



Promoting Credible Elections and  
Democratic Governance in Africa

# ELECTION UPDATE 2004

## BOTSWANA

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### Introduction

Botswana has now been independent for more than 38 years, with one party at the helm – the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). Elections are held every five years in this land-locked, diamond-rich and peaceful state and they are always declared free and fair. The 30 October 2004 general elections in Botswana were no exception.

For purposes of this update on the aftermath of the elections, we start by speaking to the

executive secretary of the Independent Electoral Commission of Botswana (IEC), Mr Gabriel Seeletso.

In an interview in his office and a week after having a week-long meeting with the Independent Electoral Commission of Botswana; Seeletso has expressed complete satisfaction with the performance of his staff and the Commission in correctly and competently conducting the 2004 general elections.

The Independent Electoral Commission was established by

Section 65A of the Constitution of Botswana in 1997 (see Constitution Amendment Act No.18 of 1997); which also provides for the composition of the Commission.

The Commission consists of a chairperson (Justice Judge John. Mosojane), deputy chairman (Private Attorney Omphemetsee Motumisi), and five other members appointed by the Judicial Service Commission from a list of persons recommended by the All Party Conference.

As stipulated in Section 65A, the chairperson of the Commission is a judge of the High Court and the deputy chairperson, a legal practitioner. Both chairperson and the deputy chairperson are appointed by the Judicial Service Commission.

Section 66 of the Constitution provides for the appointment of the Secretary of the Independent Electoral Commission who shall be the Chief Executive Officer. The Secretary is appointed by the President and responsible for:

- management and administration of the Commission
- implementation of the decisions of the Commission
- supervision of the registration of voters
- conduct of Presidential and National Assembly elections
- conduct of elections to local authorities, namely; councils.

The Secretary is assisted by such staff as the Commission may appoint. The Commission is an autonomous, non-partisan body whose primary purpose is to conduct free, fair and correct elections efficiently and effectively in accordance with the best electoral principles and practices. Section 65A of the Constitution of Botswana also defines the functions of the Commission as follows:

- to conduct and supervise elections of the elected members of the National Assembly and members of a Local Authority.
- to conduct a Referendum

- to ensure that elections are conducted efficiently, properly, freely and fairly.
- to give instructions and directives to the Secretary of the Commission in regard to the exercise of his functions under the Constitution and Electoral Laws generally
- to perform such other functions as Parliament may by law prescribe.

The Commission stands dissolved at the last dissolution of every two successive lives of Parliament or ten years.

### Free and Fair Elections

Missions directly and indirectly representing the Commonwealth, EISA, the European Parliament, the European Union, and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum presented their preliminary findings soon after the October 30 poll.

All of them applauded the professionalism of polling station staff, a secure and transparent voting process, although some of them commented negatively on the balanced coverage of election campaigns in the public media and the fact that the winner-take-all or first past the post electoral system used in Botswana tends to favour the ruling party over the opposition political parties.

### How the International Press Saw the October Poll

*Africa's longest-running multi-party democracy notched up another success last week when Botswana's voters gave the ruling Botswana Democratic Party 44 of parliament's 57*

*seats in a general election. Sworn back into office with the endorsement of MPs, the country's president, Festus Mogae, will keep his job until 2008. He has promised, again, to fight poverty and Botswana's worst scourge, AIDS... - **The Economist** (UK)*

*Botswana has just held its elections that, as expected, were won in a landslide by the ruling Botswana Democratic Party, which has reigned in the diamond-rich country since independence in 1966. The poll has been declared free and fair. After the results were made known, there were no rumblings of discontent, no marching in the streets by disgruntled voters, no burning of effigies, no calls for a recount, and no threats of a coup d'etat. In other words, it was mature democracy at work. - **The Star** (South Africa)*

*The U.S. is unable to do what countries like Botswana, a southern African nation of 1.6 million people, are capable of doing: delivering election results within a day. 'Americans and the rest of us will be surprised that a country that sent a man to the moon 30 years ago can't give us the results of an election on the same day,' said Klas Eklund, chief economist at SEB AB, the third-biggest Nordic bank by assets in Stockholm and a former adviser to the Swedish government. On Oct. 30, the ruling party in Botswana was re-elected, winning 44 out of 57 parliamentary seats in a country where average income is less than 10 percent of the U.S.*

*The opposition accepted the results that evening. Observers at the Stockholm-based*

*International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance [IDEA] said the election was fair... 'There are three basic good practices for an election: a national system of voting, clear rules that are decided in advance, and an honest broker to decide disputes,' said Therese Pearce Laanela, senior program officer at IDEA, who has advised governments in 14 nations on how to set up an electoral system. 'Botswana follows them. What's so surprising is that the U.S. still doesn't. - Bloomberg (USA)*

### **Election Results and New Government**

Final election returns confirmed that the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) had won 44 seats, the opposition Botswana National Front (BNF) 12 seats, with one seat going to the opposition Botswana Congress Party (BCP).

Mogae was declared President-elect by the returning officer of the presidential elections, Chief Justice Julian Nganunu, just before midnight on Sunday 31 October and after his party assured him of a presidential victory by polling more than 50 percent of the parliamentary vote by that time.

The other presidential candidates, who themselves performed dismally in their own parliamentary seats, were Botswana National Front leader Otswelsetse Moupo (whose party went to the polls under an electoral pact with the Botswana Alliance Movement and the Botswana People's Party), Otladisa Koosalese and leader of the Botswana

Congress Party and Dick Bayford, who leads the newly founded New Democratic Front.

According to Section 32 of the Botswana Constitution, the Chief Justice should declare one of the four presidential candidates the winner as soon as his party wins more than half of the 57 seats available in Parliament. Four of the seats are Constitutionally provided for as specially elected by Parliament after it seats for the first time.

Parliamentarians met early in November to specially elect four additional Members. During the voting, the President's nominees - Mrs. Moggie Mbaakanyi, Mrs. Margaret Nasha, Prof. Sheila Tlou, and Mr. Botsalo Ntuane - were all elected with the firm support of the BDP Parliamentary Caucus.

Anticipated highlights during the following week included the convening of the First Session of the Ninth Parliament, whose immediate business included the swearing in of new members, election of a new Speaker, endorsement of the President's nominee for Vice President, (once more, Lt. General Seretse Khama Ian Khama), and the President's delivery of the state of the nation address.

In his address, President Mogae called on the newly elected political leadership to seriously take up its responsibility of meeting the public's expectations with reference to the major challenges facing the nation.

The new Cabinet was named the following week, so that the Executive and Legislative branches of government could, without delay, move collectively forward in fulfilling their public mandates.

### **New Cabinet**

On the morning of 9 November 2004, President Mogae announced his new Cabinet, with the exception of the new Assistant Minister of Finance, who was only sworn in on 11 November. The final and full membership of the new Cabinet is therefore:

#### **Minister of Finance and Development Planning**

Mr. Baledzi Gaolathe with Mr. Duncan Mlazier as Assistant Minister.

#### **Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation**

Lt. Gen. Mompoti Merafhe  
**Minister of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism**

Mr. Onkokame Kitso Mokaila  
**Minister of Communications, Science and Technology**

Mrs. Pelonomi Venson  
**Minister of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration**

Mr. Phandu T.C. Skelemeni  
Minister of Trade and Industry  
Mr. Daniel Neo Moroka

#### **Minister of Minerals Resources and Water Affairs**

Mr. Mbiganyi Charles Tibone  
**Minister of Lands and Housing**  
Mr. Ramadeluka Dikgakgamatso  
Seretse

#### **Minister of Local Government**

Dr. Margaret Nasha with Mr. Ambrose Masalila as Assistant Minister

#### **Minister of Education**

Mr. Jacob Nkate with Mrs. Moggie Mbaakanyi as Assistant Minister  
Minister of Health

Prof. Sheila Tlou

#### **Minister of Works and Transport**

Mrs. Lesego Motsumi with Mr. Frank J. Ramsden as Assistant Minister

#### **Minister of Labour and Home Affairs**

Maj. Gen. Moeng R. Pheto with Mr. Olifant Mfa as Assistant Minister

#### **Minister of Agriculture**

Mr. Jonnie Keemenao Swartz with Mr. Peter L. Siele as Assistant Minister

The above twenty Ministers and Assistant Ministers include ten new members to the Cabinet. Five of the members, 25%, are women.

### Botswana Election Audit

In an interview aimed at discussing the key findings and recommendations emerging from the audit of the 2004 elections, commissioned by the IEC soon after the October elections, Seeletso reiterated that the IEC Commissioners and his office were satisfied with the performance of the IEC since there were no complaints or challenges made over the 57 parliamentary seats contested and only five petitions were received out of the 490 local government seats. He said this shows that the IEC performed comparatively well given the low number of petitions filed with the High Court of Botswana and that none of the challenges were for a parliamentary polls.

By the time the last election results were announced on 1 November 2004 and two days after the national poll, Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) had 80 percent of the seats in Parliament, after capturing 44 seats out of the 57 constituencies. Overall however, the ruling party only polled 52 percent of the popular vote, with 48 percent of the electorate voting for the opposition. The parliamentary results by constituency, candidate and results per party are provided in the **Table 1** below.

Therefore, if the number of votes cast translated into seats, then the BDP would only have 30 seats in the 57-seat National Assembly, with 27 going to the combined opposition parties. Parliamentary

seats were increased from 44 to 61 before the 2004 general elections.

In turning to the discussions held during workshops and other meetings as part of the audit, the IEC executive secretary revealed that the IEC would have liked to conduct the audit two to three weeks before the elections and soon after the elections but this did not take place because the Swedish-based International IDEA, took a while to identify the appropriate consultant to head the election audit.

He said International IDEA finally settled for the former head of the political desk of the Commonwealth Secretariat, who is based in London, to conduct the audit. Although the report is yet to be released, it is expected to come up with many useful recommendations and has been found to be such a useful exercise (Botswana did a similar audit after the 1999 general elections – when the IEC was conduction national elections for the first time after it was established in 1997 and following a Constitutional amendment), that International IDEA has recommended that election audits be adopted as part of electoral best practice in the region.

The audit of the 30 October national elections was expected to assess the state of preparedness and performance of the IEC; identify the weaknesses in the system and serious challenges, which should be taken into consideration when the IEC prepares for and eventually conducts the 2009 general elections.

According to Seeletso, the IEC and the audit consultant organised two workshops in the north and south of the country, which were open to all interested stakeholders in the political and electoral process in Botswana. Other comments or interactions were made possible through the private and public media. In addition, election local and regional election observers and monitors and various polling officers – especially returning officers – were extensively interviewed by the consultant and his staff.

Mr Seeletso promised that the report of the audit would be shared widely with the local media, civil society, political parties, and the Botswana government and as many interested parties as possible. He said a national stakeholders' workshop will be called to discuss the audit report and seriously look into the recommendations it is making with the intention of improving election management and conduct in Botswana. This would then be forwarded to government for consideration.

For Seeletso, forwarding any strong recommendations to government would have to be viewed against the background that some of them would have serious financial and legal – or even Constitutional – implications for the nation. The intention of the IEC therefore, will be to ensure that critical recommendations reach the legislature and the executive arm of government, particularly the financial people, as early as possible.

Some of the issues raised during the audit workshops by various stakeholders and during

debates of the state-of-the-nation address in Parliament, especially by opposition politicians and their supporters were as follows:

- The independence of the IEC proved to be the topmost discomfort of most opposition political parties – especially the fact that the executive secretary was appointed by the President, who is himself an interested party as his political party was contesting the elections that are supposed to be independently, fairly and freely conducted by the executive secretary he appoints and can dismiss. Political parties also take issue with the fact that since the government in power funds the IEC, the latter cannot be expected to be totally independent.

Seeletso countered this by saying that this is a weak argument because once opposition MPs are in Parliament, their emoluments and sitting allowances are paid by the government, but this does not mean that they are not independent of the ruling party that they oppose in Parliament and outside. He also said when the IEC needs money, it approaches Parliament and therefore, the money is coming from the nation as a whole by implication and not from one particular party. He therefore, believes that the opposition should draw a line between the government and the BDP.

He admits however, that he sympathises with the view on the appointment of the chief executive of the IEC Secretariat and that maybe, the procedure for the

appointment of the executive secretary of the IEC should be reviewed in order to remove any shadow of doubt on his/her integrity. In his view, maybe this should be the task of the IEC itself, as is done in some countries in the region, where the appointment of the person is sponsored by an independent party. Seeletso maintains that he has always been independent and fair in his dealings with all political parties and that in all the years he was in office, there has not been any direct or indirect interference of the executive arm of government in the conduct of his duties. Therefore, as far as he is concerned, this is just a perception on the part of the opposition, which they cannot back with any factual evidence.

Seeletso does admit in the final analysis that maybe the process of the appointment of the IEC executive secretary should be reviewed in order to remove this perception in the minds of the opposition. He feels that there is still much education needed for the opposition to really understand the independence question as it relates to the IEC and its functionaries.

- The use of public officers as polling and returning officers (especially district officers) also does not look good in the eyes of opposition parties.

This fact surprised Seeletso because at no time were these officers found wanting in their conduct of the elections. He feels they have always been

diligent and fair. Besides which he queries where the country would get the right people for the job if not civil servants who have always been accountable to the nation as a whole and irrespective of which party is in power?

Seeletso revealed that in the last elections, his office needed 12,000 officers to conduct the elections. If these were not to be drawn from the civil service, it will be too expensive for the country to hire all these people, and at different levels of responsibility, for the sole purpose of conducting elections every five years and an occasional by-election. So if public servants are not used, unemployed people who are inexperienced and not accountable to anyone should be brought in large numbers at every election. These people's accountability cannot be relied on, argued Seeletso, since they will also be members of the various political parties contesting the election.

Seeletso also found this issue unacceptable since the Public Service Act, which governs the employment and conduct of public servants, prohibits civil servants from participation in active party politics. Therefore, to promote fairness and impartiality, the IEC can only rely on them and not bus people in whenever an election takes place. He therefore, sees civil servants as an important human resource already available and paid for by the nation to do its work.

- The use of vehicles owned by the government, local authorities, Land Boards, etc., has also raised the ire of opposition parties.

Seeletso, who says his office needed many vehicles to service the 2,178 polling stations in the last election, also finds this to be a ridiculously expensive thing to do was government and the IEC agree. What would be done with the many vehicles after the elections?

Seeletso maintains that the IEC, like everyone, must be accountable to the nation and not allow wasteful use of public resources. He sees these vehicles and other state property, as public goods that are doing a public service the nation needs.

- Funding of political parties so as to ensure that the playing fields are level at election time. This is an issue that has been raised by other stakeholders such as academics and the civil society and not by opposition political parties alone.

Seeletso said he does not have any comment to make on this since it does not have any bearing on the ability of the IEC to mount free and fair elections.

- The announcement of election results also came up during the audit: the question being, at what point are they official?

Seeletso clarified that the person and time at which the results are announced is when they are automatically official. He said, as they were announced by returning officers from where they did it, the results were official, up to the time the last results were announced on 1 November 2004.

- That the President alone determines the polling day also angers the opposition parties, who feel that this important part of the electoral process should not be left solely to the President since he will ensure that his party is ready and geared for the election before he announces the date.

Seeletso feels that although this could be left to the IEC to decide, the IEC has been working against the Constitutional provision that, the polling date is determined by the expiry date of the last government. This is in turn determined by the date of the first meeting of Parliament after the elections and the Constitution of a new government. For planning purposes therefore, the IEC has been using the birthday of the last Parliament to advise the President to call elections any time closest to the end of the life of the last Parliament. He admits however, that in order to remove any shadow of doubt on the part of the IEC, Parliament and the nation should have the polling date for each election prescribed in the Botswana Constitution but it is this kind of issue that should be left to the legislature to correct.

- That the country should do away with the practice of especially-elected Members of Parliament and nominated councillors. The four Members of Parliament are specially elected by Parliament after their names have been submitted by all parties in Parliament. The BDP however, invariably uses its majority in Parliament to elect in its own

nominees and leaves out those nominated by opposition parties. Councillors are directly and solely nominated into council by the Minister of Local Government, Margaret Nasha, who herself was a specially-elected MP after she lost a Gaborone Central parliamentary seat to the solitary BCP MP, Dumelang Saleshando.

Although this raised the ire of senior party members and several BDP MPs, Nasha did nominate some councillors from the opposition parties but she also offended many by nominating very few women councillors, especially capable ones. For example, she angered the MP for Kgatlang East, Rakwadi Modipane, after she nominated opposition council candidates in the constituency and left out her own party's people. She also nominated three men and only one woman even though very few women were able to enter into most parliamentary and council seats through the ballot box. MP Modipane doubted whether in the Kgatlang East sub-district council, the only nominated woman councillor would add value because of what Modipane called "her shortcomings". The woman concerned was until her nomination, employed as a cleaner at the police offices in Mochudi, a fact Modipane said was also belittling more capable women who were overlooked by another female Cabinet minister.

This year's specially-elected MPs also include Professor Sheila Tlou (who has since been made Minister of Health and was Nursing Education

Professor at the University of Botswana), Moggie Mbaakanyi (previously a nominated councillor and businesswoman and has also been made Assistant Minister of Education after losing to the opposition MP for Lobatse, Nehemiah Modubule) and Botsalo Ntuane (formerly Executive Secretary of the BDP and did not stand for any electoral office like Professor Tlou before his nomination).

Most critics of nominated councillors and specially-elected MPs as provided for in the Constitution, have over the years accused the BDP of abusing this by rewarding their losing candidates in the elections and thus not adding value to Parliament or local councils by selecting people who have been rejected by the

electorate or who have shortcomings as illustrated in the case of Kgatleng East district council cited above.

The spirit of or idea behind this clause in the Botswana Constitution according to various Constitutional lawyers and political scientists, was to take into the wings of council and Parliament, capable people who did not enter through the poll but would add value by bringing special skills or experience and to serve a special section of the population (for example people with disabilities or minority tribes).

The government of Botswana and the IEC would do well to attend to the issues raised since some of the political critics such as Mike Dingake, former

BCP President, are actually so critical of these various aspects of the Botswana electoral system that he and others feel that they are being used by the BDP to sustain its perpetual rule against the backdrop of dwindling popular support for the ruling party with every passing election.

### Election Results

There were 552,890 registered voters who were expected to have cast their ballots in the parliamentary and local government elections at all of 2,179 polling stations countrywide. This was Botswana's ninth national elections since independence from Britain in 1966.

The complete results are summarised below and were sourced from the IEC of Botswana.

**Table 1. Parliamentary Candidates Results**

CONSTITUENCY	CANDIDATE'S NAME	PARTY	RESULTS
<b>1 CHOBE</b>	Gibson M.R. Nshimwe	BCP	2,225
	Duncan Mlazier	BDP	2,650
	Albert Sachillemu Chamba	BNF	331
<b>2 MAUN EAST</b>	Wetsho R. Makgetho	BAM	2,513
	Frank Jack Ramsden	BDP	4,261
	Michael Wright	BCP	1,392
<b>3 MAUN WEST</b>	Lethogile Modumo Sethoko	BAM	1,691
	Osimilwe Otsile Ditsheko	BCP	969
	Ronald Ronnie Ridge	BDP	3,371
<b>4 NGAMI</b>	Taolo Goyamang Habano	BAM	3,922
	Geoffrey Retuura Ketjimambo	BCP	2,361
	Jacob Dickie Nkate	BDP	5,291

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<b>5 OKAVANGO</b>	Sakuze Otukeseng	BAM	581
	Joseph P. Kavindama	BCP	3,774
	Vistor M. Moruti	BDP	4,025
<b>6 TATI EAST</b>	Samson Moyo Guma	BDP	3,644
	Milidzani Letsholathebe	BCP	225
	Motlatsi Mbanga	BPP	1,984
<b>7 TATI WEST</b>	Albert Mosojane	BCP	358
	Mbiganyi Charles Tibone	BDP	4,322
	Richard Amos Gudu	BPP	2,829
<b>8 FRANCISTOWN EAST</b>	Morgan C. M. Moseki	BCP	1,419
	Phandu T.C. Skelemani	BDP	3,255
	Kumbulani William	BPP	869
<b>9 FRANCISTOWN WEST</b>	Whyte B. Marobela	BCP	1,539
	Tshelang Masisi	BDP	3,526
	Bernard M. Balikani	BPP	1,509
<b>10 FRANCISTOWN SOUTH</b>	Matlhomola Modise	BAM	779
	Khumo T. Maoto	BDP	2,843
	Vain Mamela	BCP	2,653
<b>11 NATA / GWETA</b>	Tosa Budulala	BAM	875
	Olifant Mfa	BDP	2,988
	Alphons Seisa	BCP	768
<b>12 NKANGE</b>	Gideon Kaelo	BAM	1,355
	Batisani Simon Maswibilili	BCP	3,176
	Ambrose Masalila	BDP	4,246
<b>13 TONOTA NORTH</b>	Habaudi Hobona	BCP	1,394
	Baledzi Gaolathe	BDP	4,444
	Boitshwarelo Chepete	BPP	695
<b>14 TONOTA SOUTH</b>	Pono Pearson Moatlhodi	BDP	4,417
	Michael Kelebogile Mzwinila	BNF	1,253
<b>15 BOBIRWA</b>	Taolo Boipuso Lucas	BCP	3,756
	Shaw Kgathi	BDP	4,258

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<b>16 MMADINARE</b>	Christopher R. Motsholapheko	BCP	1,137
	Ponatshego H. Kedikilwe	BDP	4,158
<b>17 SELIBE PHIKWE EAST</b>	Nzwaligwa Nzwaligwa	BCP	2,478
	Nonofu Ezekiel Molefhi	BDP	2,629
	Calistus Poela Keotswetse	BNF	1,231
	Boiki Gaseitsewe	IND	59
<b>18 SELIBE PHIKWE WEST</b>	Gilson Saleshando	BCP	2,802
	Kavis Kario	BDP	3,100
	Otsweletse Moupo	BNF	1,489
<b>19 TSWAPONG NORTH</b>	Bonang E. Mafoko	BCP	1,298
	Thebe D. Mogami	BDP	5,579
	Zachariah P. Kgwadi	BNF	956
<b>20 PALAPYE</b>	James Mpho Olesitse	BCP	2,303
	Lephimotswe B. Sebetela	BDP	3,863
	Lebitsa Gabatsotswe Lere	BNF	724
<b>21 TSWAPONG SOUTH</b>	Gobotswang Kesitegile	BCP	1,980
	Menyatso Obonetse	BNF	869
	Oreeditse Sola Molebatsi	BDP	5,005
<b>22 MAHALAPYE EAST</b>	Dr Wame Boitumelo	BNF	1,836
	Botlogile Tshireletso	BDP	3,979
<b>23 MAHALAPYE WEST</b>	Thomas Ookeditse	BCP	975
	Mompati S. Merafhe	BDP	5,429
	Abigail M Mogalakwe	BNF	1,664
<b>24 SHOSHONG</b>	Gobopang Duke Lefhoko	BDP	3,391
	Patrick Malakaila	BNF	1,850
	Gontlelela Tsogo Mokongwa	BCP	380
<b>25 SEROWE NORTH EAST</b>	Lesedi Seabelo Tshekane	BCP	600
	Dikgakgamatso Seretse	BDP	5,871
	Gothatamang Motubudi	BNF	465
<b>26 SEROWE NORTH WEST</b>	Lt. Gen. Seretse Khama Ian Khama	BDP	un-opposed

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<b>27 SEROWE SOUTH</b>	Morwadi Adrienne Morwadi	BCP	430
	Moses Mozila	BNF	1,066
	Pelonomi Venson	BDP	6,228
<b>28 BOTETI NORTH</b>	Elijah Motsamai	BCP	528
	Slumber Tsogwane	BDP	3,870
	Lebonetse Bolokang	BNF	2,587
<b>29 BOTETI SOUTH</b>	Tjilinga Letsholo	BCP	885
	Lebonamang T. Mokalake	BDP	2,944
	Albert K. Mabelenga	BNF	1,204
<b>30 KGATLENG EAST</b>	Steven S. Makhura	BCP	2,907
	Isaac Jacob Davids	BDP	3,575
	Isaac Steven Mabiletsa	BNF	5,066
<b>31 KGATLENG WEST</b>	Motsei Madisa	BCP	2,294
	Rakwadi John Modipane	BDP	3,943
	Jerry Olefile Rasetshwane	BNF	3,758
	Letlotlo Phalane Kopong	NDF	267
<b>32 GABORONE CENTRAL</b>	Margaret Nasha	BDP	2,901
	Kathleen Mosidinyane Letshabo	BNF	1,917
	Dumelang Saleshando	BCP	2,992
	Violet Nkuna Mophuting	NDF	89
<b>33 GABORONE NORTH</b>	Keletso Joseph Rakhudu	BDP	2,480
	Patrick Ookeditse Kgwadi	BNF	2,030
	Moncho Moncho	BCP	1,567
	Sekgophi John Bogatsu	NDF	156
<b>34 GABORONE SOUTH</b>	Pelotelele Tlhaodi	BDP	1,981
	Akanyang Magama	BNF	2,414
	Rex Ndzinge	BCP	268
	Dick Bayford	NDF	969
	Dithapelo Kgangkenna	MELS	14
<b>35 GABORONE WEST NORTH</b>	Limited Quite Nkani	BDP	3,315

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	Paul Mmolotsi Rantao	BNF	3,936
	Othaile Mabaila	BCP	1,281
	Phillip Monowe	NDF	180
	Motlalepula Joina	MELS	19
<b>36 GABORONE WEST SOUTH</b>	Odirile Motlhale	BDP	2,153
	Robert K. Molefhabangwe	BNF	3,611
	Abby Buti Chengeta	BCP	712
	Benny Mogodi	NDF	44
<b>37 SOUTH EAST NORTH SOUTH</b>	John Mokgalagadi	BCP	902
	Shirley Itumeleng Tiny Segokgo	BDP	2,470
	Olebile M. Gaborone	BNF	3,243
<b>38 SOUTH EAST SOUTH</b>	Linus Shaka Dikhudu	BCP	2,723
	Lesego Ethel Motsumi	BDP	3,769
	Ephraim Lepeto Setshwaelo	BNF	2,640
<b>39 MOGODITSHANE</b>	Mokgweetsi Kgosipula	BCP	1,538
	Patrick Masimolole	BDP	2,375
	Keetla Masogo	BNF	2,111
	Themba Joina	MELS	27
<b>40 KWENENG SOUTH EAST</b>	Edward Mmoloki Raletobana	BDP	3,528
	Jerry Phale Moremi	BCP	1,133
	Brendan Rankgomo	BNF	2,032
<b>41 KWENENG SOUTH</b>	Gladys K. Theresa Kokorwe	BDP	4,658
	Duke Molelekeledi	BCP	1,253
	Kopano M. Rannatshe	BNF	3,551
<b>42 MOLEPOLOLE NORTH</b>	Gaotlhaetse U. Matlhabaphiri	BDP	4,370
	Mohammed I. Khan	BNF	3,912
<b>43 MOLEPOLOLE SOUTH</b>	Ray A. M. Moremong	BCP	159
	Daniel K. Kwelagobe	BDP	3,935
	Benjamin Modimoothata	BNF	1,594
<b>44 KWENENG EAST</b>	Pretty Sekgweng Molefhe	BNF	1,900

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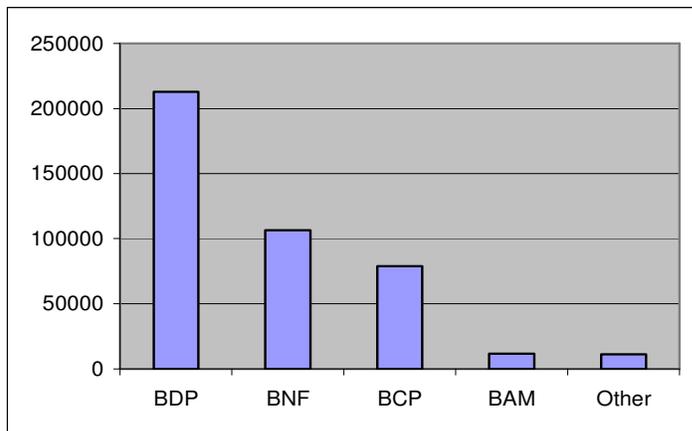
	Kaone Pebe	MELS	61
	Major General Moeng R. Pheto	BDP	4,686
	Michael Abelang Seitshiro	BCP	1,337
<b>45 LETLHAKENG EAST</b>	William Motube	BCP	226
	Boometswe Mokgothu	BDP	3,046
	Gordon Mokgwathi	BNF	3,107
<b>46 LETLHAKENG WEST</b>	Maxwell K.G. Motowane	BDP	2,759
	Filbert Kebopame Nagafela	BNF	3,122
<b>47 LOBATSE</b>	Otlaadisa Koosaletse	BCP	585
	Moggie M. Mbaakanyi	BDP	3,070
	Nehemia Mmoloki Modubule	BNF	4,173
	Metlhaeno Gaseitsiwe	NDF	466
	John Kealeboga Modise	IND	45
<b>48 BAROLONG</b>	James I. Mathokgwane	BNF	2,311
	Onkokame Kitso Mokaila	BDP	4,187
	Losikanyana Molema	NDF	188
	Bokae Tlalenyane Moseitlhi	BCP	896
<b>49 NGWAKETSE SOUTH</b>	Edwin Tau Raphuti	BCP	706
	Peter L. Siele	BDP	4,994
	Kebadire Kalake	BNF	4,215
	Mosinki Mpuang	NDF	339
<b>50 KANYE NORTH</b>	Kentse Rammidi	BDP	4,602
	Calvin M. K. Batsile	BNF	5,331
	Daniel Tlhomelang	BCP	229
<b>51 KANYE SOUTH</b>	Pontius Mokgosana	BCP	512
	Leach K. Tlhomelang	BDP	3,120
	Omphitlhetse O. Maswabi	BNF	4,505
	Seitshwenyeng M. Sebonego	NDF	365
<b>52 MOSHUPA</b>	Rev. Benny Stegling	BCP	1,223
	Maitlhoko G. Kabelo Mooka	BDP	4,594

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	Boikhutso Motshwane Disele	BNF	1,059
<b>53 NGWAKETSE WEST</b>	Mathaese Ralekoi	BCP	375
	Michael Rabereng Tshipinare	BDP	5,601
	Mephato Reatile	BNF	7,050
<b>54 K GALAGADI NORTH</b>	Mokgolele Z. Moapare	BDP	3,409
	Obakeng E. Moumakwa	BNF	3,486
	Daniel O. K. Mokgare	NDF	174
<b>55 K GALAGADI SOUTH</b>	Daniel Neo Moroka	BDP	4,398
	John Kgaboetsile Toto	BNF	3,398
<b>56 GANTSI NORTH</b>	Brains Kebogile Kwadipane	BCP	362
	Johnnie Keemenao Swartz	BDP	2,521
	Ferninand Tapiso Kgosikoma	BNF	1,828
<b>57 GANTSI SOUTH</b>	Ramosidi Keakopa	BCP	571
	Christiaan DeGraaff	BDP	3,281
	Soblen Mayane	BNF	2,626

Source: Independent Electoral Commission, Botswana. December, 2004

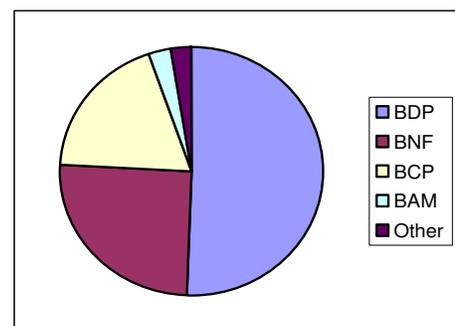
BDP 212883    BNF 106670    BCP 78931    BAM 11716    Other 10978



**Figure 1**

As indicated in **Table 2** below, 552,849 voters registered for the elections of whom, 421,272 voted. But 8,893 of these votes,

constituting 2.11 percent of the votes cast, were rejected as spoilt votes, leaving the total



**Figure 2**

percentage of votes cast at 76.20 percent.

The highest turnout of voters was in the two political constituencies of Kgatleng East and West, which are within 50 kilometres north of the country's capital Gaborone.

Here, one of the constituencies went to the ruling party and the other to the opposition Botswana National Front (BNF). In the capital city itself, most of the parliamentary

constituencies and municipal seats went to the opposition – mainly the BNF.

**Table 2. Parliamentary Results 2004**

CONSTITUENCY	NO. OF VOTERS REGISTERED	NO. OF VALID VOTES CAST	NO. OF REJECTED VOTES	TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES CAST
BAROLONG (48)	10,054	7,582	401	7,983
BOBIRWA (15)	10,753	8,014	238	8,252
BOTETI NORTH (28)	9,321	6,985	212	7,197
BOTETI SOUTH (29)	7,717	5,033	235	5,268
CHOBE (1)	6,894	5,206	60	5,266
FRANCISTOWN EAST (8)	7,764	5,543	99	5,642
FRANCISTOWN SOUTH (10)	9,079	6,275	98	6,373
FRANCISTOWN WEST (9)	9,471	6,574	113	6,687
GABORONE CENTRAL (32)	10,400	7,899	27	7,926
GABORONE NORTH (33)	8,418	6,233	59	6,292
GABORONE SOUTH (34)	7,694	5,646	56	5,702
GABORONE WEST NORTH (35)	11,649	8,731	59	8,790
GABORONE WEST SOUTH (36)	8,467	6,520	26	6,546
GHANZI NORTH (56)	6,471	4,711	245	4,956
GHANZI SOUTH (57)	7,843	6,478	168	6,646
KANYE NORTH (50)	12,773	10,162	188	10,350
KANYE SOUTH (51)	11,137	8,502	151	8,653
KGALAGADI NORTH (54)	8,578	7,069	188	7,257
KGALAGADI SOUTH (55)	9,526	7,796	130	7,926
KGATLENG EAST (30)	15,065	11,548	323	11,871

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KGATLENG WEST (31)	<b>13,158</b>	10,262	221	10,483
KWENENG EAST (44)	<b>10,621</b>	7,984	61	8,045
KWENENG SOUTH (41)	<b>12,449</b>	9,462	214	9,676
KWENENG SOUTH EAST (40)	<b>9,110</b>	6,693	126	6,819
LETLHAKENG EAST (45)	<b>8,241</b>	6,379	231	6,610
LETLHAKENG WEST (46)	<b>7,361</b>	5,881	83	5,964
LOBATSE (47)	<b>10,997</b>	8,339	112	8,451
MAHALAPYE EAST (22)	<b>7,797</b>	5,815	132	5,947
MAHALAPYE WEST (23)	<b>10,633</b>	8,068	125	8,193
MAUN EAST (2)	<b>11,271</b>	8,166	137	8,303
MAUN WEST (3)	<b>8,107</b>	6,031	70	6,101
MMADINARE (16)	<b>7,800</b>	5,295	206	5,501
MOGODITSHANE (39)	<b>8,506</b>	6,051	66	6,117
MOLEPOLOLE NORTH (42)	<b>10,610</b>	8,282	192	8,474
MOLEPOLOLE SOUTH (43)	<b>7,700</b>	5,688	104	5,792
MOSHUPA (52)	<b>9,011</b>	6,876	163	7,039
NATA/GWETA (11)	<b>6,684</b>	4,631	118	4,749
NGAMI (4)	<b>14,741</b>	11,574	272	11,846
NGWAKETSE SOUTH (49)	<b>13,110</b>	10,254	256	10,510
NGWAKETSE WEST (53)	<b>16,646</b>	13,026	270	13,296
NKANGE (12)	<b>11,452</b>	8,777	210	8,987
OKAVANGO (5)	<b>10,461</b>	8,380	311	8,691
PALAPYE (20)	<b>9,511</b>	6,890	130	7,020
SELIBE PHIKWE EAST (17)	<b>8,099</b>	6,397	61	6,458
SELIBE PHIKWE WEST (18)	<b>9,261</b>	7,391	77	7,468
SEROWE NORTH EAST (25)	<b>10,010</b>	6,936	196	7,132
SEROWE NORTH WEST (26)	<b>6,194</b>	0	0	0

SEROWE SOUTH (27)	<b>10,626</b>	7,724	292	8,016
SHOSHONG (24)	<b>7,341</b>	5,621	111	5,732
SOUTH EAST NORTH (37)	<b>8,321</b>	6,615	65	6,680
SOUTH EAST SOUTH (38)	<b>11,499</b>	9,132	181	9,313
TATI EAST (6)	<b>8,029</b>	5,853	113	5,966
TATI WEST (7)	<b>9,798</b>	7,509	149	7,658
TONOTA NORTH (13)	<b>9,241</b>	6,533	259	6,792
TONOTA SOUTH (14)	<b>8,096</b>	5,670	160	5,830
TSWAPONG NORTH (19)	<b>11,036</b>	7,833	138	7,971
TSWAPONG SOUTH (21)	<b>10,247</b>	7,854	205	8,059
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>552,849</b>	<b>412,379</b>	<b>8,893</b>	<b>421,272</b>
Percentage of valid votes cast	97.89%			
Percentage of rejected votes	2.11%			
Percentage of total votes cast	76.20%			

### Opposition Party Unity in the Making?

As can be noted from **Figures 1 and 2** above, the opposition attracted a large proportion of the vote, capturing 48 percent. The other 52 percent went to the BDP and constitutes a declining trend for the BDP vote in the last two elections.

The various opposition parties ultimately lost to the BDP mainly because of split voting as noted in the previous *Election Update* on the 2004 Botswana elections and because of the first past the post election system used in the country since independence. They also split the meagre material, financial and intellectual resources they had at their disposal to fight the elections against a well-resourced and well-organized BDP.

According to some commentators, given the present political structure and strength of the BDP over the opposition, which we also discussed on at length the previous *Update*, no single opposition party can hope to unseat the BDP from power on its own. Many people share this view, even suggesting that it goes a long way to cause voter apathy among some voters who do not see a political future without BDP and against the background of a fragmented but potentially capable opposition.

This has since prompted the main opposition parties of the Botswana National Front (BNF) and Botswana Congress Party (BCP), to engage in internal consultations in the aftermath of the October 2004 elections.

In the eyes of many political observers and analysts who criticised the two main opposition parties for their failure to serve the interests of the Botswana voters - who are clearly tired of the 38-year long BDP rule - the BCP and BNF might finally collaborate between themselves or with other opposition parties ahead of the 2009 general elections. This will depend on the outcome of internal consultations, which for the BCP, were sanctioned by the party leadership at the Palapye meeting of the party on 4 December 2004.

The BCP and BNF received a severe thrashing from the ruling BDP as a consequence of the split vote during the elections, which sparked fresh calls for opposition unity to unseat the

BCP. As indicated above, out of the 57 constituencies feeding the National Assembly, the BDP won 44, BNF 12 while the BCP got one parliamentary seat in the capital.

In the council or municipal elections, the BCP won 33 wards from a possible 490. All the opposition parties share between them, control of 160 council wards and the majority of these are in cities and towns or in large villages.

In an instructive press statement it released after the Palapye meeting, the BCP stated that, "While we contended that there is no quick fix to the differences within the opposition ranks, the BCP remains committed to a principled engagement with other opposition parties which could result in enhancing the performance of the opposition.

An internal discussion document has been circulated to all structures on the possible benefits and type of co-operation or non-co-operation with other opposition parties".

The party is now widely expected to embark on regional seminars in the first quarter of 2005 to further consult party members on the issue of building a consensus on the basic principles that will inform any engagement within the opposition ranks.

BCP information and publicity secretary has since told the local press that the merits and urgency of co-operation within the opposition cannot be down played, just as the history of the past efforts cannot be overlooked.

"All this calls for a guarantee of successful opposition mutual give-and-take, when initiatives eventually commence. Hopefully by the time of our three-yearly congress in July 2005, the party's position will be clear and unambiguous". All structures of the party leadership attended this historic Palapye meeting: which assessed the performance of the organisation in the October elections and intended to map the way forward.

The BNF has also meanwhile, issued statements in which the party supports opposition unity. However what must be clear to especially the two main opposition parties of the BCP and BNF, is that continued failure to unite presents the best opportunity for the BDP to retain power in 2009.

The election pact entered into by the BNF, Botswana People's Party and the Botswana Alliance Movement has not paid as many political dividends at the polls as was widely expected by its proponents. In the eyes of many a political commentator, it will not be useful in the future either.

Many are convinced that if the opposition block is serious about taking state power in 2009 or in the future, it should use its numerical strength and pool its otherwise meagre resources. This is more so since there are no fundamental policy differences between the BNF and the BCP. This is not only a result borne out of the latter being a splinter of the former, but both are clearly comfortable with the ideals contained in the

BNF's Social Democratic Programme.

Therefore, in the eyes of many, whatever differences there are between the two are immensely reconcilable because they are not founded on ideological disharmony or policy positions.

All these factors are also enhanced by the fact that popular support for unity now clearly exists among key leaders and leadership structures of the BCP and BNF and outside their ranks and within the grassroots. For many, the people have been voting in large numbers for a divided opposition out of the political trauma of a people who are unhappy and seriously disgruntled with BDP contended socio-political complacency and the direction in which it is taking the country.

Judging from the way in which the Cabinet was selected and how internal BDP debates and bickering for positions went on prior to the general elections, many are detecting impending collapse of counter-balancing governance structures due mainly to a rising culture of political sycophancy in BDP ranks.

Thus, there has since been a stringent call in letters to editors of newspapers and on radio talk shows for opposition leaders to meet the leadership challenges of present-day Botswana politics by talking about the unity of the main opposition parties as early as possible should there be any disagreements and or conflicting views so that all the dust will have settled by 2009.

## Parliament Adjourns

The recently elected Ninth Parliament having made a productive start, adjourned for the holidays on 10 December 2004. In addition to debating the President's state-of-the-nation-address the first session succeeded in passing six new items of legislation:

- the Abolition of Marital Power Bills (this was generated a lot of public and parliamentary interest and debate and is intended to provide for the abolition of marital power of men over women; to amend the matrimonial property law of marriages; to provide for the domicile of married women; to provide for the domicile and guardianship of minor children and to provide for matters incidental thereto);
- The Penal Code Amendment Bill (which seeks to make corporal punishment to be imposed for a wide range of offences upon male criminals under the age of 40, and that corporal punishment be permitted in default of payment);
- the Telecommunications Amendment Bill;
- the Civil Aviation Authority Bill (which aims to establish a Civil Aviation Authority; to provide for its powers and functions; to provide for the establishment of a Board of the Authority and for matters incidental or connected therewith);
- the Botswana Emblems Amendment Bill (An Act to amend the Botswana

Emblems Act by clearing the confusion surrounding the correct colours of the Botswana national flag by using a colour coding system to identify the correct colour of blue in the flag), and the

- Ministers and National Assembly Gratuities and Pensions Bill (An Act to amend the ministers and National Assembly gratuities and Pensions Act – which became important after the number of constituencies were raised from 40 to 57. The number of Cabinet ministers has remained the same).

Having passed through the required three readings without amendment, the Bills are now awaiting H.E. the President's assent to become Acts of Law. Insofar as each of the above were originally proposed by H.E. the President acting on the advice of Cabinet, this final step should be a legal formality. Among the Bills, the Abolition of Marital Power Bill seemingly generated the greatest debate, and is arguably the most historic. The Bill was drafted to ensure full gender equality under the law with respect to all civil marriages in Botswana.

There were also several motions and parliamentary questions which generated a lot of public interest. The questions and motion surrounding the establishment of the second university in Serowe/Palapye and not in Selibe Phikwe or Francistown as widely anticipated, raised the ire of the public and many Members of Parliament across the political

divide. Even at the time Parliament went on recess until January 2005 when it will go into the normally long Budget Session, many MPs were smarting at the decision of the Executive to ignore the recommendations of the Task Force that government set up to advise on where the science and technology-biased university will located and the reasons given by the Minister of Education, Jacob Nkate as to what factors were taken into consideration by Cabinet in selecting Serowe/Palapye and not Selibe Phikwe as the location of the second university.

Public (especially among the residents of the copper-nickel mining town of Selibe Phikwe and surrounding areas) and parliamentary emotions were so high that the Minister of Education was forced to publicly release the report of the Task Force on the establishment of the second university. This is highly uncharacteristic of government when it comes to reports of administrative committees of enquiry and even some major reports of Presidential Commissions of Enquiry have remained for months and years in government offices without being released as speedily to the public and Parliament, as happened with this second university Task Force report. This goes a long way to demonstrate the amount of political pressure that the ninth Botswana Parliament seems to be capable of mounting against the Botswana executive arm of government.

Does this mean that the new Parliament will pack a better punch than the previous eight?

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