dikgosi’.⁸⁴ So the role of the house of chiefs in the existing system could not be avoided. The support of the government for the institution was expressed by the President Festus Mogae: As the custodians of our culture, the chiefs have a role in ensuring that those positive aspects that have guided our destiny before can endure so that we too can pass a portion of our identity to humanity.⁸⁵

The meeting schedules of the house of chiefs are not fixed in particular time and place. It depends on time which has been determined by Chairman of the House. The House of Chiefs however sits whenever the Government or the National Assembly has referred a bill to it or whenever it has important business to transact, or at least once a year. A solution has been sought not only in at the level of local government which had linked with traditional but also at the level of national level where to advise the government and parliament. This body merits examination as a constructive effort to synthesize indigenous and imported institutions, and to accommodate the interest and demands of the hereditary rules and their more conservative subjects, who remain deeply rooted in the tribal structure, in a manner which is acceptable to the new elite and their supporters, who are eager to modernize quickly.

2.3.7. The National Assembly

The National Assembly is a representative body elected by universal adult suffrage and consists of men and women from all sections of society. There are 40 seats in the National Assembly (32 of them contested, four for specially elected members, two for the Attorney-General and the Speaker, and the other two recently created.) General Elections are held after a Parliament has been dissolved and a new one summoned by the President. If a vacancy occurs in the Assembly by reason of death or disqualification of a member, or a result of such other circumstances as may be

⁸⁴Keshav C., Community Empowerment and Social Inclusion Program (CESI), “*Role of Traditional Structures in Local Governance for local development: the case of Botswana*”, <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/153055/Botswana.pdf>, p, 25.

⁸⁵Ibid., p, 25.

prescribed by the Constitution or any Law or the Standing Orders of the Assembly, a by-election takes place.

2.3.8. The Judiciary

One of the most important political and legal conceptions in democratic governance is that of the rule of law. It has become a central focus of domestic and international efforts to promote good governance. Liberty implies the limitation of power by law and the one institution above all others essential to the preservation of the rule of law has always been and still is an honest, able, learned, and independent judiciary. Unlike the distribution of legislative and executive powers in the constitution of Botswana, the judicial system works very crucially in the democracy.

Botswana's legal system is based on Roman-Dutch law and customary law. Judicial review is limited to matters of interpretation. The judicial branch consists of Court of Appeal, High Court Magistrate Courts, Customary Court Commissioner, Customary Court of Appeal, and Customary Courts. The chief justice and the president of the Court of Appeal are appointed by the President of Botswana. The Botswana constitution provides to chief justice for an independent judiciary, the major function of which is to ensure that parliament and the executive conduct their work according to the dictates of the constitution and other laws of the country, to pronounce on the rights of the people and to settle intractable disputes between the parties.⁸⁶

The constitution therefore also empowers the judiciary to be a guarantor of freedoms, rights and properties of the people. The chief justice assures the Botswana of judiciary activism, observing that 'the courts are inclined to go into the substance of the complaint rather than be bogged down by procedures', and that 'the courts have

⁸⁶Maundeni, Dorothy Mpabanga, Adam Mfundisi, David Sebudubudu (2007), *Consolidating Democracy Governance in Southern Africa: Botswana*, EISA 14 Park Rd, Richmond Johannesburg South Africa, p, 19.

adopted an attitude that constitutional provisions granting rights should be interpreted generously and limitations to such rights be interpreted restrictively'.⁸⁷

Since independence the attempts have been made to integrate the two judicial systems. The Customary Law and Ascertainment Act of 1969 made it possible for all courts to apply either customary law or common law and enabled an individual to choose which type of court to hear his/her case. Confusion resulted. Thus in 1985 the Customary Court of Appeal was created to receive cases from customary courts, leaving the High Court to receive cases from magistrate courts and the Customary Court of Appeal.⁸⁸

2.3.9. Electoral Commission

After independence, Botswana had elections many times with the multi party system. The electoral commission had a crucial role for the functioning of democracy. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) of Botswana had been established by Section 65A of the Constitution.⁸⁹ According to the electoral commission, it had been conducting all the elections. The functions of the Commission, in terms of Section 65A (12), entail the conduct and supervision of elections, conduct of referendum, give instructions and directions to the Secretary of the Commission, ensure that elections are conducted efficiently, properly, freely and fairly, and to perform other functions as may be prescribed by an Act of Parliament.⁹⁰ The IEC does not issue a writ of elections; this is issued by the President, although it is not the best practice. The best practice is whereby an election date is fixed; which is currently not the case in Botswana.

The Commission is composed of seven members; a Chairman, who is a High Court judge; and a legal practitioner, both of whom are directly appointed by the Judicial Service Commission (JSC) and five other members, who are required to be fit,

⁸⁷Ibid., p, 20.

⁸⁸Ramsay Jeff, Morton Barry, Morton Fred (1996), *Historical Dictionary of Botswana African Historical Dictionaries, No. 73*, Scarecrow Press, p, 101.

⁸⁹National Integrity Systems, "*Transparency International Country Study Report, Botswana*" (2006/7), accessed on 14th may 2009, www.Transparency.Org/Content/./NIS-Botswana-report-2007.pdf p, 22.

⁹⁰Ibid., p,22.

impartial and proper, and are appointed by the JSC from a list of names recommended by the All- Party Conference in terms of Section 65A (1) of the Constitution of Botswana.⁹¹ The All- Party Conference is a loose and unique structure in Botswana's democratic process that brings all registered political parties together to promote inter-party dialogue and plays a part in the appointment of the IEC, that of recommending the names of persons to be appointed as commissioners of the IEC.

The last All-Party Conference was held in July 2004 to propose names of persons to be appointed as election commissioners. This meeting was riddled with controversy as it was boycotted by the main opposition parties. Nevertheless, Section 65A(2) gives the JSC the power to appoint election commissioners where the All-Party Conference fails to reach an agreement on all or any number of persons up to dissolution of parliament.⁹² Election Commissioners hold office for two successive lives of parliament. The election commission is one of the very important institutions in Botswana political system for the deliberation of democratic consolidation.

2.3.10. Conclusion

It can be sum up that Botswana's constitution had developed with the freedom struggle of country. The development of constitution has been from a very long time, it has also been with colonial politics. As a independent country, Botswana has established democracy with various constitutional institutions from the early time. Democratic institutions the country has developed with the colonial legacy. The political institutions had a much closer link with the traditional, tribal political system. But the colonial legacy has strongly influenced the system. However, all the constitutional institutions have been functioning well compared with any other country in the continent.

⁹¹Ibid., p,22.

⁹²Ibid., p,22.

The setting of constitution in Botswana was with the process of colonial politics. The Traditional tribal political institutions which rule by the village chiefs are becoming closer from time to time. The formation of the 'Native Advisory Councils' and the 'Joint Advisory Council' are the very important event for the development of constitution. These are leading to the way for establishing a new constitution under sovereign state to the people of Botswana. So it has established at the time of independence with many political institutions.

The Botswana constitution as a parliamentary for it has enough political institution for the functioning of democracy. With regard to the constitution, it has also been characterized by such as the separation of powers between the three major organs of government, namely the executive, the legislature, the judiciary and the rule of law.

The importance of the executive in Botswana was to operate within the parliamentary democracy. The Executive is accountable to parliament, and this has, resultantly, compelled the President to institute commissions of inquiry into suspected misconduct or wrongdoers. The Judiciary had played a crucial role for the maintaining the rule of law and respect human right, fundamental rights, good governance. The Electoral Commission is a very important institution for fulfillment of liberal democracy.

Chapter 3

The Role of Political Parties and Civil Societies

3. Defining Political Parties and Civil Societies

Political parties and civil societies are the key ingredients of the consolidations of democracy. Both the political parties and the civil societies are the organized group of people. Political parties are organized group for the functioning of government. 'The political parties' are political organization however 'the Civil Societies' are apolitical organizations. Civil society organizations and political parties are directly involved in the electoral process; the functioning of the legislature; the promotion and protection of human rights; anticorruption strategies; decentralization; and local governance system and governance in crisis and post-crisis situations.⁹³

Political parties and civil societies are an important vehicle responsible for articulating and aggregating the diverse demands of society. One of the key differences between these two, in the reason they are addressed separately here- is that political parties compete for political power and have the ability to directly translate these diverse demands into public policy if voted to power.⁹⁴ Where civil society organizations are often issue based, a political party must develop positions on a wide range of issues and approach those from its ideological standpoint. A vibrant multiparty system is also essential to the health of democratic governance because it ensures that positions are established ideologically and provides a series of platforms for action that citizen can accept or reject.

Civil Society is also considered to be the anchor of democracy. Civil Society is generally used as a descriptive concept to assess the balance between the state authority

⁹³Shabbir Cheema (2005), *Building of Democratic Institution: Reform in Developing Country*, Kumarian Press, Inc, p, 14.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p, 14.

and civil organized groups. The concept of civil society as noted is distinct from the state and can be said to 'name the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks-formed for the sake of family, faith, interest and ideology-that fills this space'⁹⁵. The attributes of the civil society are civil, political rights and associational autonomy.

From the previous chapters, we come to know that Botswana has strong political institutions for the functioning of democracy. Botswana is one of the countries in the African continent which has multi party system since independence. So, with regard to their constitutional institutional, the role and functions of political parties and civil societies can be discussed in the following.

3.1. Political Parties

Political party is a group of people that is organized for the purpose of winning government power, by electoral. It is the major organized principle of the modern politics and it is basic structure for delivering democracy. Political parties are the significant means and ways to manifest and express the demands and expectations of masses in a democracy. It has been bringing the major functions such as representation, the formation political leaders, the articulation, and aggregation of interest and organization of the government.

'A political party is an institution that (a) seeks influence in a state, often by attempting to occupy positions in government, and (b) usually consists of more than a single interest in the society and so to some degree attempts to aggregate interests.'⁹⁶ So the attribute political parties are to focus attention on the centrality of the state as the object of party activity. This had influenced government by recognizing the demands from the various sections of the society.

⁹⁵ Walzer (ed.) (1995), *Towards a Global Civil Society*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, p. 7.

⁹⁶ Kwame Boafo- Arthur (2003), *Political Parties and Democratic Sustainability in Ghana, 1992-2000*, in M.A. Mohamed Salih (ed.) Forwarded by Abdel Ghaffer M. Ahmed, *African Political Parties Evolution, Institutionalization and Governance*, p, 294.

Political parties are representing in the parliament. In Botswana, many political parties are representing and they select the president. In the 1999 election, 12 political parties contested but only three won representation in parliament. Similarly, in the 2004 election six parties contested and only three managed to send representatives to parliament.⁹⁷

3.1.2. Political Parties links to Civil Society

The political parties and civil society are both essential for a healthy democracy. Both groups perform similar functions in terms of mobilizing people around issues, but they also play distinct roles. Civil society may be best equipped to stir up popular momentum around a transition process or ensure a level of public accountability. Political parties have to carry out tasks such as policymaking and the aggregation of public interests within the institutional political framework.

The relationship between civil society and political parties differs depending on the national context—and this is something democratic governance programming needs to take into account. Some of the common variations include a weak civil society and a dominant political party, a weak civil society and weak political parties, a strong civil society and weak parties, and a strong civil society and strong parties.

When the balance between civil society and political party is right, there may be a certain amount of friction between them that constructively enhances democracy. The civil society assistance has made a presser to political parties for democracy. As the demand side of the political equation, civil society overwhelms the capacity of the supply the functioning of political system and delivery.

⁹⁷Maundeni, Dorothy Mpabanga, Adam Mfundisi, David Sebudubudu (2007), *Consolidating Democracy Governance in Southern Africa: Botswana*, EISA 14 Park Rd, Richmond Johannesburg South Africa, p, 15.

The role of the political parties and civil societies are significant in the process of democratic consolidation. These are the basic character of the liberal democracy. In 1990s, multi-party democracy grew up in southern Africa. Botswana was the single country in Africa which had multi-party system since its independence. Botswana adheres to the fundamentals of liberal democracy⁹⁸ so the political parties in this country are coming to a strong competition.

3.1.3. Political Parties and Governance

Political parties, as important instrument of democratic governance, are included in the assistance policies. It is accepted as an incontrovertible fact among most political observers. Political parties need not only financial support to build their organization, but also logical and technical support to become more effective politically and to play a more meaningful role in the organization of citizens' participation in the political process.⁹⁹ The responsibility of political parties to understanding governance is limited to the recruitment and selection of political elite. The interpretation focused more on the role of that political party have in formulation policy proposals as well as in the accountability of the party representatives.¹⁰⁰ So, the political parties can maintain the stability to the political at large.

The multiparty system also has enhanced the quality of democracy in a polity by increasing the choices before voters, augmenting the representation of different groups, and mitigating the likelihood of civil strife. It makes the political parties are in strong competition and more consolidating of democracy. The stability, in terms of the stability of parties roots in society, and competition, in terms of the number of parties, and their positive association with democracy.

⁹⁸Molombo (2003), "Political Parties and Democratic Governance in Botswana", in M.A. Mohamed Salih (ed.) forwarded by Abdel Ghaffer M. Ahmed, *African Political Parties Evolution, Institutionalization and Governance*, p, 294.

⁹⁹Wil Hout (2003), Political Parties and Governance, in M.A. Mohamed Salih (ed.) Forwarded by Abdel Ghaffer M. Ahmed, *African Political Parties Evolution, Institutionalization and Governance*, p,272.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p,272.

3.1.4. The Birth of Political Parties

A number of African nationalist movements were announced as political parties by themselves on the eve of independence. The political parties occupy the important place in the sentiments of the people of the nation. Political parties have engineered democratic consolidation in Botswana. Political Parties have increasingly become a prominent feature of political system, especially in the democratization process and democratic consolidation in Botswana. The formations of political parties were with nationalist movements in Botswana. Since the 1960s there was a rapid development of political organizations in Bechuanaland.

There had been established many political parties in Botswana; the Botswana Peoples Party (BPP) was first political party.¹⁰¹ However the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) had been successfully working since independence in the democratic government of Botswana. The free and fair elections were held in every five year. Political parties and civil societies have significant role in democratization in Botswana. Botswana can be considered as an established African democracy. Every elections since independence had been dominated by a one political party. So, the party systems of the whole nation were almost dominated by the Botswana Democratic Party till last election of 2000.

Regarding Botswana constitutional election, there were three political parties contested in the 1965 elections, and a fourth was born later that year. All four fielded candidates in the elections of 1969, 1974, and 1979¹⁰² onwards till today. When fully-fledged party politics finally arrived in Bechuanaland, the impetus came from outside and the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa on 21st March 1960, and the subsequent outlawing of the African National Congress (A.N.C.) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (P.A.C.), sent a stream of people and ideas northwards. Several of Botswana's party

¹⁰¹Seddon David with Daniel Seddon-Daines (2005), *A Political and Economic dictionary of Africa*, Routledge Taylor and Francis group, New York, London, p, 62.

¹⁰²Polhemus James (1983), Botswana Votes: Parties and Elections in an African Democracy, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 21:3, p. 399.

founders had links with South African movements.¹⁰³ The organization of political parties in Botswana has demonstrated that political parties are important in any political system as they aggregate the interests of citizens. As the constitution of Botswana provides for and guarantees freedom of association, citizens can freely choose any political party or movement that they believe can better represent their interests.¹⁰⁴ Indeed in the last few years Botswana has witnessed the mushrooming of political parties. This normally happens in the run up to general elections as politicking intensifies.

Here is trying to explore the political parties, their way of organization and the involvements in the democratization process. It has also been looking at the formation of political parties and its main functions to the political system. It discusses the structure of political parties, briefly covering the election of party presidents, and focusing on their powers and how the parties conduct their congresses. Some main political parties in Botswana which has been taking a crucial role are the Botswana People Party (BPP), Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), Botswana National Front (BNF) and the Botswana Congress Party (BCP). It can be explained in the following paragraphs.

3.1.5. Botswana People's Party (BPP)

Botswana People's Party was founded in 1960 as the first nationalist party in Bechuanaland.¹⁰⁵ This party had given the spirit to the people of Botswana for freedom struggle. It was intended 'to mobilise and organise the political consciousness of the people of Bechuanaland, channelize it and make it articulate', and 'to inculcate a sense of national unity and solidarity among the diverse and tribally divided inhabitants of Bechuanaland'. Penultimate of the B.P.P.'s 13 aims and objectives, stated so mildly as almost to escape notice, was the goal of independence: to endeavour diligently to raise

¹⁰³Ibid., p, 399.

¹⁰⁴Maundeni (ed.) (2005), *40 Years of Democracy in Botswana: 1966-2005*, Mmegi Publishing House, P/Bag Br 298, Gaborone, Botswana, p, 145.

¹⁰⁵Seddon David with Daniel Seddon-Daines (2005), *A Political and Economic dictionary of Africa*, Routledge Taylor and Francis group, New York, London, p, 62.

our country to an internationally recognised status of viable, autonomous and independent statehood, unitary or federal.¹⁰⁶

It had close links with the African National Congress in South Africa. The BPP soon split in two, with one section becoming the Botswana Independence Party and the other the more important Botswana People's Party. Today the BPP's president is Motlatsi Molapisi, its chairman Joseph Mogotle and its secretary-general Kopano Chingapane.¹⁰⁷

3.1.6. Botswana Democratic Party (BDP)

Botswana Democratic Party had been established under the leadership of the Seretse Khama drawn largely from cattle owning elite with the strong connection to the countryside.¹⁰⁸ The BDP emerged a year after the formation of the BPP, in 1961. What is of interest to us is why the founders of BDP formed it instead of joining hands with the BPP in an attempt to consolidate the nationalist struggle for emancipation from British colonialism. The BDP was certainly a response to the growing strength of the BPP and received much of its early support from among people in the Bechuanaland.

In Bechuanaland's first direct legislative elections held under universal adult suffrage, in 1965, the BDP won 28 out of the 31 seats and Seretse Khama became Prime Minister. Independence followed in September 1966, when Bechuanaland became the Republic of Botswana, with Khama as President. In the years following independence, the Bechuanaland Democratic Party, now renamed the BDP, was challenged by the BPP (particularly in urban areas) and by a new 'socialist' party, the Botswana National Front (BNF). The BDP has, however, retained power over the last 40 years. The BDP

¹⁰⁶Polhemus James (1983), Botswana Votes: Parties and Elections in an African Democracy, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 21:3, p, 400.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p, 400.

¹⁰⁸John L. and Jean Comaroff (1997), Postcolonial Politics and Discourses of Democracy in Southern Africa: An Anthropological Reflection on African Political Modernities, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 53(2), p, 136.

won in every election to the National Assembly, with little oppositions in 1969, 1974, and 1979 respectively.

While Seretse Khama died in July 1980, Dr. Quett Masire (later sir Ketumile Masire), the Vice-President and Finance Minister, was appointed to the presidency and following elections to the National Assembly in September 1984, at which the BDP also achieved a decisive victory. In 1989 National Assembly elections, the BDP, Ketumile Masire have also won. In 1990, among the opposition parties the BNP (Botswana National Front) and the BPP (Botswana People Party) formed an electoral alliance, agreeing to nominate a single candidate in each constituency at future elections. However, a claim by some BNP leaders' that the party had become a national liberation movement disrupted the harmony of the opposition coalition. In late 1991 the government dismissed some public sector workers who had taken strike action in support of the demands for wage increase.

In March 1992, Vice- President and some Ministers, resigned, having been implicated by the commission of inquiry in corruption scandal involving the illegal transfer of land. So, some uncertainty about the future of the BDP, but in the national assembly election of 1994, it got success by 53.1% of the vote. Numbers of amendments to the constitutions were adopted on August and September in 1997.¹⁰⁹ The term of the president is limited now in two terms of office, and provisions was made for automatic succession to the presidency of the vice-presidency, in the event of the death or resignation of the president. Further amendment, reforming aspects of electoral system, were endorsed in a national referendum on 5 September, including the reduction of the age of eligibility to the vote from 21 to 18 years and the establishment of an independent electoral commissions.

In November 1997 Masire announced that he would like to retire in the following March according to the amended constitution. The Vice-President Mogae was

¹⁰⁹Balefi, Tsie (1996), The Political Context of Botswana's Development Performance, *Journal of southern of Southern African Studies*, 22(4), p, 606.

inaugurated as president on 1st April in 1998 and following election of 1999, the BDP had succeeded. It has given an opportunity to Mogae for continuing as a president of country. The ruling government had established a constitutional commission in July 2000 to investigate allegation of discrimination against minority groups, including the Kalanga, Wayeyi and Basarwa. On the basis of recommendations of this Commission, on December 2001, the government presented a number of draft constitutional amendments. It has enlarged the number of seats of ministers and assistance ministers. So, in the whole political system and changes of system of Botswana are always with the BDP. This party is representing the democratization of Botswana.

3.1.7. Botswana Alliance Movement (BAM)

This Political grouping in Botswana, founded in 1998 as an alliance of three opposition parties—the Independence Freedom Party, the United Action Party and the Botswana People’s Party (BPP)—to contest the 1999 general election.¹¹⁰ The BPP withdrew from it in July 2000. The president of the alliance is Leperu Setshwaelo and its chairman is Motsamai Mpho.

3.1.8. Botswana Congress Party (BCP)

Botswana Congress Party was founded in 1998 following a split in the Botswana National Front.¹¹¹ This party was led by Michael Dingake from 1998 to 2001. The Botswana Congress Party is a social-democratic political party. In 2001, Otladisa Koosaletse became its leader. In 2005 Gilson Saleshando defeated Koosaletse to lead the party. Botswana Congress Party or BCP as is known is the third largest party in Botswana. It has two affiliate political movements; New Democratic Front and Social Democratic Party. At the last election, 30 October 2004, the party won 16.6% of the popular vote and 1 out of 57 seats. The sole BCP Member of Parliament is Dumelang Saleshando the son of the BCP president. Dumelang is also the BCP publicity secretary

¹¹⁰Seddon David with Daniel Seddon-Daines (2005), *A Political and Economic dictionary of Africa*, Ruotledge Taylor and Francis group, New York, London, p,75.

¹¹¹Ibid., p,79.

(Spokesperson). He is seen in Botswana politics as the most outspoken Member of Parliament in Botswana. It is often referred to as the fastest growing political party in Botswana.¹¹²

3.1.9. Botswana National Front (BNF)

Botswana National Front was founded in 1966. The BNF's president is Otsweletse Moupo and its chairman Klaas Motshidisi. The BNF was founded in 1965 in the soon-to-be-independent Botswana. The increased commercial exploitation of natural resources, especially a large diamond industry, provided the revenue needed to fund social welfare initiatives for the benefit of the population. Despite this booming economy, the ruling Botswana democratic party increasingly came to be challenged in the 1970's and 1980's by a loose BNF alliance between conservative tribal leaders, led by Bathoen Gaseitsiwe, and socialists, led by Kenneth Koma, concerned over the bourgeois policies of the government. The first time that the party had been represented nationally was in 1969 when they won three seats in the Ngwaketse region. In 1994, 13 BNF candidates were elected as members of the National Assembly. By 1994 the party had adopted the motto "Time for change". The electoral success and change of motto largely reflected the decreased standard of living, civil unrest and rising levels of AIDS in the country.

3.1.10. Others Political Parties

There are also many other political parties in Botswana which are not strong in political system. Such as the Botswana Independence Party (BIP), a splinter group from the first nationalist party in Bechuanaland, the Bechuanaland People's Party, founded in 1960. Botswana Labour Party (BLP) which was founded in 1989 and this party's president is Lenyaletse Koma. Botswana Progressive Union, Political party in Botswana founded in 1982. Its leader is G.Kaelo. Botswana Workers' Front, Political party in Botswana founded in 1993. Its leader is M.M.Akanyang. These political parties are existing as

¹¹²Ibid., p, 79.

party organization in the party system. Despite the fact that they are not so strong, these political parties are also taking an important role to the consolidating of democracy. So, it has been well known that the Botswana politics have a multi-party political system from the above discussion.

3.2. The Civil Society

The civil society can be regarded as organizational life that is voluntary, self-generating, self supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules. It consists of a vast array of organization, both formal and informal: interest groups, cultural and religious organizations, civil and development associations, issue-oriented movements, the mass media, research and educational institutions, and similar organizations. The difference between these groups and other groups is that they are concerned with and act in the public realm, relate to the state, and encompass and respect pluralism and diversity.

Civil society consists of individuals from different groups who are seeking change within a society. Through organizing themselves in various forms of protests they demand their rights. Civil society has proved to be powerful when a few societies have transformed from non-democratic into the democracies. Civil society, in the context of promoting democracy, can be in three ways.

“First is to explore the role of civil society role that plays a democratic consolidating, the reason being that even though frequently discussed in the literature on democratic consolidation, the role civil society remains unclear.

Second is the dynamics between civil society and other factors that shape democracy. Here the reason is the importance of questioning the extent to which unilinear models of explanation are helpful.

Third is the significance of ‘civil’ in society, the point being that the concept inevitably implies something normative and the need, therefore, to identify

attributes. Not all the associations are necessarily source for the growth of democratic values. Only those that in one way or another foster 'civic' values may have effects."¹¹³

Civil society is a keystone of democratic governance in that it can act as a galvanizing force for positive social change. Civil society and its organizations represent different voices, perspective, and values in a pluralistic society. A vibrant and active civil society is a critical element in human development, since it is the part of the society that connects with individual and public realm and state. Civil society can provide checks and balance on the government power, monitor social abuses, and offer opportunities for the people to develop their capacities.¹¹⁴ Today, there is a growing dichotomy between domestic and international system and governance in crisis and post crisis situation. In this sense, they are cross cutting and are, therefore, in examined politics in the sense that civil society is growing on a national level and, at the same time, clarifying its role through global issues such as environment, debt, human rights, crisis, and so on.

Civil society is as 'that texture of our lives with others which does not need governments to sustain it because it is created by grass-root initiatives'.¹¹⁵ Its central feature is association, which provides the necessary element of cohesion in civil society. The market (in the economic realm) and the public (in the political realm) are where the associations of civil society interact. Civil societies provide the deep structures where the constitution of liberty finds its anchor.

Civil society, as defined before, is the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks that fills this space. It enters explanations of democratization in terms of its relationships with state and class divisions. Democratization being stimulated by the growth and vitality of civil society is also a

¹¹³Caroline Boussard (2002), *Civil Society and Democratization Concept and Empirical Challenges in Ole Elgstrom and Goran Hyden (eds.) Development and Democracy, what we have learned and how?*, Routledge, London and New Yourk, p, 156.

¹¹⁴Shabbir Cheema (2005), *Building of Democratic Institution: Reform in Developing Country*, Kumarian Press, Inc, p, 14.

¹¹⁵Dahrendorg, Ralf (1997), *After 1989: Morals Revolution and Civil Society*, New York: St. Martin's press, p, 77.

constant theme in other contexts. Democratization in parts of Africa, Asia and the former eastern Europe and Soviet Union has been stimulated by the development of a proliferation of autonomous groups and social movements—students, women, trade unions, church groups, consumers, the environmentally concerned, tribals, farmers, lawyers and other professionals, and so on. Such growth of civil society frequently involves the mobilization of independent media which can bring pressure to bear on authoritarian states.

It is drawing attention to the point that a dense civil society is not necessarily pro-democratic. Important groups in civil society can be hostile to democracy. Furthermore, where an urban working class is weak, civil society provides a convenient means for maintaining the authority of dominant classes.

When democracy is read with the qualifying word liberal, two broad attributes of the state, and two broad aspects of civil society are considered to be its hallmarks. The attributes of the state are accountable to government and free/fair elections. The attributes of the civil society are civil/political rights and associational autonomy. These attributes are accepted to be the points of differences between liberal democracy and other types of political systems. A liberal democracy is a type of political regime in which binding rules and political decisions are made not by the entire community but by representatives accountable to the community.

3.2.1. Botswana Civil Society

The civil society in Botswana consists of a mixture of forces promoting and undermining the organizational structure of groups. All these organization groups are characterized by uncertainty. At the beginning, the civil society is weak and it has alternatively been characterized as inactive with minimal influence on public policy. Civil society in Botswana can be best described as moving from intermittent actively to institutionalized structure and this development is more advance in groups enjoying a geographic concentration of membership, permanent staff, regular circulation of

leadership, close association with similar organizations in neighboring states and minimal government regulation.¹¹⁶

Despite the weaknesses of civil society that the Botswana's civil society has been involved in the process of citizen control of government policy making. With political parties largely focused on ethnic concerns, civil society groups are a critical force in promoting issues for debate on the national agenda. In Botswana's case, social groups appear in a number of cases to be teaching politicians and civil servants the importance of debating policy issues in public.¹¹⁷ To be sure, they must go further and induce their members to see group interests as more important than ethnic concerns in elections, thus undermining the current ethnic basis of Botswana's party system. This will require that group leaders gain increasing control over the agenda setting process in partisan politics relative to that now enjoyed by party leaders.

Social groups can break down the isolation of bureaucratic policy makers from the public. The more effective groups in Botswana have actually begun to take policy research and analysis for new government programs outside of the bureaucracy. This allows groups which are going to be affected by a program or law to formulate the choices involved. With regard to implementation of government policies, civil society groups allow members added control over the delivery of government services in some cases. Most interesting is the connection with foreign aid. By becoming a channel for foreign aid contributions, civil society groups give international actors an opportunity to facilitate autonomous social organizations in either opposing or supporting government policies.¹¹⁸ At a minimum, this means foreign aid can help create a demonstration effect regarding the role of civil society groups in a democracy.

Civil society in Botswana had grown and developed such that by the end of 1999, consisted of approximately 150 indigenous NGOs, around 50 communities based

¹¹⁶John D. Patrick P. Molutsi, Gloria Somolekae,(1996) The Development of Civil Society in a Democratic State: The Botswana Model Source, *African Studies Review*, 39:2, p, 52.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p, 66.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p, 66

organizations, some 23 trade unions, and a handful of business associations.¹¹⁹ Generally the civil society organizations emerged in the 1980s, the private media in Botswana has generally played its watchdog role satisfactorily, and investigative journalism has in the past exposed corruption in government, mismanagement, human rights abuses and other miscarriages of justice.

The involvement of organized civil society in the democratization process in Botswana is emerging in crucial ways that 'exit', or disengaging from the formal sector, has not been an option for the non-partisan organized civic organizations. Engaging the state in a non-partisan manner has been a characteristic of all these organizations. All of them have actively promoted the interests of their constituencies and have engaged the state in order to achieve their goals of social development and political participation.

3.2.2. Civil Society (NGOs) in Policy Making

The NGOs are imposed in categorical imperatives for measuring the strength of civil society; it reviews the perceptions of the chief executives of civic organizations and their strategies for influencing public policy. The important information is revealed by focusing on their perception of the role of local NGOs, trade unions and human rights organizations in the Botswana setting dominated by the developmental state.¹²⁰ There are certain decisions that only civic organizations can make, thus, helping the government to overcome problems or continue policies that would benefit the nation.

Their common perception is that they help in the definition of the national interest, in the loosening up of the dominance of the developmental state over the policy process, and in compelling policies to be more accessible to those that they would otherwise not reach. The NGOs leaders perceive themselves as providing a moralizing voice that broadens governmental definition of the national interest, providing alternative policy

¹¹⁹Maundeni, Dorothy Mpabanga, Adam Mfundisi, David Sebudubudu (2007), *Consolidating Democracy Governance in Southern Africa: Botswana*, EISA 14 Park Rd, Richmond Johannesburg South Africa, p, 29.

¹²⁰Maundeni (2004), Mutual Criticism and State Society Interaction in Botswana, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42 (4), p, 623.

frameworks, and providing restricted pressures that encourage government to implement policies that its officials have little or no interest in pursuing.¹²¹ So the civil societies have given the pressure to the government indirectly.

There are many civil society organizations in Botswana that play a crucial role in social and democratic development. The participations of the civil organizations in the democratizing process of the society are less to compare with any other outside. However, the involvements of these organizations are weak but they have played a very important role in the process of democratizing the various sectors that constitute the Botswana society. Such organizations that can be functioning well in Botswana are Emang Basadi, Ditshwanelo, Botswana National Youth Council, trade unions and the Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organizations.¹²² The civil society organizations are engaging actively by promoting the interest of the people. The next section discusses the important civil society organizations in Botswana and their main role in the consolidation of democracy.

3.2.3. Media

The media has been a backbone to democratization. It provides a forum for public debate of issues and the necessary checks and balances on the activities of the government of the day. The media had delivered all the information regarding the society, the relation between state and society. It is obvious that, the press can not effectively carry out these functions if it is not free to do so.

The media in Botswana gets actively involved after the mid 1980s, the private media in Botswana did not play any significant role. The Botswana Guardian, 1983, Mmegi Wa Dikgang, in 1984 and the Gazette in 1985, others include the Midweek Sun, The Voice

¹²¹Ibib., p, 624.

¹²²Maundeni, Dorothy Mpabanga, Adam Mfundisi, David Sebudubudu (2007), *Consolidating Democracy Governance in Southern Africa: Botswana*, EISA 14 Park Rd, Richmond Johannesburg South Africa, p 26.

which are latest to appear in the Botswana media scene.¹²³ The constitution of Botswana provided no explicit protection for freedom of the press. . . The freedom of the press in Botswana is embraced under the freedom of expression . . . basically the freedom of expression relates to the right to hold questions, the right to be informed, the right to inform or to communicate interference (Article 12(2) of the constitution also provides limitations to these freedoms and these include interests of defense, public safety, public order, public morality, or public health, etc.).¹²⁴ So, the Botswana press has limitations from the Constitution of the land.

In spite of the limitations, they are the only bridge between state and society. The media provide a platform for political participation and accountability. It keeps political debates alive in a free, independent and critical manner between political parties and the electorate. Moreover, they are unable to utilize the private media due to unavailability of resources. The journalist has claimed openly, any issues coming from time to time. They complained about the National Security Act, Police Act, and The Presidential Privileges Act. And other problems are related to the internal problems of the media itself.¹²⁵ These have been identified as the crucial role and response of the media development of society and democratization of the existing system.

3.2.4. Women's NGOs

Among the groups that the state initially excluded and labeled are women's groups. There are basically two kinds of these groups in Botswana, the veteran old organizations such as the Young Women Christian Association (YWCA), or Botswana Council of Women.¹²⁶ These have been dealing with purely welfare matters for decades and they enjoyed a good relationship with the state.

¹²³Somolekae (1998), *Democracy, Civil Society and Governance in Africa: the Case Botswana*, p, 17.

¹²⁴Ibid., p, 17.

¹²⁵Ibid., p, 18.

¹²⁶Ibid., p; 11.

During the mid 1980s, radical women's groups entered the political scene. Examples here included Emang Basadi, and Metlhaetsile. From the onset, these organizations set out to challenge the state on policy issues. Emang Basadi was formed in 1984 to pressure the government to repeal all legislations which were discriminatory against women. At first, the reception was bad. Overtime, Emang Basadi together with other NGOs, began to network and push as a united front. When not much progress was being made, the groups under the leadership of Emang Basadi switched focus to a political agenda. The organization came up with a political education project to sensitize women about their political rights, encouraging them to vote for candidates who are committed to addressing the issues and concerns of women. This strategy seems to have worked.

Summing up what they considered to be gains in the 1994 elections, a newspaper editorial stated as follows:

*“There are 4 women in parliament, compared with 40 men, that is roughly 9 percent. In the last parliament there were two women against 38 men, and that was about 5 percent of the seats in the legislative body. On the face of it, the women's gains in parliament are modest, but in percentage terms the representation has increased by almost 100 percent. Not bad for an institution whose majority of members held women in contempt a mere five years ago. What is even more important is that the attitudes of decision-makers towards women are changing. In just 18 months women have succeeded in convincing their male counterparts that they have an equal right to our national heritage”.*¹²⁷

3.2.5. Trade Unions

Trade unions are one of the organized associations that have been internationally recognized as a civil society. They are 'membership' organizations that partly depend on membership dues to finance their activities. The most significant unionized sector has proved to be the teaching profession. The teachers unions, the Botswana Teachers

¹²⁷Ibid., p, 12.

Union (BTU) with 11 000 members, the Botswana Federation of Secondary Teachers (BOFESETE) with 3 000 members and the Botswana Primary Teachers association (BOPRITA) have flourished. While BOFESETE and BOPRITA represent the interests of secondary and primary teachers, respectively, BTU represents those of primary, secondary and tertiary teachers. The teaching establishment stands at 22 000.¹²⁸ This is a large constituency deserving two or three unions.

These organizations involved putting pressure on the policy of the government of Botswana. One of the instances of their active involvement was against the school categorization system. The replacement of the management of central employer for all teachers was against the rights of the teachers. This management has categorized the student in some categories and the head teachers are also not transferable between different categories of schools. The different categories of schools even determined the pay rates for the head teachers.

The BTU was opposed to a categorization system that brought divisions into the teaching fraternity. These were some of the central democratization issues that the teaching unions were sponsoring.¹²⁹ But it should be emphasized that all the teaching unions were able to maintain their non-partisan approach, although they also failed to form an umbrella body. The need for an umbrella body is evidenced by BOFESETE which has now joined BOCONGO. The BTU members help to improve the rights of the civil organizations and help them to participate with a strong in the national policy process and development of democratization.

3.2.6. Ditshwanelo

Ditshwanelo is a non-partisan and non-membership NGO that focuses on the protection of human rights. It does not rely on a large base of human rights activists in the manner that trade unions do with employees and has no membership to fund its activities. It is a

¹²⁸Maundeni (ed.) (2005), *40 Years of Democracy in Botswana: 1966-2005*, Mmegi Publishing House, P/Bag Br 298, Gaborone, Botswana, p,186.

¹²⁹Ibid., p,187.

small service NGO that seeks to protect the marginalized and the poor. This organization has been trying to bring up the weaker section of the society.

It distances itself from political parties and does not take any government funding even if it could be offered. It is a small and seriously under-resourced NGO that finds it extremely difficult to raise funds locally, as the local business community always wants to know the position of government on a particular issue before donating funds. But Ditshwanelo has played a central role in the democratization process in Botswana.

One of Ditshwanelo's biggest constituencies, and a central focus of the organization, has been the marginalized community of the Basarwa, or San, who faced eviction and forced removals from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR), their ancestral lands.¹³⁰ Ditshwanelo was also concerned about the human rights violations of the Basarwa in other areas as well as this organization campaigns on the death penalty.

Ditshwanelo has been calling the attention of public through the press. It also emphasized to the people living with HIV/AIDS and this has presented an additional constituency for it to work for and protect. Ditshwanelo organization has concerns that the Botswana government is still not committed to the protection of human rights. 'Ditshwanelo has not succeeded in bringing a different orientation in the thinking of government on issues of human rights. But this organization is always trying to move up the society, attracting the international organization and taking a crucial role in democratization of Botswana.

3.2.7. Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organizations

It is an organization which was formed by many NGOs organizations in 1995. The mother body came to be known as the Botswana Council of Non-Governmental Organizations (BOCONGO).¹³¹ It is a non-partisan council, consisting of over 70

¹³⁰Ibid., p,183.

¹³¹Ibid., p,187.

NGOs from various fields, such as youth, human rights, health, trade, environment, publishing and so on. BOCONGO's goals are to assist member NGOs through capacity building, networking and information dissemination, and policy advocacy.¹³² However, BOCONGO has no political empowerment programmes and does not mobilize resources for purposes of influencing voting in the general elections. This may be explained by the fact that the Botswana government funds half the salaries of BOCONGO's secretariat and donors such as the African Development Foundation, fund specific projects.

3.2.8. Conclusion

From the above discussion I can come to the conclusion that the political parties and civil societies of Botswana have a close link to bring up the society. All the Botswana Political parties have a strong competition with free and fair election. The political parties and civil society are the backbone for the democratic consolidation. Despite the weakness of civil societies in the early time after the independence, all the civil society organization in Botswana have developed and they have been taking a big role in democratization.

As we know that the political parties and civil societies are the organized group for functioning of government. These are the bridge between the civilian and political leader. In this chapter, it has also been discussing that the political parties, its role in governance. All the political parties are practically involved in decision making as a ruling party either or as an opposition's party. As a multi-party system in Botswana, there were some political parties at the time of independence. However in the 1990s there was growing many political parties.

The civil society is also a similar condition with the political parties; it has been supporting to deliver real democracy. There are so many civil society organizations has been grown up in 1990s such as the women NGOs, Ditshwanelo which is a non-

¹³²Ibid., p,187.

partisan and non-membership NGO that focuses on the protection of human rights, Trade Union etc. The NGOs has established the link with foreign countries and it makes more effective to government on the issues of civilian rights. The NGOs are becoming a channel for foreign aid contributions, it give international actors an opportunity to facilitate autonomous social organizations in either opposing or supporting government policies.

Chapter 4

Democratic Consolidation of Political System

4. Nature of Political System

This chapter discusses mainly on the democratic consolidation of the political system in Botswana after the independence. It emphasizes more on the working of the political system from 1990 onwards. From the previous chapters, it is clear that Botswana adopts parliamentary system. In the parliament there are two houses, one is the national assembly which has power to make laws and approve appropriation and taxes and its members are chosen by the popular elections and they select the president. And another is the house of chiefs which is the chieftainship institution and traditional structure retained in Botswana after independence and the chieftainship law provided the legal cornerstone for the recognition and functioning of the traditional institution.¹³³

The government structure differs from the Westminster model in that the executive power is vested to president,¹³⁴ the extensive Powers of appointment, removal and disciplinary control possessed by the president¹³⁵. Botswana has maintained a sustained record of democratic norms manifested by free political competition. In a region that recently underwent major political reforms of embracing multi-party politics, Botswana has been described as a flagship of democratic politics. It has held regular elections which by most accounts were "free and fair" and are taken as testimony that multi-party politics is entrenched.

¹³³Jophn D. (1988), Botswana: A Paternalistic Democracy, in Larry Diamond, Jauan J. Linz and Seymour M. Lipset, (eds.), *Democracy Developing Countries Africa, Volume Two*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, Adamantine Press Limited, London, England, p, 200.

¹³⁴Ibid., p,202.

¹³⁵Good (1997), *Realizing Democracy in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa*, Africa Institute of South Africa, p 3.

According to constitution of Botswana, the executive branch is the main institution for democratic consolidation in political system. It consists of the cabinet headed by the President, which is responsible for initiating and directing national policy; the control of government ministries and departments, which are under ministers and are staffed by civil servants who implement government policy, and corporations which provide certain national services. The judiciary administers and interprets the law of the land and is independent of both the executive and legislative.

4.1. Towards Democratic Consolidation (Political liberalization)

The consideration seems to be particularly dynamic and central in shaping Botswana's democracy: (1) the struggle between the BDP and bureaucratic states and (2) powerful decentralization tendencies in society.¹³⁶ These are mainly leading to the development and democratic consolidation in Botswana. There are also many factors which facilitated the practices of democracy growth. The ruling BDP elite has generally employed democratic practices in building its broad-based ruling coalition, which transcends tribal divisions, economic groupings, with the traditional Tswana consensus style of politics.

Consequently, the Botswana political system set in trend a number of changes which have come to characterize the political linearization process. The multiparty system is becoming more and more competitive. There is also an improving party leadership, and more clarity on separation of powers including the strong local government. In the parliament the national assembly and house of chiefs are playing vital roles, thereby strengthening the rule of law. And it also encourages openness in the media and public debates.

There is relatively wide agreement among leaders and opinions that the culture of democracy has matured in Botswana. Their contention is that Botswana is a mature and

¹³⁶Jophn D. (1988), Botswana: A Paternalistic Democracy, in Larry Diamond, Jauan J. Linz and Seymour M. Lipset, (eds.), *Democracy Developing Countries Africa, Volume Two*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, Adamantine Press Limited, London, England, p, 202.

stable democracy.¹³⁷ For example, President Mogae, observes that the 1965 parliamentary election was not the birth of democracy in Botswana, but its modernisation and maturation. The Botswana position has an open liberal democratic system that is responsive and accountable to its people's needs.

4.2. Strengthening Parliament

Strengthening parliaments is one of the challenges of sustaining and deepening democracy in Botswana as primary institutions of democratic governance. The progress has been made concerning representation of minorities and women in the parliaments, new constitution and procedures for the legislative oversight of the executive, and the emergence of multiparty system.¹³⁸ Yet, effectiveness of parliament – especially in new and restored democracies – continues to be constrained by the level of interface between parliamentarians and the constituents, their weak internal capacity and resource base, the historical legacy of executive control on the legislative branch, and weak oversight institutions. The relation between executive and legislature are co existence and more effective to policy making.

There are also many challenges which include the inability of political parties to perform the functions of political mobilization and representation of various groups, weak parliamentary committees and the absence of a culture of political tolerance. Future challenges to transform the role of parliament in the democratic process include strengthening their oversight capacity through increased budget authority and oversight committees, increasing capacity building support to sub national legislatures, enhancing in house parliamentary policy analysis and research service, and promoting regional network of parliamentarians to promote good practice and to share experience.

¹³⁷Maundeni, Dorothy Mpabanga, Adam Mfundisi, David Sebudubudu (2007), *Consolidating Democracy Governance in Southern Africa: Botswana*, EISA 14 Park Rd, Richmond Johannesburg South Africa, p, 8.

¹³⁸Shabbir Cheema (2005), *Building of Democratic Institution: Reform in Developing Country*, Kumarian Press, Inc, p, 14. p, 92.

In the Botswana parliament, a number of persons form part of both the legislative and executive branches. In addition, the president is also an ex-officio member of parliament, with the power to speak and vote in all parliamentary proceedings [section 57, 58 (1)].¹³⁹ Other principal officers of the executive, consisting of the vice president, ministers, and assistant ministers, are appointed by the president and are members of parliament [see section 39, and 42 (3)]¹⁴⁰

So all members of the executive are also members of parliament and furthermore, no statutory limits exist to restrict the number of ministers coming from parliament. The result is that 18 of the 61 MPs are also part of the executive.¹⁴¹ As a result, the Botswana executive is embedded in the parliament. The extent of executive influence over the legislative branch is particularly evident in the lawmaking process. It has been more effective to democratic consolidation.

4.3. Democratic Governance

Good governance as a concept can be understood in two ways. They are¹⁴² 1st the narrow administrative or managerial that a system of good governance in this limited administrative sense, therefore, would consist of a set of rules and institutions and a system of public administration which is open, transparent, efficient and accountable. Such a system provides a favorable environment for the private sector to play a leading role in development. And 2nd way in which the notion of good governance has been understood is that good governance means democratic governance. This meaning is much broader than the technical meaning. It combines the technical 'efficiency' and democratic politics

¹³⁹Maundeni, Dorothy Mpabanga, Adam Mfundisi, David Sebudubudu (2007), *Consolidating Democracy Governance in Southern Africa: Botswana*, EISA 14 Park Rd, Richmond Johannesburg South Africa, p, 11.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p, 11.

¹⁴¹Ibid., p, 11.

¹⁴²Somolekae (1998), *Democracy, Civil Society and Governance in Africa: the Case Botswana*, p, 13.

It has been explained that the governance associates and remarks on a ‘priority’ issue facing the third world nations and a prerequisite to sustain and sustainable growth and development, including poverty reduction. It is important that Botswana pursue and strengthen further the democratization process and enhance an institutional framework that ensures the rule of law, promotes a strong and participatory civil society, allows free and independent press, ensures the functioning of an independent, efficient and reliable judicial system and civil service and a strong partnership between government and the private sector, as well as non-governmental organizations and grass-roots organizations.¹⁴³

The framework of democratic governance based upon the premise that there are three essential dimensions that should be considered to studies that ‘the what’, ‘the how’, and ‘the why’: what makes up democratic governance (institutions, processes, and practices), how governance is democratic (key principle of democracy as a form of governance), and why governance becomes democratic (internal and external factors that influence the development and consolidation democracy).¹⁴⁴ The democratic governance is holding more on the potential to achieve the stability and prosperity of politics as well as it enhances values of human being. There are many advantages for the democratic governance to others.

To consolidate the democratization process and improve governance, further concrete steps need to be taken at the national level such as to function an institutional framework that assures wider participation in decision-making and implementing processes and facilitates the emergence of a strong viable and assertive civil society; promotes open dialogue with all groups, be they ethnic, religious or regional; intensifies the democratization process; and guarantees the rule of law, accountability and transparency of government.

¹⁴³Zoë Wilson (2006), *United Nations and democracy in Africa, labyrinths of legitimacy*, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group 270 Madison Avenue New York, NY 10016, p, 126.

¹⁴⁴Shabbir Cheema (2005), *Building of Democratic Institution: Reform in Developing Country*, Kumarian Press, Inc, p, 11.

Democratic governance has distinct advantages that first, democracies are better able to manage conflict and avoid violent political change because they provide opportunities for the people to participate in the political process of the country. Second, democracies are better able to avoid threats to human survival because of checks by the opposition parties, uncensored criticism of public policies, and the fear of being voted out of office. Third, democracies lead to greater awareness of social development concerns including health, primary health care and right of women and minorities.¹⁴⁵ Botswana political system has been the democratic governance with the strong constitutional institutions. Every citizen in Botswana is enjoying the civil and political rights in the existing system.

4.3.1. Presidency and the Executive Power

Constitution provides for a president that he is both head of state and government of strong executive power. The powers of the president are wide-ranging; they straddle all the arms of the government the executive, judiciary and legislature.¹⁴⁶ Manifesting his legislative powers, the president, as an ex-officio member of the parliament can take part in the deliberation of the house, as well as to vote.

All bills passed by the legislature need his assent in order to become law. Botswana has an established tradition of upholding the rule of law and non political interference in the operation of the legal system. However, as a chief executive of the nation, the president has immunity against the civil litigation whilst in office. The President also appoints the chief justice and judge of the high court and also has power of prerogative of mercy.¹⁴⁷ He has a capacity to make commission of inquiry and to decide whether they should be heard in public or in camera.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p, 8.

¹⁴⁶Molomo (2000), Democracy under siege: the Presidency and executive powers in Botswana, *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 14(1): p, 97.

¹⁴⁷Good (1997), *Realizing Democracy in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa*, Africa Institute of South Africa, p, 3.

4.3.2. Ketumile Masire and Mogae: Presidency from 1990s onwards

Ketumile Masire came to power as the second president in Botswana government. Ketumile Masire, the co-founder of BDP was coming again as a third term in 1989 and his term ended in 1998.¹⁴⁸ During his tenure of office, he was Chairman of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and Co-Chairperson of the Global Coalition for Africa. He also became the first Vice-Chairman of the Organization of African Unity in 1991. President Ketumile Masire's strength is more deeply based on the extensive cohesion that existed between the party's ruling elite, which he heads, and much of the Botswana electorate.¹⁴⁹ Ketumile Masire treats the question of his possible retirement with a lofty disdain. "I shall retire some day, when I am ready to do so", he told to a press conference. "I will resign when I will –period. We are running a competent administration. The best in Africa, if not in the developing world", he added.¹⁵⁰

During his presidency, there were many amendments adapted to constitution. The presidency was limited to two terms of office and provisions were made for the automatic succession to presidency of the vice president, in the event of the death or resignation of president. Further amendments, reforming aspects of electoral system and the reduction of the age of eligibility to vote from 21 to 18 years were endorsed and the establishment of electoral commission.¹⁵¹ He retired voluntarily in 1998.

Masire, Mogae came to power as a president and was inaugurated as president on 1st April in 1998¹⁵² and following election of 1999 onwards the BDP remains a dominant party under his presidency till now. It has given an opportunity to Mogae for continuing as a president of the country. The ruling government had established a constitutional

¹⁴⁸Christopher Sounders (2004), *Botswana Physical and Social Geography, Recent History, Africa South of Sahara*, 33th Edition, Europa Publications, Taylor & Francis Group, London, New York, p, 95.

¹⁴⁹Good (1997), *Realizing Democracy in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa*, Africa Institute of South Africa, p, 5.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p, 5.

¹⁵¹Christopher Sounders (2004), *Botswana Physical and Social Geography, Recent History, Africa South of Sahara*, 33th Edition, Europa Publications, Taylor & Francis Group, London, New York, p, 95.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, p, 96.

commission in July 2000 to investigate allegation of discrimination against minority groups, including the Kalanga, Wayeyi and Basarwa. On the basis of recommendations of this commission, on December 2001 the government presented a number of drafts constitutional amendments. It has enlarged the number of seats of ministers and assistance ministers. So the president has been taking the important role of the consolidation of democracy by accommodating wide sections of population.

4.3.3. Democratic Decentralization through Local Government

Epicer of democracy is the local council system. Decentralization including devolution of power and resource helps to strengthen the role and capacity of local authorities to become more responsive and accountable to concerns of local communities and groups. Local governance is about institutions, processes and mechanisms that are used to promote locally based decision-making and community participation.

The decentralization of Botswana political system has a strong democratic nature since long time. At the time of independence, BDP promised that it would transfer most the chief's authority at the local level to district councils directly elected by voters.¹⁵³ The local government system in Botswana consists of district councils, land boards, tribal authorities and district commissions, all of which are independent from each other.¹⁵⁴ However, local government is not a product of the constitution, and parliament has enacted laws aimed at reducing the employment and other powers of local authorities.

Local government has empowered the communities and their organizations to become equal partners in local governance and development process that are pro-poor, pro-gender, and environmentally sustainable. Urban areas present specific challenges and

¹⁵³John D. (1988), Botswana: A Paternalistic Democracy, in Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour M. Lipset, (eds.), *Democracy Developing Countries Africa, Volume Two*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, Adamantine Press Limited, London, England, p, 187.

¹⁵⁴Maudeni, Dorothy Mpabanga, Adam Mfundisi, David Sebudubudu (2007), *Consolidating Democracy Governance in Southern Africa: Botswana*, EISA 14 Park Rd, Richmond Johannesburg South Africa, p, 33.

require specific response in terms of providing for the needs and enhancing the opportunities of the urban poor. The importance of decentralization is that the value is in people-centered development and promotion of value of democracy and good governance.

Local government system has an ongoing relationship with the executive and legislative branches of government. Local government is a product of the law enacted by Parliament at the behest of the executive branch of government. Councils have to operate within the legal and policy framework set by the Central Government.¹⁵⁵ An agent-principal relationship is evident in the relations between the two tiers of government.

4.3.4. Elections and Parties

The freedom expression and freedom of organization, both are fundamentals of the strong democracy. Free, fair and regular elections continue as one pillar of democratic governance. Such elections confer and sustain political legitimacy because they reflect popular participation and choice in the political process. As such, they are an important first step in crafting government of, by and for the people. The free and fair with regular elections has provided losing parties and candidates with incentive to remain participants in the process. As a multi party system, many political parties participated in the elections after the independence in Botswana. The BPP and BNF challenged the BDP in the early times. BNP emerged as a new opposition political party among the parties in 1969 onwards. In the parliamentary election of 1989, the BDP strengthened its position by winning 31 out of 34 seats with 65% of all vote cast. BNF won only three seats with 27% votes.

The second president Ketumile Masire the co-founder of BDP was coming again as a third term in 1989. In 1990, among the opposition parties, the BNP (Botswana National

¹⁵⁵National Integrity Systems, “*Transparency International Country Study Report, Botswana*” (2006/7), accessed on 14th may 2009, www.Transparency.Org/Content/./NIS-Botswana-report-2007.pdf-P, 64.

Front) and the BPP (Botswana people party) formed an electoral alliance, agreeing to nominate a single candidate in each constituency at future elections. However, a claim by some BNP leaders' that the party had become a national liberation movement disrupted the harmony of the opposition coalition. In late 1991, the government dismissed some public sector workers who had taken strike in support of the demands for wage increase.

During the early 1990s, BDP has a uncertainty because of the internal party conflict and some corruption charges among the political leaders. Vice- President and some Ministers resigned having been implicated by the commission of inquiry in corruption scandal involving the illegal transfer of land. However the national assembly election of 1994, BDP has succeeded and it brings up future of party. By the Botswana constitutional amendments on August and September in 1997 have a many changes to power, functions and period of president.

In November 1997, Masire announced that he would like to retire in the following March according to the amended constitution. The Vice-President Mogae was selected as president in 1998. Mogae as president of BDP got the opportunity to continue as a president of country. The ruling government had established a constitutional commission in July 2000 to investigate allegation of discrimination against minority groups, including the Kalanga, Wayeyi and Basarwa. On the basis of recommendations of this commission, on December 2001 the government presented a number of drafts constitutional amendments. It has enlarged the number of seats of ministers and assistance ministers.

In 1990s the BNF became a stronger opposition and it got many seats in elections. But overall, the Botswana's opposition parties are becoming weaker because of the hostility among the political leader and split took place, for example in the BNF (Botswana National Front) in 2003, the new party NDF (New Democratic Front) was formed.¹⁵⁶ In September 2003, the BNF, the Botswana Alliance Movement and the Botswana People

¹⁵⁶Bertha Z Osei-Hwedie (2001), *The Political Opposition in Botswana the Politics of Factionalism and Fragmentation, Transformation*, p, 66.

Party announced the formation of an electoral alliance to contest the general elections of coming year. In the election of newly enlarged legislature, held on 30 October 2004, the BDP succeeded. It secured 44 seats, but it obtained a smaller share of vote 51.7% than the previous elections.¹⁵⁷ Most of the opposition party cannot come up to power.

After the absolute majority by the BDP in the election of 2004, the Botswana political systems remain as a one party dominant system. However, all the political parties have participated in the free and fair election. The functioning of the electoral system was institutionalized and there were no violence at the time of election.

4.3.5. People's (Citizen's) Participation in Politics

Citizen participation is one of the integral features of any well functioning liberal democracy. Some of the questions that this chapter explores are: What form does citizen participation take in the case of Botswana and what is the role of civil society in citizen participation? It should be noted that civil society in Botswana has alternatively been characterized as inactive with minimal influence on public policy and promoting dialogue with government after the independence.

Civil society, local organizations were almost relatively not existent in Botswana till the late 1980s, but it developed extraordinarily rapidly in size and influence in the 1990s'. Civil society in Botswana had grown and developed such that 'by the end of twentieth century, consisted of many organizations such as indigenous NGOs, community based organizations, trade unions, and a handful of business associations. There has been observe that since its emergence in the 1980s, the private media in Botswana has generally played its watchdog role satisfactorily, and investigative journalism has in the past exposed corruption in government, mismanagement, human rights abuses and other miscarriages of justice.

¹⁵⁷Christopher Sounders, Christopher Sounders (2004), Botswana Physical and Social Geography, Recent History, Africa South of Sahara, 33th Edition, Europa Publications, Taylor & Francis Group, London, New York, p, 95.

The BDP government has encouraged local communities to take initiatives in the development projects in many ways. Botswana government is trying to create a democratic structure when it promotes development at the community level.¹⁵⁸ Generally, the people Botswana have a strong traditional way for the participation in decision making. However in the contemporary political system of Botswana the people have participated through the local government.

4.3.6. Bureaucracy in the Political Process

Botswana's bureaucracy has been one of the most effective in Africa. As a World Bank team puts it in 1984, public sector management is performed in Botswana with commendable attention to detail, discipline and dedication by civil service. After the independence the bureaucracy system of Botswana developed itself. It is considered one of the most successful in Africa, if success is measured by the capacity of system to formulate and implement effectively strategies and programs for economic and social development.¹⁵⁹ The Botswana bureaucracy remains as an active advisory for the political process.

It inherited a relatively small civil service modeled along the line of British civil service. The civil servants in Botswana are not to be involved directly in the political process of policy making. The major principles inherited at the times of independence that the civil servants were autonomy, neutrality, and permanent career tenure.¹⁶⁰ The civil servant bureaucracy remains separate from the political parties therefore it has to be, by nature, permanent.

The bureaucracy and its relations with the political process can be in empirical studies. The interactions between civil servant and politician can be understood in the policy

¹⁵⁸John D. (1988), Botswana: A Paternalistic Democracy, in Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour M. Lipset, (eds.), *Democracy Developing Countries Africa, Volume Two*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, Adamantine Press Limited, London, England, p, 188.

¹⁵⁹Somolekae (1993), Bureaucracy and Democracy in Botswana: What Type of Relationship? In Stephen John Stedman ed. *The Botswana the Political Economy of Democratic Development*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder & London, p, 113.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p, 116.

making process. The bureaucracy as a class is both actors in the formulation of public policy and major beneficiaries of the policy they have helped to formulate.¹⁶¹ The top civil service initiates discussion of issues and, where it deems necessary, commissions' studies that lead to proposal. What normally follows are public debates in different ministries as each seeks its share of public expenditure pie and attempts to reorient the responsibilities of others. One of the policies which the bureaucracy is influential in initiating policy and determining its final content is the Self Help Housing Agency (SHAA).¹⁶²

4.3.7. International Factors in the Political Process

Botswana is the country which is getting the benefits and influences from the foreign countries in politics as well as in economy. The multiracial, multiparty democracy in context of racially trouble nation was viewed with considerable sympathy by the international community. Botswana politicians have succeeded in playing off various European interests against each other. One of the very important foreign influences is private capital with the exception of the Botswana meat commission, every enterprise of any significant size is owned wholly or in part by outside investors.¹⁶³ The political leaders took advantage to protect democracy from the foreign countries on the issue of apartheid in the southern Africa.

The assistance involved grants and low-interest loans, volunteers, and bilateral technical assistance personnel. And these assistances come into various areas such as education, economic planning, and development of administration. Economic growth and development are key ingredients of democracy. Botswana has been fortunate to be

¹⁶¹Ibid., p, 116.

¹⁶²Ibid., p, 117.

¹⁶³Jophn D. (1988), Botswana: A Paternalistic Democracy, in Larry Diamond, Jauan J. Linz and Seymour M. Lipset, (eds.), *Democracy Developing Countries Africa, Volume Two*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, Adamantine Press Limited , London, England, p, 201.

one of the leading recipients of both foreign financial assistance and private capital investment.¹⁶⁴ These are the basic foundation for supporting a strong economy.

The international financial institutions the World Bank, international monetary fund, and United Nations agencies such as UNDP, WHO, UNICEF, and FAO, have also continued to play a distinct role in the Botswana's economy and by implication in the democratic process.¹⁶⁵ The international assistance provided to Botswana has gone a long way in creating conditions for development of liberal politics and has helped to create various jobs. These improvements have enhanced the image and influence of the state and helped to legitimize it against the chiefs and opposition parties.

The foreign aid and foreign assistance in general have created conditions that guarantee the development of popular participation and sound local government machinery. By its nature the foreign assistance works closely with the bureaucracy. By collaborating with central government bureaucracy, foreign assistance and aid have developed the community's own self-help efforts. The political arms of the government, local program and other institution or organizations involved with development programs in the country.¹⁶⁶ So the development of political system and its working has been influenced by the international factors.

4.3.8. Ombudsman in Practice

The Office of ombudsman established by the Ombudsman Act No. 5 of 1995,¹⁶⁷ has been playing a crucial role in society as a political institution in the existing political system of Botswana. The office was set up after a series of complaints from the public about the bureaucratic manner in which the public service operated, particularly in service delivery. The responsibility of the Ombudsman is to implement and administer

¹⁶⁴Patrick p. Molutsi (1993), International Influence on Botswana's Democracy, in Stephen John Stedman ed. *The Botswana the Political Economy of Democratic Development*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder & London, p, 53.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p, 56.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p, 59.

¹⁶⁷National Integrity Systems, "Transparency International Country Study Report, Botswana" (2006/7), accessed on 14th may 2009, www.Transparency.Org/Content/..NIS-Botswana-report-2007.pdf p, 44.

the act with a view to preventing mal-administration in connection with the affairs of Government. He/she investigates any improper conduct by persons performing a public function and, where necessary, recommends action to be taken to remedy the situation.

The ombudsman office has a close relationship with other political institutions. It interacts mostly with the Ministry of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, Office of the President and Parliament.¹⁶⁸ The Ombudsman interacts with the President and Parliament when reporting its functions, recommendations and remedial actions for debate.

At the time performing functions it works together with the Directorate of Public Service Management for manpower and other organizational needs and the Botswana Productivity Centre, for productivity improvement needs. The Ombudsman is taking an important role against the corruption. It works closely with the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime, the Police department, Prisons, and the Vice President in terms of sharing information regarding cases under investigation as well as also link with international such as the African Ombudsman.

The Ombudsman is accountable to the President, National Assembly and the public. Accountability to Parliament stems from the requirement by law that the Ombudsman should submit to the President detailed annual reports regarding its roles, remedial action and recommendations for debate by Parliament. It has been to ensure transparency, accountability and to evaluate government ministries and departments' adherence to Ombudsman's remedial recommendations.

¹⁶⁸National Integrity Systems, "*Transparency International Country Study Report, Botswana*" (2006/7), accessed on 14th may 2009, www.Transparency.Org/Content/..NIS-Botswana-report-2007.pdf p, 46.

4.3.9. Transparency and National Development

Transparency refers to openness in the process of governance – in the election process, policy and decision making, implementation and evaluation, at all levels of government in central and local and in all branches of government such as executive, legislature and judiciary. It is broadly defined as public knowledge of the policies and actions of government, existing regulations and laws and how they may be accessed. It requires making the public account verifiable and official behaviour amenable to scrutiny.¹⁶⁹ In the political system of Botswana the reputation for transparency has been formalized through mechanisms such as the constitution and legislation requiring open government, accountability, and transparency.

According to constitution, it is cleared that responsibilities of the Office of the Auditor General, and Section 124 requires an annual audit of all public accounts, including the expenditures of those in office, the courts. The auditor general must submit reports to the minister of finance, who presents them to the National Assembly (if the minister fails in this responsibility, the auditor general must present the report to the Speaker of the Assembly).

In addition to extensive public accounting and transparency, the government passed a bill in 1994 that set up an anticorruption body with the powers to conduct investigations and make arrests.¹⁷⁰ Botswana's laws also establish civilian supervision over the police and a process, through an ombudsman, for civilians to lodge complaints regarding police abuse and other human rights violations.

Botswana's transparency has facilitated economic growth and improved its ratings with international lending institutions. The transparency in the system, it has been the root of national development. Generally, Botswana has had a close working relationship

¹⁶⁹The Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), (2001) *Governance democracy and development in Africa: a cultural approach*, <http://www.uneca.org/itca/governance/documents/goverdemoc&devculturalapproach.pdf>, p, 4.

¹⁷⁰Ibid, NIS, (2006/7), Botswana Report p, 25.

between elected politician and government economic technician both the citizens and foreigners. So the influence of the economic technician in government is remarkable amount of open debate both inside and outside parliament on the matter of economic planning and development policy.¹⁷¹ This has moved up the politician to economist in the development process.

Botswana has a number of institutions to drive the economy forward. It has been through these institutions such as the Ministry of Finance and Development planning, a powerful ministry, and service organization such as the Botswana development corporation, the financial assistance policy, citizen entrepreneurial development agency, the Botswana export development and economic crime, amongst others.¹⁷² These are taking a crucial role in Botswana for the national development.

4.3.10. Civilian Rights and Democratic Value in Practice

As a democratic system, Botswana government has a long experience on the issues of human rights. At a minimum level, these values that the freedom to run office, equality of franchise, freedom of press, speech and assembly, secret ballot, and rule by elected representative has successfully been delivered to masses. The government has always tried to protect these essential rights. The opposition parties regularly make serious charges against the BDPs rule: that neo-colonialist favour the rich, mis-manage various programs, and even that it rigs the elections (Holm, 1988: 193).¹⁷³ The class base phenomenon are almost ignored and it extends to mass politics. There are ethnic politics in Botswana that BDPs success rests on an effective use of class and ethnic factors but it is less compared with other countries in the continent.

¹⁷¹Stephen R. Lewis, Jr. (1993), Policymaking and Economic Performance: Botswana in Comparative Perspective in Stephen John Stedman ed. *The Botswana the Political Economy of Democratic Development*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder & London, p,19.

¹⁷²Pamela Mbabazi and Ian Taylor (2005), *the Potentiality of Developmental States in Africa Botswana and Uganda Compared*, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, p, 13.

¹⁷³Jophn D. (1988), Botswana: A Paternalistic Democracy, in Larry Diamond, Jauan J. Linz and Seymour M. Lipset, (eds.), *Democracy Developing Countries Africa, Volume Two*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, Adamantine Press Limited , London, England,p, 193.

Both the ruling and opposition parties make opposing class appeal and they are trying to move beyond ethnic bases. In the early times there were many limitations on the press and media. But according to constitution, it has been empowering, approved and the citizens can express their essential rights through it. In 1990s, the Botswana broadcasting was undergoing major changes. Media systems derive political roles and significance from the societies and reflect political cultures. The weak social group and weak mass media are usually found together. Extending public access to the political system helps strengthen democracy.¹⁷⁴ The right of the citizen and the democratic values in the political system of Botswana has practically reached through the above social and political system.

In spite of strong patriarchal traditional system of Botswana, the existing political system has accepted the minority rights such as women rights. In 1986, at the height of pressure from women throughout the world demanding equality on all fronts, a group of Botswana women started a movement to mobilize other women to demand that the Botswana legislature change the discriminatory laws.¹⁷⁵ In 1994 election, some of the women, they participated in parliament. The last parliament there were two women against 38 men, and that was about 5 percent of the seats in the legislative body.¹⁷⁶ So the participation of women in political system of Botswana is late but it becoming more and more. The civilian right and democratic value are protected by the Botswana government.

4.3.11. Economy as a Factor for success of Democracy

Most of the African countries have problems of economy. Democracy has suffered specially from the economic crisis and mismanagement. However BDP government has not only enjoyed the economic growth for many years but also has managed the economy in a right way. This opportunity makes a help to BDP as long party dominant

¹⁷⁴Zaffiro James (2000), Broadcasting Reform and Democratization in Botswana, *Africa Today*, 47(1), p, 88.

¹⁷⁵Agnes Ngoma Leslie (2006), Social Movement and *Democracy in Africa the Impact of Women's Struggle for Equal Rights in Botswana*, Routledge, New York& London, p, xv.

¹⁷⁶Somolekae (1998), *Democracy, Civil Society and Governance in Africa: the Case of Botswana*, Botswana, p, 13.

government. Since the independence, the Gross National Product (GNP) has increased in real terms at an average of 11 percent per annum.¹⁷⁷

In early 1980s, Botswana had very developed the economy. Botswana had a per capita national income of just 1,600 dollars compared to 100 dollars in 1968 and in a decade and a half, this nation has moved from being one of the poorest countries in Africa to one of the richest.¹⁷⁸ The ruling BDP government has maintained tight and effective control over this growth process. This economy's growth has really help to a great changes and expansion of government programs. From this opportunity, the government activity has touched all the sectors of the society and development expenditure has gone up into basic infrastructure.

The relationships between 'the development of democracy' and 'the economy' have a very closed. The expansion of policy and program of the government is depends on the condition of the economy. The basic necessities of infrastructures of development of a nation such as transportation and communication, public utilities can be well maintained only at the time of economic development. So the stable government is very depends on the economy of the nation.

4.3.12. Political Succession

One of the fundamental attribute of the political success is the existence of popularly elected leadership that is honest, accountable and provides the needs of the citizens of the nation. The Botswana government has been satisfactory on criteria of open and accountable leadership. Democratization in Botswana continues to consolidate, all the political parties are nurturing and institutionalized. Botswana has been a functioning liberal democracy since independence; the ruling government has pursued policies which has fostered a relatively high degree of social and economic development.

¹⁷⁷Jophn D. (1988), Botswana: A Paternalistic Democracy, in Larry Diamond, Jauan J. Linz and Seymour M. Lipset, (eds.), *Democracy Developing Countries Africa, Volume Two*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado, Adamantine Press Limited, London, England, p, 197.

¹⁷⁸Stephen John Stedman (1993), Introduction, in Stephen John Stedman ed. *The Botswana the Political Economy of Democratic Development*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder & London, p,1.

The developmental path has been unproblematic and in fact has engendered equalities in the country. The overall characters of democratic practice in Botswana have a good qualitative to compare with many of its neighbours. The political system of Botswana covers the political representation and accountability, citizen participation, local governance, and economic management and corporate governance.

4.3.13. Conclusion

The overall political system in Botswana has been a success. The picture that emerges from this chapter is concerning the development and consolidating of Botswana's democracy. As we know that the developments of the working of this political system are with the strong constitutional institution. All the system has free and fairly functioning. Every each of the institutions have periodically elected without any restriction.

This country has no political violence, and there is evidence that a culture of political tolerance has taken root. The major electoral reforms have been undertaken. These include the formation of the Independent Electoral Commission, lowering of the voting age and the introduction of the absentee ballot system. There have been concerted efforts by government to respond to the wishes of the traditionally marginalized groups such as the women. The private media continues to grow and be vigilant in its watchdog role.

As we can say that the Botswana has successful Democratic governance. The parliaments of Botswana are more strengthening and the political institutions such as the local government well established, people have participated the decision making through it. The ombudsman policy has successfully working. This ombudsman has been to accountability the transparency and to evaluate government ministries and departments' adherence to remedial recommendations.

The transparencies open in the process of governance. There are free from the corruption at all levels of government in central and local and in all branches of government such as executive, legislature and judiciary. The existed political systems of Botswana have protected the values of human rights and democratic value is practically delivered to the people. In this chapter, it has also been describing that the role of the economy in the political development and consolidating of democracy. There are very close link between the economy and democracy. Well economy can help to stable of government.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Botswana is one of the countries in the southern Africa which has been witnessing political development since long time. I have discussed in the previous chapters that the strong institutions, political parties, civil society play a significant role in building democracy in the country. Botswana had been adopting and experiencing democratic practices with liberal, constitutional polity since independence. The democracy has entrenched deeply in the country and has attained relative maturity.

As a framework for the study, I began with the understanding of democratization and its concepts. In the theoretical approaches, I applied the three theoretical approaches such as 'the modernization', 'the transition' and 'structural'. The present work focuses importantly on the constitutional and political development and its consolidation to democracy. This work also gives equal attention to interaction between elite action and mass influence.

These overall comprise the subcomponents of the present work including the institutional and structural study of the political system. The political parties and civil societies play an important role in the political system and help consolidate democracy in the country. On the political front, Botswana has been a functioning liberal democracy with a one party dominance since independence. The Botswana Democratic Party has pursued policies which have fostered a relatively high degree of social and economic development in Botswana.

The political parties and civil society perform similar functions in terms of mobilizing people around issues, but they played different roles and functions. The civil society and the political parties are best equipped to stir up and ensure a level of public

accountability. They carry out tasks such as policymaking and the aggregation of public interests within the institutional political framework.

The process of democratization in Botswana such as establishment of political culture, problem of simultaneity i.e. simultaneous creation of a (liberal) democratic political system and economic transformation, question of stateness, role of elites, political institutions, the party system and the civil society (with special focus on NGOs, Women organizations, the media and labour and trade unions) have been selectively treated in various chapters of this dissertation. All of these factors play a key role in the process of democratization.

Regarding the group or leaders who initiate and control the transition, we can say that the role played by the political elite has been substantial in initiating the changes in Botswana. There are also official attempts to consolidate democracy in the country. The Constitutional Assembly was organized and prepared on the way to establishing a strong political system. The constitution making became an instrument in the struggle between the reformers and nationalist of the political parties.

The setting of Constitution provides for many strong institutions for the democracy. Concerning the political institutions (form of government), the 1966 Botswana Constitution creates a strong presidency with executive power. This Constitution provides authoritative power to the president. In the beginning, the Constitution also provides some traditional tribal political institution which had a strong power to village chiefs. In Botswana, the presidency was strengthened to create a strong executive role in the implementation of reforms. However the power, function and period of president in the Constitution have been amended later. So, the President's authoritative power had been minimized and made it towards a democratic way.

I also argue that the Botswana Constitution has a strong political institution. In the early period, there was a traditional chieftainship system however it really worked on the democratic form of governance. The Constitution of Botswana implicitly recognizes

the separation power by dealing with each organ in separate and distinct provisions. The Botswana model mixes the British parliamentary system with elements of the (United States) presidential system, but is much more similar to the British model with a number of unique features of its own.

In this research, I analyzed the consolidation of democratic governance in Botswana. This is an important part of the study on consolidating democratic governance in Southern Africa. This research gives extensive coverage of political representation and accountability, citizen participation, local governance, and economic management and corporate governance in Botswana, arguing that democratic governance is being consolidated in Botswana, although there are limitations such as the some authoritative power of the President. There are also the Botswana civil societies which have been weak since a long time. However, in 1990s most of the civil society organizations are becoming stronger and they are taking a crucial role in the democratic consolidation.

The picture that emerges from this work concerning the development and sustainability of Botswana's democracy is different from other country. It has not witnessed any military coup since the independence. Botswana has seen real positive developments that have the potential of promoting the sustainability of the democratic system.

The Election Commission of Botswana had performed very well and there have been free and fair elections and no violence at the time of election. The country has been peaceful and there is evidence that a culture of political tolerance has taken root. Major electoral reforms have been undertaken. These include the formation of the Independent Electoral Commission, lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18, and the introduction of the absentee ballot system.

There have been concerted efforts by government to respond to the wishes of the traditionally marginalized groups, particularly women. Discriminatory pieces of legislation have been amended; there are more women in cabinet today than at any point in the country's history, and Botswana has finally acceded to calls from the

women's movement to ratify international conventions outlawing gender based discrimination.

Political parties have come to play a very important role in their contribution to democratization and democratic consolidation. There is a lack of democratic experience in opposition parties, such as mobilization and recruitment. In the late twentieth century and beginning of twenty-first century, the opposition parties have no power. So, the Botswana Democratic Party got more opportunity to establish a one party dominant system. Ketumile's own attitude against political parties and his constitutional designs acted as positive factors, which put this important institution at a subsidiary rank. During these time government find stability and has developed. They hold the key for protecting the contour of Botswana democracy. People have accepted these organizations as the legitimate bodies, which could work for their welfare.

The civil society organizations in Botswana were weak after independence. However in 1990s, it became strong and played an important part in democratization. The NGOs and the private media continue to grow and to be vigilant in its watchdog role. Today there are two private radio stations, and about seven newspapers. This obviously enhances the semi nation of a variety of ideas and opinions, not just the official view that is what the state media provides.

From the analysis of the above variables, we can conclude that Botswana's transition is free and fair, non-violent process, its consolidation seems to be a one of the best in southern Africa. Though the existing political system has many problems, which act as obstacles to the consolidation of democracy, democratization has successful.

These are the features, which I have used as criteria in measuring progress of democracy in Botswana. Thus, a democratic policy is one with the following features:

The Botswana government is responsive and participatory to popular will. It appreciates the fact that it is there to serve the people, and thus has to be responsive and

sensitive to their views on issues of major concern to them. By and large, the regime should make all attempts to ensure that people have an input in whatever decisions are made.

The ruling government of Botswana has preferred the rights of the citizens. These rights and freedoms have to be enshrined in the constitution and such a constitution has to be respected by the regime. All the sections of the society, specially, the civil societies have to have the space and freedom (i.e. legal and political space), to exist and to organize freely without fear of discrimination. So, democratic systems in Botswana have been in practice.

The rule of law has to prevail. The decisions of the courts have to be respected even in situations where they have decided against the state. The period that have been provided by the constitution to ensure election that no one, can or will decide otherwise. The free and fair election held periodically, the will of the people should form the basis to govern. Elections are one important mechanism through which this will is expressed in a democracy.

Even though the opposition parties in Botswana are weak, they have presented a viable and effective opposition. In the process of democratization, the Botswana opposition parties play a crucial role. A free independent press must be part and parcel of any democracy. Otherwise the checks and balances necessary within such a system will be lacking and where they are lacking, corruption becomes the order of the day, and human rights get trampled upon.

The structure of governance in the chieftaincy institution itself contains large elements of checks and balances on arbitrary use of monarchical power. Traditional values of consensus building, consensual and consultative rule, communality, inclusiveness, humanism, transparency and accountability resonate as cardinal tenets of modern good governance. The only difference may be that the socio-political contexts in which these

values were nurtured in Africa have grown in complexity and heterogeneity with the modern nation state.

In the past one and a half decades, Botswana has introduced a new layer of institutions, known as watchdog institutions, whose main function is to safeguard democracy, promote transparency and guard against corruption. Among these are the Independent Electoral Commission, the Ombudsman and the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime. The work also examines the state of democracy in Botswana in the context of the southern African region and the broader post-1990 democratization process in less developed countries. The question is whether, given the years of democratic development, Botswana is more democratic than her newly-democratizing neighbours.

I also argued that Botswana operates a strong executive which is embedded in parliament and leads the governmental process. The executive draws its members from, and is accountable to, parliament through various institutionalized processes which have been used effectively to enforce accountability. Parliament has, for example, passed motions which have in turn led to the establishment of presidential commissions of inquiry into departments of the executive.

The constitution of Botswana empowers the judiciary to uphold constitutional rights and liberties of individuals, to protect property, and to review the actions of the executive and parliament for compliance with the constitution. The judiciary has played that role competently, exercising the rule of precedence to legislate. Such judiciary actions limit the purported authoritarianism of the presidency.

However, while the judiciary has actively intervened to correct executive and legislative action, it has disqualified itself from ruling against discriminatory sections of the constitution, asserting that the legislative role lies with parliament. Thus, Botswana has entrenched parliamentary democracy by ensuring executive accountability, but it has not been able to substantially increase gender representation

or to amend the constitution to be tribally neutral and to accommodate marginalized groups.

The establishment of local government in Botswana was a noble idea, initially accompanied with district-based employment. Since the traditional local system, Botswana had a rich democratic culture which was ruled by the village chief. Local government has empowered the communities and their organizations to become equal partners in local governance and development process that are pro-poor, pro-gender, and environmentally sustainable. Urban areas present specific challenges and require specific response in terms of providing for the needs and enhancing the opportunities of the urban poor. The important of decentralization is that the value is in people-centered development and promotion of value of democracy and good governance.

From the above analysis we can verify the hypotheses of this research that the democracy in Botswana has consolidated. The opposition parties are weak and they are performing weakly in the democratization process. However, comparing with other neighbouring countries they have been better and in ways contribute to the whole democratic consolidation in Botswana.

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