

**13<sup>th</sup>**  
PARLIAMENT



REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

**PARLIAMENT OF BOTSWANA**  
— OUR PARLIAMENT OUR PRIDE —

# **DAILY HANSARD**

*YOUR VOICE IN PARLIAMENT*

**THE FIRST MEETING OF THE SECOND  
SESSION OF THE THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT**

**TUESDAY 25 NOVEMBER 2025**

**MIXED VERSION**

**HANSARD NO: 219**



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**THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**  
**SPEAKER**  
**The Hon. Dithapelo L. Keorapetse, MP.**  
**DEPUTY SPEAKER**  
**Hon. H. P. Manyeneng, MP. (Mmopane-Metsimotlhabe)**

Clerk of the National Assembly	- Dr G. G. G. Malebang
Deputy Clerk of the National Assembly	- Ms K. H. Ketshajwang
Learned Parliamentary Counsel	- Dr A. Masuku
Senior Assistant Clerk	- Mr C. S. Nfila
Assistant Clerk (E)	- Ms K. Nyanga

**CABINET**

The President Adv. D. G. Boko, MP.	- President
His Honour N. N. Gaolathe, MP.	- Vice President & Minister of Finance
Hon. M. C. Mohwasa, MP.	- Minister for State President
Hon. Dr P. Butale, MP.	- Minister for International Relations
Hon. N. Ramaotwana, MP.	- Minister of Justice and Correctional Services
Hon. K. Motshegwa, MP.	- Minister of Local Government and Traditional Affairs
Vacant	- Minister of Lands and Agriculture
Hon. D. Tshere, MP.	- Minister of Communications and Innovation
Hon. N. Kgafela-Mokoka, MP.	- Minister of Child Welfare and Basic Education
Hon. P. Maele, MP.	- Minister of Higher Education
Hon. W. B. Mmolotsi, MP.	- Minister of Environment and Tourism
Hon. Dr S. Modise, MP.	- Minister of Health
Hon. Maj. Gen. P. Mokgware, MP.	- Minister of Labour and Home Affairs
Hon. O. Ramogapi, MP.	- Minister of Water and Human Settlement
Hon. B. J. Kenewendo, MP.	- Minister of Minerals and Energy
Hon. T. Ntsima, MP.	- Minister of Trade and Entrepreneurship
Hon. L. Chombo, MP.	- Minister of Youth and Gender Affairs
Hon. J. Kelebeng, MP.	- Minister of Sport and Arts
Hon. N. S. L. M. Salakae, MP.	- Minister of Transport and Infrastructure
Hon. M. B. Mophuting, MP.	- Assistant Minister, State President
Hon. A. Nyatanga, MP.	- Assistant Minister, Justice and Correctional Services
Hon. M. I. Moswaane, MP.	- Assistant Minister, Local Government and Traditional Affairs
Hon. Dr E. G. Dikoloti, MP.	- Assistant Minister, Lands and Agriculture
Hon. S. Ntlhaile, MP.	- Assistant Minister, Communications and Innovation
Hon. L. Ookeditse, MP.	- Assistant Minister, Health
Hon. B. Mathoothe, MP.	- Assistant Minister, Trade and Entrepreneurship
Hon. J. Hunyepa, MP.	- Assistant Minister, Child Welfare and Basic Education
Hon. M. G. J. Motsamai, MP.	- Assistant Minister, Water and Human Settlement
Hon. K. Atamelang, MP.	- Assistant Minister, Transport and Infrastructure

## MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND THEIR CONSTITUENCIES

<b>Names</b>	<b>Constituency</b>
<b>RULING PARTY (Umbrella for Democratic Change)</b>	
The President Adv. D. G. Boko, MP.	President
His Honour N. N. Gaolathe, MP.	Vice President (Gaborone Bonnington South)
Hon. S. O. Digwa, MP. (Government Whip)	Boteti West
Hon. W. B. Mmolotsi, MP.	Francistown South
Hon. M. I. Moswaane, MP.	Francistown West
Hon. M. G. J. Motsamai, MP.	Charles Hill
Hon. O. Ramogapi, MP.	Palapye
Hon. D. Tshere, MP.	Mahalapye West
Hon. Dr P. Butale, MP.	Gaborone Central
Hon. P. Maele, MP.	Tswapong North
Hon. S. Ntlhaile, MP.	Gaborone North
Hon. N. S. L. M. Salakae, MP.	Ghanzi
Hon. K. Atamelang, MP.	Boteti East
Hon. M. Bagaisamang, MP.	Shoshong
Hon. L. Barongwang, MP.	Mogoditshane East
Hon. T. Bogatsu, MP.	Lentsweletau-Lephephe
Hon. C. K. Jacobs, MP.	Lobatse
Hon. J. Hunyepa, MP.	Tati West
Hon. J. Kelebeng, MP.	Takatokwane
Hon. A. K. Khan, MP.	Molepolole North
Hon. O. Kwapa, MP.	Jwaneng-Mabutsane
Hon. G. Lekau, MP.	Mogoditshane West
Hon. R. M. Lekutlane, MP.	Kgalagadi North
Hon. H. P. Manyeneng, MP.	Mmopane-Metsimotlhabe
Hon. Brig. D. Mokgwathi	Lethakeng
Hon. S. D. Monageng, MP.	Molepolole South
Hon. M. B. Mophuting, MP.	Gaborone Bonnington North
Hon. M. M. Morolong, MP.	Kgatleng Central
Hon. P. M. Mosanana, MP.	Kanye East
Hon. K. Motshegwa, MP.	Mmadinare
Hon. T. Ntsima, MP.	Francistown East
Hon. A. Nyatanga, MP.	Mahalapye East
Hon. N. Ramaotwana, MP.	Gaborone South
Hon. V. B. Phologolo, MP.	Kanye West
Hon. G. Sedombo, MP.	Tonota
Hon. P. M. Segokgo, MP.	Tlokweng
Hon. J. T. I. Modise	Kgalagadi South

## **OPPOSITION**

### **(Botswana Congress Party)**

Hon. D. Saleshando, MP. (Leader of the Opposition)	Maun North
Hon. C. K. Hikuama, MP. (Opposition Whip)	Maun West
Hon. Dr U. Dow, MP.	Kgatlang West
Hon. Dr K. Gobotswang, MP.	Tswapong South
Hon. K. K. Kapinga, MP.	Okavango West
Hon. G. Kekgonegile, MP.	Maun East
Hon. T. B. Lucas, MP.	Bobirwa
Hon. K. Nkawana, MP.	Selebi Phikwe East
Hon. P. Aaron, MP.	Ngami
Hon. G. Disho, MP.	Okavango East
Hon. T. Furniture, MP.	Tati East
Hon. R. W. Kaizer, MP.	Selebi Phikwe West
Hon. B. B. Mabeo, MP.	Gamalete
Hon. S. O. Mapulanga, MP.	Chobe
Hon. M. Moalosi, MP.	Nkange

### **(Botswana Patriotic Front)**

Hon. L. Lesedi, MP.	Serowe South
Hon. B. Mathoothe, MP.	Serowe North
Hon. O. Kedikilwe, MP.	Serowe West
Hon. J. J. Frenzel, MP.	Shashe West
Hon. L. Ookeditse, MP.	Nata-Gweta

### **(Botswana Democratic Party)**

Hon. K. S. Gare, MP.	Moshupa-Manyana
Hon. K. T. Mmusi, MP.	Gabane-Mmankgodi
Hon. P. K. Motaosane, MP.	Thamaga-Kumakwane
Hon. M. M. Pule, MP.	Kgatlang East

### **(Independent Member of Parliament)**

Hon. Dr E. G. Dikoloti, MP.	Goodhope- Mmathethe
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## **SPECIALLY ELECTED MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT**

Hon. Maj. Gen. P. Mokgware, MP.	Specially Elected
Hon. B. J. Kenewendo, MP.	Specially Elected
Hon. M. C. Mohwasa, MP.	Specially Elected
Hon. N. Kgafela-Mokoka, MP.	Specially Elected
Hon. Dr S. Modise, MP.	Specially Elected
Hon. L. Chombo, MP.	Specially Elected

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Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> November, 2025

THE ASSEMBLY met at 2:00 p.m.

(THE SPEAKER in the Chair)

### PRAYERS

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### SPEAKER'S REMARKS

**MR SPEAKER (MR KEORAPETSE):** Pray be seated. Good afternoon Honourable Members. I met some of you this morning at the ongoing Latimer House Dialogue. Let me also begin by encouraging those that have not attended to do so. Honourable Members, let us start the business of today with questions.

### QUESTIONS FOR ORAL ANSWER

#### IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION OUTCOMES

**MR K. NKAWANA (SELEBI PHIKWE EAST):** asked the Minister of Higher Education to apprise this Honourable House on initiatives that his Ministry is implementing or planning to implement in order to improve education outcomes and provide the citizens with the skills needed for the job market.

...Silence...

**MR NKAWANA:** *Mr Speaker, maabane o ne a kile a kopa later date, a re o dira sengwe kwa Palapye. I had thought he will be in today.*

Later Date.

#### GOVERNMENT RENTALS AT CBD

**MR T. FURNITURE (TATI EAST):** asked the Minister of Lands and Agriculture:

- (i) how many buildings are rented by Government and its parastatals in Gaborone CBD;
- (ii) what is the rental payment per month for each of the properties;
- (iii) to state what mode of procurement was used to lease each of these properties; and
- (iv) to state the owners of each of these rented properties (whether citizens or non-citizens).

**ACTING MINISTER OF LANDS AND AGRICULTURE (DR DIKOLOTI):** Thank you Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, the Government ministries and

departments occupy six buildings under a total of 13 leases in the Gaborone Central Business District (CBD).

Mr Speaker, my ministry facilitates Government ministries and departments to acquire office space in the private market, while parastatals undertake their own leasing arrangements with property owners.

Mr Speaker, the total rental payment per month for the 13 leases is Eight Million, Eight Hundred and Fifty-Nine Thousand, Five Hundred and Ninety-Four Pula Twenty-Four Thebe (P8,859,594.24) excluding Value Added Tax (VAT).

Mr Speaker, *ke na le a table here e e supang* a list of *botlho* who have rented, it is attached for the Honourable Member's appreciation.

Mr Speaker, in terms of process, the Office Allocation Committee based in my ministry grants authority to requesting ministries to lease office space from the private market. The procurement method and process are then decided and undertaken by respective ministries (procuring entities). My ministry through the Department of Lands then facilitates conclusion by negotiating the lease terms and signing of lease agreements as instructed by the procuring entities.

Mr Speaker, the six buildings rented by different ministries are owned by different companies being; GH Group, Zambezi Motors, Coastal Development, et cetera. The shareholders of these companies are all citizens of Botswana.

For the benefit of the Member of Parliament and this Honourable House, I have attached indicating the names of the lessors, and other details regarding shareholders of each company. I thank you Mr Speaker.

**MR FURNITURE:** *Supplementary.* Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker.* Ke go leboge Tona ka karabo eo, e butse Batswana matlho. Ke ne ke re gongwe Tona fa e le gore gongwe o na le karabo ya teng, o ka ntlhalosetsa gore *leases* tse, di saennwe leng e bile e le tsa lebaka le le kae? Ke potso ya ntlha e ke kopang tthaloso.

Sa bobedi ke gore a Goromente ga a na ditsha *around* CBD tse a ka di tlhabololang gore a ikagele dikago go fokotsa go duela madi a mantsi *in a form of rent?*

Se sengwe gape ke gore Tona, a Goromente ga a na dikago dingwe mo Gaborone tse e leng gore gongwe *they are not occupied* mo nakong ya gompieno? Fa e le

gore di teng, ke eng Goromente a sa bone gore o ka di dirisa go fokotsa dituelo tse di kwa godimo?

Se sengwe ke gore Goromente wa lona o ikaelela go dira eng ka kgang ya go leka go rotloetsa Batswana thata gore ba tsene mo dikgwebong tsone tse? Ke a utlwa gore wa re dikompone tse ke tsa Batswana, a go na le sengwe gape se se dirwang Tona go leka gore go rotloetswe Batswana go tsena mo go ageng dikago ka tsela e e ntseng jalo? Ke a leboga.

**DR DIKOLOTI:** Ke a go leboga *Mr Speaker*. Motlotlegi Furniture, potso ya gago e ya *leases le terms, table* e ke buang ka yone, *is all inclusive, so you will see all those*. Le gore go saennwe leng, *it is included in the table*, o tlaa e bona.

Ke dumela gore potso ya gago e maleba, e tshwanetse, e nkarabela potso e o neng o e botsa la ntlha. Boammaaruri jo bo leng teng ke gore re tshwanetse re rotloetse Batswana gore fa ba kgonang teng, ba ka nna le dikago tsa gore re le maphata re kgone gore re ka hirisa mo go tsone. Go raya gore o ne o nkarabela e o neng o nthaya o re ke eng re tshwanetse gore re hirise *facilities*. Ke dumela gore golo mo jaanong *you gave a very good guidance to say, tota the interest and the essence of your question* ke gore *where possible*, a Batswana ba letlelelwe gore ba ka tla ba hirisa. Ke dumela gore o ne o ipelaetsa gore o ne o batla gore go nne le *positive discrimination* ya gore go nne le Batswana bangwe. *Indeed*, jaaka ke ne ke araba, ba re hirisitseng mo go bone ba ke Batswana, *they are all citizens of this republic*. Ke tsaya gore ke a go utlwa gore o batla go ya kae. Kwa o yang teng a re gate mmogo go ya teng. Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*.

#### BULK MONETARY PAY-OUT TO OLD AGE PENSIONERS

**MR L. BARONGWANG (MOGODITSHANE EAST):** asked the Minister of Local Government and Traditional Affairs:

- (i) to establish and quantify data that informs this Honourable House of the bulk monetary pay-out to Old Age pensioners since the increase from P800.00 to P1400.00 for the past twelve (12) months comparing to same period in the previous financial year; and
- (ii) to explain the economic benefit of increasing the pension as well as distress exerted on Government coffers.

#### MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND TRADITIONAL AFFAIRS (MR MOTSHEGWA):

Ke a leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente. Ke leboge le mmotsi wa potso e e botlhale e. Ke supe gore karabo ke gore e ne ya re mo Pegong ya Madi, Mothusa Tautona yo e leng Tona wa tsa Madi, mo puong ya gagwe a tlhalosa maitlamo le maikaelelo a Puso go duela madi a dikatso tsa bagodi a P1800 mme le Tautona o supile maikaelelo a Puso mo makgethong a le mmalwa.

E ne ya re Khuduthamaga fa e sekaseka, ya bo e tsaya tshwetso ya gore ka e ne e le one maitlamo a Puso gore go tlaa duelwa P1800 e le dikatso tsa bagodi, go nne jalo. Khuduthamaga e ne ya tsaya tshwetso gore dikatso tsa bagolo jaanong e le *Government Policy*, ba tlaa duelwa P1800. Go raya gore ga e sa tlhole e le tsholofetso fela, e ne ya tselwa tshwetso. Puso e bo e re mme fa e sekaseka mathata a madi a a harahareng lefatshe jaaka dikgang tsa botsogo, tsa thuto le ditlhabololo tse dingwe, mme jaanong go lekwe gore mo ngwageng one wa gompiano wa madi o, go tshepholwe gore dikatso tsa bagodi di duelwe P1400, e le tshwetso ya gompiano. Tshwetsokgolo e go tlaabong go tla go tsamaelwa kwa go yone, ke ya P1800. Mo boremelelong jwa sone se ke setseng ke se tlhalositse, dikoketsego tse di bakile gore fa re lebelela ngwaga wa madi mo dikgweding di le lesome le botlhano, ke gore go nnile le tsholofelo ya gore madi e nne P2,561,029,800, mme e le diphetogo tse di nnileng teng. Mo ngwageng o o kwa morago, one wa madi wa 2024/2025, dituelo tse e ne e le P1,431,725,862. Pharologanyo ya dingwaga tse pedi tse ke di buang, e supa koketsego ya 78.88 *per cent*.

Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente, legato la bofelo la karabo mo potsong e, ka e ne e botsa gore mme se se thusa jang matshelo a bagodi le kwa magang. Tlhaloso ya rona ke gore, go na le dipelo tse di tona thata tsa itsholelo le tokafalo ya matshelo a batho bone ba. Santlha, bagodi ba a bo ba setse ba gorogile mo dinakong tsa botshelo tse e leng gore ga ba na ditokololo tsa go bereka. Jaanong ke boikarabelo jwa Puso, *welfare role*, go ba tlamela le go ba tlhokomela ka e le bagodi. Ka e bile re lemoga jaana gore, ba tsewelela ba na le seabe mo tsamaisong ya lefatshe. Ke bone ba ba tsenelelang diphuthego tsa Dikgotla, ba a fa megopolo. Ke bone ba ba tlhokomelang bana fa batsadi ba bone ba ile kwa ditirong. Ke bone ba ba fang bokaedi le bogakolodi jwa go aga batho kana go letlanya setšhaba.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** ... (Inaudible) ...

**MR MOTSHEGWA:** Nnyaa, ga ke ka ke ka bua ya

ga Rre Mokgware ya gore bangwe ba bone ba teng. Ke lebagane le se ke se neetsweng go se araba.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** ... (Inaudible) ...

**MR MOTSHEGWA:** Re ka supa gore koketsego e ya dituelo tsa bagodi, e thusitse thata mo itsholelong ya kwa malwapeng. E thusitse thata mo go tlameleng le go ema nokeng bagolo ba rona. Itsholelo e fa ba e tsenya kwa malwapeng, go raya gore le ba ba ikaegileng ka bone, ba a thusega. Gape dikokeletso tse tsa bone, di raya gore le itsholelo ya mo magaeng, kana *local economy*, fa ba ntse ba reka kwa dimausung ba dirisa madi a, le yone e a tsosologa ka tsela e e ntseng jalo. Ke botlhokwa jo e leng gore le dikgwebo tse di potlana le tsone di a akola mo go bone. Go bo go fokotsa kana go ntsha go imelwa ga itsholelo ya bagodi le ba bangwe fela kwa magaeng.

Kwa bofelelong, re supe gore sone se, e a bo e le tsela ya go supa setho ka go tlhokomela bagodi. Ke selo se se botlhokwa. Ga re a tshwanela gore re nne le seemo se e leng gore bagodi ba a sheleketla, mme Puso e le teng. Kgankgolo rra, mo potsong ya gago e e molemo e o neng o e boditse ke gore, maikaelelo e ne e le go tlamela le go thusa bagodi ka tsela e e ntseng jalo.

Go na le potso e o neng o sa e botsa, e gantsi batho ba ratang go e bua gore mme ka gore le ne le buile le ka ba ba 60 years, foo boikarabelo jwa rona kwa *Local Government* e ne e le go tshwaragana le *ministry* wa ga Rre Mokgware wa *Labour and Home Affairs* gore re phuthe dipalo tsa ba ba welang mo *bracket* jwa go simolola ka 60. Fa ba okelediwa le bone, koketsego ya madi a ke bokae, mme re kgonne gore re di dire tsotlhe. Go raya gore re tlaabo re ya go di isa kwa Khuduthamageng gore ke sekaseke gore ke dire jang ka dipalo tsa tshwetso eo. Bagodi, re mmogo fela re le Puso mo go le tlhokomeleng, le itse jalo. Re a leboga.

**MR BARONGWANG:** *Supplementary.* Ke a go leboga Tona, o e arabile ka bokgabane. O lekile ka bojotlhe go akaretsa se ke neng ke eletsa go se supa. Ka go supafala fa re setse re duetse *in the past 12 months close to P2.6 billion into this economy, a in the long and medium term*, re santse re ka kgonna go tswelela re duela *that amount*? Sa bobedi, *is there any plan in place to somehow finance this thing besides just from the local coffers*?

Kwa bofelelong, *can you confirm if* bagodi botlhe, ke a utlwa gore o akaretsa gore go na le ba bangwe gone fa, botlhe *are covered*. Fa e le gore go na le *gap* nngwe e e leng gore gongwe ba ka tswa ba sa akarediwa, *especially*

kwa mafelong a a leng kgakala, le dira eng go netefatsa gore mongwe le mongwe *is covered*? Ke a leboga.

**MR MOTSHEGWA:** Ke a leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente. Ke lebogela potso eo. Boikarabelo jwa go tlhokomela bagodi, bo gone mo Pusong ka lenaneo le la tlhokomelo matshelo a batho (*social protection*), go akaretsa le a mangwe a a tshwanang a banalebogole, ba itsholelo e ba kgaphetseng kwa ntle jalo le jalo. Ke boikarabelo jwa Puso, e bile ba tshwanetse ba tsewa tsia gore fa go buiwa ka ditlhabololo, le gone mo e bo go akarediwa mo teng.

Ya bofelo ya gore, a ke bagodi botlhe ba ba akareditsweng; botlhe rra go ntse jalo, ba akareditswe. Go na le ditogamaano tsa gore kwa dikgaolong tse dingwe, go tokafadiwe ditirelo gore go se ka ga nna le tiego ya gore bagodi ba nne mo meleng e metelele, ba letetse madi, go nne bofefo. Tsela nngwe ya go dira jalo, ke go tlisa maranyane. Bagodi ba bangwe ba re, “nnyaa, maranyane a ka re tsietsa. Ke batla ke ntse ke tsaya madi ka seatla, ke a bona.” Ke dilo tse re tlaa tswelelang re ntse re di bapisa, bokgoni le itemogelo ya bagodi le botlhokwa jwa go tsenya maranyane gore re fefose jalo. Bagodi ba setse ba a bone botlhe. Ke ntse ke a boelela gore e e sebiwang ke Rre Mokgware ya gore Rre Gobotswang le Rre Nkawana ba mo teng, ga ke ka ke ka e bua, ba tlaa e bua mmogo kwa ntle.

**DR DOW:** *Supplementary.* Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke a leboga mokaulengwe. A re simolole gore tota fela golo mo, Batswana ba reeditse ka tlhwaafalo *Mr Speaker*. Ba eletsa tlhwaafalo mo Ntlong e, a dinyao di nne kwa teeng. Ke botse *Honourable Minister* gore o supa gore ba ba 60 ba tlike go tsena mo teng, e bile go iwa kwa go P1800. O ne o re, le ne le letile dipalo; ke raya dipalo di teng letsatsi le letsatsi. Statistics Botswana o teng. Ke tsaya gore letsatsi le letsatsi *ministry* o a itse gore Batswana ba ba tshwarang 60 ba kae. Ga se kgang e e ka tsayang lebaka le le telele. Ke batla go itse gore ba ba 60 ba ba reeditse, le bone ba ba 65 ba ba amogelang P1400, ba solofele maP1800 a leng? Pitsa e nngwefela, fa o okeletsa yo o ka fa, o fokoletsa yo o ka fa. Le tsere mo pitseng efe? Ke itse gore gongwe le tsere mo go ya Constituency Community Project (CCP), jaaka e seyo. Le tsere mo go ya melemo, jaaka e seyo. Le tsere mo go ya Ipelegeng, jaaka ba fokoditswe. Fa le oketsa to P1800, e bile e ya kwa go 60, le fokoletsa mang? Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*.

**MR MOTSHEGWA:** Ke a leboga. Ke simolole ka ya gore, dipotso tse, re di tsaya ka tlhwaafalo. Gakere ke ne

ke utlwa Mma Dow a re fa gongwe go fokotswe dinyao, go tlhwaafalwe, rona re tlhwaafetse. Ke sone se e reng fa a sa dumele gore dikgomo di ka tsala gantsi, re bo re sa mo nyalatse kgang ya teng. Re itse gore ke ka fa a akanyang ka teng.

Mo go e ya bagodi, gore ba 60 years ba solofele leng; ke ne ke re, re kgobokantse dipalo le ba *Ministry of Labour*. Ke dipalo tse re tlaa di tsayang re di isa kwa Khuduthamageng. E tlaa sekaseka, e bo e tsaya tshwetso. Ga ke itse gore Khuduthamaga e ya go tsaya tshwetso efe. Ke sone se ke ka sekang ka re, ba solofele leng. E ka nna di 1<sup>st</sup> April, gongwe fa pele. A re tlogelele Khuduthamaga, e tle e tseye tshwetso. Ke ne ke rile jalo.

Ba 65 years gore P1800 ba solofele leng gore o ka goroga. E ke yone e ke neng ke e tlhalosa ke re, e rile Khuduthamaga e sena go ema fa go P1400, e bo e re e tlaare mo ngwageng wa madi o o latelang, o o simologang ka di 1<sup>st</sup> tsa ga April, 2026, jaanong go bo go tla seemo sa gore go atolosetswe kwa go P1800. Ke ne ke rile jalo.

Ya dipitsa; tota ga ke e tshware thata. Ke itse fela gore fa go tsewa tshwetso re le kwa *Ministry wa Local Government*, re bua ka *programme ya Old Age Pension, we budget for component ya Old Age Pension, when we budget for People with Disability* re a bo re *budget* moo.

Ya gore go tsewa ka fa go potisiwa ka fa, ke utlwile Mopalamente mongwe a re madi a ditema ke one a a tserweng a bo a isiwa kwa bagoding. Ga go na boammaaruri jo bo ntseng jalo, moo e a bo e le tsela nngwe ya go leka go tlhobosa mananeo. Boammaaruri jo bo leng teng ke gore, go dirwa *budget* go lebeletswe *component* nngwe le nngwe. Ke sone se le a le a amogelang le le Mapalamente, ga go a tsewa kwa dipeong, ga go a tsewa kwa bagoding. Mangwe le mangwe a nna *budgeted* ka tsela e e ntseng jalo.

#### DISCIPLINARY HEARINGS AT COMMERCIAL BANKS

**MR M. M. MOROLONG (KGATLENG CENTRAL):** asked the Minister of Finance if he is aware that the internal processes for conducting disciplinary hearings by some local commercial banks particularly Standard Chartered Bank are conducted offshore.

**ACTING MINISTER OF FINANCE (MR NTLHAILE):** *Ke a leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente, good afternoon.*

Mr Speaker, the ministry is not in possession of information suggesting that local commercial banks, including Standard Chartered Bank, are carrying out internal labour-related processes offshore. However, I would like to advise that every bank has an Employee Relations Unit, responsible for in-country employee relations matters, to ensure compliance with Botswana labour laws and local disciplinary procedures. Disciplinary processes are conducted in accordance with internal policies that have been approved by the local board. This notwithstanding, most commercial banks in Botswana are subsidiaries of regional or international banking groups, and may from time to time, leverage specialised resources from the group, without necessarily replacing local expertise and processes.

Mr Speaker, in case of Standard Chartered Bank Botswana Limited (StanChart), the bank has a designated head of employee relations, stationed in Botswana. Who is responsible for ensuring that the labour laws and the disciplinary processes of the bank are aligned to the requirements of the country. It is however, important to note Mr Speaker, that StanChart is a subsidiary of a global banking group and in some instances, a presiding officer stationed in a different country, might be appointed to attend to a case, guided by local legal and regulatory requirements and the local Head of Employee Relations will be in attendance to ensure procedural and substantive fairness, in compliance with local requirements. I thank you Mr Speaker.

**MR MOROLONG: Supplementary.** Ke utlwa karabo ya gago motlotlegi, e matswakabele mme matswakabele a fa ke a utlwa, wena ga o molato, ke a ka bomo.

Matshwenyego a me fela mo kgannyeng ya gago ke gore, kana Bank of Botswana (BoB) ke yone *that licenses* dibanka tsa rona, *and therefore, one would think* dikgang tse di tshwanang le tsa *disputes* mo tirong, di ka felela *internally* mo lefatsheng la rona.

Jaaka o ne o bua gore dibanka tse ke *subsidiaries* tsa makgotla a mafatshefatshe, Standard Chartered Botswana e kobile mmereki mo tirong e bo e mo reetsa lantlha, e bo e mo gakolola gore *appeal* ya gago o ka ikuela kwa go ba Head Employees African and Middle East *...(Inaudible)...by electronic mail*. Jaanong *Mr Speaker, my contention here* ke gore *when we license* dibanka tse mono, a sengwe le sengwe sa rona se felele mono. Le *compensations* tse di dirwang ke *insurance companies* tse di *licensed* mono, mme *headquarters* tsa bone di le kwa mafatsheg a mangwe, go tshwanetse

gore *disputes* tse di leng teng di rarabololwe mono. Ke yone kgang ya me eo, *otherwise*, ke a go utlwa *Minister*; batho ba rona ga ba a tshwanela go latlhegelwa ke ditiro ka ntlha ya go tlhoka go ikuela kwano, ba lebagana le batho ba bo ba fetsa dikgang tsa bone. Tota *this is what I wanted to raise Mr Speaker. Thank you.*

**MR NTLHAILE:** Matshwenyego a gago a bothokwa *Honourable Member*, ke dingwe tse di bothokwa gore re tlhomamisa gore di a direga. Le fa go ntse jalo, ke batla go go tshephisa gore BoB, Standard Chattered le *local banks*, ba sala ditsamaiso tsa lefatshe la Botswana morago. Jaaka ke setse ke tlhalositse, dibanka tse di bereka *as groups, therefore*, ba na le *a pool of presiding officers* ba ba ba dirisang. Ba tlhomamisa gore ditsheko tsa mofuta o, go nna go na le *an Employee Relations Head*, go tlhomamisa gore melawana ya lefatshe la Botswana e a diragadiwa fa go tsewa ditshwetso. Ke a leboga.

#### SEMOLO WATER TREATMENT PLANT

**MR C. K. HIKUAMA (MAUN WEST):** asked the Minister of Water and Human Settlement to give:

- (i) a comprehensive update on the Semolo Water Treatment Plant maintenance; and
- (ii) urgent measures to arrest the persistent water shortages in the villages of Kareng, Sehithwa, Bodibeng, Bothatogo, Toteng, Legotlhwane and Tsau in the Maun West Constituency.

**ASSISTANT MINISTER OF WATER AND HUMAN SETTLEMENT (MR MOTSAMAI):** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke leboge mmotsi wa potso e e tlhapileng, a batla go itse ka seemo sa go nosa batho ba metsana ya Kareng, Sehithwa, Bodibeng, Bothatogo, Toteng, Legotlhwane le Tsau mo *constituency* ya Maun West.

Karabo ka bokhutshwane *Mr Speaker* ke gore, *there was commissioning of a plant* kana lefelo le le fetlhang metsi a a *treated*, go nosa batho ka ngwaga wa 2000. *Plant* e e ntsha metsi a a kanang ka 40 *per cent*. *Plant* e e setse e tsofetse mo e utlwisang bothoko, metsi ga a lekane batho sentle jaaka Mopalamente a bua, e fetile le lebaka (*lifespan*) le e le beelwang la 20 *years*. Lephata la Water Utilities le ne la simolodisa mo gotweng ke Reverse Osmosis Treatment New Plant kwa Semolo. Go dirilwe jaana ka *July 2024*, *plant* e e le P39.7 *million*. Go ne go tshwanetse gore e bo e feditswe mo lebakeng la ngwaga, mme go lebega go sa kgonagala go fetsa ka nako e e beilweng. Go nnile le metsametsano fale le fale, e e

dirileng gore Water Utilities Corporation (WUC) e tseye tshwetso ya gore e *terminate* konteraka.

Potso ya bobedi *Mr Speaker* fa ke feta ka bonako, e botsa fela gore ke matsapa afe a a bonako a a le kang go baakanya seemo sa tlhalelo ya metsi kwa Kareng, Sehithwa, Bodibeng, Bothatogo, Toteng, Legotlhwane le Tsau. Ke tshwanetse go supa gore Lephata la Water Utilities ka yone *plant* e e kgologolo e, le leka ka bojotlhe gore le nose batho ka go ela tlhoko gore metsi ga a tlhaele motse ope ka selekanyo. Fa godimo ga moo, go bo go boa gape go dirisiwa dikoloi tse di tsayang metsi, go oketsa metsi gore batho ba metse e ba lekanwe ke metsi le fa a sa ba lekane 100 *per cent*. Seemo se Water Utilities e se itemogelang, e re ntswa go ntse jalo *Mr Speaker*, ga se fela gore *plant* e tsofetse, lephata le itemogela gore go na le batho ba e reng go ntse jalo, a bo e re fa dipompo di fetang teng, ba bo ba di thuba ba di senya, metsi a tshologa. E nna gore le fa go tsenngwa metsi mo ditankeng gore a tle a ye kwa bathong, a simolola a nowa ke dikgomo jalojalo, a bo a tswelala ka go tlhalela batho, mme seo ga se re kgobe marapo. Re tlaa tswelala ka go buisana le batho mme re kope le Mapalamente go re thusa go buisana le batho ba e leng gore bangwe gape ba utswa ditsompelo kana didirisiwa tsa lephata. Gore seemo se se tokafale, ke gore rotlhe re se kopanele re bone gore re a se baakanya *Mr Speaker*. Ke a leboga.

**MR HIKUAMA:** *Supplementary*. Ke a leboga *Honourable Speaker*. Ke a leboga Tona go tsibogela potso e ke e boditseng. O supa fa go ne go abilwe *a tender* kana maikaelelo a go baakanya, kana ka go tla ka *plant* e e ntsha ka gore e go lebega e ne e fetilwe ke nako, mme e le boammaaruri, e a bo e fetile *lifespan*. Re ne re solofeditse gore ka *July last year*, kompone e tlaabo e feditse tiro, *plant* e bo e simolola go dira. Gompiono re mo ngwageng o sele wa 2025 e bile o ya bokhutlong, o bua ka *termination* ya konteraka. Potso e ne e le gore konteraka e le e emisitse leng? Fa le sena *to terminate* le eme gone foo kana go na le nngwe e le e beileng go tsweledisa tiro ka gore batho ba santse ba tlhoka metsi ka bokete? Ga le ka ke la *terminate* le bo le ema fela, gongwe o ka tlhatswa *termination after termination, what are the steps taken by the ministry* go netefatsa gore *plant* e nna teng e a shafadiwa?

Potso ya bobedi, go a supafala gore maiteko a lona a re le bogelang bodiredi jwa gago, ba leka go dira jwa go tshela ka dikoloi, go tlhalela fela mo go felelang batho ba nna dibeke, dikgwedi, ba sena thothi ya metsi mo

metseng e ke e buileng. A ga le akanye go oketsa dikoloi bogolo tsa go tshelela batho metsi gore di tokafatse seemo ka gore batho ba etle ba tlhoke le one metsi a go nwa pilisi tota? A ga le bone go le botlhokwa go oketsa, la batla, la kgara gongwe le gongwe kwa le ka bonang teng dikoloi tsa go oketsa *browsers* go tokafatsa seemo? Seemo se se borai fela thata, le mo dikoleng di a tle di tswalwe bana ba sa apeelwe ka gore metsi a bo a seyo. Barutabana le bodiredi bo setse bo emisitse go dirisa *toilets* tsa bone ka gore ga go na metsi. Diemo tse le bona le ka se ke la di tsibogela ka go oketsa *browsers*?

O buile ka kgang ya *vandalism* ya dithoto tsa metsi le didirisiwa le go utswa, o bo o kopa gore le boemedi bo tshwana le rona le Mapalamente re le thuse. Ga ke itse gore le ne le akanya gore re ka thusa jang mo go ka tokafatsang seemo. Maiteko a ke a dirileng ke go bitsa bana ba lephata la gago re tsamaya re *address* batho gore seemo ke se, a re lekeng go se tshwaraganela. Gongwe o na le metlhale e mengwe e o bonang re ka e dira botoka go thusa, ke ya mefuta efe, re ka dira jang?

Mo pakeng e e fetileng ke ne ka kopa gore kana dinako tse dingwe batho ba ba senyang dithoto, ba dirwa ke go bona metsi a feta fa thoko ga bone. A lephata la gago ga le ise le tle mo seemong sa go bona gore gongwe go ka dirwa *some strategic water points along the water line* go ka tsenya metsi gore batho ba nne le *access to clean water*? A ga ise le akanye gore gongwe go ka fokotsa tshenyo ya dithoto tsa metsi? Ke a leboga *Honourable Speaker*.

**MR MOTSAMAI:** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Go na le potso e e botsang gore go emisitswe leng, tota gongwe kgwedi ga ke e tshware sentle, mme go emisitswe mo go 2024 go sena go bonwa matshwenyego a ke neng ke sa tswa go bua ka one. *Termination* e e ne e le gone go leka go bonwa gore a go ka se ke go dirwe sengwe se se sha se se ka tswelang batho molemo.

Go na le potso ya bobedi *Mr Speaker*, e e reng a re bona *to browser* metsi go lekane, a ga re na kakanyo ya go oketsa dikoloi tse di ka sielang batho, ga go a lekana *sir*, fa madi a ne a le teng, re ka bo re ne re ka kopa gore madi a bonale. Re mo lebelong re leka go batla madi a go bona gore seemo se re ka se tokafatsa ka tsela e e ntseng jang, *including* le maakanya a mangwe a re lekang go a dirisa le mo metseng e metona ya go tsenya *smart metres*. Re bitse mogwebi yo o nang le madi a tsenye *smart metres*, e re fa go ntse go duelwa madi mangwe a tsene mo go ene, e le ka fa re mo duelang ka teng. Motsing Goromente a na le madi, a bo a ka

mo duela *balance* e e setseng, a bo a tswa a tsamaya. Ke mangwe maakanya a re tlang ka one, a re sa itseng gore a a ka bereka ka gore fa o tlhasetswe ke mathata, o akanya o ya madipe, o sa itse gore o tshwara fa kae o tlogela fa kae.

Go na le kgang e nngwe e o neng wa feta ka yone ya gore a ga re bone go na le mengwe metlhale e mesha e re ka dirang gore tshenyo e wele kwa tlase. Nnyaa, gone tota ga go batle metlhale e mesha kana e megologolo, go batla fela gore batho ba dikgaolo tsa rona jaaka o bua, e bile re go leboegele gore wa re o ne o tsamaya o buisa diphuthego o bua ka tshenyo e, re na le lenaneo le re tsayang gore le lone le ya go re sologela molemo, la Itireleng. Mo go lone Tautona o bua a papametse gore go bonwe gore go nne le batho ba ba hirwang e le mapodise a metse le a dithota gore fa ba bonang tshenyo teng, batho bao ba tshwarwe ba lebiswiwe molato o o ka lebiswang ope. Ntlha e nngwe ya bobedi, re na le gore fa re bona madi gongwe le gongwe kwa re nang le *pump stations* teng, dithoto tsa ga Goromente teng, re tsenye boranyane jo e leng gore le fa re le mo diofising, re ka bona motho a senya, ra bo ra kua mapodise gore ba ye go mo tshwara. O ne o bua ka *strategy* se sesha, ke tsaya gore tsone tse ke dingwe tsa dilo tse re supang gore ke mangwe maiteko a re batlang go a dira go fema seemo sa tshenyo e e fetang selekanyo. Ke a leboga.

**MR HIKUAMA:** *Procedure. Mr Speaker*, Tona o rile ga a itse kgwedi e go emisitsweng ka yone, ke golo gongwe mo 2024. Go botlhokwa *Mr Speaker* go leka go kala *efficiency* le tsibogo go itse gore go emisitswe leng e bile gompiano jaana ba dira eng. Ga go a tlhatswega gore *they have terminated of course, then what?* Ba dirile eng go ya kwa pele ka gore *you cannot terminate* o bo o nna fela o re *I have terminated, now* ke ntse. Kgwedi e botlhokwa *to determine the efficiency of the Government* le go tsiboga ga yone.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Honourable Minister*, a ko o leke.

**MR MOTSAMAI:** Nnyaa, ga ke leke *Mr Speaker*, tla ke mo itsise fela gore *we have terminated*, re na le maiteko a a papametseng, a re a dirang fa re sena go *terminate*. Ke buile gore rakonteraka fale le fale, ga a a ka a leleka nako jaaka re ne re solofetse. Mo go rayang gore re kwa morago thatathata. Kgang eo e bo e tsala *termination*. Ke ka se ke ke tsepolole tse dingwe ka gore ke kgang e le ene a tlaa batlang go itlhatlha leina. Totatota fa go sena go nna go dirwa *termination* jaana, maikaelelo ke gore le ene fa re sena go nna re mmaya fa fatshe re mo kaela gore mme jaanong khudu e rathile, re tlaabo re...

**MR SPEAKER:** O ne a re kgwedi ke leng, ga ke itse gore a o na le yone?

**MR MOTSAMAI:** Rra?

**MR SPEAKER:** O ne a botsa ka gore *date* ya *termination* ke leng?

**MR MOTSAMAI:** Ee, ke ne ke ya kwa go yone *Mr Speaker*.

**MR SPEAKER:** Yes, please go ahead.

**MR MOTSAMAI:** *Mr Speaker*, ke ne ke tsaya gore ke buile gore dirilwe *termination* ka 2024. Fa go dirilwe *termination* ka 2024 jaana, ke tlhamaletse fela ka re ke tlaa mo tlhomamisetsa kgwedi.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Okay*. A re o tlaa go e tlhomamisetsa *Honourable Hikuama*.

**MR HIKUAMA:** Point of order. *Mr Speaker*, I think *o tshwanetse* to call him to order *gore a arabe potso ya gore ba dira eng* after termination? Are they appointing another company to continue or not? *Kana o bua gore go na le sengwe se ba se dirang*. I do not know *gore* what is that question. I think he should be very clear *gore* what is it that they are doing? Have they called companies to tender *kana* they are going to appoint *ka mothale o ba o ratang thata wa* direct appointment *kana ba dira eng*? There should be a clear answer to Parliament even to the people *gore* what is it that is being done? *Mo o go buang e kete re ja dikgang tsa rona nna le ene, ga go ka ke ga re thusa*.

**MR SPEAKER:** Nnyaa, ga a je dikgang, o mo karabong, gongwe ga le dumalane. Mma ke utlwe gore a o ka tlhalosa go feta ka fa a tlhalositseng ka teng mo go ya gore mme *post termination* le dira jang.

**MR MOTSAMAI:** *Mr Speaker*, kana fa o araba o re mme re tshwere ka natla go bona gore seemo seo se re se tsibogela ka tsela e e ntseng jang, kana o raya gore ka bonako jo bo rileng, go tlaa dirisiwa *method* o o leng teng, a ke wa *tendering, direct appointment* kana wa eng go bona gore batho bao ba nwe metsi *Mr Speaker*. Ke yone kgang e e leng teng.

Fa ke wela *Mr Speaker*, ke tsaya gore motho fa a tshwana le bo Rre Pule, o kile a nna Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente, jaanong fa e re a le ka kwa a goa fela a ntse a re “leng, leng,” o nne o mmaya mo tseleng *Mr Speaker*.

Ke a leboga.

### GOVERNMENT’S ROLE IN THE ECONOMY

**DR U. DOW (KGATLENG WEST):** asked the Minister of Trade and Entrepreneurship whether he appreciates that Government plays a significant role in the economy of Botswana and more particularly that:

- (i) Government directly and indirectly through State Owned Enterprises and Entities, is a significant procurer of services offered by private companies and individuals;
- (ii) business or commercial success, in Botswana and anywhere in the world, depends on timely payment for services provided and goods sold;
- (iii) failure by the Government to timely pay for services and goods procured from private businesses undermines those businesses’ ability to in turn meet their financial obligations; and
- (iv) that his Ministry will be failing in its mandate if it ignored the damage to specific businesses in particular and the economy in general and does not address the current crises of unpaid invoices by Government.

### MINISTER OF TRADE AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP (MR NTSIMA):

Thank you *Mr Speaker* and thank you for the question *Honourable Member*. *Mr Speaker*, I thank the *Honourable Member* for Kgatleng West, Mma Dow, for raising an important and timely question on Government’s role in the economy, and in particular the impact of delayed payments to the private sector. *Mr Speaker*, I fully appreciate and the ministry fully recognises that Government continues to play a significant and catalytic role in Botswana’s economy. This includes its function as: A major investor through national development programmes; A major employer; and critically, a major procurer of goods and services, both directly and through State Owned Enterprises (SOEs). We are therefore, conscious that Government’s procurement behaviour directly affects business liquidity, competitiveness, and overall private-sector confidence. *Mr Speaker*, the *Honourable Member* is correct that Government and SOEs form a substantial share of the market for many citizen-owned companies, especially Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SMEs). As such, timely procurement and timely payment are essential

to sustaining the health of our business ecosystem. Mr Speaker, I fully agree that commercial success anywhere in the world depends on reliable cash flow. Delayed payments weaken a business's ability to:

- Pay employees on time;
- Service loans with financial institutions;
- Procure inputs and restock; and
- Sustain operations, growth, and job creation. Therefore, delayed payments have a ripple effect across the value chain, lowering productivity and dampening private sector growth. Mr Speaker, the Honourable Member is correct: failure by any arm of Government to pay on time undermines business stability. This is of particular concern to citizen-owned enterprises and youth owned startups that often operate with limited working capital and rely heavily on predictable cash flow. Mr Speaker, my mministry's mandate is trade facilitation, enterprise growth, and the creation of an enabling environment for the private sector. In this regard, we cannot ignore and we have not ignored the impact of delayed payments on businesses and the broader economy. I wish to inform this Honourable House that:

(a) The ministry is already working with the Ministry of Finance to address the backlog of unpaid invoices. A joint task team has been established to:

- Verify outstanding invoices;
- Prioritise payments for SMEs and citizen-owned companies.

(b) Government has adopted digital procurement and payment reforms.

(c) The ministry is developing a policy position on "Prompt Payment Standards."

(d) We are engaging the private sector to monitor and resolve bottlenecks. This includes collaboration with: Business Botswana, Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency (CEDA) clients and Local Enterprise Authority (LEA)-supported entrepreneurs. In conclusion Mr Speaker, I wish to assure this House that:

- We appreciate the scale and seriousness of the issue;

- We agree with the Honourable Member's concerns; and

- We are taking concrete steps to ensure that delayed payments do not continue to harm businesses or the national economy. As the ministry responsible for trade and enterprise development, we will continue to champion reforms that enhance the ease of doing business, strengthen private sector confidence, and ensure that Government remains a reliable economic partner. I thank you Madam Speaker.

**DR DOW:** Supplementary. Thank you, Mr Speaker. Thank you very, very much Honourable Minister. I appreciate that answer and I applaud you for putting together a task team to deal with... *Ke a itse gore go na le matlhale kwa go lona, a mme ga le bone gore fa gongwe go botoka o kgaolela motho gona le gore o mo kolote?* When you have a bill of P100 for example, sometimes it helps even just to pay a quarter or a third as you raise money for the rest *gore e se ka ya nna tshoo-tshoo*. You cannot pay all bills at once, I think we all understand that, but maybe you should have a strategy of making sure *gore le koronyetsa ba le ba kolotang*. Thank you.

**MR NTSIMA:** I thank the Honourable Member for adding *tota* as another way of getting out of what we see before us. *O re fa maele a gore re ka dira jang. Ke tsaya gore task team e tlaa re fa e sena go lebelela*, we could take that as one of the ideas that we move forward. I thank you Mr Speaker.

#### PURIFICATION OF WATER IN LETLHAKENG DISTRICT

**BRIG. D. MOKGWATHI (LETLHAKENG):** asked the Minister of Water and Human Settlement if:

- (i) there are any plans to purify (desalinate) water in Letlhakeng District; and
- (ii) it would not be ideal for Letlhakeng District to receive water supply from North-South water carrier as a long-term plan.

**ASSISTANT MINISTER OF WATER AND HUMAN SETTLEMENT (MR MOTSAMAI):** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Mma ke arabe Mopalamente, ke bo ke mo akgolele gape go tsa potso e ya go nosa dikgaolwana tsa Letlhakeng. Ke supe fela *Mr Speaker* gore kana karabo e ikaegile ka go leka gore metsi a tlhatswegileng a ka se ke a bonelwe dikgaolwana tse tsa Maboane, Takatokwane le Dutlwe *and cluster villages*.

Maitlamo le maikemisetso a rona, re a dirile. Re tsentse mo National Development Plan (NDP) 12 ya gore metse e, e tle e bone metsi a a rileng, a a tlhatswegileng. Metsi *will be supplied from a wellfield* kwa Gaotlhobogwe. Didiba tseo, di nosa kgaolo ya Mokwena ya Molepolole.

*Mr Speaker*, ka 2024, Water Utilities floated a tender ya gore go dirwe *design* ya go aga *reservoir* go nosa metse e ya Letlhakeng. Go raya gore *design* e, e ne e tsentse *pump station* le dipompo tse di tlaabong di phatlalatsa metsi *Mr Speaker*. Ke tshwanetse ka supa gore pompo e nngwe e e tlaabong e tsaya metsi, e ne e a isa kwa kgaolong ya Salajwe. Go raya gore dilo tse tsotlhe tse, di dirwa go tswa mo didibeng tsa Gaotlhobogwe Treatment Plant.

*Mr Speaker*, ke tshwanetse ka supa gore *after the tender was floated*, ya tshwanelwa ke gore e abiwe *after evaluation*, mme ga nna le mathata a letlhoko la madi. Go ne ga dira gore go se ka ga abiwa *tender*, gore tiro e tswelele. E bo e ema gone foo, ka madi a a kana ka P55 million. A bo go raya gore P8 million o tlaabo a tsaya metsi 21 kilometres (km) go tswa mo Letlhakeng go a isa kwa Khudumelapye. *Ministry* wa rona o lebile thata gore mo ngwageng wa madi o o tlang, re leke go bona gore batho ba dikgaolo tse, ba nna le tshiamelo ya go nwa metsi a a siameng, e bile a lekanye.

Karabo ya bobedi *Mr Speaker*, potso e ne e botsa gore, *long-term solution* ya rona ya sennelaruri mo bathong ba metse eo go bona metsi, e ka tswa e le efe. E ikopantse le gore a ga re bone go le botlhokwa go tsaya metsi mo lenaneong le le sielang Molepolole metsi gore e nne la sennelaruri. Re rile ee, re bona go le botlhokwa jalo. *We plan* gore batho ba metse e, ba bone metsi go tswa mo lenaneong le le nosang Molepolole la togamaano ya metsi. *In the meantime*, ba tlaabo ba a nwa mo go yone e ya Gaotlhobogwe *wellfield*. Ke a leboga.

**MR SPEAKER:** Let me see how much time we have, maybe we can utilise the *five* minutes. Honourable Phologolo.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ke tlaa mo tseela *question nine Mr Speaker*.

#### KAMPALA DECLARATION

**MR T. B. LUCAS (BOBIRWA):** asked the Minister of Lands and Agriculture to state whether or not the National Development Plan proposals are aligned to the Kampala Declaration as regards to the proportion of investment in the sector; if not, what is the plan to

achieve the level of investment on the sector consistent with the Kampala Declaration.

**ACTING MINISTER OF LANDS AND AGRICULTURE (DR DIKOLOTI):** Thank you Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, the Botswana's NDP 12 aligns with the African Union's (AU) Kampala Declaration of 2025, committing at least 10 per cent of public expenditure to agriculture, with 35 per cent dedicated to livestock. Key priorities include; modernising the Ramatlabama Artificial Insemination (AI) and laboratory, strengthening One Health Systems and vaccination, restoring rangelands through climate partnerships, upgrading traceability systems, and investing in value-chain infrastructure. The progress will be tracked through annual scorecards, independent audits, and AU Biennial Review Reporting, reaffirming Botswana's commitment to agricultural transformation and resilience.

Mr Speaker, the NDP 12 aligns strongly with the Kampala Declaration by prioritising mechanisation, irrigation, soil health, post-harvest infrastructure, value-chain upgrading, and strategic commodities that enhance productivity, extension service, resilience, and rural economic growth.

Mr Speaker, the plan expands public investment in key agricultural infrastructure *jaaka ke ne ke di bua*. Irrigation networks, cold-chain systems, processing facilities, laboratories, and rural access routes, directly supporting the declaration's call for greater agricultural financing. Its emphasis on mechanisation and modern production systems increases the need for training, advisory services, quality assurance, and innovation especially for flagship initiatives like the cannabis industry and the One Country One Priority (OCOP) programme *e e leng gore re tlhophile tapole*.

Mr Speaker, the plan also advances climate-smart and resilient agriculture through improved irrigation, mechanisation, cold-chain development, better road access, enabling smallholder inclusion and reduced vulnerability to climate shocks. Strengthening seed and input security further supports resilience through the establishment of a national seed bank, an input subsidy programme focused on indigenous open-pollinated seeds, and improved access to certified drought-tolerant seed varieties and locally blended fertilizers. Value-chain development is reinforced through agro-processing, improved logistics, and targeted commodity promotion, which together unlock rural economies and reduce inefficiencies.

Finally, Mr Speaker, the plan enhances partnerships and accountability, as its major initiatives depend on collaboration between Government, private sector, research institutions, and farmer organisations. Investment in laboratories, standards, and infrastructure also strengthens coordination and transparency across the agricultural system. Overall, NDP 12 is fully aligned with the Kampala Declaration and positions the sector for more productive, resilient, inclusive, and well-coordinated agricultural transformation. I thank you Mr Speaker.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Supplementary.

**MR SPEAKER:** Supplementary Honourable Lucas, keep them short, we have overshot the runway.

**MR LUCAS:** *Supplementary.* Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker. Minister*, ke mo Komiting ya *Agriculture*, ke na le Rre Bogatsu le Rre Gobotswang. Re ne re kopane le ba *ministry* wa gago, Permanent Secretary (PS) *and other officials*. Ba ne ba supa gore *you are not yet at 10 per cent budget allocation for Agriculture* mo Botswana *because* go na le bothata jwa letlhoko la madi. A mme o ka kgona *to reconcile that which we got from the PS and his team and what you are saying today* gore you are aligned?

*Number two*, fa gongwe fa go na le *a declaration like this one, which is an AU Declaration*, go nna le *domestication* ya yone. A mme le mo *process* ya *to domestic* it gore e tsamaelane le diemo tse di leng teng ka kwano Botswana? Fa e le gore go ntse jalo, a go na le *document that you can refer to* gore mme Kampala Declaration, *we have domesticated it?* O ka lebelela *document* ya bonnanne ka ke lebile gore *policy* ya *Agriculture* ga e ise e nne teng.

Sa boraro ke gore, fa re batla gore *Agriculture* e tswelole pele mo lebakeng le le leele, go raya gore go nne le tsela e re tsenyang banana mo teng gore ba tswelodise fa batsadi ba bone ba tlogetseng teng. A le na le lenaneo la gore *Agriculture* le e dire gore e kgatlhise banana? Re tle re nne le tswelolepele mo dingwageng tse di tlang, banana ba tswelodisa temothuo? Ke a leboga rraetsho.

**DR DIKOLOTI:** Ke a go leboga Oom Luu. Ke tsaya gore potso ya ntlha *Mr Speaker*, ga ke ka ke ka arabela dikgang tse ba neng ba seba kwa ntle kwa. Ke ne ke seyo mo go tsone.

**MR LUCAS:** *Order! Mr Speaker, I cannot accept that.* Komiti ya *Agriculture*, re ne re sa sebe gope fela. Ga

ke ka ke ka selasela dilo kwa, ke tla ke di tsisa kwano. Re ne re le mo Komiting ya *Agriculture headed by Rre Bogatsu and Rre Gobotswang is a member.*

**DR DIKOLOTI:** *Mr Speaker*, ga ke ka ke ka arabela dikgang tsa kwa ntle, tse ba neng ba di bua koo. Ke itebagantse le potso, ke neetse Motlotlegi Lucas ka boammaaruri jo ke bo mo neetseng, ke dumela gore a tseye karabo e a neng a...

**MR PULE:** *Point of order Mr Speaker.* Nnyaa, Ntlo e e tlaabo e latlhega *Mr Speaker*. Tona fa a botswa potso, a sena karabo ya yone, o kopa gore a ye go batla karabo, *simple*. E seng gore a bo a re ga a ka ke a araba, *because* tota *we hold him accountable as* maloko a Ntlo e. *So I would rather* a re ke kopa gore ke ye go tsaya karabo, ga ke na yone. E seng ga ke ka ke ka e araba. Ga go ka ke ga nna sentle fa go nna jalo *Mr Speaker*.

**DR DIKOLOTI:** *Mr Speaker*, ke boditswe potso mo Palamenteng e, ke file karabo. Gakere o ne a mpotsa, ke mo arabile jaaka a mpoditse. Tse dingwe tsa kwa ntle tse, ke tsaya gore Motlotlegi Mabuse Pule yo ke mo tlotlang thata...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Procedure.

**MR SPEAKER:** Mma ke mo utlwe. Ke batla go utlwa a wela. *Honourable Minister*, wela ke utlwe.

**DR DIKOLOTI:** Kana jaanong ba nkitaya tsebe. *Mr Speaker*, ke boditswe potso, ke e arabile. *I answered it in full*, and karabo ya me *still stands*. Ke karabo ya me e a neng a mpotsa, ga go na epe kwa ntle ga e ke mo arabileng, e a ka batlang gore a nkise kwa ke sa yang teng. A se ka a nkisa kwa tlhaelong, e a ka se keng a nkgolole mo go yone. Ke mo arabile, e tlhamaletse *Honourable Lucas*. *You have asked me a question, the answer is straightforward.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Procedure Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Minister, *a o ya kwa* supplementaries he raised, *kana o raya* gore they are covered?

**DR DIKOLOTI:** *...(Inaudible)...* ke araba, ke *first part* e a neng a bua dikgang tsa kwa ntle, tse ke ka se keng ka di arabela fa. O mpoditse potso ya *...(Inaudible)...* ya *agriculture*.

**MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS AND INNOVATION (MR TSHERE):** Procedure. Mr

Speaker, thank you very much. *Ke tsaya gore ke utlwa*

Honourable Dikoloti, *fa komiti ya Palamente e tsenetse kwa ntle, ga re ka ke ra tlisa dikgang tsa teng fa. Di tshwanetse di tle ka proper channels tsa report, ke gone re bo re e adopt, then discuss it.* Honourable Lucas as a Senior Member of this House, knows that he cannot bring matters from the committee, even though they have not been adopted by the House and he is in order to say that.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Procedure Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** Let me make a ruling on this one. Honourable Members, *ke tsaya gore re a itse rotlhe gakere gore dikomiti ke extension ya Palamente.* That is why *le sittings tsa teng, di bidiwa sittings. Se le tshwanetseng le se itse* Honourable Members *ke gore*, we have procedure in terms of how we deal with matters *tse di before dikomiti.* As Honourable Tshere is saying, such matters cannot be prematurely brought into the House, until they come in the form of a report that will be adopted by Parliament and then anyone of you may cause a debate on that report. That is when now Ministers if they need to respond to anything in a report, they will do so. When such a report has not been brought to the House, certainly that cannot be raised.

*Jaanong tsweetswee* Honourable Members, *le a bona gore* we have overshot the runway on questions? *Ke ne ke itheile ke re le tlaa letlelela* Honourable Dikoloti *gore a arabe* supplementary questions, *re bo re ya kwa legatong le le latelang.*

**MR LUCAS:** *Procedure. Mr Speaker, golo fa o kare re tlaa tsena mo mathateng a gore batho ba na le go iphitlha ka monwana, e bo kgantele ba nna diteme dintsi, mme e le Goromente a le mongwefela. Kgang e tona fa ke gore, tota ke ne ke batla reconciliation ya statement se se builweng kwa an extension of Parliament, being the Committee ya Agriculture le se se buiwang ke Minister. Fa e le gore gongwe o ka tswa a sa itse gore ba buile jalo, o ka supa jalo. Gona le gore a re dilo tse di buiwang kwa ntle. Ke go nyenyafatsa dikomiti tsa Palamente.*

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Lucas, *fa ke reeditse Minister, se a lekang go se bua ke gore* he cannot attest to what has been said, wherever that might have been said. Until and unless that report has come to Parliament, and indeed that is picked *mo report, e bo e le gone gongwe le ka batlang gore a se tsibogele,* by way of either a Motion to discuss the report or otherwise.

*Jaanong ke sone se ke reng tsweetswee, mo tlogeleng a*

*arabe* supplementary questions, *re tswelele le business ya Palamente.*

**DR DIKOLOTI:** *Ke a leboga* Mr Speaker, and thanks for ruling over that. Mr Speaker, in large even in the supplementaries that were asked, *karabo ya teng e telele jaaka ke ne ke e bala,* information *ya teng e teng gone mo, Motlotlegi Lucas o tlaa e bala, o tlaa e buisa. Ke raya gore* all is in order Mr Speaker, I thank you.

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Order! Honourable Members. *Nako ya dipotso e tshaile.* Honourable Members, I understand that the Chairperson of the Parliamentary Caucus on Women wishes to make a statement, the Chairperson is the Right Honourable Deputy Speaker, Member for Mmopane-Metsimotlhabe, Honourable Helen Pushy Manyeneng. You may use this platform if you wish.

## STATEMENT

### 16 DAYS OF ACTIVISM AGAINST GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

#### CHAIRPERSON OF THE PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS ON WOMEN (MS MANYENENG):

Thank you Mr Speaker. Honourable Members of Parliament and the nation at large, good afternoon.

Mr Speaker, I rise today to join the nation and the international community in commemorating the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence, which was launched today under the theme: “Unite to End Digital Violence Against All Women and Girls.”

This is an international campaign that calls on each one of us; leaders, parents, educators, and citizens to confront all forms of violence that hinder the dignity, safety and progress of women and girls. This year Mr Speaker, we shine a spotlight on a growing threat: digital violence.

Mr Speaker, there are many structural and institutional methods of work that constitute barriers to achieve gender equality and empowerment of women and girls. One of the most disturbing barriers that strikes at the very heart of democracy is digital violence against women and girls as a means to propagate and maintain the status quo.

The year 2025 marks the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which laid the foundation to achieve equal rights of all women and children. As our nation advances toward a digital economy and as we embrace online learning,

e-commerce, and social media connectivity, we must also confront the reality that technology is increasingly being used as a tool of harm.

Today, we are contending with a new threat in the form of digital abuse where women and girls across Botswana are facing online harassment and bullying, threats and intimidation, non-consensual sharing of intimate images, impersonation and identity theft, cyber-stalking and targeted hate speech. These acts may occur behind screens, but their impact is deeply felt. They cause emotional trauma, social isolation, damaged reputations, school dropouts, job losses, and even physical danger. Digital violence is not a new problem; it is simply gender-based violence in a new space.

Firstly, it is important that we recognise and accept that women are targets of acts of violence purely on the basis of their gender. This is a scar on any society that must be confronted head on and eradicated. As the late Archbishop Desmond Tutu so powerfully reminded us, 'If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor.' These words compel us to reject silence, confront inequality with courage and to act decisively in defence of the dignity and rights of every woman and girl in our nation.

Honourable Members, in a decisive step towards protecting women and girls from the rising threat of digital violence, you have recently passed the Cybersecurity Bill on 14<sup>th</sup> August, 2025.

As the Parliamentary Caucus on Women, we motivate that this landmark legislation must now be fully and effectively implemented to safeguard our communities, close gaps in online safety and ensure that the digital space becomes a tool for empowerment, not a platform for abuse. The successful implementation of the piece of legislation will depend on our collective commitment to uphold its provisions and defend the rights and dignity of every woman and girl.

Mr Speaker, communities, schools and families must be empowered to understand digital abuse, recognise warning signs and support survivors without judgement passed on them or stigma. We must also ensure that reporting mechanisms work. Mr Speaker, we therefore, call for urgent action against soaring digital violence incidents. Women and girls must know where to go and seek help. They must be treated with dignity and have confidence that their reported cases will be taken seriously.

We must partner with companies that deal with technology, civil society and law enforcement to improve online safety, monitoring and accountability. Women and girls must be empowered with digital literacy and cyber-safety skills so that they are able to engage confidently and safely in online spaces.

Mr Speaker, a baseline study by Gender Links (Botswana) revealed that 46 per cent of women surveyed have experienced some form of online violence. According to that same study, the most common forms of online violence reported were: Cyberstalking (46 per cent), Online sexual harassment (15 per cent), Gender trolling (15 per cent). Platforms most often associated with this violence (according to respondents): Facebook (88 per cent), WhatsApp (4 per cent), Twitter (5 per cent). The biggest challenge is that these kinds of incidents go unreported and most of the reported cases relating to internet abuses are never investigated or they end up not reaching the courts of law.

Earlier this month, three Batswana young women who were victims of an alleged trafficking syndicate were rescued by the Interpol at OR Tambo International Airport. Investigators state the trio had been lured through social media platforms to alleged lucrative jobs in Sierra Leone.

Mr Speaker, ending digital violence is not only a women's issue. It is a national and international development priority. A nation that silences women online limits innovation. A nation that intimidates girls digitally suppresses the leaders of tomorrow. A nation that does not protect the vulnerable cannot present itself as truly free.

During these 16 Days of Activism, I call upon all Batswana and citizens; let us speak out, let us intervene when we see online abuse, let us model respectful digital behaviour, let us teach our children kindness and responsibility, both offline and online, let us unite in our homes, workplaces, schools and communities to end digital violence. Mr Speaker, if we fail to protect women and girls online, we undermine their safety everywhere. If we fail to act, we allow fear to limit their participation in education, leadership, entrepreneurship and national development. Therefore, as Parliament, we must demonstrate leadership in this aspect.

Mr Speaker, Botswana is a proud nation built on the notion of *botho*; that every person deserves dignity. Let us live that value in our digital spaces. Let us create a

future where every single woman and every single girl, from Gaborone to Ghanzi, from Maun to Metsimotlhabe, can use technology safely, confidently and freely.

As women Parliamentarians, we recommend that Government domesticates important provisions contained in international treaties, obligations and United Nations (UN) declarations that are crucial to the protection of women against digital violence. These instruments include Article 7 of the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women which requires ‘States parties to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country’; and, Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which recognises the right of every person to take part in the Government of his or her country;’

Lastly, Mr Speaker, by upholding the rule of law and the duty to respect human rights, we must ensure that there is no impunity for perpetrators of digital violence against women and girls. We must insist on thorough investigations and ensure that offenders are held fully accountable through just criminal prosecution. This commitment aligns directly with Botswana’s Vision 2036, which places the protection of human rights, the dignity of all citizens and the eradication of gender-based violence at the centre of a prosperous, inclusive and just society. By enforcing these principles, we move closer to the Botswana we aspire to, thus the one where every woman and girl lives free from fear, violence and discrimination.

In closing, Mr Speaker and Honourable Members, it is not only for female parliamentarians to carry the torch against digital violence against women, but it is for all parliamentarians, men must champion inclusion and gender equality.

Together let us say with it in one voice; **Unite. Speak out. Act Now.**

**End Digital Violence. End Gender-Based Violence.**

I thank you for your kind attention. Thank you, Mr Speaker.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Applause!)

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Order! Honourable Members. Honourable Members, you have heard the statement by the Chairperson of the Parliamentary Caucus on Women.

I think in the past, we have treated this statement like statements made by Ministers under Order 41, but that is proving challenging and we can find solace either in Order 30.1 on Ceremonial Speeches.

That being the case, Honourable Members, you can ask short questions to elucidate the statement or you may make short comments because this is a very important matter. I would not exclude Members of the Executive for this one. As you know, that is how we have treated such statements in the past.

Honourable Deputy Speaker, would you want to take them in groups *o bo o tla o* summarise *kwa bofelong fa o ntse o reeditse* comments?

**MS MANYENENG:** Yes, Mr Speaker.

**MR LUCAS:** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke bo ke leboga *Honourable Deputy Speaker* go bo o tlile ka *statement* se se ntseng jaana, mme e bile gompieno se itebagantse thatathata le kgokgontsho e e lebagantse le maranyane. *Anger* e e leng teng mo *society* sa rona e e kanakana, e fa gongwe re e bonang le gone mo Palamenteng, ke yone e felelang e dira gore batho ba dirise dikgoka le mo maranyaneng kgalhanong le bomme. E bile *digital violence* e ntse e *connected to physical violence* ka gore e e *digital* o a bo o e dira motho a se foo mme fa a ne a le foo, o ne o ka kgona go mo ama ka mabogo. Go na le *anger* e ntsi e o fitlhelang batho ba le bantsi ba e supa. *Madam Deputy Speaker*, ke dumela gore gongwe sengwe sa dilo tse re tshwanetseng go remelela mo go tsone go ya kwa pele, ke go leka go itebaganya le kgang e ba bangwe ba e bitsang ba re *anger management*. Fa re ntse re bua ka *incidents* le matshwenyego, re bo gape re leka go thusa batho ba le bantsi gore tota mme fa ba šhakgetse thata, ba ithaya ba re ba šhakaletse mongwe, ba ne ba ka fodisa tšhakgalo eo ka tsela e e ntseng jang. Gongwe e re re le mo *movement* wa go leka go lwantsha *gender-based violence*, re tsene gape mo *movement* wa go lwantsha gore batho ba šhakaletse sephologolo. Gone moo kana le *course* fela o a e tsena jaaka re ntse re tsena *courses* beke e. Fa o utlwa maikutlo a gago e kete ke a go šhakgala sephologolo, o bo o ka tsena *course*, motho a kgone go fodisa maikutlo a gagwe, a kgone go a rapelela gore a se ka a nna *violent* mo go ba bangwe.

Kgang e ya tšhakgalo mmaetsho le go *deal* le yone, a e nne nngwe ya mananeo a re a tlišang go leka go reba *gender-based violence, either digitally or physically*. Ke a leboga.

**DR DOW:** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke a leboga *Deputy Speaker*, o beile kgang ya gago ka bokgabane. Ke go phophothe legetla ke bo ke go rolele hutshe. Ke a go leboga fela thata.

Ke ne ke re gongwe ke akgele ka dikgang tse pedi tse dingwe re ka di tselang kwa pele. La ntlha o ne wa bua ka thuto, e bothokwa. Ga se gore sengwe le sengwe se o se bonang mo maranyaneng ke boammaaruri. E bile ga se gore mongwe le mongwe yo o reng ke Unity Dow, *Honourable Mohwasa*, kana ke *Minister* semangmang, ke ene. Ithute go leba ka leitlho le le ntšhotšho gore a mme motho yo ga a iphitlha ka leina la motho yo mongwe, pele ga o buisana kana o dirisana le ene ka gore go na le botsotsi jone joo mo e leng gore kgantele re tlaabo re lwa re re o ntheile wa re, mme e ne e se nna. Ke ne ke re batho ba ithute go leba thata gore a mme mafoko a ke a ka buiwang ke Rre Tshere, mme kana rre semangmang kana Unity Dow.

Ke tsaya gore o a itse *Mr Speaker through you* gore mo malobeng fale, go ne go ntse go na le maranyane a mangwe a go supang gore ke rekisa diabe dingwe. Fa gongwe e ne e le Vice President (VP) gone fa. Pele ga o dumela gore golo mo go ntse jalo, o ipotse gore a mme fa ke bona tota e ka nna boammaaruri. A re ithuteng go tsenya leitlho le le ntšhotšho mo kgannyeng ya maranyane.

Kgang e nngwe gape e ke batlang go bua ka yone ke gore fa le ka bona motho a apere *balaclava at the mall* a bua le sa mmone, le tlele go gakgamala gakere. E bile le ka re a a rolwe re tle re bone gore motho yo o buang dikgang tse ke mang. Fela go ntse jalo, a batho ba se ka ba rwala *balaclava* mo maranyaneng ka maina a re a bitsang *pseudo*. Fa motho a *play in the public sphere*, a tsena a tla go bua le nna, *honourable* semangmang kana mang le mang, a a tle ka leina la gagwe. *You cannot play in the public sphere* wena o apere *balaclava* ya *pseudo*. Ke ne ke re golo mo gape ke gone mo go rotloetsang kgang ya borukutlhi jo bo amanang le kgokgontsho ya bomme le kgokgontsho ya botlhe fela mo maranyaneng.

Ke tsaya gore fa go ne go ka dirwa *poster* ya batho ba ba kileng ba kgokgontshiwa mo maranyaneng, ke tsaya gore e tlaabo e le ka senepe sa me. Ke mongwe wa batho ba le ka ba bayang kwa godimo ba ba kileng ba kgokgontshiwa, *being harassed* mo maranyaneng, ke le Unity Dow. Le gompiano jaana re ntse, ga re itse gore ke bomang, gakere. Ba ne ba apere *balaclavas in the public*. Golo mo ga go a tshwanela go letlelelwa. *If you are going to play in the public sphere, you must actually*

*show your face*. Molao o papamale le *the justice system* e *respond* mo mathateng a.

Ka bokhutshwane ke ne ke re *Honourable Deputy Speaker*, ke a go leboga fela thata e bile mafoko a gago a mantle, e bile o a adile ka botswerere. Ke a leboga.

**MINISTER OF LABOUR AND HOME AFFAIRS (MAJ. GEN. MOKGWARE):** *Thank you very much Mr Speaker*. Mma ke eme jaana ke leboge thata, ke bo ke rotloetse Batswana, ke re mafoko a a buiwang ke *Deputy Speaker*, a bothokwa tota. Ga a reye rona fela ba ba mo Ntlong e, a raya Motswana mongwe le mongwe kwa a leng teng. Go bothoko tota go bona ka fa bomme ba sotlwang ka teng, ba tlhorontshiwang ka teng mo maranyaneng.

Se ke se kopang gore re ka se dira re le Puso *Madam Speaker* ke gore, a *education* e tseenele mo bathong ka *the use of social media*. Le rona re le Goromente, a re tseyeng dikgato, re tseye boikarabelo, a batho ba go bonale gore re dira sengwe. Motho a se ka a ipitsa ka *pseudo names* jaaka Mme Dow a bua. *Pseudo names* tse di tletseng mo, *some of them* ke banna fela le bomme ba ba tona ba re tsayang gore *they are responsible*. Fa o le rre kana mme o bo o ipitsa *pseudo*, o ipitsa semangmang, o bo o tsenela mo maranyaneng go roga batho, go senya batho maina, Rre Mohwasa, *the Minister for State President* le Rre Tshere, re batla go bona *action*. Batho ba ba dirang jalo ke gore re beye sekao, e re ba sekisiwa, go bewe mo mpaananeng le tse ba di buileng le maina a bone. *Let us uncover them* gore yo ke Mokgware o ipitsa *pseudo* semangmang mme e bile o dirile jaana le jaana. *This is time for action*, re se ka ra tlhola re ntse re bua fela *Mr Speaker*, ke sone se ke se kopang tota fela. *That will stop, this will bring this issue to finality*, ga go na ope yo ka tlholang a ipitsa semangmang a itse gore ke molato, mme e bile a tlhapatsa motho a mo senya leina. Bangwe ba senyegetswe ke ditiro.

Artificial Intelligence (AI) e setse e tsene bagaetsho jaaka o bua *Madam Speaker*. Ke yone e go tlhokafalang *control* mo go yone. Motho o kgona go tsaya senepe sa me fela a ntse jaana a bo a nwa bojalwa golo gongwe, go bo gotwe ke nna ke nwang bojalwa. Kana a tsere lentswe la me fela a bo a bua jaaka gompiano re bona go na le ba ba reng ke rekisa *grants* tsa World Bank. Gotwe ke nna, ba tsere lentswe la me, fa o bua jaana o utlwa gore yo go bua Mokgware tota, ga o ka ke wa bo wa ganetsa. Senepe e le sa me, le molomo o bona gore ke wa me. Yo mongwe maloba fa re mo leleditse, re fitlhetse e le mme kwa Tlokweneng. Fa re mmotsa a re

ene o bone batho ba dirisa fela, ga a itse gore ba dira jang. Re tshwanetse go tsaya kgato tota. Dikotlha o tsa teng di nne setlhogo fela thata, re se ka ra utlwela batho ba botlhoko. Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*.

**MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND TRADITIONAL AFFAIRS (MR MOTSHEGWA):**

Ke a leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente. Ke leboge *Honourable* Manyeneng le komiti ya gagwe, tota le Palamente ka gore ba a bo ba dira boikarabelo mo boemong jwa Palamente. Kgang e ya Gender-Based Violence (GBV), e kokonela setšhaba. E ka koafatsa popagano, kagiso le ledula la setšhaba. E ka kgotlela (*contaminate*) *the peace and harmony* ya *society*. Ke kgang e e ka dirang gore batho ba latlhegelwe ke matshelo. Ke kgang e e ka amang le itsholelo fa re ntse re latlhegelwa ke batho ka dikgang tsa GBV. Tse dingwe di goroga le kwa go latlhegelweng ke matshelo. Go raya gore lefatshe le latlhegelwa ke batho ba ba nang le dikitso le boitseanape jo bo neng bo ka atolosa, jwa godisa itsholelo.

Ke kgang e e ka tlogelang malwapa a kgaogane, a thubegile. Ke kgang e e dirang gore bana ba felele ba le masiela. E bo e le gore gone moo, e felela e nna mokgweleo wa Puso. Re tshwanetse ra e baya mo sekaleng se se e lekaneng. Ke kgang e tona thata, e e kokonelang sika loo motho, kagiso ya lone. E batla methale e mentsi jaaka ba setse ba buile. Ke kgang e e tlhokang gore go nne le tshwaragano ya batho mo go yone. Go sa kgathalesege gore ke bafe, a ke ba ditumelo, mapolotiki, Bogosi kana bape fela. Setšhaba sotlhe se tshwanetse sa e tshwaraganela ka gore e a se ama. Methale e ka nna mentsi, e ka nna go ruta bana ba santse ba le bannye jaaka Motswana a re, “lore le ojwa le sale metsi.” A thuto ya rona e nne e e betlang motho gore e nne yo o eletsegang. E ka raya gore baeteledipele ba dikereke le Magosi jaaka kwa molaong wa Bogosi, re a o sekaseka go o fetola. Re leka go oketsa boikarabelo jwa Magosi gore go nne le tsela e ba betlang motho gore e nne yo o eletsegang, yo o tshelang le ba bangwe ka kagiso.

Fa go tla mo go e e amang kgokgontsho e e tlang ka boranyane. Ke yone e ke tsayang ke re, e tlaare kwa pele, fa Puso e dira *regulation* ya maranyane, ba bangwe ba bo ba tsaya gore *it is invading freedom of speech, conscience* le tse dingwe. Tota re tshwanetse ra di bapisa, re a bo re sireletsa batho. Gompiano maranyane ga a sa tlhole a dirisediwa maikaelelo a one. A dirisiwa go dira dikgang tsa kgokgontsho le go senyaka botshelo

mo go ba bangwe. Ke sone se ke tsayang ke re, melao e e leng gore Tona yo o maleba le tsa itshireletso Rre Mohwasa, fa a tla ka yone, e leka go gagamatsa *that space*. E se ka ya tloga ya tsewa e kete Puso e tsenelela mo go faraseng batho. Maikaelelo ke go sireletsa ba bangwe. Re le baeteledipele, a re nneng seoposengwe, re tshwaraganele seru se, mathata a a wetseng lefatshe. E tle e re kwa bofelong, re bo re na le tšhaba e e agegileng, e tshela mmogo ka popagano, bomme, borre, bana le banana fela jalo. Re a leboga.

**MR HIKUAMA:** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Mma re leboegele Mme Manyeneng go bua puo ya gagwe ka *digital violence*, bogolo jang a itebagantse le kgokgontsho ya bomme. Santlha se re tshwanetseng re se gatelele ke gore, re se ka ra tsaya jaaka Tautona a buile, gore GBV *is a reflection of an angry society* ya lefatshe la Botswana. Ke bontlha bongwe jwa gore tšhaba e tenegile fela. *We have to treat it as a specialised form of violence* e e itebaganyang le kgokgontsho ya bomme le bana, le boleng bope fela jo bo ka tlang bo kgokgontshiwa le ke ba bangwe.

Gompiano ka setlhogo sa re, ‘*Violence* mo go Bomme le Bana.’ Re tshwanetse re e tseye jalo. Fa re ka e tsaya gore ke bontlha fela jwa gore tšhaba e šhakgetse ka bo yone, e shakgetse yotlhe, banna ba šhakgaletse ba bangwe, ga re ka ke ra bona tharabololo ya yone. Re tshwanetse re itebaganye le yone e le tšhakgalo le *violence*, kana kgokgontsho ya bomme le bana. Re bo re batla methale e e *specific Honourable* Tshere. Fa re ka e baya e le bophara, e tlaa re palela. Ga re ka ke ra kgona go e lwantsha sentle. Tautona re mo gakolole gore fa a buisa setšhaba, a tile (*avoid*) mafoko a a tlaa apesang setšhaba kobo e e tlaa ba imetsang go itebaganya le dikgang. Re tshwanetse re tswe fela re papametse, re supe gore Tautona o tshwanetse a tsholetsenge, a ye fa *level* e e fa godimo gore tšhaba e tsiboge ka botlalo. Ke tshwaele ntlha e fela ka gore e ne ya ntshwenya fa gotwe GBV e tshwana fela. Gakere le rona re kgalemela ba bangwe, re itaya ba bangwe mo dibareng. Ke ne ke bona go se maleba.

Se sengwe ke gatelele *Mr Speaker*, kgang e ya *cyber bullying* le *digital violence*. Tota ga ke itse gore o ka dira eng *Mr Mohwasa*. Ke dumela gore o motho yo o nang le botsipa jo bo tseneletseng, e bile jwa sephiri. Go na le sengwe se o ka se dirang. O bona mapolotiki, re bone mo dinakong tse fetileng, baeteledipele ba diphathi mo diphuthegong tsa diphathi, ba rotloetsa maloko a bone go bula *pseudo accounts* gore ba roge batho. Ba ipitsa

bo Tom mang, mang, maina a otlhe, e le dilo tse di rotloetsang mewa ya *pseudo*. E le gore *it is tolerated at the highest political level*. If re ka supa go ila le go nyenya kgang e re le baeteledipele, balatedi ba rona ba ka se ke ba ye kwa *level* ya go bula *pseudo* go roga batho *and abuse people*, le go roga babusi ba tshwana le Modise ka gore ba a rogiwa.

Ba tshwanetse gore fa re ba kgalemela, re ile mowa wa *pseudo*. Ga ke itse gore *Honourable* Mohwasa *if he engages* fela gore ke Mohwasa, *I am just giving an example* ka gore ke tsala ya me, ke gore ke leina fela ga se gore ke ene. Fa a bua gore ke nna, *engaging* batho *publicly*, e le ene, go a reng ka gore go tlisa seriti, le mafoko a a buang le one o a a tlhophi ka gore e a bo e le ene. Fa a dirisa maina a sele jaaka ke belaela gore *Honourable* Tshere o ka tswa a dirisa *pseudo* tse 10, ke dilo tse di sa siamang. Ke a leboga *Honourable Speaker*.

**MR SPEAKER:** I am going to take the last two. Honourable Tshere followed by Dr Gobotswang.

**MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS AND INNOVATION (MR TSHERE):** *Mr Speaker, thank you very much*. Kgang e e buiwang e bothokwa thata. Ke batla gore ke fetise melawana e e tsamaisanyang le kgang e, ka gore re bua ka maranyane. Molao wa teng o bidiwa *Cyber Crime and Computer Related Crime*. Ke tlhalose gore sepodise sa Botswana se setse se tlhabologile mo e leng gore ba kgona *to trace* dikgang tse *le to unveil identity* ya batho, bone ba ba ipitsang bo Tom semang, mang. Sebe sa phiri se ke se bonang ke gore, dikgang tse, *are not reported*. Re tshwanetse go di bega. Re ye go di kwadisa kwa mapodiseng go supa gore ke a ngongorega, motho ke yo, ga a mpuise sentle mo maranyaneng. Ba bangwe re swa senku fela re tlhola re kgokgontshiwa motshegare otlhe mo Facebook mme re sa tseye *the effort to report*. Fa re begile, ke yone *the beginning ya freedom that Honourable Deputy Speaker is talking about*.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**MR TSHERE:** *Lastly before the clarification*, Mme Manyeneng *as the Deputy Speaker*, ke dumalana le wena. Re tle go lebelela molao o ke o buang wa *Cybercrime and Computer Related Crimes* gore re o thatafatse jang, jaaka ba ntse ba bua. Re o thatafatse re dire *punishment*, gore di nne *very stiff*. E nne a *deterrent* gore batho ba se ka ba dira jalo ka gore mo tseleng ga re nke re bona batho ba tsamaya ba roga batho fela jalojalo. Re a bona ba dira jalo mo maranyaneng. *So*, a re direng molao o, o gagamale *to avoid* dikgang tse. *I can yield*

*for clarification if it is permissible*.

**MR SPEAKER:** It is not.

**DR GOBOTSWANG:** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke a leboga *Chairperson* wa *Caucus on Women*. *Honourable Chair* le komiti ya gago, ke batla go itse gore le dirile jang ka kgang ya ga Museveni? Ke potso fela e ke batlang gore ke e itse. Fa re ka se ke re dire sekai ka Museveni, nnyaa, re tlaabo re sa tlhwaafala. A re direng sekai ka Museveni *Honourable Minister* Mohwasa, *Honourable Minister* Tshere ka gore e bile o buile gone fa wa re, *the police have got the capability* gore kgang e, e rarabololwe. *Chairperson of Women's Caucus, the next time you report*, re batla go itse gore la re le feletse kae ka Museveni, re tshwanetse gore re dire sekai ka ene.

Sa bobedi, re le baeteledipele ba diphathi, a re bue le maloko a rona. Matlhapa a a dirisiwang mo maranyaneng ka maina a diphathi tsa rona, motho a ipitsa gore ke wa phathi ya gore, mme a roga moeteledipele wa phathi e nngwe. Kana fa motho a ipitsa mo Botswana Congress Party (BCP), a bo a roga moeteledipele wa Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC), ba UDC ba ka tsaya gore ke serongwane sa rona, fela jalo fa motho a ipitsa mo UDC a bo a roga Tautona ya BPC, le rona re tsaya gore e tshwanetse e bo e le serongwane. Ka gore ga go na lefoko la kgalemo, jaanong fa re ka se ke re kgalemele maloko a rona, fa e le bomme bone ijoo, bone e bile ba sa le bona. Borre ke a ba bona, bomme ga ba a le bona. A re simololeng ka Museveni. Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Deputy Speaker, do you wish to respond. Most of them *e ne e le dikakgelo tota*. They do not need to be repeated.

**MS MANYENENG:** Ke a leboga *Honourable Members*, gore le bo le ntshitse dikgakololo tse di kanakana. Ya ntlha ya *anger management* e e tswang kwa go *Honourable* Lucas, ke nnete. Mathata a teng ke gore, re ya go bona batho ba setse ba le mo seemong se e leng gore fa o mmatla o tshwanetse gore gongwe o mo thuse, ke bua *from perspective* ya ke le mooki, fa o yang go bonang teng motho, o a bo a setse jaanong a tsamaya kgakala ka go loba, re a loba, ga re *report*. Fa motho a na le bothata, o ya go tshwarwa jaanong a setse fa gongwe a bolaile motho kana a ipolaile. Fa re ne re dumalana gore mo malwapeng fa re lemoga gore botho jwa motho bo a fetoga kana bo a gaka, a re kope thuso mo go ba bangwe gore nthusang, nna ngwana yo ga ke mo tlhaloganye. Ke a leboga rra, ka kagelo eo.

*Like you said*, mongwe le mongwe fa, ke yo o tlang ka kakanyo ya gore re ka dira jang. Ke akanya jaaka *Honourable* Tshere a ne a bua gore, molao o o builweng o gongwe jaanong o na le *loopholes*, re simolole go o ela tlhoko. Ke bue gape gore, le beng ba *companies*, *these digital spaces* bo Facebook and WhatsApp, ba tshwanetse gore jaanong ba lemotshiwe gore ba tsenye *some strict measures* tse e tlaa reng ke le mo maranyaneng, e bo motho a simolola *to bully me*, go nne le *how I can report immediately*, motho a tshwarwe gone foo. Ke se ka ka utlwa botlhoko ke bo ke sia mo Facebook, ke bo ke ya go tlotlela batho, a bo a *continue bullying others*. Le bone ba tsenngwe mo goreng, kana dikgwebo tsa lona ke tse re thuseng gore re ka dira jang.

Ga go na sepe se ke ka se buang ntle le gore, re thusane bogolo jang batsadi. Re na le bothata jwa gore batsadi *we are buying cellphones for* bana le ba ba *under age*, re ne re ithaya re re ke *cellphones* tsa go thusa, ka gore fa gongwe ngwana o a e dirisa mo dithutong tsa gagwe kana fa mama a seyo, sengwe se diragala o leletsama. Jaanong ba setse ba tsenela tse ba neng ba sa lemoga gore ba a di tsenela le bone. Ba nna *attracted to* dilo tse dingwe tse di feletsang di ba tsenya kwa *cyberbullying* ba se *aware*. Jaanong batsadi, a re bueng le bana ba rona ba ba nang le *phones*, le ba rute gore kana *phone* jaanong malatsing a, o kgona go dira molato o sa bone gore o dira molato.

Ke eletsa gape gore jaaka *Honourable* Gobotswang a bua ka Museveni, ke tsaya gore Rre Tshere le *Honourable* Mohwasa ba reeditse, a re tsenyeng ditlhogo bagaetsho ka gore kana leina la Museveni le ne le tlhasetse, o kare le didimetse. Ga re na go itse gore go ya go tlhaga lefe gape, go ka nna ga tlhaga o mongwe gape a itse gore Museveni ga a tselwa kgato, le nna ke ka tsena ke bo ke ipitsa Hicks, e bo Hicks a tlhasela jaanong.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Murmurs)...

**MS MANYENENG:** Go batla gore re eme ka dinao, re lebe gore tota Museveni gatwe ke mang jang.

*Finally, Mr Speaker*, ke kope Mapalamente gore 16 days yo o neng a simolola gompiano, o fela ka di 10 tsa *December*. Ba re ka kgonang, *let us engage* kwa Dikgotleng tsa dikgaolo tsa rona, re bue ka thuto e, gore batsadi kwa gae le bone fela ba nne ba lemoge gore gatwe go na le mathata a maranyane, ba nne ba leke go bua le bana. E se ka ya nna dilo fela tse o ka reng di felela mo Gaborone, mme re itse gore maranyane a gongwe le gongwe. Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*.

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Order! Honourable members. Let us go to Motions.

## RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

### Motion

#### (Resumed Debate)

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Members, the debate on this Motion is resuming. When the House adjourned yesterday, Honourable Baratiwa Mathoothe, Assistant Minister of Trade and Entrepreneurship was on the floor debating, and he was left with 13 minutes 13 seconds. Honourable Member, conclude your debate.

#### ASSISTANT MINISTER OF TRADE AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP (MR MATHOOTHE):

*Thank you Mr Speaker.* Ke tsene fela ka kgang ya Bonno, ka gore ke simolotse go e bona le nna kwa Kgaolong ya Serowe Bokone gore ke thulaganyo e ntle thata e e eteletsweng ke *Honourable* Ramogapi le *Honourable* Motsamai.

Fa o bona batho ba itumetse thata ba bona ba agetswe ntlo e ntle jalo, e bo e re fa o tsena mo Palamenteng o bo o utlwa Mopalamente Rre Motaosane a bo a re golo mo ke *scam*, o gakgamala thata. Tota *scam* ke se bone mo Pusong e e fetileng, fa re bua ka *scam* re ka bua re lebile phathi ya Domkrag e ka yone ka nako eo e neng e na le bo Museveni. Ke gopola nako nngwe mongwe a tsene mo *television*, a re o latile P100 million, o gaufi e bile o a nka, e kare o latile nakedi. Golo mo, ke gone *scam*. Nako nngwe fa go dirwa *Budget* mo Palamenteng e e fetileng, go buiwa ka madi a Chema Chema *for a budget of P200 million*, Tautona nako eo a emelela ka dinao a re, Peggy a re ye kwa go P500 million. Kante *this additional P300 million*, go buiwa ka madi a a seyong. A go neng ga neelwa batho dikwalo gotwe *they are approved*, ba gompiano ba nnang kwa ofising ya rona le *Honourable* Ntsima, ba re kana re tshwere dikwalo ke tse, tse go neng gotwe madi a Chema Chema a teng, re tle go a tsaya.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Murmurs)...

**MR MATHOOTHE:** Go buiwa ka madi a a seyong. Re mo mathateng ao, ke one mathata a re a dubang ka gore nako e go neng go buiwa ka *that additional amount*, go ne go sena madi a a leng teng. Fela ka gore batho ba ne ba solofeditse e bile ba dumela gore ba na le tshwanelo, ke gone mo Puso ya UDC e reng le

fa o bona le kwaletswa dikwalo jalo, mma re siane re bone gore re ka dira jang. Ke bone ba e neng e le *scam* tota. *Mr Speaker*, ba tshwanetse ba ikopa maitshwarelo. Ke dumalana thata le Salakae fa a ne a re a ba ikope maitshwarelo, ka gore batho ba ba nna kwa diofising tsa rona letsatsi le letsatsi ba di tshwere dikwalo.

*Mr Speaker*, go na le fa Tautona a neng a bua ka go reka dikgomo tsa mashi go tswa kwa lefatsheng la Brazil, e se kang fela ya go reka dikgomo tsa mashi. Dikgomo tsa mashi go tswa bogologolong, go tla go supega gore ga go na gope kwa re ka di bonang teng mo mafatsheng a re bapileng le one, ka ntateng ya Tlhako le Molomo. Go reka dikgomo tse, go ya go tla go na le *support* e re tlaabong re e neelwa ke ba Brazil, le fa di tla kwano, ga ba di latlhelele fela, ba re fa ka dikitso tsa bone tsa malwetse. *The veterinary department* ya bone e tlaabo e re neela *support*, e lomagane thata le Mopalamente Rre Dikoloti. Dikgomo tse re tle re bone gape di anama le lefatsheng, ga se gore di tlaa felela kwa Milk Valley. Re a itse gore re tswa kgakala go buiwa ka yone gore e tlaa lala e tsosolosiwa leng, dikgomo di tlaa tla leng. Fa gongwe fa go buiwa ka go tsewa ga dikgomo kwa Brazil, ba na le go tshwantshanya le dikgomo tsa maloba di tsewa kwa America. Rona re ne re dumela thata gore dikgomo tse di tsewang kwa, di teng mo lefatsheng la Botswana, di teng mo mafatsheng a re bapileng le one. Ke gone mo o bonang dingwe tsa dikgomo e a re fa di ya kwa *competitions* gone kwa mafatsheng, di feta di fenya teng e le tsa Botswana.

Fa gompiano re bua ka dikgomo tsa mashi, tse e leng gore lefatsheng la Botswana le tlhalelwa ke mashi. Jaanong ke ne ke re pharologanyo eo ba e lebelele jalo, ba se ka ba re, re gata fa ba pele ba fetileng teng, re bua ka tsa mashi, tse re tsayang gore jaanong Botswana ba ba batlang go tsena mo go tsa mashi, ba ntse ba ipotsa gore dikgomo re tlaa di bona kae. Re bona Goromente e le gore jaanong o dira thulaganyo fela ka fa tlase ga dikgwedi di le lesome le bobedi. Ke gakologelwa nako nngwe re na le Rre Lucas, re ile kwa Milk Afric, go ntse go buiwa ka dikgomo tseo, mme o kgona go bona gore Puso ya gompiano e gatetse pele thata.

Dingwe tse re tshwanetseng go di itumelela thata, ke go bona madi a bana ba *brigade* a tsewa from P300 to P1900. O ne o kgona go bona gore golo mo ke kgethololo e e sa siamang, e ke dumelang thata fa gongwe fa go buiwa ka go kgetholola, le go sa lekalekana mo dikgannyeng tse, *Honourable* Lucas o tsamaya kwa pele mo go tsone. Ke motho yo o sa dumeleng thata gore go nne le *inequality*.

Jaanong ke tsaya gore ke dingwe dikgang tse a di ratileng thata, mme ga re a tswela kwa ntle a di tlhalose gore fa jaanong le gata sentle gore bana ba bo ba okeleditswe from P300 ba ya kwa go P1900. Jaanong...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**MR MATHOOTHE:** Nnyaa, ke tlaa tla ke go neela, ke setse ke tsamaya kwa pele.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Nnyaa, gore o tle o nne le nako ya go mphetola.

**MR MATHOOTHE:** Ke ne ke re ke supe jalo gore ke nngwe ya dikgang tse di itumedisang thata. Golo mo o ne o kgona go bona gore ke lenyatso le le tona mo baneng ba ba tsenang kwa *brigades*, mme e bile gape, ga go felele gone foo. Tumelo ya rona ke gore *the curriculum* ya bone le yone jaanong e simolole go fetoga, e re tsayang gore Rre Maele o tlaa itepatepanya le seemo seo ka gore fa o tsena kwa *brigades* gompiano jaana, o fitlhela bana ba ba dirang *auto mechanic* ba santse ba ithuta ka dikoloi tsele tsa bogologolo tsa bo Stout, ba bua ka *points*. Jaanong e tshwanetse gore bana ba e re fa ba fetsa koo, ba dirile *auto mechanic*, ba kgone *to be consumed by garages* tse di tona. Jaanong ke dingwe tse e leng gore Goromente wa gompiano o itebagantse le gore bana ba fa ba fetsa kwa, ba bo ba ka kgona gore ba ye go bereka kwa bo Naledi Motors. Ke dingwe tse re di lebileng ka tsela e e ntseng jalo, o kgona go bona gore go na le tsholofelo e e leng teng thata.

*Mr Speaker*, ke batla go tsena mo dikgannyeng tsa *minerals*, gore fa re bua ka *beneficiation*, ga re a tshwanela gore gongwe re bue fela ka gore re *process* sengwe le sengwe mo lefatsheng la Botswana. Re tshwanetse ra simolola pele ka *prospecting*, go dupa ditswammung, gore e tshwanetse ya nna dikompone tsa Botswana tse di dirang jalo. Fa o ka lebelele lefatsheng ka bophara, dikompone tse di dupang, di tlwaelesegile thata, di tswa kwa lefatsheng la Canada le Australia, *that is the space* e e leng gore dikompone tsa Botswana, ba tshwanetse gore ba tsene mo *space* se ka gore dikompone tsa mafatshe a sele, ba dira madi ka gore fa ba sena go nna ba dupa, ba tlaabo ba rekisa. Ba re jaanong yo o batlang go epa re tlaabo re mo rekisetsa, *that is where they are making money*.

Jaanong lefatsheng la Botswana le tshwanetse le tsene mo *space* seo. Re bone go na le kompone fela ya ga Goromente, ya Botswana, e e dupang, gore e tle e re fa e rekisetsa ba tlaabong kana e ba neela kana e le kompone

e e leng gore *it is local*, fa re simolola jaanong kgang ya *to process minerals* tseo, re bo re simolotse pele re bone madi a mantsi ka nako e re neng re dira *prospecting*.

*Mr Speaker*, go botlhokwa thata gore re nne le dikompone. Lefatshe la Botswana le na le *experience* e ntsi thata mo go tsa meepo. Re tshwanetse ra nna le dikompone tse di tswang mo lefatsheng la Botswana, ba simolola *to mine* kwa bo Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) le Malawi. Mme ke batla ke supe jaana gore go na le kompone e nngwe ya Naledi Mining Services, e e ntseng e tsamaya kwa mafatsheng, ba gautshwanyane thata gore le bone ba bo ba ka tswala *deals* tsa bone tsa go nna le sebaka sa gore ba kgone gore ba ise dikitso tsa bone tse ba di amuleng mo lefatsheng la Botswana gore ba ye go epa le bone kwa mafatsheng a go nna jalo. Gore kitso ya rona e se ka ya felela mo Botswana, a e tsamaye kwa mafatsheng a mangwe, ke gone mo e leng gore Botswana ka bontsi ba tlaa tlwaela gore re tshwanetse ra bereka le kwa ntle ga lefatshe.

*Mr Speaker*, kgang e nngwe e re tshwanetseng go e lebelela, kwa kgaolong ya me ya Serowe Bokone, go na le kwa go beilweng ditsha tse di sha, kwa Botswana ba agileng teng, go bidiwa kwa Semane. Fa ke bua jaana, ga go na metsi teng, kgang ya *water reticulation* e a tlhokafala, mme mo seemong sa re sena madi jaana, re tshwanetse ra tlhologanya gore Water Utilities e na le babereki le *engineers*, ba e leng gore bone ka bo bone, *in-house, they can design* gore metsi a ya go tsamaya ka tsela e e ntseng jang. *The small budget* e ba nang le yone, ba bo ba ka reka *materials* tse e leng gore jaanong ba ka hira Botswana ba ba leng teng gore ba ye go tsenya *pipes* ka gore re santse re sena madi a a ka dirang *tenders* tsa madimadi. *So*, le bone fela *they are capable*. Ke nngwe ya dikgang tse re tshwanetseng re e lebelele jalo gore mo nakong e re senang madi jaana, a re rekeng *materials* tse di leng teng, re kgone go atolosa metsi kwa motseng wa Semane, gore batho bale le bone ba tle ba bone metsi.

E nngwe gape e re tshwanetseng go e ela tlhoko, re tswa kgakala re bua gore dikompone di na le *to charge* Goromente madi a a seng kana ka sepe. Re tshwanetse gape ra tlhodumela kwa Botswana Power Corporation (BPC), gore fa e setse jaanong *investors* kana Botswana ba ba batlang go tsenya motlakase kwa masimo, o fitlhela e le gore *charges* tsa teng di tla di le kwa godimo fela thata. Ke dingwe tse re tshwanetseng ra di lebelela, ra tsenya leitlho gore a ga se gore dikompone tse di direlang BPC, a jaanong *charges* madi a mantsi a bo

a fetela kwa Batswaneng. Ke dingwe tse e leng gore fa re ka se ke re di ele tlhoko, di tlaa koba *investors*, di tlaa dira gore batho ba ba batlang go tsena mo temong e e rileng e le Botswana, a bo e le gore jaanong ga ba kgone tota ka mathata a *charges* tse ba di lefiwang fa *quotation* e goroga. Ke dingwe tse re tshwanetseng go di tlhodumela tseo, re di lebelele gore a mme *prices* tsa teng di siame sentle.

Dingwe tse re tshwanetseng gape ra di lebelela *Mr Speaker*, fa re bua ka go tlhabologa re ya kwa pele, re bua ka tsa motlakase, re a itse gore mo lefatsheng la Botswana re na le *uranium*, e e leng gore kwa mafatsheng a mangwe a a tlhabologileng, ba dirisa yone go dira *the nuclear power stations*. Ke dingwe tse e leng gore ga re a tshwanela gore gongwe re bo re di itlhokomolosa fela, re di lebelela, ka gore fa go tla nako ya teng, ga re re bo re le *ready* re le lefatshe. Fa re na le bana ba ba tsenang kwa bo Botswana International University Science and Technology (BIUST), ba ba dirang *sciences*, ga re nako e re buang ka yone e, re ba tseye, re ba *attach* kwa mafatsheng ao, kwa e leng gore ba dira tiro e ke buang ka yone. *When the time comes*, re bo re itse gore *we are ready*, re na le bana ba ba ka re thusang ka *experience* e ba nnileng le yone. E se ka ya re dikgang tse fa di tla, a bo e le gore di a re tshoganyetsa.

Fa ke siana ke itlhaganela, tumelo ya me ke gore metse e e kgakala thata le ditlamelo, jaaka motse wa Majwanaadipitse, go tshwanetse ga baakannwa tsela, e ke tsayang gore Rre Salakae o tlaa e lebelela thata. Fa re santse re sena madi jaana, sekole sele ra Roads a se tsosolosiwe, se neelwe ditlamelo, se kgone go dira ditsela tsone tse tsa bo 20 kilometres (km) jaaka tsela e tswa mo Tshimoyapula e ya Majwanaadipitse e le 20 km. Le tse dingwe fela mo lefatsheng ka gore madi a santse a seyo. E bile ke kope thata gore madi a CCP, go nne bofefo, a gololwe ka pela, ka gore ke one a e leng gore Mapalamente fa re le fa jaana, re ka nna re kgarametsa ka one. Ka gore tumelo ya rona ke gore kwa kgaolong ya Serowe, *constituencies* tse tharo, di kopane gore fa madi a goroga, re ya go reka didirisiwa tse di dirang ditsela; *graders, caterpillars and dozers* gore re tle re dire ditsela tse di leng teng mo kgaolong. Re tle re baakanye le ditsela tse di yang kwa masimo, e tle e re le masimo a e leng gore *are clustered*, re tle re tseye *dozers* tse, re kgakgamolole, re kgone gore Botswana ba leme. *Thank you, Mr Speaker.*

**MR JACOBS (LOBATSE):** *Ke a leboga Mr Speaker. Ke tseye sebaka se gore ke nankolele batho ba Lobatse,*

State of the Nation Address (SONA) *sa Tautona wa rona le gore Tautona o tsholetse* Lobatse eng.

Mr Speaker, Honourable Members, fellow Batswana and the resilient people of Lobatse, I rise to respond to the 2025 SONA, an address whose tone, ambition, maturity and clarity, reaffirm our collective national commitment to walk “The Steady Path: Delivering on our Promise, One Step at A Time.” For Batswana, especially for the hardworking residents of Lobatse, the SONA presented a bold, yet realistic roadmap, touching on production, growth, food security, industrialisation, mineral beneficiation, infrastructure, governance and social protection. My task today is to interpret its implications for our constituency and to outline the complementary actions and policy refinements that can strengthen the implementation.

Mr Speaker, revolutionising production and supply chains, the Milk Valley initiative; I acknowledge Government’s decision to procure 1000 Girolando dairy cattle through the Milk Valley entity, an innovative subsidiary of the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC). This procurement is not merely an agricultural activity, it is an economic multiplier. With Botswana currently producing only 13 per cent of national milk demand, this initiative has the capacity to push production towards 60 per cent of national coverage within five years, reducing our import dependency and retaining millions of Pula within the domestic economy.

Mr Speaker, for Lobatse, I recommend establishing complementary satellite milk aggregation centres to ensure that our farmers become direct participants in this new dairy revolution. Efficient cooling plants, veterinary extension support, fodder production units and digital supply chain management system must accompany this national investment.

Mr Speaker, I applaud the UDC Government for allocating P80 million for the refurbishment of Botswana Meat Commission (BMC), Leather Park and dairy facilities. We are clearly delivering our promises of changing people’s lives Mr Speaker, just one step at a time. Expanding the BMC supply chain towards the 2030 target of five million cattle; Mr Speaker, Botswana’s current cattle population stands at 1.7 million, a significant gap for the ambitious five million herd target by 2030. To bridge this gap, a transformative supply chain strategy is essential. This includes incentivised heifer retention schemes, stop the export of live cattle to other countries, genetic improvement

programmes, widespread Artificial Insemination (AI) services, commercial feedlot expansion, grazeland restoration programmes and digital animal trafficking for disease management.

Mr Speaker, Lobatse being the operational heart of the BMC, must be positioned at the epicentre of this national cattle expansion drive. However, I welcome the development that will be implemented from P80 million approved by the Government for refurbishment of BMC. We are delivering at one step at a time Mr Speaker.

Infrastructure development to support BMC, MilkAfric and industrial logistics; Mr Speaker, the 2025 SONA places heavy emphasis on the infrastructure as an enabler of growth for Lobatse. I reinforce the following priorities:

- (i) Mr Speaker, I propose for consideration of expansion of the BMC abattoir, modernisation of the processing lines and increase hours of slaughtering operation to 24 hours.
- (ii) For maximum output to reach five million herd count as anticipated for the year 2030. However, this will result in an increase of employment and further development of associated feedlots surrounding Lobatse.
- (iii) Lobatse to help the beef industry to reach the five million target. Mr Speaker, this will reduce bottlenecks BMC is facing at this point in time.

Mr Speaker, we are guided by the promises we have made to the people of Lobatse. We shall achieve the promises one step at a time as the UDC Government.

Mr Speaker, I propose for a consideration of acceleration of the Leather Park project to capture hides and skins and diversify export. This project is a living promise to be turned into reality as allocated in the financial year 2025/2026. Mr Speaker, I plead before the relevant ministry to speed up tender allocation process to kickstart the ground-breaking of the Leather Park project in Lobatse. Mr Speaker, I still saying to the people of Lobatse that one step at a time, the vision is clear, the road is clear, we shall deliver our promises to you my people.

Mr Speaker, I propose for the consideration of resurrecting and strengthening of the MilkAfric project with improved utilities, cold storage, packaging plants

and by-products processing facilities. I request the Government to resurrect MilkAfric, save current jobs and create more additional jobs to protect lives at risk that depend on that project. The UDC Government answered me Mr Speaker, funds shall be allocated for the new development of BMC and Milk Valley. We live in critical times in which the UDC Government must economise and possibly create life out of the past failures that costed the previous Government. Mr Speaker, starting our UDC administration by correcting past failures is a stepping stone to greatness. Remember we are the new Government in modern times and our focus and living promise is all about changing the lives of every Motswana, regardless of the past economic failures and indifferences.

Mr Speaker, I propose for the consideration of prioritising the eastern bypass road in Lobatse to improve mobility, reduce congestion and decongest supply traffic leading to the BMC. Lobatse is where the BMC is situated. This road project is an anchor and an opening door to the other development opportunities in the congested constituency of Lobatse. We are focused on delivering our promises one step at a time.

Mr Speaker, I purpose for the consideration of establishment of an agro-cargo airport to support our exports of beef, leather products, dairy goods and agro commodities. This will reduce logistics costs, improve delivery time and make Lobatse a regional trade gateway. Mr Speaker, the land is there for the project. So, let us deliver our promises to change people's lives, even if it takes one step at a time.

Diamond industry transformation and supporting the Geoscience Institute; Mr Speaker, I appreciate the ongoing acquisition of Anglo-American's majority shares in De Beers. A milestone that aligns diamond wealth with Botswana's long-term national development goals and extend our capacity for beneficiation. However, Mr Speaker, for us to maximise value, the Botswana Geoscience Institute (BGI) must be supported adequately... (Inaudible)... administrative and operational issues must be addressed immediately to strengthen mineral exploration, data governance and national geological intelligence. The BGI can also be used to filter out the synthetic diamonds that are brought to Botswana for selling, since we sell the real mined diamonds. We must safeguard our mined diamonds from these synthetic diamonds. One step at a time, we can surely deliver our promises to Batswana and the people of Lobatse.

Mr Speaker, industrialisation requires reliable and sustainable power. I propose the establishment of the dedicated solar power plant in Lobatse supporting BMC operations, dairy plant, Leather Park, industrial parks and emerging Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises (SMMEs). This aligns with the global transition towards green energy and reduces dependency on imported power. It will promptly make the way possible and easy for delivering our promises to the UDC Government just one step at a time. This will reduce the P1 billion that we are paying for electricity from our neighbours such as South Africa.

One of Botswana's natural oil storage facilities must be located in Lobatse. Mr Speaker, positioning a major oil storage facility in Lobatse will bring free crossing to southern trade corridors, stabilise fuel availability for industries and create high quality jobs. Its proximity to South Africa's supply routes, making it uneconomically logical to support local economy of Lobatse and surrounding places. Mr Speaker, we can truly walk our talk and delivering our promises, one step at a time.

Botswana's Mercantile Exchange is a story's turning point. It will transform Botswana into a regional commodity hub, enabling trade in agriculture, all minerals such as diamonds, copper, gold and even carbon credit for Lobatse farmers and industries. Botswana's Mercantile Exchange will stabilise pricing, reduced market uncertainties and encourage life skill production. I give more credit to my President for this initiative, which deserves credit Mr Speaker. I will truly make sure that with President Duma Gideon Boko, we shall deliver our promises and change people's lives.

P200 million from the Alcohol Levy for sports and creatives. Mr Speaker, I appreciate the allocation of the P200 million from the Alcohol Levy to support sports and creative sector, which is a good and powerful stuff for the UDC Government in sports and creatives.

However, the Youth Development Fund (YDF) must also be streamlined with the Diamond Entrepreneurship Programme, by ensuring young people gain access to skills, capital and markets. This is a way of grooming healthy young entrepreneurs and opening more doors for creating jobs and changing people's lives as our promise becomes economically a reality Mr Speaker.

Mr Speaker, the consolidation and completion of water infrastructure projects nationwide, especially Lobatse Water Master Plan is a monumental step. Access to clean

water is not just a service but attainment of industry growth, public health and urban expansion. However, I applaud the UDC Government on such a scheduled development commitment. They are not only giving, but walking our talk, the talk of socio-economic, reality national development and prosperity. Mr Speaker, UDC Government is focused on delivering its promise, one step at a time and improving quality of lives for its citizens.

Mr Speaker, I welcome Botswana Government's health commitments, but I still emphasise on an urgent need for upgrading of our hospitals to modern standards. Upgrading Sbrana Hospital into a regional centre of psychiatric excellence. Developing the regional referral hospital in Lobatse for all medical specialties and the land for the hospital is there Mr Speaker. I secured it for Government, me as a Member of Parliament (MP) for Lobatse Constituency.

Mr Speaker, Lobatse's rehabilitation centre is approved for allocation and implementation in the current financial year, budgeting of which I absolutely compliment the UDC Government for listening to my loud voice on behalf of the people of Lobatse. Mr Speaker, all these facilities and investments are essential for Universal Health Coverage (UHC), readiness in Lobatse. Mr Speaker, the road plan to UHC is clear and achievable. We should deliver the promise as the UDC Government, one step at a time.

Combating GBV and expanding social protection; Mr Speaker, GBV remains the moral, social and national emergency. We must invest in preventive campaigns, shelter, psychological support and strong law enforcement mechanisms. However, I support the commitment of the UDC on the Civil Social Registry Programme which will ensure targeted systems for orphans, vulnerable children and destitute families. Mr Speaker, the vision and focus of the UDC Government is changing people's lives and we should achieve it as we have promised, one step at a time.

Transforming Ipelegeng into a skills-based programme, Mr Speaker, reforming Ipelegeng into a skills-based public works programme with a minimum salary of P2,500 is critical for economic dignity. Participants must receive training in construction, maintenance, horticulture, digital services and manufacturing. We as the UDC Government are leading a modern inclusive economy, doing by skills, knowledge for the economic

prosperity of all Batswana. Mr Speaker, the promise is almost clearly achieved, just one step at a time.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Applause!)

**MR JACOBS:** Expanding opportunities for persons with disabilities; Mr Speaker, we must increase representation of persons with disabilities in sports, arts, public communities, and Government institutions. Botswana must uphold its commitment under the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. As part of these new changes in Government administration, we compliment and urge the new Government to uphold arrangement for people with disabilities starting from Local Authorities, councils, parastatals and ministries. The UDC Government is in the right direction. We shall deliver our promise, one step at a time.

Mr Speaker, the Judicial reforms, including the Judicial service delivering; including a modern Case Management System is crucial for investors' confidence, economic transactions and justice efficiency. The new Government must prioritise it in all these systems. Mr Speaker, we promised our nation, fair Judicial reforms and administration, this is possible, we can achieve it in our steady path, one step at a time.

Protection and welfare of security officers; Mr Speaker, our police, soldiers and prisons officers must be adequately supported. I welcome the promotion of Special Constables into full police officers. We must also ensure improved welfare and career progressions for prisons staff and defence force. They also deserve goodness Mr Speaker.

In Lobatse, I welcome the upgrading of the Lobatse Prison and the construction of the Special Support Group (SSG) Regional Camp. Mr Speaker, remember the state administration is exceptionally possible through the protection from all these defence and security arms. We can deliver our promise through them, protecting and safeguarding our lives, and also the lives of our citizens, one step at a time.

Mr Speaker, I appreciate Government's efforts of the projects scheduled for the implementation at Lobatse Constituency in the national current budget allocation. These projects are; reconstruction of 53 Peleng staff house at P85 million, one step at a time. Construction of SSG Regional Camp office with 75 staff houses at P235 million, one step at a time. Leather Industry Park, revitalising BMC at P110 million, which is an ongoing project, one step at a time. Refurbishment of the BMC

Leather Park and dairy facilities at P80 million, one step at a time. Land servicing for Special Economic Zones Authority (SEZA) valued at P218 million for Lobatse and other zones, one step at a time.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)...

**MR JACOBS:** Lobatse Waste Water Master Plan valued at P120 million, one step at a time. Lobatse Waste Water and Reuse Projects valued at P50 million, one step at a time. Lobatse Waste Water upgrade at P1, 000, 035, one step at a time. Radioactive Border Detection System project valued at P56.5 million, one step at a time. Upgrading of Lobatse Prison at P10 million, one step at a time. Establishment of the Rehabilitation Centre in Lobatse, P206.5 million, one step at a time. Mr Speaker, our promises as the UDC are clear. We are delivering them on this steady path, one step at a time.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Applause!)...

**MR JACOBS:** In conclusion Mr Speaker, the 2025 SONA sets a deliberate and steady cause, it is a promise in motion for Lobatse. This is the moment of transformation, one step at a time.

One step at a time as the ...(Inaudible)...city, an industrial manufacturing hub, a logistics and cargo gateway, a centre for health and excellence.

Batswana *ba kwa* Lobatse, *le a bona* gore selemo sa me se berekile bagaetsho, one step at a time. *Ke a leboga botsadi.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Applause!)...

**MR DIGWA (BOTETI WEST):** Ke a leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente, go bo o mphile sebaka se go ka akgela mo *speech* sa ga Tautona sa State of the Nation Address (SONA). Bagaetsho, ke ntse ke goroga phakela fela jaana ka 4 ke tswa kwa Boteti, mme ke rwele ditumediso tse di seng kana ka sepe tse di tswang kwa bathong ba Moreomaoto. Ba re ke le dumedise fela thata, mme ba re ke se ka ka tlhola, ke dumedise fela gotlhe le phathi ya bogologolo, ba phathi e talanyana le ba phathi e e tlhwaafetseng. Ba re ke dumedise ke re, dumelang betsho!

Ba re ba lebogetse gore e rile ka *weekend* ba etelwa ke ba ba talanyana, ba ba amogetse, ba ba tlhabela podi, ba ba fa dijo ba ja. Ba re le se ka la re le ja jalo, le bo le solofela gore gongwe le tlaa bona sengwe. Ba re kgaolo ele ba setse ba e abile gale, ba e file beng ba yone. Ke reye ngwana wa ga ntate ka kwa Rre Mmusi ke re, ba

re le wena o ka tsamaya ba ka go tlhabela podi, mme o se ka wa nna le tsholofelo, o itse gore kgaolo ele e setse e na le beng ba yone. Bagaetsho ke tswa kwa, ditsela le dikgoro di butswa, tota re ya go fenya ka *margin* o o seng kana ka sepe.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Applause!)...

**MR DIGWA:** Ke ditsholofelo tse di tlhwaafetseng, fa o bona go bua le bannabagolo ba maDomkrag le ba maBCP, o itse gore go tlhwaafetswe. Ba re ditshwetso tse ba di tsereng, ba ne ba sa di tseye fela, ba ne ba tsaya ba lebile SONA. Ba re SONA fa ba se lebelela, Tautona o ne a itebagantse le ditlhabololo tsa lefatshe la Botswana. Ba re ditlhabololo tse, di supa gore di itebagantse le go nyeletsa kana go fokotsa lehuma mo lefatsheng. Ka jalo, ga go na ka fa ba ka fetogelang Puso UDC ka teng, ka gore ba re e tla ka motho yo o lebegang a romilwe ke Modimo, a bapile le Mothusi wa gagwe Rre Gaolathe. Ba re fa o ba leba fela jaana mo sefatlhogong, ba bona gore ba ke barongwa ba Modimo, ga go na ka fa ba ka ba fetogelang ka teng. Ga re ba ba sale morago, ka gore go a solofetsa go ba sala morago.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**MR DIGWA:** Ke tlaa go fa *clarification*, ke sena go nna ke fetsa go bua.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)...

**MR SPEAKER:** *Honourable* Digwa, e fiwa o santse o tshwere *floor* fa o batla go e fa, mme tota *it is entirely up to you.*

**MR DIGWA:** Ee, jaanong fa mogwe a ntse a ntshobats'hoba jaana, o nkwa sha rra. O itse gore ke ratsalaago, ga go na *clarification* e ke tlaa go e fang ngwanaka.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)...

**MR DIGWA:** Ba re ba bona gore SONA e rarabolola (*addresses issues of unemployment le inequality*). Ka fa e ikadileng ka teng, ba bona gore lefatshe le lotlhe le amegile, le tllile go itumelela ditshwetso tse di tsewang. Ke ditsholofetso tse di tlhwaafetseng, ba re ga go na ka fa ba ka dirang ka teng. Le tlaa ba itshwarela, ba tlhamaletse ba bona UDC e le yone e e ka ba isang golo gongwe.

Jaanong a ko o mpolelele gore, fa go nna le diphetogo tse di ntseng jaana tse botsadi bo supang gore kwa go iwang teng go siame, wena o bo o ganetsa, o ikantse

mang? Ke raya fela fa batho ba riana, wena o bo o re e sale UDC e tsena ga o bone diphetogo dipe, batho bone ba supa diphetogo. Ba re ba itumeletse madi a *tandabala* a P1400, ke sone se ba tlhamaletseng mo dikeletsong tsa bone. Jaanong ga ba tlhaloganye batho ba ba reng, ga go a dirwa sepe gore ba raya jang. Ba re ba itumelela ditshwetso tse di tserweng tsa gore go ya go nna le madi a a fiwang masea, a P300. Ba a itumeletse thata, *so* fa go ntse go buiwa kwano, ba ne ba nthaya ba re kante le bua eng kwa Palamenteng? Ka re go ne go bua mang? Ba bo ba tlhalosa fela sentle gore yo o neng a bua ke mang, ba bo ba re nnyaa, re mo ise kwa go bone ba mo tlhalosetse boammaaruri, gongwe ene ga a bone. Fa ba e lebelela gape, ba bona gore le madi a bana ba bone ba ba mo Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET), a okeditswe *from P300 to P1900*.

Jaanong fa Puso e dira jaana, ke e e ka nyadiwang? Fa Puso e dira jaana, a ke e go ka supiwang gore ga e a dira sepe? Fa Puso e dira jaana, ke e e ka supiwang gore e sale e tsena e, e eme fela? A dilo tse ga se tema mo botshelong? Kana *Honourable* Jacobs o ntse a tlhalosa fa a re *“one step at a time.”* Ga se yone e? Jaanong fa o ganetse dilo tse di mo pepeneneng jaana, re tlaa go fa setšhaba, ke sone se se tlaa go arabang, rona re itidimaletse.

Ba re ba itumeletse gore SONA e tla ka *targets*, ga e na ditsholofetso fela, e na le *target* e a supa gore e ya go dira sengwe sa gore, e ya go se dira leng. Ba itumeletse thata *turnaround time* ya BMC, *from months to seven days*. Ba re ke selo se se botlhokwa thata, bangwe e bile ba na le dikgomo gone kwa Ngamiland. Ba itumetse thata ba re ba ntse ba sena kwa ba rekisang teng, jaanong fa diphetogo di tla di ntse jaana, ba tshwanelwa ke go duduetsa fela e seng sepe gape. Ba itumeletse maakanya a gore jaanong go tshwanetse go okediwe *production* ya mashi.

Kana gompieno *we are at 13 per cent*, fa *production* ya go ya kwa go *60 per cent* ba bona gore re tlaabo re fokoditse mashi a re a rekang kwa mafatsheng a sele. Ga re na go nna le madi a mantši a a tswelang kwa ntle, re tlaa dirisa mo lefatsheng la rona, re kgone go akola ditsarona. Ba itumeletse *the introduction* ya *sporting activities* kwa sekoleng, ba re ditsholofetso tse ke tse ba di tsayang ka tlhwaafalo, ka gore ba tswa kgakala bana ba bone ba ntse fela, go sena dilo tsa itshidilo. Jaanong dilo tse ba di itumeletse mo go tlhwaafetseng, ba re yo o sa boneng ga ba tlhaloganye gore mathata a gagwe ke eng. Ga ba tlhaloganye gore o thibilwe ke eng matlho, mo dilong tse di mo pepeneneng tse di bonwang le ke sefofu.

Ke batla go nopola bagaetsho mo bukaneng ya SONA, mo mafokong a ga Tautona.

**MR SPEAKER:** Please do.

**MR DIGWA:** E balega jaana; o ne a itebagantse le banana a re, *“we will not dismiss your ideas, but develop them, we will not ignore your aspirations, but invest in them. The Botswana we build tomorrow, will be shaped by your imagination and courage today.”* Ke mafoko a a tlhwaafetseng, a a rotloetsang banana go bona gore ba tsewa ka tlhwaafalo. Gantsi re na le go itlthokomolosa dikakanyo tsa bana ba rona, re tsaya gore ke ba di *drugs*. Puso ya UDC e tsaya bana ka tlhwaafalo, e a bona gore ke bana ba ba ka re isang golo gongwe, ka gore dikakanyo tsa bone ke tsa gompieno, matshelo a ba a tshelang ga se rona re a tshelang. Re tshwanetse go ba reetsa, re ba direle se ba se tlhokang se se ka ba isang golo gongwe mo botshelong jwa bone. Dikakanyo tse di tla ka gore re lebile gore *unemployment rate* mo bananeng *it stands at 38 per cent*. Keletso ya rona ke gore e fokodiwe, bana ba kgone go tshela sentle. *This is why Government has selected 186 projects across nine sectors to create employment*. Ka gone moo, SONA e supa gore *there is going to be a creation of 512 000 jobs for* banana, fa selo se o sa se bone, o a bo o sa tlhwaafala.

Ipelegeng ke tsaya gore le a tlhaloganya gore re ya go e fetola, e ya go bidiwa Ikageng. Ke gore le tseye dilo ka tlhwaafalo le ikage, le itebelele le bone gore le ka thiba diphatlha fa kae gore le kgone go tshela sentle. Re ba fa *skills* tse di tlhwaafetseng gore ba kgone go ikaga, ba iperekele ka diatla tsa bone. Ke tseye sebaka se bagaetsho ke leboge Tautona le Puso ya gagwe go bo ba tsere tshwetso ya go tsenya diteme mo seromamoweng. Tshwetso e bagaetsho, e ne e se motlhofo go tsewa ka Puso ele ya bogologolo, mme re bone Tautona Boko le Puso ya gagwe mo ngwageng wa ntlha fela ba bo ba e tsaya. Ke mongwe wa basupi ba dintwa tse re di loleng le ba phathi ya pele, re ne ra tlhama Lekgotla la Kamanakao Association le ke neng ke le Mothusa *Executive Chairperson*, ke na le Professor Lydia Ramahobo. E rile kwa bofelong, re bo re tlhama RETENG, re leka go supegetsa Puso gore re a tshela re teng, mme ba padile. Re tshwanetse go tsaya sebaka se, re leboge Puso e e boneng go tshwanela gore e lemoge boleng teng jwa batho.

Gompieno Otjimbanderu le Otjiherero se re tshwanetseng gore kwa bofelong re se bitse Mbanderu/Herero mo *radio* ka gore le bua teme e nngwefela, ga le

farologane gope. Gongwe fa re ka re re a di kgaoganya, di ya go tsaya nako ya dingwao tse dingwe ka gore re gogela gone koo, go ya go tsenya dingwao tse dingwe. Ke dumela gore ga o na mathata a go bidiwa Mbanderu/Herero ka gore ke selo se sengwefela, *you speak the same language, culture* ya lona e a tshwana, ga go na le fa e le pharologanyo, pharologanyo fela ke gore ba bangwe ba apara bohobidu, ba bangwe ba apara botala.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**MR DIGWA:** Ke tlaa go fa, nako ya me ga e a nkema sentle mokaulengwe.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O ise o fete gone foo.

**MR DIGWA:** Mma ke fete.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Murmurs)...

**MR DIGWA:** Mma ke fete. Fa ke bua jaana, ke gopola bo Kgosi Kamanakao, Kgosi Samakabadi, Kgosi Ozoo, Professor Lydia Ramahobo ba ba tlhokafetseng ba sa bona dilo tse, tse re di lwetseng lebaka le le telele. Modimo fa o ne o ba tshwere, ba tlaa ba lemoga dilo tse ba bona gore a di dirwa sentle, ba baakanya fa ba baakanyang ka teng ka fa dikeletso tsa bone di ntseng ka teng, jaanong go diragetse. Puso e, ga se Puso e e neng e sa siame sentle ele, legale ka gore e tsamaile batho ba e tlhobogile, ga go na molato jaaka o bona Rre Mabuse a itshwere ditlhaa jaana, a e tlhobogile le ene.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)...

**MR DIGWA:** ...(Laughter!)... kgabo. O ka *clarify comrade*.

**MR HIKUAMA:** Ke a leboga *Honourable Speaker*. Ke a leboga *Honourable Digwa for yielding*. Mma re amogele gore se o se buang, go lemoga diteme tsa mo gae go botlhokwa e bile ke dumalana le gone, ke inakanya le gone fela. A ga o bone gore gongwe re tshwanetse go feta foo, re tle ka *a policy or law that will guide the operationalisation of these indigenous languages* mo go di tsenyeng mo setšhabeng? Ga o bone gore go neela Rre Mohwasa fela gore e nne ene gompiano gore o batla go tsenya mang fa a letse sentle, o a tsenya, fa a sa itumela o a ntsha?

**MR DIGWA:** Ke gone mokaulengwe. Re a go tlhologanya e bile ke a go amogela, ke sone se re yang go sekaseka *Constitution* ya lefatshe le go lebelela gore dilo tseo di kgone go diragala. Fa re sena go nna re sekaseka *Constitution, policies* tse o buang ka tsone, di ya go tswa gone foo.

Batho ba Boteti ba ntaetse gore le fa ba itumeletse ditiro tse di kanakana tse di dirwang, ba na le...

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Murmurs)...

**MR DIGWA:** *Honourable Speaker*, ba nkitaya tsebe ka fa.

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Honourable Members, Order 58.4.

**MR DIGWA:** Ba re ba na le bothata jwa tshwetso e e tserweng ke Puso ya *corporal punishment* gore e se ka ya diragadiwa. Ba na le bothata jwa tshwetso e e tserweng ya *capital punishment* gore batho ba ba dirileng melato e e kanakana, ba ba bolaileng ba bangwe ba se ka ba bolawa. Ba re fa e le gore Puso e bona go tshwanetse tota go tswelala ka dilo tse, a go nne le *referendum*, ba rerisiwe le bone ba nne le seabe, ba tseye ditshwetso ka seemo se ka gore bone ga ba se itumelele, ba batla go betswa kwa sekoleng. Ba batla gore motho fa a bolaile yo mongwe, go supafala sentle gore o mmolaile, le ene a bolawe.

Bagaetsho, ke bua jaana ke tswa kwa gae, ke na le dintsho tsa GBV tse dingwe. Ka *weekend* jaana, ke ya go fitlha ngwana wa ngwanake, yo o tlhailweng ka thipa. Motho a mo latela ka 5 o'clock, a mo fitlhela a bo a tla a mo tlhaba ka thipa. Rraagwe a le kwa lesong, a rapelela serepa gore se tsewe se ye kwa mabitleng, go bo go raya gore o a bidiwa gone koo, fa a tsena kwa lelwapeng o fitlhela seemo se ntse jaaka se ntse. Ke seemo se se botlhoko se e leng gore fa batho ba tswelala ba dira dilo tse go sena katlholo epe e e tlhwaafetseng, ba ya go tswelala ba diragatsa dilo tseo. A Goromente yo ke mo ratang thata, a tsibogele diemo tse, a bone gore gongwe di ka baakanngwa.

Bagaetsho, batho ba Boteti ba ngongoregile thata, ba re ba itebile mo National Development Plan (NDP) 12, ba re go a tlhabela thata, ba a itse gore go na le letlhoko la madi, mme ba re go na le tsela ya Mokobaxane-Kedia-Mopipi, ke *number one priority* mo Boteti. Boteti jotlthe bo ipotsa gore e tlogetswe ka tsela e e ntseng jang, tsela e e fetang ke efe. Ditsela tsotlhe tse di abilweng kwa Boteti, seemo sa tsone ga se fete tsela e. Batho ba ba kwa, ke ba tennyanteng ba e leng gore fa pula e nele, ga ba kgone go ya gope, ba nna fela mo Kedia. Ba ipotsa gore ditshwetso ka fa di neng di tsewa ka teng, go ne go lebilwe eng. Le fa o ka bala ditsela tsotlhe tse di mo Boteti tse di dirilweng, ga go goroge mo seemong sa letlhoko la batho ba Kedia mo mesepeleng, ke seemo se se ba utlwisitseng botlhoko thata, ba eletsa gore

Puso e nne fa fatshe e sekaseke seemo se. Gongwe go fetogelwe ditsela tse dingwe, tsela e dirwe. Bagaetsho ke seemo se e leng gore fa pula e nele, batho bale ba kgona go nna *two weeks* kwa Kedia, ba sa ye gope gotlhelele, mme ditsela tse dingwe tse di dirilweng, di na le bo kankabetso (go tsamaega) go na le kwa batho ba ka yang teng. Ke sone se ba reng, sekasekang mo Boteti fela, le emise tsela e nngwe, e e dirwe. Ke dumela gore le batho ba Boteti botlhe fa le ka ba botsa, ba tlaa le bolelela gore ke yone *priority*.

Go na le *bridge* jwa Kumaga jo bo sa bolong go ntshediwa madi a 4000 Euro, a ne a dirwa ka *projects* tsa Makgadikgadi, madi ao ga re itse kwa a ileng teng ka Puso ele e e fetileng. Ke ne ke kopa gore *forensic audit* e se ka ya itlhokomolosa dilo tsa Makgadikgadi Projects. Madi a a ne a tlisiwa ke MaJeremane a ntshitswe, Makgadikgadi e ne e filwe *projects* di le tharo, ga go na epe e e dirilweng. Ga re itse kwa madi ao a ileng teng. Re kopa gore go nne le ditlhotlhomiso tse di tlaa supang gore madi a, a ile kae, ka gore a ne a ntshitswe a le teng.

Jaanong go na le seemo sa tsela bagaetsho, e e dirwang ya Makalamabedi-Motopi, ga e na tlhaloso e e diragalang gore go rileng. Go na le *project* e e abilweng, tsela eo e ne e tshwanetse gore e ka bo e fedile ka *August*, e eme gompiano, ga go na le fa e le *company* e e dirang gone koo. *Gravel* ele, pula e a na, e a e ntsha, e a tshologa, re ipotsa gore fa re tla re dira tsela e gone fale gape, re ya go senya madi a a kana ka bokae. Tsela e ne e dirilwe, e tshetswe *gravel*, go tshwanetse gore go baakannwe fela go bo go tshelwa sekotere, jaanong *gravel* eo e a senyega ka gore ga go na konteraka epe e e dirang gone foo. So, ba ne ba kopa, ba re Puso e ba e ratang thata, e sekaseke seemo se, e bone gore rakonteraka o boela mo tseleng, a feleletse se a neng a tshwanetse go se dira. Bagaetsho, mma ke re ka mafoko a le kalo, ke a leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente.

**ASSISTANT MINISTER OF WATER AND HUMAN SETTLEMENT (MR MOTSAMAI):** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Go na le thulaganyo ya gore Tautona a akgele, mme re ne re dumalane gore re ka mo tshibogela, a akgela, e bo re tla gongwe bo kamoso re nna le la rona ka gore o pitlagane mo ditrong tsa *office*. Ke kopa jalo *sir*.

**MR SPEAKER:** Leader of the House.

**LEADER OF THE HOUSE (MR MOHWASA):** *Indeed, Mr Speaker*, re ne re dumalane gore ba sutele *Mr President* gore a kgone go bua.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Members, you would recall our discussions at the General Assembly, which began at the Business Advisory Committee, where all parties were represented, that we will ask the President to respond to your deliberations. The President has acceded to that, but also note that he is also a Member of Parliament with rights to debate and vote as you know. But on this particular one, I think within the framework of our reform process, is to ultimately have him respond to your deliberations as you respond to the State of the Nation Address.

So, Honourable Members, I am sure you recall those discussions and, in the future, as Honourable Kapinga was emphatic on the point, that in the future, you may have to review the length of time you take to review State of the Nation Address in terms of the longer time accorded to each and every Member of Parliament. We need to reform so that we are more efficient. If you could do that, maybe within one week, possibly the President could even sit and listen to your deliberations and subsequently respond to your deliberations. This is part of the start of that transformative journey. So, at this point in time, I accord the President, the chance to respond.

**MR HIKUAMA:** *Procedure*. Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke a leboga *Mr President*. O tlaa intshwarela *Mr Speaker*, ke ne ke seyo sentle, dilo dingwe ga ke a di tlhaloganya sentle, ke batla gore o di ntlhatswetse sentle gore a mme *President* o tlaabo a *respond to the deliberations or he will be debating just as a Member of Parliament?* Ke gore o buile mme ga ke a tlhaloganya sentle gore o tlaabo a dira eng, *responding to our deliberations or taking part in the discussions as a Member of Parliament?*

**MR SPEAKER:** *Mma ke e tlhalose jaana* Honourable Hikuama, *fa o lebelela mo go ba ba setseng ba buile, ba ka nna 53, ba le 11* are not in the country and *fa re lebeletse, ga ba ka ke ba kgona* to take part. I think *re setse ka ba le bararo*; Honourable Ntsima, Honourable Motsamai le Honourable Chombo *mo go ba ba leng teng*.

Now to answer your question, the President because he has been following the proceedings in the House, so he will be responding and Leader of the House as a consequent, he will not take the time that he was allocated. So, the President will be taken to be responding. So, *re ne re e buisantse jalo* Honourable Hikuama *gore* it is desirable for the President to be the one responding.

**DR GOBOTSWANG:** *Further procedure.* Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker.* Ke ne ke re gongwe go tlhalosege gore a go raya gore *President* o tlaabo a *respond*, re bo re ya go tsaya ba bararo bale, *the Leader of the House* a bo a close?

**MR SPEAKER:** Exactly, that is how it will unfold Honourable Dr Gobotswang. That is how it is going to be.

**THE PRESIDENT (ADV. BOKO):** Thank you very much Mr Speaker. Let me acknowledge gratefully, the Members of this House and appreciate the contributions that they have made in the last few days. I am here to engage. However, you may want to characterise the engagement. Whether you want to style it as a response or a debate, I am here to participate in the discourse that began with the delivery of the State of the Nation Address, continued through the many submissions received from various Members of this House, I am here to participate in that discourse.

I would like to prefigure and frame the discourse by stating two cardinal principles upfront because sometimes we must intellectualise and philosophise about some of these matters. The first thing that we must always do in a discourse of this nature, is to take a position in relation to two things, in particular or engage with two problems. The first philosophers characterise as the problem of context and contextuality...

**MR LUCAS:** *Procedure.* Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker.* Ke ne ke re kana fa Rre Mohwasa a *respond*, ga re letlelesege ka ditsamaiso tsa gago go mo *interrupt*. Mme ka gore *President* ke ene yo o tlaabong a *respond*, gakere re a letlelesega gore mo tsamaong ya *participation* ya gagwe, re mo *interrupt*, re kgone go tsenya dintlha tse re dumelang gore di tshwanetse di tlhamaladiwe?

**MR SPEAKER:** Yes, if he yields Honourable Lucas.

**ADV. BOKO:** I will yield for you. In fact, I was minded to give you one minute of my time right now, because there is a matter you threatened to raise in my presence. I want you to raise that matter. You have not disclosed what that matter is, I do not want to be presumptive. So, I am going to yield to you for one minute so you state that matter and there is a good reason why. You have made certain submissions that I want to engage with. It would be beautiful if we lay down that matter that you want to raise, so that we can build from there. I would like to urge you to raise that matter because...

**MR LUCAS:** *Mr Speaker,* ga ke ka ke ka bua ka kgang e ke neng ke batla go e bua. *I have raised it* le ene kwa ntle. Fa e kare a tswetsetse a bua ka komega, ka kgotlega, ke tlaa kopa *order* gore ke e bue.

**ADV. BOKO:** Do not say I did not give you an opportunity to go on the attack from the get-go, you declined the invitation.

I was saying, we are forced to take a position in relation to two problems; the first, the problem of context and contextuality. Context refers here to our habitual settings of the society, the habitual settings of where we need to operate. We must take a position in relation to the structures, institutions, practices, ideas and preconceptions that we have, and that moderate or modulate how we do things and when. That is the challenge of context and contextuality. We can relate with these habitual settings of our actions from two stand points; we can relate with them by obeying, accepting them as inevitable, as incapable of being changed and transformed, or we can approach them from a revolutionary stand point, one that does not idolise and worship them, but one that assumes that they are liable to review, revision, reconstruction and reconfiguration. I am talking here about not just the institutions. Institutions we include; Parliament, Executive, Legislature and all institutions in society in the manner in which they are configured. That is the first layer of discourse.

The second is what I call the problem of solidarity; the way we relate with each other. In fact, the way some of these institutions relate inter se amongst themselves. We need to take a position on these relationships and it is going to be critical, especially when we debate the idea for a Constitutional review, to understand what the problem of solidarity entails in the context of Constitutional reform and reconfiguration. This is what I want to start on.

Then because Madam Dow has just arrived, I want to get to the next issue which is this; to confess upfront, unapologetically, I am dreamer. Martin Luther King Jr. stood on a bridge, I believe it was himself, and expressed that he had a dream. He outlines the contours of that dream and that dream in time became reality to the degree that it did. So, I am a dreamer. I am a dreamer of big dreams. I am a dreamer of dreams of immensity, dreams of intensity. I am a dreamer, but I am a different kind of dreamer. I am a dreamer who dreams by day with his eyes open, that is the kind of a dreamer I am. On that note, allow me to quote Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** Please do.

**ADV. BOKO:** Some author that my father forced me to appreciate before I could even read. I was made to memorise a passage from a book by an author called T.E. Lawrence. It is called 'Seven Pillars of Wisdom.' My father made me memorise this before I could even understand what it meant, before I could read, and he gave me that book. He said, "I should learn how to read, so, I could read it." It says, I think it was my father talking to me, that which he made before I could read. It says:

"I loved you, so I drew these tides of  
Men into my hands  
And wrote my will across the  
Sky and stars  
To earn you freedom, the seven  
Pillared worthy house,  
That your eyes might be  
Shining for me

When we came

Death seemed my servant on the  
Road, 'til we were near  
And saw you waiting:  
When you smiled and in sorrowful  
Envy he outran me  
And took you apart:  
Into his quietness

Love, the way-weary, groped to your body,  
Our brief wage  
Ours for the moment"

I just wanted to centre myself, remind myself of my old man, and the role that he played in shaping who I am and what I am. But I was not going there, the part of statement or a quote by T. E. Lawrence that I want to place in the centre of this discourse is this, he says, "All men dream: but not equally." All men, including Madam Dow. If we take the masculine to also be representative of the feminine, I know you will object but that is the old school practice but all men dream. "Those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake in the day to find that it was vanity: but those who dream in the day are dangerous men, for they may, with their eyes wide open, make their dreams possible." T. E. Lawrence; I am a dreamer but I am a second kind of dreamer, a dreamer who dreams with his eyes wide open. I just want to set it out so that I and

yourself, can then be free to match the same wavelength and engage philosophically because my Professor said, "to philosophise is to learn how to die as who you are, to be reborn, what you ought to be." Tolstoy says "philosophy is to squeeze the slave out of yourselves ounce by ounce."

We have wrestled with a very weighty concept over the last few days. I would have rather that the Leader of the Opposition (LOO) was here as well because I wanted to start off with him, and say to him in the context, in the circumstances in which our country, what is required at this point is a leadership that engages at the level of proffering solutions, well thought out, properly curved and framed, and fashioned solutions to deal with the intractable problems that bedevil our society. So, it is not a mark of leadership when all you can do is to describe problems, to tell us what we know, to come and say there are no roads in this particular area. That is a matter of public knowledge, is it not? We know where the roads are. We know where there are no roads. To come and lament that schools are dilapidated is not to proffer a solution, it is to glorify it, to tell us to be descriptive about a problem. You can be graphic in your descriptions and even map out what collateral damage it causes, but that is not a solution. You are not moving the needle. Leaders must move the needle when they stop. There must be a bleak on the storm chart towards solutions. When a leader speaks and leaves you where you were, in fact maybe worse off, then that is not a way for the leader, for the circumstances we find ourselves in as a country.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Applause!) ...

**ADV. BOKO:** I was hurt actually to listen to leaders tell us what we already know; the condition of schools, condition of roads, healthcare crisis; we know these things. They are chronicled meticulously, even the fake news sometimes brings them up and exaggerates and distorts, misrepresents, we know. What we have to wrestle with is what Vladimir Lenin; V.I. Lenin dealt with in his book, "What is to be done?" That is the fundamental question that we are seized with today as leaders. I am talking collectively, all of us, we are leaders entrusted by the people out there with the sacred responsibility of not coming here to glorify and describe problems, but to find durable solutions to these problems that trouble them in their daily lives. That is what we are here to do, and that is why our engagement with the habitual settings of our actions must be, in my

view, to recognize the shortcomings and to transform. So, the bulk of the discourse here was about telling us what we already know, and it was very thin on practical solutions...

**DR GOBOTSWANG:** *Clarification.* Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke a leboga *Mr President*. *Mr President*, kana le ile ditlhophong le le UDC, o e eteletse pele. *You had a social contract in the form of a manifesto*, e le one o o nang le *solutions* gore le ya *to solve* mathata a Batswana. Batswana ba dumalana le wena le UDC. Jaanong ke batla gore itse gore, *this manifesto* o o beela kwa thoko, ga o na *solutions*, jaanong o batla *solutions* mo go rona? Kana re na le *manifesto* wa rona wa BCP, o ke tsayang gore o na le *copy* ya one. Ke one o o nang le *solutions*, wena *you have a social contract* e bile o dirile ditsholofetso. O ka bo o *focus on delivering on your promises*, wa re o tsamaya fa kae? Batswana ba batla go utlwa dikarabo.

**ADV. BOKO:** Thank you very much. On your logic, then you should not be here. If there is nothing on your side to engage with in the discourse about the transformation of this country, then you are effectively disqualifying yourself. You are saying, all that needs to happen in this House is that the UDC must come here and rollout its manifesto and brook no submissions from anybody, that would be wrong.

Let me deal with you on the logic of your proposition. First, the manifesto of a political party does not immediately translate... and I have said this before, does not immediately translate into the programme of Government, because there are certain rules, processes and protocols by which that manifesto becomes translatable and translated into Government programmes. One of the ways in which the manifesto gets translated is by legislation, when you legislate against established practices and institutions and ways of doing things, that programme is ongoing. Some of the laws have been brought here on urgency, because it was deemed absolutely essential to have them. Why? On the basis of what we term in social theory, structural ambition, looking at the present institutions and their configuration, can they take us from where we are, to where we ought to be? That is the question, and so that manifesto finds expression in legislation, in the reforms that we have brought already and that we will continue to bring. Some of them are lined up as we speak, to enter this House to be debated. On that front, that manifesto is being delivered. Delivery is a process, it is not a single

event, that is the first thing that I want you to know.

The second is this, *Rre Gobotswang*, you were elected in the constituency of Sefhare by people who believed you had something worthwhile to say, by people who believed you could...

**DR GOBOTSWANG:** *Procedure.* 57.4 mo Standing Orders, ga o ka ke wa re ba ne ba ntlhophela "*something*." *Mr Speaker*, ke kopa gore o ele tlhoko mafoko a *President* a a dirisang, *because* o tlaa felela a tlodile temana ya 57.4. Fa o ne o ka utlwa mafoko a a neng a a dirisa a leka *to describe me*, jaaka a re ke tlhophilwe ke batho ba Sefhare, nna ke tlhophilwe ke batho ba Tswapong South. Ga ke koo, ke mo lefokong le a le dirisitseng le *Mr Speaker* ke tsayang gore o le utlwile.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Honourable Gobotswang... let me make a ruling Mr President.* Fa ke mo reeditse thata, o kare o ne a re o tlhophilwe go dumelwa gore o na le boleng jwa go ka tlisa sengwe mo Palamenteng. Ke dumela gore *that is his line of debate, I am not sure if I picked the word but Mr President*, o ele tlhoko thata Standing Order 57.4. Re se ka ra dirisa *offensive and insulting language, but I have not heard you use that. I may have missed, I stand to be corrected but I have not.*

**ADV. BOKO:** Thank you very much, far be it from me to use either offensive or derogatory language. I am always respectful, because I know that even in our differing, we must always mediate differences with civility and respect. Maybe you are refuting the proposition I am making, that those who elected you, elected you on an understanding that you had some meaningful contribution to make to the discourse and the transformation of this country. Unless you were standing up to refute that, I doubt you were, you agree with me, there is no way you cannot, unless you want to disqualify yourself. They elected you because they believed that you had something useful to say. They elected you because we would assume, had understood part of your manifesto. They sent you here because they believed, there are certain aspects of that manifesto that bear articulating in this House. Those aspects of you manifesto that are worthy of your articulation here, must in my humble submission provide solutions, not to describe problems that are known. Those people elected you because they understood their problems, they understand those problems better than anyone of us here. We cannot teach them their problems. The only thing that we are sent here to do is to provide solutions,

to those trenchant and persistent difficulties that they face on everyday basis. The manifesto of the UDC therefore, does not encapsulate perhaps, maybe it does, those aspects of your manifesto that earned you the vote of those people. They sent you here to articulate those solutions that you yourself had in your manifesto.

All I am saying to you is, let the discourse focus on you proffering those solutions, to enrich and shape the discourse. So that at some point you say yourself, I took part in the transformation of this country, this idea was appropriated from what I submitted. This is what I am saying, and so do not reify, fetishize and idolize a manifesto, exactly the point I started on. That manifesto gave us the numbers that we got, but it did not give us 100 per cent, there was no consensus full unanimity. It is important, and that is why I come here to listen because I might just be enriched. I said when I come here, I want intellectual nourishment, I might just be intellectually nourished and begin to review some of the approaches that I have taken, so that I do not fall into the trap that my eminent friend there did when he went to present a paper in Geneva.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** That is exactly the folly that I want to avoid. When I come here, what I expected was, to hear answers and solutions suggested. So that you can go back to the people and say, we gave them solutions, those characters in the Government refused and rejected our solutions. Then you have acquitted yourself on their mandate, this is the point and that is my answer to your protest.

**DR DOW:** Elucidation. Thank you, Mr Speaker. Thank you, Mr President. I think we are of resolutions, you might not be hearing them, but we are. For example, one solution I offered is that if you are going to change a culture of people, how people see things, you must bring them along. I gave the example of the passport issue. You may be convinced, it might be a brilliant idea, but you need to take the whole nation with you. How do you do that? You engage them in Kgotla meetings, you give us a chance for us to engage them, you get a sense of what people are going... And explain why this is important to this country, for example, so that is the first solution.

Personally, I have said that many times, I appreciate the economic condition that the country is in, and I do not believe we can turn around this ship in 12 months. You

can turn it a bit but I am not too sure we can go to the 2020s of 2023 situation in 12 months. Our solution is dream big, okay, but promise in small bits so that people will not be disappointed in 12 months. It may be my solution, may be is not your solution, you may not agree with that particular approach but I do. I will give you another example Mr Speaker, your Excellency...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** ... (Inaudible)...

**DR DOW:** Your time, okay one moment; *gakere* you came here for nourishment. Listen to us, let us engage. We are saying for example, I have said this in this House, you are bringing investors... and I have said in this House that if you want investors in this country, you must also educate the public out there, investors mean people who do not look like you, who do not eat like you, who do not maybe even pray like you. They have the mindset to be able to encourage this nation to have a broader mindset about embracing other people. So, for me other people, and I am saying those things do not come over night. I really think we do not spend enough time in actually saying what are the implications of this new path? A brilliant path, because we want investors, we want money here, but I am saying we do not bring people along. That is my solution Mr Speaker.

**ADV. BOKO:** Thank you very much madam, indebted. You remind me of an argument I had to push at the Court of Appeal when I said to the Judges, the people out there, on whose behalf you purport to rule way ahead of you, on many of these issues that hold you hostage. I said to them, all what you are doing here is creating rules as an excuse for conservatism and you justify the conservatism by referencing the people, who are way ahead. Our people have lived with people of different races, origins and religions for a very long time. They accept, understand and embrace these people absolutely. I have interacted with people across the breadth and dimensions of this country, and I have become very aware, acutely aware of the fact that sometimes when leaders refuse to lead, they pretend it is the people who do not want to be led.

On many of these issues it is actually the people leading, but I will get back to that. The point I was making was that we seek solutions when we come here, and I demonstrated to the eminent friend Member for Tswapong South that he has something to offer. Every one of you here has something to offer, please offer well thought-out, well fashioned solutions that can challenge those that are being brought from this side, that can

enrich and improve the country. Not for ourselves alone, but the people out there...(Interruptions)...there are a lot.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**ADV. BOKO:** 30 seconds please.

**MR PULE:** *Point of clarification. Thank you, Your Excellency. I just want to get this clear, ke tsaya gore Tautona fa a bua, o bua ka rona ba rotlhe Members of Parliament (MPs). It looks like o kare he is referring to this side. Ke tsaya gore wa re fa o le Mopalamente, o tshwanetse gore o bo o tla fa to offer solutions. Tota ke ne ke rile ke tlile go botsa potso fela e e tlhamaletseng gore a Tautona yo ke mo ratang thata, a wa re fa e sale jaaka re nna mo Palamenteng, ga go na solution epe that we offered that you can just mention and say, mme le tsisitse but it is not enough? Go se ka ga nna o kare jaanong wa re ga go na solution that we offered fa e sale re tsena fa. E le gore batho ba ne ba tlaabo ba re tlhophela eng?*

**ADV. BOKO:** Context, without context you get lost. I was wrestling with the submissions of the Leader of the Opposition (LOO), and if there is anybody who could make that complaint it would be him, but he is not here to make the protest, maybe you are protesting on his behalf.

The point I made as I said, covers all of us, yourself included, despite the fact that I hold a very firm view that you are part of the problem that you caused in your failure to speak out, you were complicit in the creation of the situation we are in. I am not going to deal with that now, the point I was making was that we need to...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of order Mr Speaker.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)

**MR PULE:** *Point of order. Nnyaa, Tautona jaanong kana go raya gore o tlhasela nna. Ke raya gore fa a re "you" o raya Mabuse Pule. I think Tautona o tswa mo tseleng jaanong o bitsa nna ka sebele ka gore ke boditse potso. Ke a itse gore I was part of the previous regime, mme ga a a tshwanela gore fa a bua a bo a re, "wena e bile."*

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)

**MR PULE:** Ke a leboga.

**MR SPEAKER:** Nnyaa *Honourable Pule*, ke tsaya gore mme o mo tseleng. Kana *he is on debate* ya gore

wena o tlaa tla o ipuelela. O mo *debate* ya gore kana o ne o le bontlha bongwe jwa Puso e e fetileng, e ka fa a buang ka teng, e bakileng mathata mangwe a a tlaa buang, kana a a kileng a buiwa ke bagabone ka kwa. Jaanong ga go molato gore a go supe, ke go reile maloba *Honourable Pule* ka re, ga o ka ke wa itlhotlhora gore o ne o le bontlha bongwe jwa Puso e e fetileng. Go tlaa tsamaya go ntse go supega jalo *in the debates*.

**ADV. BOKO:** *Thank you very much.* Ga ke go ntshe ka loso legolo. Ke ne ke tlhalosa seemo sa seboka se o neng o le karolo ya sone. Tota ke se ka ka re seboka, o kare ke kgabisa thata, segopa se o neng o le karolo ya sone.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** Se se rukuthileng itsholelo mme...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**ADV. BOKO:** Ke ne ke sa ye koo wa ga mma. Segopa go tewa...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of order Mr Speaker.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)

**MR SPEAKER:** Point of order Honourable Pule.

**MR PULE:** *Point of order.* Nnyaa, Tautona jaanong o ntse o gatela kwa pele, mme kana o a itse fela gore ke motho yo ke mo tlotlang thata. Jaanong fa a re bitsa segopa, a tota...

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)

**MR PULE:** Kana fa o re segopa *Mr Speaker*, o raya batho ba ba senang *sense of purpose*, ke gore e le batho fela kana ditsie. Ke lesotlo, *it is derogatory* gore o bo o re motho yo o tshwanang le nna go bo gotwe ke segopa. Ke kopa gore o kope Tautona a boele lefoko leo la segopa morago, a dirise lefoko le lengwe le le farologaneng.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Mr President*, ba re o se ka wa ba kgopisa.

**ADV. BOKO:** Mma ke go kgotsofatse ke boele lefoko la segopa morago. O ne o le bontlha bongwe jwa baphuthegi ba ba neng ba phuthegetse...

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** *Ke ne ke feta jalo.* In relation to the health system crisis, I thought I tried to explain during the State

of the Nation Address (SONA), the kind of difficulties over a long period of time.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**ADV. BOKO:** Can I make the point and then you clarify it?

**MR LUCAS:** Point of clarification. *O kare o tswa mo go e...*

**ADV. BOKO:** Ehe! Ya segopa?

**MR LUCAS:** *Point of clarification.* Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker.* Ke a go utlwa Tautona gore o remeletse thata mo goreng batho ba tle ka *solution*, ba thuse *so that we chart the way forward for this country.* Se gongwe motho a ka se lemogang Tautona ke gore, *you are a very difficult person to advise.* E bile fa gongwe ke etle ke utlwe o bua gore *Constitution* e a go letlelela *to advise yourself.* *You are a very difficult person to advise because advice* nngwe le nngwe e lebega e goroga mo go wena, o lebega o na le *ability* e e gakgamatsang ya go e nyatsa, ya go e kgagolaka le go e nyenyafatsa. *We have seen you Mr President,* re go bona mo dikgannyeng o nyenyafatsa babegadikgang, le Mapalamente one a fa o utlwa ba tshega jaana, o a tle o nyenyafatse le yone Palamente. *In the past,* re kile ra go utlwa gape o nyenyafatsa le yone *Judiciary.* *I think you are a very difficult person to advise.* Fa gongwe ga re re go kgobelele dikgang, o tle o bone gore o tswa jang mo go tsone. Lefatshe le le go file Puso gore o e tsamaisa, e tsamaisa rraetsho.

**ADV. BOKO:** ... (Laughter!)... You must always love and respect a leader who is difficult to advise because it means that is a leader who reflects, who agonizes. Every solution that you present is subjected to the most of rigorous examination as scrutiny, so that when it is accepted, it has been tested. That is why in the context of the Botswana Economic Transformation Programme (BETP), they had a specialised arrangement, they call it labs (laboratories), they received 6000 ideas, they whittled them down to 186 after a process of rigorous scrutiny. They subjected the 186 to further probing until they were satisfied that these ideas, these advices are worthy of implementation. That is exactly the same frame of mind I operate on and if that is being difficult, then I am guilty as charged and I would not change.

You gave an idea last time I was here, 'you must tax the rich more, 35 per cent.' I did not dismiss your idea, I said it will be placed and co-located with other ideas seeking to address the same problem because in

my training, there is something called, "a means-ends calculus." The means that you deploy must be properly suited to the attainment of the ends that you envision. If there is a disconnect between the means and the ends, then you are not moving and that is why every leader must be the most difficult person to advise because he also must have the presence of mind to distill, engage and rigorously examine every piece of advice, the better then, not only to internalise and appreciate but to guide implementation. So, yes, I am a very difficult person to advise deliberately and a leader must be exactly like that.

Issues I was making in the simple proposition is that let us focus on providing solutions, and you did an admirable job of laying a suggestion on the table, that will be taken up and examined.

I was also saying in response to *Mme Mma Dow* that sometimes we as leaders fail to lead and create excuses, and say the people will be left behind, the people are ahead of us. In fact, as we stand here, you know that the President can give citizenship without... you know that, but here is a President who says, I want a structured and organised arrangement which is not... In exercise of the powers that already vest to just give, I could do it but I wanted it to be properly structured so that it is subjected to an internationally recognised process of rigorous assessment and distillation. These applicants are subjected not just to our own vetting process here through the Directorate of Intelligence and Security (DIS). There is a whole complex layer of rigorous assessments at the end of which then the names are submitted to us, not as a finished product but to say yay or nay. This is what is it.

So, tweaking what already exist, structuring it and giving it some violence is not leaving the people behind. It had been determined long ago. Maybe even before I was born, that man probably the year he was born, 1966, when this independent Constitution was given to us as an addendum to the order in Council of 1893 in England, when they gave us the Constitution, they had already determined that citizenship will be operated in this manner. I am saying, let us re-examine this in the context of the challenge that we have of bringing in credible investors, not women and men of straw and the applications that have been received in the initial phase show us people who are in terms of their personal worth, USD10 million and above. Do we need such investors in the country? Of course, we do. Can the President, as I stand here, give citizenships to some of those? Yes, he can. Why is he not doing it? He wants to take everybody

along so that we understand and we structure it so that it has absolutely no semblance of arbitrariness, this is the point.

Let me proceed then and there are many issues that were raised, Government waste and cost cutting, I am sure you know that is underway. I have dealt with the citizenship by investment, these people are investors. I heard somebody say that they will be queuing with us at CEDA. No, these are investors, they are coming here to plant their capital, to invest and to have the comfort of enjoying the place where their investments are planted, this is what we are looking at. I am open to ideas and suggestions from yourselves.

Now, there is the question of parliamentary independence and oversight and this is a profound question because it is the one that will bulk large in the Constitutional debate. This independence of Parliament, emanating from a separation of powers where Parliament, the Legislature must be separated from the Executive and all these must be separated from the Judiciary. That separation does not seem to mean much as between the Executive and the Legislature because the members of the Executive are predominantly drawn from the Legislature. So, there has been a blurring of lines there. In the unfolding Constitutional debate, we are going to have to reflect carefully from whether we want a strict separation between the Executive and the Legislature. That is the first thing.

The second thing is this, if we have the separation, we will now be going without any doubt, a route called Presidentialism. We are running a hybrid system here, presidential parliamentary. In a Parliamentary system such as how the United Kingdom (UK) operates, Parliament is supreme. In a Presidential system, there is no way in which the President is not supreme. The President is supreme, that is why President Trump operates on executive orders, that is why he can wake up today and fire people, that is why he can bully if he wants, everybody. It is a Presidential system, it vests immense powers on the President and that is the Presidential system and the President will be elected. Let me finish this point so that you can then engage. The President will be elected separately from the current dispensation. When a President who has been elected by campaigning throughout the country and wins, stands next to a Member of Parliament who campaigned in Okavango and the Member of Parliament of Parliament says, I want you to do this, the President says no, you represent a small pocket, I represent the whole country,

I am not going to listen to you, what do you say? Where is the balance? How do you moderate the runaway powers of a Presidential system? These are questions, the answers do not need to be fudged, we need to reflect carefully. An Israeli author, a guy called Noah, not Salakae...

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)...

**ADV. BOKO:** Noah Yuval Harari is the guy who wrote that book called 'Homo Sapiens.' He wrote another one, the penultimate one is called 'Homo Deus (Man God).' He says man has reached the level of God now. Man is able to clone and create animals, human beings. Man is at the level of Artificial Intelligence (AI), man, he is a creator, he is God. Now they can even prolong your life. They can use stem cell to regrow some of your organs. Man is now God. That is what Yuval Harari says, Homo Deus (Man is God). But he has written another one, the latest called 'Nexus.' He says, "never, ever summon powers you cannot control." Now, in paving the route that we want to pave to a proper Constitution, let us be mindful that we do not pave the way to hell. Why? Because the way to hell was also paved with the most honest of intentions. Let us be mindful that we do not summon powers we will not be able to control.

**MR KAPINGA:** Clarification. Thank you, Mr Speaker. Thank you, Mr President. I appreciate the point that you make of the powers of a President in a Presidential system. But it is within the Presidential system, that you find a clear Constitutional process for impeachment of the President and his removal, and he not having the powers to dissolve Parliament because Parliament has agreed or resolved to remove him, which I think it is a very powerful right of Parliament, which we do not have right now. Right now, if we want to remove you, you dissolve Parliament and we go to elections in this hybrid system.

In a Presidential system, Parliament has very clear powers to reject the budget presented by the President, such that there can be a shutdown of Government for almost two months, which powers we do not have in this Parliament. If Government presents a budget, it is guaranteed to go through as it is. So, we should not be afraid of this Presidential system Mr President, because it also vests a lot of powers on Parliament.

**ADV. BOKO:** I hear you, my submission is on what you have said. The first one is this, I think I am happy that Parliament does not have powers to dissolve

Government. It does not have the powers to create a shutdown for any period of time because instability of that nature, in some of the settings that we have, would create chaos and civil strife. So, I would commend the bequest of this colonial Constitution, because so far, it has ensured that no empathy can brew. It has ensured that there is assured stability, which is what investors want. So, if we do not have the financial way wither to improve our economies, we must invite Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). We need to have an environment that conduces to the internalisation of those investments and assuring those who invest, stability, predictability and that arrangement of a shutdown would be inimical to exactly that. That is the first thing.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**ADV. BOKO:** Let me finish with this. The second is this, I made an illustration; Parliament made up of individuals elected in different pockets constituencies, pitted against a President, who went to the people directly and got elected by them. What powers can Parliament have to remove such a person? On what justification by the way? The person has gone to the people. You are imagining a dispensation, where the President goes directly to the people and convinces them. The people elect him and you want other persons who did not put him there to remove him and that is democracy? That is a weird and wacked version.

We must also conceptualise democracy as a very dynamic political system that should not be tied to a single version of itself. So, when we unleash and create a Presidential system, we must understand what we are doing. The President will go out and campaign. The President will market himself to the people. The people will fall in love with the President, there is no mistake about that. People fall in love with the President. Some of them even fetishize him. They idolise him. You want such people to have that President they have invested so much hope in removed by others, it would create problems. I am not saying, it is not a viable proposition. I am saying, let us look at the pros and cons of each proposition that we present.

What I am demonstrating, I hope and the process of my submission is that we are not linear. It is not a single bench spectrum. There is no blueprint, there are pathways, multiple pathways. We need to pause and reflect every step we advance. Which one of these options are we taking and why? What are the implications? That is why some authors have said, Vivien Hart, I believe

it is, says, "Constitution making should never be in haste. It should never be haphazard. It should never be emotive." We should not try to fix someone. We have seen how that has panned out in our own jurisdiction. Where things were either tailored for someone or in the ultimate instance, tailored against, we do not want that kind of arrangement.

**DR GOBOTSWANG:** *Clarification. Thank you, Mr President. Jaaka o ne o bua ka Constitution, ke ratile thata gore o bo o tsene mo kgannyeng ya teng. Mo Constitution re rutilwe gore there is the process and content. Ke a utlwa gore o setse o le kwa pele. Kgang e tona e e lebegang e le paledisa go baakanya Constitution, ke tsamaiso, tsela, the process ya go ya gone koo. Process yone e, Honourable President, fa re ka se ka ra e tshwara sentle, re tlaa felela re le mo diemong tsa bo Kenya, kwa ba feletseng e phutlhama, go bo go dirwa labobedi. Kwa Zimbabwe ya phutlhama, ya dirwa labobedi, mme e digwa ke process. Process ya teng centres around kgang ya people-centred approach. Setšhaba se bo se le mo go yone, se e eletele kwa pele, rona mapolotiki re ba lebile mme re na le bone. Ke ne ke re mo kgannyeng eo, o e tlhalose sentle gore o fa kae mo people-centred approach?*

**ADV. BOKO:** Thank you very much. Let me quote for you, with the permission of the Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** Please do.

**ADV. BOKO:** I will quote from an article I wrote and presented to Members of Parliament (MPs) then, on the 30<sup>th</sup> October, that fateful day, when change turns to happen, prophetic maybe. This paper presented at the post-election seminar for MPs, in the year 2000, presented by my good self, lecturer, Department of Law. I taught Constitutional law. I learnt Constitutional law at Harvard Law School. I am a Constitutional lawyer and I have litigated around Constitutional matters. By the way, the Constitution of political parties...

**MR SEGOKGO:** *Procedure. Ga ke itse Mr Speaker, ke ne ke re o ele tlhoko 51.7. Go setse lemekunyana fela la 20 minutes. Jaanong mongwe le mongwe o batla go dira clarification. Ga se gore le ene Tautona a kgaritlhelele fela go fitlhelela ka 6:00 p.m.? Ba batla go botsa botlhe. Ba setse ba mo ja monate jaanong, le rona re mo ja monate, a a kgaritlhelele fela.*

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Honourable Members, on that point of procedure, yes, I have been thinking about that Honourable Segokgo. My intention was to rely on

Order 51.7, *gore ke mo okeletse nako. Le leboga le na le interest e ntsi thata mo debate ya gagwe.* Earlier on Leader of the House had indicated to me of his intention to move a procedural Motion, which I do not know if he will move. If he does not move that Motion, I will allow the President to continue until six.

**ADV. BOKO:** Thank you Mr Speaker. I heard my good friend, in relation to whom I always have a lot to say Taolo Lucas, suggests that I be given an hour extension. I think it will be ideal, so that I do not deny any member the opportunity to probe and engage. I would humbly request.

I was going to quote in response to *Rre Gobotswang*, something that I wrote then and presented. I said, "The independence Constitution was not the product of wide and participatory discussions covering the whole country, and as such taking on board the interests and aspirations of the myriad groups that existed. It was thus, not popularly debated, drafted and adopted by the people of the republic that was about to emerge. In terms of origin therefore, the independence Constitution was given and transmitted from the departing colonial Government. There was of course, some consultation with some representatives, a conference in Lobatse in 1963 and in London in 1966. It is an issue of some concern, whether the conference in Lobatse can be said to have been as widely representative and all-inclusive as a Constitutional drafting process should be. This concern cannot be dismissed lightly for a very profound reason.

One of the approaches to Constitutional interpretation is the originalist approach. The attempt in any Constitutional interpretation for this approach is to discover the original intent of the founders of the Constitution. Once this original intent has been established, the task of interpretation is simply to give effect to it by construing the provisions in question in accordance therein.

The strength of this approach to Constitutional interpretation has been argued that it prevents the Judiciary from abandoning its roles as guardians of the Constitution and becoming its overlords. A few realities about those who took part in the discussions of the new Constitution in Lobatse include that they were all male, *Mma Dow*, they were all male, heterosexual, affluent and belonging to the ethnic groups that subsequently found pride of place in the Constitution. Other ethnic groups, although many to exist, were not accorded the pride of

being mentioned in the text of the Constitution. To this extent perhaps, there is a sense in which the Constitution itself carries the hegemonic imprint of the powerful and influential men who are now its founding fathers."

This was my good self, young, wet behind the ears then, I have grown now. That was a long time ago, I am a marksman now. These views I hold dear that the Constitution must be a representative, it must be reflective of the will of the people, all of them. I am faithful unto that, unto death. So be assured...

**MR NKAWANA:** *On a point of clarification.* Ke a go leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke go leboga Tautona ka dithuto tse di kalokalo, ka tota o le motho wa molao.

Rotlhe re a dumalana gore *Constitution* ga e direlwe Tautona yo o mo setilong ka nako eo. Maloba fa re santse re le mmogo ka kwano re lwantsha bo *Rre Pule*, puo ya rona e ne e le gore re batla *direct election of the President*. Gompiano ke bona o re o a re gakolola gore go diphatsa jang, gore go nne jalo. Ke go tthaloganyana jalo. Ke tthaloganyane gore ga o bue jalo e le ka lebaka la gore, gongwe go tshaba gore fa o ikemetse ka nosi o tloga o latlhegelwa go tlhophiwa ke *support* ya Mapalamente, ka gore moo go laolwa ke *popularity* ya *an individual*, ga go laolwe ke mananeo a phathi ya gago? Gone foo Tautona, a ko tthalose gore wena fa o lebile mo Botswana, a re ka tsamaya ka lenaneo la gore o bo o tlhophiwa ke Palamente *so to speak*, kana go siame gore mongwe le mongwe a ikemele e le Tautona, go lwantshane bo Tautona fela ba latlhegelwe?

Jaaka o ne o tthalosa ke sa go tseele nako, kwa mafatsheng a mangwe jaaka America, re a tle re bone bo *Government shutdown* e le gore *congress* ga e dumalane le Tautona, kana jaanong go mo *Constitution*. Ga o dumele gore re ka dira *Constitution* e e leng gore e a go letlelela, le fa o ka bo o ipapaditse Batswana ba go ratile, mme *Constitution* ya rona e bo e supa gore e fa Mapalamente dithata tsa gore ba ka sutisa Tautona mo setilong? Ke a leboga.

**ADV. BOKO:** Ke a leboga. Se ke neng ke se bua e ne e se go kgoreletsa kana go boifa sepe. Tota e bile fa go na le sengwe se ke dumelang gore ke se rata thata, e ka nna *the Presidential system*. Maduo a yone ke go tlhomamisetse gompiano, ka 2029 ke tlaabo ke ntse ke eme gone fa mo maamong one a, ka *Presidential system out and up*. *There is no doubt about it.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Applause!)

**ADV. BOKO:** Go na le dilo dingwe tse ke sa di

ganetsegeng, ke go tlhomamisetse jaana, ke beye kwa thoko tsa gore kana ke a boifa, nnyaa rraetsho. Fa ke ne ke le motho yo o nang le poifo, ke ka bo ke sa ithola go emela boPalamente ka lebagana le kgang e ya go tla go ema fa ke leng teng, mo gareng ga dikgwetlho tse di teng. Ke motho yo e reng fa re inakanya le selo, ke se dire se direge. Ga ke nke ke palelwa. Ka jalo, *Presidential system or whatever system you bring, the outcome I can assure you now, will be the same. Maybe even with bigger numbers ... (Interruptions) ...*

**MR SPEAKER:** Hang on Mr President. I understand that the Leader of the House, Minister Moeti Caesar Mohwasa has a procedural Motion to move.

### BUSINESS MOTION

**LEADER OF THE HOUSE (MR MOHWASA):** Thank you Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, I beg to move in terms of Standing Order 27.1 (b), that we extend today's sitting by an hour. So that instead of concluding today's business at 1800 hours, we conclude at 1900 hours. I move accordingly Mr Speaker.

Question put and **agreed to.**

**ADV. BOKO:** Ke ne ke tlhalosa kgang e bagarona, tshwetso ya gore re ya go nna le Molaomotheo o o ntseng jang kwa bofelong, ga se ya motho a le mongwefela, le fa motho wa teng a ka tswa nako ya gompiano e le Tautona. E tlile go nna tshwetso ya Batswana. Se se bothokwa pele fa ba ya go tsaya tshwetso eo, ke gore ba bo ba tlhalogantse gore Molaomotheo ke eng, o ka dira eng, o ka kgontsha eng, o ka paledisa eng.

Ke batla go tsaya kgang e nngwe e e etleng e buiwe ke Rre Lucas, e re tswang kgakala le rona re e bua. Ya gore re tsenye *second and third generation rights into the Constitution, which is a laudable concept.* Gone jaana re na le mo gotweng *first generation negative right, negative rights* ke tse di reng Goromente a se ka a dira jaana.

*Fa o tsaya Section 5, Deprivation of Liberty, you cannot be arrested, Government dare not arrest you unless there are three circumstances or one of them. One, you are about to commit a criminal offence. Two, you are in the process of committing a criminal offence, you are caught red-handed, flagrante delicto. The third is you have already committed a criminal offence. Outside the circumstances you cannot be arrested, your liberty cannot be taken away from you. That is why mapodise fa ba tshwara motho, they are enjoined to tell the person*

what they are arresting the person for, they must tell you. If they do not, they have violated your Section 5 right of liberty. *Kwa America golo mo ba go bitsa Miranda Rules, pele ga go nna le tlhakatlhakano e e tlisiwang ke babusi ba re ba bonang. Ba re you must mirandize, Miranda versus Arizona, ke yone case, you must mirandize, you must tell the person why you are arresting them. In the UK, you must do that before you even touch the person and when you have done that, you must tap the person, even if you tap them on the shoulder and tell them you have placed them under arrest. This is demonstrated in a case ya UK e bidiwa... (Inaudible)...* Now, these rights, the point I am making is they are negative, they preclude, they stop the Government from doing certain things. They do not involve an expenditure of resources, when the Government does not interfere with it, it does not spend any money, in any direct... (Inaudible)... Second third generation rights are positive rights, they impose a positive obligation on the state, not to refrain but to do certain things. If you impose that obligation and you say, the state must provide...

**MR HIKUAMA:** *Procedure. Mr Speaker, ke a tlhobaela gore e kete jaanong le abuse powers tsa lona tsa go nna Speaker le go nna Leader of the House. Go tla go fetoga dinako fela gore President a tle a bue go bo gotwe o a respond, mme a respond to the debate a filwe nako, le bo le re jaanong a respond fela go okediwe dinako re mo reetsa a respond, I think this is the abuse of power to be honest. It is abuse of power mo go feteletseng, we cannot tolerate such kind of situations, ga go na a need ya gore why re tshwanetse gore fa President a respond, yes, le dirile gore a respond, go tlile to respond batho ba le two, Leader of the House o ya to respond, President o a respond, no man... (Interruptions)... no man, mo ke yone serious abuse of power.*

**MR SPEAKER:** *Nnyaa Honourable Hikuama, what you are expressing ke frustration mme ga ke itse gore ke ya eng. We organised on this matter at the Business Advisory Committee where all parties were represented. Jaanong what you have just done is to violate Order 57.5, you are imputing impropriety on the Speakership, Honourable Hikuama, re tlhalositse, re buisantse kgang eo...*

**MR HIKUAMA:** Ke ne ke emetswe ke mang?

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!) ...

**MR SPEAKER:** The Motion that has just passed was procedural. The procedural Motion was moved and voted on.

**ADV. BOKO:** O etetswe ke ba ga lona. Ke ne ke re ke tsibogele kgang ya gago jaana, golo mo gotweng *rule of law*, go tewa gore fa katlholo e ntshitswe, le fa o ka tswa o sa e rate, o e ngongoregela o sa e batle gotlhelele, owaii! e go ama fela jaaka o kare ke wena o neng o e tlhabeletsa. Ke raya gore wa ga mma, ga go ka ke ga kgonagala...

**MR HIKUAMA:** *Clarification.* Go raya gore mma re mo tsenye mo *debate* jaanong gore gongwe re *enjoy conversation* ya gagwe. Ke a leboga *Mr President*, ke leboga thata e bile ke rata ntlha e nngwe e o e buileng fale fa moragonyana ya gore kana wena o eletsa gore re le Ntlo e ya Mapalamente, re tle ka dikakanyo tse di ka lekang go betla tsela ya go ya kwa pele, ya go tlhabolola lefatshe le. Ke dumalana le wena thata mo ntlheng eo.

Jaanong *clarification* ya me e fa, ke ne ke tlile ka *Motion* mongwe fa o bua gore re tshwanetse go okeletsa... ka gore re bone seemo sa dikole le go tlhoka tsebe ga bana le *programme* ya barutabana e sa wele sentle ka dinako *because of* dinako tse di beilweng, barutabana ba ngongoregela gore ga ba duelwe sentle, ke bo ke bua gore, gore golo mo go bereke, re ka fetola ka fa re duelang barutabana ka teng. Re bo re ba duela gore ba kgone gore *programmes* tsa bone tsotlhe di tsene. *What I heard from your members* fa ba *reject Motion*, ba re *they got an instruction from you... (Interruptions)...* O bua gore lona le batla *a holistic approach to the problems of the teachers*. Fa ke bua ke bo ke re, *we cannot address all the problems* tse di amang barutabana ka tsela e le nngwefela mo seemong sa madi se se bokete se re leng mo go sone. Ga re ka ke ra di kgona, *we need step by step* e o e buileng mo State of the Nation Address (SONA). *We can start with one step* gore re tle re *address all these problems which are the devil to the education system and the teachers*. Ke fa ba *reject* ba digela fa fatshe ba re *it is an instruction from you*. Ke a leboga.

**ADV. BOKO:** Nnyaa, ke a go utlwa, ke lebogele *clarification*. Ga ke itse gore a ke boammaaruri ba go reile ba re ba laotswe jalo, mme ga go diragale jalo.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Murmurs)...

**ADV. BOKO:** Ga go na *instruction* e e ka kgoreletsang Mapalamente go bua. E bile se ba se tlelang kwano ke gore ba ntshe mafatlha a bone ka dikgang, go raya gore gongwe ba ne ba bona ka tsela e e farologaneng. Kgang ya barutabana, kana o a gakologelwa, go kile ga bo go na le molao wa Teaching Service Management Act. O

ne o tsere barutabana o ba beile fale o ba tlhaotse, ba na le ditsamaiso le dithulaganyo tsa bone tse di amang bone jaaka barutabana. Mo tsamaong ya nako go bo go tlisiwa Public Service Act, e e tsereng barutabana le ba bangwe e bo e tshela mo Public Service. Ya bo e fetola mabaka a pereko a bone ale, e bo e tliisa seemo se e leng gore modirelapuso mongwe le mongwe jaanong ka ba bereka Puso e nngwefela, ba tshwanetse go tshwana ka mabaka a pereko. Gone mo go bakile gore tiro e barutabana ba neng ba e dira ba sa e duelelwe, jaanong ba bo ba re re amiwa ke thulaganyo e e ntsha ya Public Service Act, go raya gore le e tseye jalo. Gongwe mogopolo wa gago ke gore ga ke rate ke o tsaya ke o tlhofofatsa. Ke eletsa gore fa re tsena mo dikgannyeng tse, re di rarabolole *in a broader way* ya gore a ga re tseye barutabana ra ba ntsha gape kwa re neng re ba isitse teng go bonala gore ga go a bereka, re bo re ya go ba baya ba le nosi. E bile ka gompiano re tlisitse thulaganyo ya gore ba a *register as professionals*, re bo re ba baya fale jaanong mabaka a bone a pereko a tokafadiwa le melao e e amanang, e e tsamaisang mabaka le pereko ya bone, di bo di baakanngwa.

Ke tsaya gore ba ba neng ba farologana le wena, ba ne ba sa nyatse e bile ba sa latlhe mogopolo. Ba ne ba re a re o tshwareng jalo, re bo re tla re o sitlhega fa godimo ga paakanyo e o kareng e atologile gore jaanong barutabana ba tle ba siamelwe. Ga go na yo o ganetsang gore seemo se ba beilweng mo go sone ke molao, ga se a ba siamela...

**MR HIKUAMA:** *Point of clarification.* Nnyaa, mme ke a leboga. *Mr President, you are a lawyer*, ke ne ke na le *Speaker* o mongwe a rata gore *you are a lawyer*, *Honourable Skelemani. The problem of the teachers at the moment is not the Public Service Act because ga go na molao o o ba itsang gore ba ka duelwa jalo. The Employment Act, e a letla, e bile it prescribes. Ke yone e e nang le these models tsa dituelo. It is a not a question of the law* gore go na le molao o o ba itsang go ka akola, *treating them* ka tsela yone eo. Fa re batla, ga go na molao o o ka ba kganelang.

Public Service Act e ba e dirisang, *together with the Employment Act*, e a ba letla gore ba ka duelwa jaaka ke ne ke kopa, ga ba kganelwe ke molao.

**ADV. BOKO:** Molao o marara, fa o ka tsaya dintlha tse pedi fela, o ka go tsietsa. Fa gongwe fa re o ranola, go batla re o phutholole, re tle re kgone go go o tlhatswetsa sentle rona beng ba one. Ke tle ke tshoge fa

ke o tlhalosediswa ke *a lay person in the law seeking to instruct an advocate of the courts. Sometimes I cringe but* ke a go utlwa wa ga mma, ke go tlhaloganya sentle mme e bile ga ke go ntshe ka loso legolo.

Ke dumela gore puisanyo e re tllile go e tshwara jaanong *in the proper context of hiving off the teaching profession and creating as we already have, a structure that registers them and can discipline them. I will deal with the discipline issue in relation to other professions, including babegadikgang going forward. Debate ya gago e santse e tlaa nna le boleng le bokao jo bo kwa godimo fa re tla re e sitlhega jaaka ke ne ke bua mo teng ga puisanyo ya go baakanya mabaka a pereko le molao otlhe jaanong o o itebaganyang le bone barutabana tota. Ke ne ke re ke go...*

**MR LUCAS:** *Point of clarification.* Go lebega re akola *this hour Honourable Hikuama.* Ke utlwile e kete ga o e rate thata. Pele ga *Honourable Hikuama* a tsena ka kgang ya barutabana, o ne o santse o le mo *Constitution*, mme e bile ke dumela gore o tlaa tsena mo itsholelong re ntse re tsweletse. Jaanong go na le sengwe se ke dumelang gore Rre Gobotswang o ne a tla ka sone sa *process of Constitutional review* gore fa re sa e tshware (*handle*) sentle, e ka tloga ya kgotlela sengwe le sengwe. *Already* go setse go na le *a Constitutional Amendment Bill* e e leng gore e batla *to create Constitutional Court*, mme e bile go supafala gore *it is linked with a Constitutional review.*

Tota mme jaanong fa re setse re simolola go tllisa *structures in a process ya Constitutional review* re ise re tsene mo kgannyeng tota, a ga o bone gore golo mo *Mr President*, ke go kgotlela *process*? Re tshwanetse ra e simolola mme ya re e simolotswe, e bo e le gone re tlhamang *structures. We are creating a structure gompieno e re reng it will be overseeing a Constitutional review.* Nna ke bona o kare jaanong *we are preempting the process.* Gape go dira jalo go *unilateral*, go tswa ka koo go lona, re a go bona e bile re a itse gore fa o bona e tsamaya fa e tsamayang teng, le ya go e fetisa ka mogoso o wa batlhophi ba gago. Ke a leboga *Mr President.* Ke tsaya gore re tlaa emisa *Constitutional review.*

**ADV. BOKO:** Ya *hour* ke wena o neng o e sutisitse, ke go utlwile sentle. Ke a itumela fa o e golodika.

Kgang ya *Constitutional Court*, re lebelele *the current structure of our Judiciary.* Go na le *High Court* le *Court of Appeal.* Go kile ga bo go na le sengwe fa godimo ga *Court of Appeal* gotwe *Privy Council, the Judicial Commission of the Privy Council*, e e neng e berekela

mafatshe otlhe, *former British colonies, including the Caribbean.* Go na le ditsheko dingwe tse e neng e re fa di fetsa kwa *Court of Appeal*, di bo di isiwa kwa *Privy Council* go ya go lejwa ka tsela epe e sele. Ba ka rurifatsa se se dirilweng, ba ka se fetola. Gantsi *the Judicial Service Commission of the Privy Council* e ne e itebaganya le dikgang tse batho ba athloetsweng lesa. *Those were the majority of cases before the Judicial Service Commission of the Privy Council. There was an apex structure, so it was a three-tier Judicial system.* Go bo go bolawa *that higher level ya Judicial Commission, the Privy Council.* Kwa mafatsheng a mangwe a Caribbean e santse e le teng, mme e bile e thusa thata fa diemo di sa tsamaisiwa sentle.

Jaanong go a tlama ka ditiragalo tsa molao mono gore go nne *a further level above the Court of Appeal.* Go na le ditsheko tse e rileng fa di sena go feta, *Court of Appeal* ya bo yone e ikamogela gore e dirile phoso. Ya bo e re *our hands are tied*, e dirisa *principle* ya molao e nngwe gatwe *functus officio.* Ba bangwe ba etle ba re, *“functus,” functus* maLatin ba rialo, *functus officio.* Ba re ba *functus officio* ka gore ba setse ba tsere tshwetso. Nngwe ya *cases* tseo, ke *case* ya monna mongwe o bidiwa Oduetse Monnanyana yo o neng a atholwa a ya kwa kgolegelong mme ga fitlhelwa e le gore katlholo ya gagwe ga e a sekaseka le mabaka a gore o ne a setse a kile a nna kwa kgolegelong. Ga bo go raya gore o fetisitse nako *that he would have served* ka sebaka se se leele. A bo a boela kwa *Court of Appeal* a ba raya a re, katlholo ya lona *has prejudiced me, Oduetse Monnanyana versus the State. The Court of Appeal says, yes you are right, but you are functus officio, there is nothing we can do.* Ba bo ba mo raya ba re jaanong ya kwa go Tautona. *You see now, the President becomes now distilling area for cases that have eluded justice at the Court of Appeal.* Jaanong *Constitutional Court* ke gone kwa e tlaa reng dikgang tsa go nna jalo, di bo di ka tlhamalediwa teng, *Constitutional Court* ya kgona *to accord justice to those that have been unjustly treated by the legal system throughout. That is the very, very important consideration.*

*Even without a Constitutional review, the current Constitution requires treatment by Judges who now focus on Constitutionalism and nothing else. So, it is a specialised court that deals with constitutional matters.*

**MR LUCAS:** *Point of clarification.* *Mr President*, mme ke eng re ne re sa letlelele gore *process ya comprehensive Constitutional review* e simolole gore dikgang tse di tlhalosiwe ka gore batho ba tshwanetse go rutiwa

pele gore *Constitutional review* go tewa eng, gona le gore lona gompieno le bo le tsa *an amendment* e le reng e tlele *to influence* ditsamaiso tsa *comprehensive Constitutional review*? Nna ke bona gore go dira jalo ke go etelela pele kgang e mme e bile ke go e kgotlela, ka gore e ne e tshwanetse gore e simolole sentle, re itse gore *Constitutional review* e simolotse. Le e simolotse mme ga le a re bolelela gore le e simolotse, *which is wrong*.

**ADV. BOKO:** There is nothing wrong, I was explaining to you part of the reason that led to the decision to establish a Constitutional Court. The second level of the discourse in relation to the Constitutional Court is this, after the Constitution is crafted and it has been discussed and debated extensively across the breadth and dimensions of the republic, what happens to that document, where does it go for acceptance? The approach and this is what South Africa did to create a platform where after you have settled it amongst yourselves and the public, the Constitutional Court now is seized with ratification, examining it and saying this is the Constitution and certify it, giving effect to that Constitution so that it then supplants, removes and replaces whatever preexisted or predated that certification. This is the logic of the establishment of a Constitutional Court before the review, so that the process of the adoption of the Constitution therefore, becomes seamless and easy.

In Zimbabwe, you know that there was a rejection after a Constitution have been discussed. It was sent back to the people amid different viewpoints. The Constitution is an emotive issue, by the way. I want to alert you, some of these tribes that are entrenching the Constitution have invaded, spoken vociferously against the inclusion of others, you see the problem. It is an emotive issue. We want once we have settled, because if we do not treat it with circumspection, a lot of these other communities will remain marginalized because the prominent in society will vote against inclusion, and we have a crisis.

**MR LUCAS:** Clarification. Mr Speaker, *e khutshwanyane fela*, Mr President, *fa re leng teng*, have you already started the Constitutional review process? *Re bua ka dikgang tse di e amang mme re ise re utlwe* official announcement *ya gore re simolotse*. Have we started the process? Can you zero down on that one?

**ADV. BOKO:** The answer to your question is no. Let us understand what the Constitutional process is. It is the establishment of a court. We call it the Constitutional

Court, and we vest it with all the powers. We will amend relevant provisions of the Constitution to allow this to happen. We will do a number of other things. The current structure of the Judiciary says, Judges of the High Court are also Judges of the Court of Appeal. So, they sit at the High Court and determine cases. Then they go and sit at the Court of Appeal. The law says, they can. That is one.

Two, the process of selection of those who get invited to the Court of Appeal has been less than satisfactory. It was based on experience. It was not based on length of service. It is not clear on what criteria this invitation was taking place. So, the Constitutional Court...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**ADV. BOKO:** ...seeks to cure some of these existing defects that are wreaking havoc on our people. So, on the Constitutional Court, let me put the matter to rest in that way because there is none, more competent in debating this issue than the present speaker, at least not in this House, maybe outside of it. As I speak on these matters, I speak with the authority of the office of Advocate not President now. Advocate of the courts of this Republic and Constitutional lawyer and scholar having published also on Human Rights and the Constitution. *Ke ne ke tla kwa go wena Rre Lucas. Ke batla e, re tle re e tshwaraganele nna le wena. Dikakgelo tsa gago* in relation to the SONA, *ke di bone, e bile ke a di lebogela. O ne o itebagantse le go betla ditharabololo. Re ka tswa re sa dumalane ka tsone, re ka tswa re dumalana. Mma ke go lebogele gore wena...*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ke ne ke santse ke na le clarification.

**ADV. BOKO:** O ne wa itebaganya le ditharabololo.

**DR GOBOTSWANG:** *Mr President*, o ka tlhola o se tšhoma Sekgoa, seLatin le seRoma, boammaaruri ke gore, *the horse has bolted*. O setse o tsene mo dikgannyeng tsa go baakanya Molaomotho wa rona mme o sa tsamaye le rona. O setse o re, "re" o raya lona le le Goromente, "re," lona le le Goromente. *Where are the people?* Fa e le gore le batla go tsamaisa jalo *Mr President, you must expect a push back. I am warning you. I thank you.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Murmurs)...

**ADV. BOKO:** You have been pushing back. You have been pushing back. Nothing is being pushed. You have been pushing back brother. I am one who

never shies away from a push back, I push. That is what intellectualisation is about. It is a market place of ideas, is it not? It does not freak me out that people are threatening to push. I want people to push, so that I can also push back. That is why I have said, beware the power of the bounce back because sometimes it causes a blowout. You push and blow yourself out, dangerous sometimes.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification Mr Speaker.

**ADV. BOKO:** The point is this, let me make the point so that you can comment on something that...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification Mr Speaker.

**ADV. BOKO:** No, wait, *ke mang?*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** ... (Inaudible)...

**ADV. BOKO:** No, please give me a bit of time comrade. I want to engage *Rre Lucas* in relation to a proposition I know he holds dearly, I was explaining the distinction between negative rights. Those that are prohibitive, and prohibit Government from doing certain things. I gave the example of Section 5. There is also Section 10, the fifth amendment in the United States (US), the right against self-incrimination. When I gave the example of circumstances when you maybe arrested, and I said there are only three. In a case here, Interest David Tawele, member of the BCP, Judge Mosojane said, "to assume you can arrest in order to investigate, is a dangerous misunderstanding of the law." Interest David Tawele; Judge Mosojane, "you investigate, then you arrest. You do not run and arrest, then say you are investigating." You arrest on a reasonable suspicion in relation to the three circumstances I have outlined. This is the rule of law, as it should be understood.

I am getting to the second-generation rights, and I said these impose a positive obligation. These now have resource implications. They instruct and beget in there is a configuration of budgetary outlays. You must provide the work. You must provide this and that. Where does the power to determine the utilisation of public funds lie? It lies with Parliament to the extent that those funds accrued to the Consolidated Fund.

How do the courts treat a situation where somebody; before I get to that, how the courts treat it? Let me also make this point that, a right entrenched in the

Constitution is not a privilege. I could take the whole day jurisprudential and break down. There is something called the hohfeldian scheme; where we have rights, no rights, privileges, jural correlatives. I could break it down. It is a whole concept. It is a diagram. It is intense jurisprudence, that is what it is. A right is not a privilege. A right is justifiable, meaning you should be able to go to court and enforce your right. You should be able to sue the Government and say, the Constitution affords me the right to work. I am unemployed, and I am availing myself to work and Government is not hiring me. I want the court to pronounce and protect my right as enshrined in the Constitution, that is justiciability. That is why Oduetse Monnanyana could go to court because his rights which were violated, negative rights are justiciable. Let us examine the justiciability of second and third generation rights, what do you say? What is the answer? The law says this, "impossibility of a performance is a defence," that is the law brother. *Ke gore jaanong ke go tsenya mo kutlwisisong e e fa godingwana.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**ADV. BOKO:** Fa o ya kwa *court*, o bo o re...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**ADV. BOKO:** ...there is a Court Order here. Let me make a point, interjections must also be timed so that the point is made. They are useful that way and helpful.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Murmurs)...

**ADV. BOKO:** Lucas, if there is a Court Order and you fail to obey it, you can go to court when they drag you there and say, it was impossible for me to comply with this order and demonstrate to the court, that is a defence. It is an absolute defence. If you seek justiciability under a second or third generation right and you go to court, and the Executive which is the holder of the purse says, there are no resources, there is no money, it is therefore, impossible to hire him, that is an absolute defence. How then do you deal with this? You entrenched it there.

In other instances, the Court does this, it issues what is called a structural interdict. A structural interdict is where the Court engages with Government and says, how long do you think it will take you to mobilise the resources, and the Executive then says, give us five years, reviewable. You have not gotten employed. You may have even expended resources to go to Court to seek to enforce a questionably justiciable right.

*Jaanong bothata jo*, the Court takes the approach of a structural interdict, which is not helpful. This is what happened in an American case called “Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka” in relation to a concept *e go neng gotwe* separate but equal education facilities. Others arguing *gore*, equal does not mean same. *Ga go reye gore batho ba bantsho ba tle mo dikoleng tsa makgoa, go raya gore ba agelwe tsa bone, tsa sekale se se tshwanang le se, ba bo ba tsena sekole koo*. Equal *e raya gone moo, ga e reye gore jaanong tlang kwano*. Court *e bo e re nnyaa*, equal means *ba tsena gone fa*. For a number of years, they were given time by the Court and black children were being bused to some of these schools as part of the enforcement, that is a structural interdict. Now, the structural interdict route is a very uncertain route, and that is the difficulty that it will present in relation to the justiciability of second and third generation rights.

*Re ele tlhoko gore fa re o fetola Molaomotho, re tlhaloganye gore mme* what are the constraints that will water down the right that we purport to entrench, so that it does not just exist in the textual formulation of a new Constitution. It must be a right capable of enjoyment by the ordinary person and enforcement. If it is not, then we create a problem in addition to, and we would have hoodwinked the masses into believing that we are solving the problem, we would have failed. *Ga ke e tseele tshwetso, ke ne ke hantsha fela gore o lemoge, e bile* these are some of the issues that will arise in the context of a Constitutional education process.

**MR FURNITURE:** *Clarification*. Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke leboga *Mr President*. Ke tsaya ke re kgang ya Molaomotho o e toutile thata. Ke ne ke utlwa ba go kganela o santse o re o tsena mo go tsa botsogo, ke tlhwaile tsebe thata ka gore ke kgang e e bothokwa thata.

Maloba ke go akgotse thata fa ke *respond to SONA*, ka go bulela sepatela sa Sir Ketumile gore se nne *public*. Jaanong go na le *confusion* Tautona mo nakong ya gompiano, e batho ba sa tlhaloganyeng gore a sepatela se *public*, se tshwana le sa Marina le Nyangabgwe? *As we speak*, go raya gore batho ba ntse ba a duela gompiano, ga re ba tle ka *medical aids* gore ba bone thuso. Jaanong ke batla gore o e papamatse fela, Motswana a e tlhaloganye kwa gae gore a se ka a ya go busiwa kwa, a tsaya gore gongwe go tshwana le kwa Marina kana Nyangabgwe. Se santse se *operate* fela jaaka sepatela se se *private*.

**MR HIKUAMA:** *Further clarification*. Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke lebogela nako ya gago *Mr President*. Mma ke go busetse kwa go ya *Constitution* le ditshwanelo. Go na le kgang e e buelang *Mr President*, ya gore re na le batho ba ba atholetseng leso, ba ba emetseng go kalediwa. O ba emisitse, wa re go se ka ga kaletswa ope. A mme golo fa go na le boammaaruri, gore o ba emisitse? Molao wa reng? A mme o ka emisa fela *without assurance to setshaba le courts*, le mongwe le mongwe gore a itse gore go diragala eng? A mme re ka tshela mo goreng re pateletse *President* re re o emisitse, mme go sena sepe se re ka se supang gore go emisitse *President*? *What does the law say* fa motho a tshwanetse go kalediwa, mme o batla go busetsa kwa morago?

**ADV. BOKO:** Mma ke simolole ka ya botsogo ke re, kana o bona ditsamaiso tse, potso e re neng ra e botsa ke gore, naare sepatela se se agilwe ka ditsompelo tsa ga mang, tsa Puso. Ke sepatela sa mohuta mang, ga se ka ga tlhatswega gore *is it private or public*, mme go bonala gore *it is certainly not public*. Ke gone re bo re tsaya tshwetso gore, sepatela se jaanong se fetolwe e nne *a public hospital* jaaka go ne go ntse. Go raya gore ditsamaiso tsa gore go diragale, fa gongwe go na le bangwe fa gare fa, ba ba kgonang go kgopakgopetsa ka mabaka a gore ditsamaiso tse di neng di le teng gongwe di ne di ba thusa e bile di ba berekela. Eo ke kgang e re tlaa itebaganyang le yone.

*Se ke se tlhalositseng, ke batla ke se tlhalose fa gompiano, ke rile dikgwedi tsa ntlha tse 12*, we are predominantly learning, leveraging while leading. *Fa re tsamayang teng*, the slightest misalignment with what has been pronounced in the interest of the people, I can tell you, results in removal, because now it is for cause. *Ga re go ntsho fela. Re go ntsha ka gore o kgopakgopetsa diemo tse di ka thusang matshele a batho*. We do not care what you say, if you want to go to Court, you will go to Court, we will face you in the Courts. What we are not going to do, is to sacrifice the lives of our people, because certain bureaucratic machineries are aligned and arrayed against what we are to do. I think there is something of that sort here, but it will be attended to.

Ke gore go na le batho bangwe ba ba kgonang go fufega fela gore motho o ka tswa kwa Tati West, a bonwa a robetse mo manobonobonyaneng a Sir Ketumile. Go na le bangwe ba golo ga teng, go kgonang go ba tsenya tshakgalo, ba bo ba go kgoreletsa. Golo mo ga go kgoreletsa diemo tse di ka thusang batho ba rona, re

gorogile fa e leng gore ga di sa tlhola di amogelesega, *it is not tolerable.*

*Le tlaabo le lela gape le re ke yo o koba batho mo ditirong.* Comrades, I must tell everybody, every citizen of this country, anybody whose conduct at the workplace or anywhere else impedes rendering assistance to our people, that person is surplus, they are not needed in the system. Where we are, the guillotine is hovering. You know, the problem with the Sword of Damocles, there is a Damocles over hang, it is hanging, that is what it means.

*Jaamong mo go ya gago ya* the death penalty situation, the President has not made any pronouncement regarding the death penalty. I gave an illustration recently, *ke fa Judges ke ba raya ke re*, I went to represent the University of Botswana in a moot court competition in Zimbabwe. The Judge in the panel where I appeared was Johann Kriegler, who was a Judge at the Constitutional Court of South Africa. I had lunch with him after that, because he was exceptionally impressed. I talked to him and I had occasion to speak with him again, when I was an observer for the International Bar Association in the treason trial of Morgan Tsvangirai. I had an occasion to sit with him again, he was an observer for the Johannesburg Bar, he had now retired from the Constitutional Court. He said to me, "I am a believer in the death penalty," that is him. I looked at him and said, no, that is not true. He said, no, I am a believer, I believe in the death penalty. I said no, you are not telling me the truth. I know you sat in the death penalty case, State versus Makwanyane, Mxulu and others, I read the judgement, you pronounced against the death penalty in that judgement. Johann Kriegler said to me, "yes you are correct. You see in that judgement, I was interpreting the Constitution of South Africa, not my own personal biases, beliefs and predilections. I personally, away from the Constitution, I am a believer in the death penalty, but I could not impose my own views on that secret document that I was interpreting." Now let us separate personal preferences from what the law directs. What does the law of this country direct? It directs a number of things I want to deal on the trot with some of them. The first is this; after the Court of Appeal (CoA) seals somebody's fate and pronounces death finally, that person has only one recourse and it is to the President under the Prerogative of Mercy, Section 53 of the Constitution and the President must make a determination.

There is something else though and it is this, the trial Judge in other words, not the Judge of the CoA, but the High Court Judge who initially sentenced this person to death must write a confidential report to the President about this sentence of death. When I practised as a lawyer, as an advocate, I sort to challenge this and I said it is a denial of justice, if there can be a confidential report given to the President related to a person who is seeking clemency from the same the President and this person is denied access to this document and only the President sees this document. Where is the fairness? Let me interrogate the process itself first, where is the fairness? The overarching human rights and Constitutional principle is, it must be fair and the fairness must run from trial all through sentencing to the last minute. Where is the fairness there when some information is withheld from this person? I remember petitioning the Office of the President then and demanding to be given access to that document and it was not given. That is the first thing that arises in relation to the death penalty.

The second is this, I will give you a life illustration. A guy, a Mosarwa man born in servitude to parents who were herding other people's cattle, at 10 years old, this kid is given to a different cattle post, to go and herd cattle there. He goes, separated from his family, never have any contact with him. He is a Mosarwa for all we care. Is it not it? He goes and he grows up there, dislocated from family, no support system, he is the maid here, he is the herd boy, he is everything. This kid grows and at a certain level and throughout his only coping mechanism is the fogging dose of dagga and alcohol, that is what keeps him. He works, grows, reaches a level where he meets a lady, they fall in love maybe I do not know they fell in love, they consorted as lovers. He had a child with this woman. Now this is his family. Is it not it? He looks after the child as best as he can, still lives his life, foggy dose of dagga but looks after his child and this woman.

One fateful day, the woman looks at him and says, I do not want you anymore, and I do not want you to ever come anywhere near my child. This is a child cut off, thrown out, he leaves, goes far to a different cattle post that is all he knows, he lives there, herd cattle, falls in love with another woman. Now this one has her own child and they beget another one of his. Looks after them and same thing, one day this woman comes and says, I do not want you; I do not want to see you, I do not want you anywhere near. What happens to this kid, this young man?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** ...*(Inaudible)*...

**ADV. BOKO:** You are a social worker, now I want you to wear your professional hat and imagine what happens in the mind of this young man. He remembers the trauma ...*(Inaudible)*... ferocity of the treatment he had received. He picks up a bar, hits the woman, she falls and she dies and looks at the child who is standing there and kills the child too. The woman was carrying his child on her back, all the three died.

It went to Francistown; this man was given the death penalty on all of them. It went to the CoA, I had the invidious assignment of dealing with this matter. I went to see the guy, I looked at his circumstances, his background, everything and I realised one thing, he had been poorly, shoddily represented by the lawyer who was assigned a pro deo because most of the guys who get sentenced to death are presented by pro deo counsel who are not paid enough or anything at all. So, this kid, the lawyer I went to consult with him the day before trial, trial begins, the lawyer has not informed himself sufficiently, pursued a wrong approach to the case and sinks this guy. So that child was convicted by the lawyer as well.

Then I went to the CoA representing this kid, I was constrained by the evidence that was there, the approach the lawyer took was wrong, bad. Ineffective legal representation caused the death of that young man. I wrestled with the CoA, I got him off on the two; the mother and the child on the back, I got to know from those. The CoA looked at me in relation to the child and then said, "Mr Boko, how about this one?" I had a very difficult assignment with the court trying to get him out. They confirmed the death in relation to that, not the three out of one death penalty, still death.

He goes to prison, I went to my office and drafted papers, I wanted to challenge ineffective legal representation, I wanted to raise certain other issues, I also wanted to challenge the process by which this man could not be given access to the report from the court. What happens? I go to prison to have him sign an affidavit, I am told the guy is not here by some prison officer. Where is he? He has gone to Ramotswa for an ear infection. I said I will follow him there, he says no, come here tomorrow morning at 8:00 a.m. he will be here. This chap, the prisoner warder who is telling me this, knows and that was unbeknown to me, that they had read the warrant for the death of this man. So, they were preventing access so they could kill him.

On my way to prison as I had engaged with this guy, before 8:00 a.m, an attorney at my office, he is now the Deputy Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Trade, he calls me and says our client has been executed at 4:00 a.m. or 5:00 a.m. this morning. Imagine the trauma, I get there I see the same guy I say to him, brother, you told me to come at 8:00 a.m. I am here, it is before 8:00 a.m. and my client has been hanged, the guy could not say anything. I had vowed that when I took office as President, that was many years ago and I knew I was going to stand here, I said I will find this guy and do something to him...

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...*(Laughter!)*...

**ADV. BOKO:** ...but I have not. That is why sometimes I say I am a wounded healer, I am wounded and heal this wounded man who has to deal with death penalty cases, who understands the injustice inherent in this, who knows how lawyers sometimes misrepresents, do not apply themselves because they are not paid and they get hanged. Come on. How does one deal with this? You accuse the President that he is sitting on it.

Now, there is another dimension, if you kill a person here and you flee to South Africa, South Africa will not surrender you to Botswana, unless Botswana gives an assurance and the President must give that assurance, that this person will not be hanged. Otherwise, under South African Constitutional law, they cannot render that person, they cannot extradite even though there is an extradition arrangement. Meaning, if I translate it into the simplest form, a person who kills and crosses the border escapes death, one who kills and stays here will die. Where is the fairness? There are about 11 people in South Africa and there is a judgement from the South African court in the case of Zebe, where the court in South Africa came down hard, criticised the Botswana Government for this matter. So, you have a disparity here, a disproportionality of result, where the one who kills and stays dies, the one who kills and flees lives. How do you explain this? What if the person who is now facing death comes and says no, I am being treated differentia, there is differential treatment which is a violation of Section 15 of the Constitution. There is discrimination, I am being discriminated against, on what, on the basis that I did not run away...

**MR KAPINGA:** Clarification. Thank you very much President for your exposition. The point being made is that things cannot stay in limbo. If you have any personal objection against the death penalty, you know

the powers that are vested in you as the President to commute all those death sentences. The further you delay in not taking a decision, do you not realise that you are also subjecting these people to unnecessary torture by having to wait indefinitely for a decision from the President that is not coming? That is where the point is.

**ADV. BOKO:** I do not know, there will be a lot of debate about whether giving a longer lease on life is actually torture, and the better thing is to kill immediately. I do not know, there will be some debates around that. It reminds me of the guy who was sentenced to death and asked the King who sentenced him and said, "let me teach your horse how to sing before you kill me." The people were shocked and the King laughed and said, "this guy is very stupid, he says he can teach my horse how to sing, so give him the time." He said, "how much do you need?" he said "12 months, I will teach the horse how to sing. After he is let go, the guys asked him, "what level of stupidity is this?" He says, "12 months is a very long time, one; the King may die in 12 months, two; the horse itself may die in the 12 months, third; I myself may die without being killed by anybody, just natural causes, fourth; who knows, the horse may actually sing." So, it is... of the horse may sing but I hear what you are saying and I take the point.

The point also has to factor in that if you are going to make the kind of exacting analysis of these cases of death row inmates, you have got to take it back and understand the entire picture. Why, because some of the problems for which we punish certain individuals were created by us collectively as society. We are effectively removing ourselves when we are actually part of the cause of some of these effects that we see. I am not saying we are but in the case of that young Mosarwa boy, I felt so much that society is to blame. 10 years old, you take him for all he knows and kill him. So, in only that, you will make a determination on a death penalty case, I have to plough deep, I have to examine the evidence myself, I have to apply my mind thoroughly to the issues and it does not happen in one day, especially when you have to come before your eminences and account some of the time. The process is ongoing...

**MR MONAGENG:** *Clarification.* Re a leboga Tautona, re lebogela thata ka go re tlhalosetsa jaaka o ntse o re tlhalosetsa. Ke ne ke re a mme gone le fa gone o ntse o tlhalosa ka katlholelo leso, mme le wena o bua *experience* ya gago ka fa o bonang ka teng jangjang, re le Goromente wa UDC re re re Goromente

wa ditshwanelo, a ga se gore *at the back of our minds* re gakologelwe gore gone mme re rile re Goromente wa ditshwanelo, e re fa go fela go tsewa tshwetso eo gongwe re bo re *align* dikakanyo tsa rona le ditshwetso tsa rona gore re Goromente wa ditshwanelo? *Thank you.*

**ADV. BOKO:** *Dikgang tse ga di motlhofo jaaka gongwe mo mekgwatheng re ka di leba kana kwa bothokong jwa rona ra di akanya. Di mašhetla, di tlhoka kelelelo le tshakatsheko e e tseneletseng, mme ke mo go tsone go tlhodumela gore di tsamaya sentle jang. Le yone kgang e ya gore go na le information e e tlisiwang, do I take it into account or do I disregard this information and look only within the four corners of the record, this is another consideration. Ke ne ke di ala jaana gore re di tlhaloganye.*

*Ke boela kwa kgannyeng ya me ya ga Johann Kriegler ya gore what I will do and what I am in the process of doing, is not to impose my own personal predilections, although of course I carry the scars and ontological bruises of the experiences that I have had, all of us do. I carry that emotional baggage and I will carry it and against a lens of human rights, assess the evidence and the circumstances of each case of a death row inmate. Ke dule mo go eo.*

*Ke batla go bua ka tsa itsholelo ka gore tse dingwe tse tsa bo gender-based violence, re di buile. E bile Rre Lucas, ka e bile ke social worker, o kare o ne a atolosa a gakolola gore fa re bua ka gender based-violence, re se ka ra ithaganelela go gagamatsa dikattholo re sa ye kwa moding wa kgang. Ke eng se se bakang diemo tse? A ke gore go lwelwa dithoto? A ke gore go lwelwa bana? Bana molao jaanong o tlisitse mo gotweng joint custody gore ba ka nna beke kwa go yo, ba nna beke kwa go yole, subject to the overriding principle e e bidiwang gotwe best interest of the child fela, that is what matters. Jaanong fa e le gore go lwelwa bana, bothata ke eng? Fa e le gore bothata ke dithoto, mme kana one molao ka fa o ntseng ka teng wa re fa o nyala unless o saena, you are out of community of property, ke wena o itsenyang. Fa o tsere tshwetso ya go tsena, jaanong fa gotwe go kgaoganwa dithoto, go tlaabo go re le di kgaogana ka go lekana. Bangwe ba galala seemo se. Bangwe ba tshwenngwa ke gore motho o tlodile legora, infidelity. It seems to be the main cause.*

Now, let me say this and say it upfront and say it publicly here and now, so that you also can understand, the people we are in marriage or whatever relationship with are on loan to us, we do not own them. At any

point they can choose to go elsewhere and if they do, let them go. *Bothata jwa batho ke gore ba goroga mo level ya ownership, they think they own, especially banna, they think they own the women. No, we do not own these people. It is a favour that they have extended to us. If they withdraw the favour, let us accept. Fa gongwe it is a blessing in disguise by the way, you go and meet somebody better. Who knows, the horse may sing. Jaanong batho ba rona ke dithoto, ke fela gore ke tsieditswe, o tsieditswe ke eng, ke mang, jang, ka eng? Bothata jo batho betsho, ga re ka ke ra bo alafa ka mapodise, ga re ka ke ra bo alafa ka courts. Re tshwanetse go batla tharabololo kwa malwapeng, mo setšhabeng le mo ngwaong gore a mme dilo tse... Bangwe ba re nnyaa, go alafa dilo tse ke polygamy mme kana monna o kgona gore a tswa kwa small house a bo a tlaa a bolaya mosadi gone fa, a tswa koo, golo fa go na le mathata bagarona. Ga ke itse, borre ba social workers, ba tlaa re thusa. Rre Lucas o gakolotse gore re se ka ra ithaganelela go aga ... (Interruptions)...*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**ADV. BOKO:** ...ka go gagamatsa dikatlholo. A rialo Rre Lucas. Gone mo, go na le molalatshe. Go ka nowa moro ka go ka re tsaya, ga re isa kwa tharabololong ya gore re ye kwa go bidiwang gotwe mo molaong, *causa causans*. Ke le rutilwe ke Koma lefoko le, *causa causans* ka seLatin. *The real cause, proximate cause, what is the cause of this malady; causa causans*. Taolo Lucas o re baya mo tseleng ya go batlisisa *what the causa causans is in relation to GBV*. Mongwe le mongwe o tla ka tharabololo ya gagwe e e sa tlhotlhwang, e e sa sekasekwang ya maikutlo. Maitseanape ke yo wa tsa dikgang tsa go nna jaana. Motswerefadi wa tsone a re...

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** Iketleng pele, go bua motswerefadi tota, yo o neng a tlhatlhelela dithuto kwa *university*. Ke a mo itse. Lona kana le mmona a setse a kgautlhane jaana.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** A setse a fedile mataese. Rona re mo akotse e santse e le ene.

**MR LUCAS:** Point of order.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** Ke boela morago lefoko la 'kgautlhano.'

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** Mme gone ke re, lona le mmona a setse

a fedile mataese. Rona re mo akotse e santse e le ene Oom Luu ka sebele. *He was a fire brand*. Kgang ya gore batho ba tseelwe *mike*, re kile ra mo tseela *mike* rona kwa University of Botswana (UB). Fa a re, batho ba tseelwe *mike*, o a itse gore o kile a o tseelwa. Re tsera *an hour* re mo reeditse a ntse a re, "*I am scared Mr Chairman*."

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** "*Mr Chairman, I am scared*," ke batla go itse gore monna yo, o tshositswe ke eng? Re bile ra tsaya *mike*, monna yo, a sa bue se se mo tshositseng. *Hour* e wetse tii! Ke yo Lucas, le tlaabo le re ke a mo pateletsa.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** Ga ke mo ntshe ka loso legolo. O ganne go bua kang ya gago kgantele. Ke tlaa go tlhosetsa nna.

**MR LUCAS:** *Point of order. Mr Speaker*, Tautona o na le go bua dikgang tse e leng gore dingwe tsa tsone di na le boammaaruri, ka fa re neng re tshela ka teng. Jaanong ene ke Tautona, fa gongwe ga ke kgone go bua tse di mo amang. Ke re, o mo kope gore a emise go dira jalo ka gore go na le kang le nna e nngwe, e bile ke mmoleletse gore ke tlaa e ntsha. E e neng ya dira gore kgwedi yotlhe kwa UB, a bo a tsamaya le *university* a ba bolelela gore, "fa go na le motho yo o siameng, yo o senang lefufa mo Botswana, ke Taolo Lucas," mme go ne go diragetse sengwe moragonyana ga foo. Ga ke batle go bua dikgang tse. Ke Tautona, ke kopa o mo kgaleme, *restrain him* gore a se ka a bua dikgang tse di ntseng jaana.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order! Order! Honourable Members*. Tautona, tlogela go ntsha diphiri tsa lona tsa bogologolo, wena le *Honourable* Lucas.

**ADV. BOKO:** O bolelela ruri, ke ne ka bua jalo, mme e ne e se nna fela. Koma le ene e ne e tle e re fa dilo di goroga kwa go ene, a botse gore, "thaakaa! A Lucas o di bone?"

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** Go bua Kenneth Koma a re, "nnyaa, fa Lucas a sa di bona, di iseng kwa go ene." Pele ga ba tlhobogana kwa Palapye.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** Jaanong re ise re tlhobogane nna le ene, ke ne ke re kgang e a e buang, e boammaaruri. Ke kile ka mo kaya jalo, mme le gompieno ke santse ke dumela gore ke motho yo o boikanyego. Ga o bone ke remeletse mo go se a se buileng.

Jaanong mo go tsa itsholelo bakaulengwe, ke fete ka bonako, gore nako ya rona e gobetse. Ke ne ke batlile gore re tswelele jalo, go se ka ga tla ga bua nna, re bue rotlhe. Ke yone *the socratic method* e ke e rutilweng kwa Harvard Law School, *socratic engagement*, ke yone e. Jaanong mo go tsa itsholelo batho betsho, a re dumalaneng, re bo re amogela gore itsholelo ya rona e mo diemong tse di makgwakgwa, ka gore go ne ga ikaegiwa thata ka selo se le sengwefela, e leng diteemane. Sone se ka bo sone fela, tsamaiso ya sone, ga se yone. Ga e a nna sentle. Ga go ka ke ga diragala.

Gompieno jaana *statistics* di supa gore *demand for the rough diamonds is very higher than demand for the synthetics. How do you explain then, a situation where this demand does not correlate with purchase? Something is wrong here, and what did we do? We engaged De Beers and Okavango Diamond Company (ODC) to sell our diamonds and market them. Have these two delivered on this project of marketing and selling our diamonds? We must agree, they failed. What do we do? We must do two things at the same time. First, we must diversify away from diamonds, which is what we are trying to do, but we must also defend the diamond industry. The diamond industry is crying out. They have told me now ba re, it was crying out for a leader. You have emerged as the leader of the diamond industry now, Botswana. I said, I am up to the task. That is why we want to acquire a majority stake in De Beers. The entirety of the stake sa Anglo, we want to acquire it. We have a firm model that does not disadvantage the country to acquire that stake. We have partners, even Angola came here, we agreed. Rona re tsaya mo e leng ga rona, re bo re le bitsa jaanong re re tlayang kwano re le ngathele rona beng ba sekidi se, le ba bangwe. That is the model that we are adopting. Ke go leka go tshegetsatsa itsholelo ka gore letseno le nne le le mo teng, but to diversify away from diamonds into other minerals, but also into agriculture. We are now in a situation where with the Oman Government, we will conclude off-take agreements.*

**MR NKAWANA:** *Point of procedure.* Tanki Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente. Dikgang tsa

itsholelo Tautona o a di tlola ka gore o lebile nako. Ke re gongwe re kope *Leader of the House*, a oketse...

**MR SPEAKER:** O ka sutisa le wena.

**MR NKAWANA:** Ga ke a tshola Standing Order, ke ne ke ka sutisa.

**MR SPEAKER:** Sutisa fela.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ...(Murmurs)...

**MR NKAWANA:** Bagaetsho, ba batla go mpolaya.

## BUSINESS MOTION

**LEADER OF THE HOUSE (MR MOHWASA):**

*Thank you Mr Speaker.* Ke utlwile. Ke tsaya gore go a supa *from what Rre Nkawana has just said* gore go monate, bothitho jwa go nna le Tautona. Ke kopa go sutisa ka tshetlana ya 27.1 gore re oketse nako ya rona ka metsotso e le masome a le mararo, gona le gore re tswale ka nako ya bosupa, re tswale ka metsotso e le masome a mararo morago ga nako ya bosupa. Ke a sutisa Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente.

Question put and **agreed to.**

**ADV. BOKO:** O jesitswe le ke ba ga lona tota, ba go bolaile *comrade*. Ke ne ke le mo go ya temothuo bagaetsho. Ke tsena mo go ya temothuo ke re...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification Mr Speaker.

**ADV. BOKO:** Ee rra, mma ke go neele.

**MR JACOBS:** Point of clarification. *Tautona, o ne o santse o le mo kgannyeng ya diteemane.* I totally agree with you by saying *tota* we need to defend our diamonds. At the same time, what are we doing to try and curb these synthetic diamonds to come into Botswana? That at the end of the day, our consignment of diamonds that are going out, we are not selling with these other diamonds. *Ke raya gore kgakololo fela mongwame,* I think it is time that we need to come up with the model to make sure that these synthetic diamonds are not coming into our country and they are not being sold in the ...(Inaudible)... that we are busy selling from our stocks. Thank you, sir.

**ADV. BOKO:** *Ee rra. Diteemane tse di synthetic le tse di natural, jaanong codes tsa go gweba ka tsone di farologantswe.* There is differentiation. It is what we struggled for, we have got it. There is differentiation.

Let me say this, *gakere le a itse gore go na le di fongkong bagarona, le diaparo kana didirisiwa tota tse gotweng ke tsone. Jaanong bareki ba teemane ba ba tlhwaafetseng ba ba nang le madi*, your league billionaires, *ga ba reke synthetic. Le natural diamond when they buy it, they want to know the story, who are the people behind this stone, where does it come from, how has it helped, what positive impact has it had? This a story that has never been told in the marketing of our diamonds. Diteemane tsa rona di ntse di rekisiwa di itsiwe e le diteemane tsa De Beers, fa o raya batho o re diteemane tsa Botswana, nobody knows. Now we are the point where we are marketing Botswana diamonds as Botswana diamonds, because that has a very powerful story behind it and it is what sells.*

Ke ne ke bolelela Lucas, *fa ke ntse ke tsamayatsamaya ke bo ke tsena mo benkeleng e e rekisang di watch, kwa makgoeng. Ke lebaleba ba nthaya ba re, rre o batlang eng, ke re ke ne ke lebaleba di watch. Ba re wena o a tle o dirise efe watch pele fa re go letlelela, ke bo ke re, ke atle ke dirise Rolex, ba bo ba re hei! le kwa tlase thata, mme ga o maswemaswe. Kwano ga o tsene fela mo benkeleng e o re o tsile go reka Rolex, kwano re a go bitsa gore o tle go reka. Lebenkele le le rekisang di watch, le koba bareki, ba re nnyaa, re na le bareki ba rona, re a ba tlhopho. Re dira di watch di le 50,000 at any given time for any given line, Rolex ba dira millions, rona ga re dire dilo tseo. Ka jalo gore o tle fa, o tshwanetse a bo re go laleditse, ka gore gongwe re go tlhotlhile re a go itse. Jaanong wena ga re go itse rra, o mang? ...*(Laughter!)*... Ke a ba bolelela, ke nna semangmang le batla go tshamekela mo go nna. Ba re, wa re o Tautona, gongwe.*

Selo se se raya eng, *the market is segmented. The natural diamond has its own discreet and insular market. We need to market this natural diamond for that market, ke gore o se ka wa rekisa teemane o kare o rekisa manyonyomane, e na le ka fa e rekisiwang ka teng. Ke sone se batho ba kgonang go ema, ba nthaya ba re tsa rona di watch fa re sena go nna re go kwala gone fa re re a go amogela, o nna dingwaga tse pedi o e letetse ka gore ga se wena fela, ba bantsi. Ka re kgwebo e kgonwa go dirwa jaana, go a bonala gore di watch tse ke tsone tsa tlhwaatlhwa di a rekwa, di a ratwa, di rekwa ke batho ba ba nang le madi. Ga ba ka ke ba go letlelela gore o reke tse pedi, o reka e le nngwefela, le fa o ka tswa o rwele madi jang. Ke bo re, diteemane tsa rona di ntse di sa bapatswe sentle. Jaanong fa re ka di itseela ra tla ra di*

ipapaletsa, ra di ithekisetsa, re bone re na le baitseanape le boitseanape re ka bo batla kwa bo leng teng ra tla go rekisa diteemane tsa rona, tsa re busetsa fela jaaka go tshwanetse. Le rona ra dira mo gotweng Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Re itse OPEC ya *oils*, re dira ya diteemane. E le gore jaanong *market* re a o laola, *industry* re e tshwere, re a ne re letlelela, a bo ditlhwaatlhwa di ya kwa godimo di laolwa ke rona, *price determination*.

**MR LUCAS:** *Clarification.* Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker.* Ke tsaya gore gongwe ke ka se akgele thata mo go ya diteemane. Ke batla go supa gore kana diteemane di gogile lebaka le le leele di ntse di le teng, *it is a luxury product*, e dira *luxury products*. Kana gongwe *we are investing* madi mo *mineral* o o setseng o tswa mo *fashion*, e bile o ka seke o tlhole o boele, re ele tlhoko seemo seo.

Totatota kgang ya me e fa *Mr President*, ke tsaya gore *as a country* gompieno *we are facing a liquidity challenge* e e rayang gore re palelwa le ke gone go duela batho ba re ba kolotang re le Puso. O ne o bua fa o re, *commercial farmers* o ba kolota 400 million, o bua gore dikoloto tse dingwe gape tsa Puso di ka tshwara 15 billion. Gone moo re tshwanetse *to address it with immediate effect*. Re dira jang ka seemo seo *Mr President*, ka gore ke seemo se se *immediate*, se tlhoka tharabololo e e *immediate*? Ga ke utlwe o kare ke dikgang tse o di itlhaganelelang, o di kgalhegela.

Jaaka ke ne ka bua mo nakong e e fetileng, gongwe jaanong nako e gorogile ya gore *those who have benefitted* thata mo Pusong kgotsa mo lefatsheng le, ba okeletswe *threshold* ya lekgetho gore re tle re nne le madi, kgotsa re kgethise thata ba ba amogelang madi a a fetang 100 000 go ya kwa godimo, go balelwa le badirelapuso ba maemo le ba bangwe ba *parastatals*. Gore re tle re *address the liquidity challenge, because* ga re ka ke ra nna re le Puso re kolota batho mo go kanakana, batho *they lose confidence* le mo *system* fela ya ga *Government, democracy* le ya ditlhopho fa re ka tsewelela re kolota batho ka lebaka le le kana. Ke a leboga.

**ADV. BOKO:** *O bolelela ruri, dikoloto ke rile tse di kolotwang balemi ke Botswana Agricultural Marketing Board (BAMB) ke 500 million, tse di kolotwang service providers and contractors di goroga kwa go 15 billion, fa ke balela le tsa BAMB.*

*O bona seemo se re mo go sone fa ke se sekaseka, se*

*bakilwe ke go tlhoka* astute financial, not economic, financial experts. We are now at a point where we need financial engineers, people who will re-engineer this economy, so that we are able to raise the capital that we need. How do we raise the capital? We need to as best as we can, first to avoid borrowing for consumption and not for investment. Do we have the means to pay 15 billion as we sit here, no, because we would have to raise the revenue from taxes and diamonds. Is that reasonably possibly, maybe not immediately. What do we need to do then, with the inflow of FDI that will solve some of the problems and create employment and broadened the tax base, we are on our way. That will then enable us, once we know what investment inflows we are looking at, the scale, the quantum we are now able to then borrow to settle these debts in order to raise ourselves from this level's debt, that is the first thing.

The proposal that I made to the Ministry of Finance was, go to every contractor who is owed and say to them, *fa e le gore o kolotiwa* 200 million, *a re dumalane* to settle *ka* 150 million in full and final settlement. Then we would reduce the debt, but we will also afford to pay. This is what we are working on. Bridging capital to settle all these outstanding liabilities, and then on the back of the investment that you have attracted, we are signing some major agreements with the Oman Investment Authority, in energy, fuel and many other areas.

I was saying in relation to Agriculture, we now have the potential offtake agreement for agricultural produce from Botswana going into Oman, so that now we ramp up production not for subsistence only, but to also create a surplus which we can then chill, agro process and export. We have these opportunities, we have a vital, credible, solid partner in Oman, settled. Their people are on the ground as I speak, *ba bangwe ba kwa Maun*. Yesterday they were in Maun, *ba lebeletse* the land on which we are putting up 500 maybe up to 1000 megawatts of solar plus battery.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Applause!) ...

**ADV. BOKO:** *Kwa Maun, Letlhakane and other areas. What will this do, this will enable to raise our profile as a green economy and earn us carbon credits, that is money. We need to find sources of revenue for the country away from diamonds, away from your traditional sources. The Citizenship Investment Programme e le neng le batla go e nyatsa*, will raise several millions. That is revenue coming in, *ga re kolote ope, ba re duela*, then we can pay off our debts, many other initiatives that bring

money to us, we also want to liberalise our air space and let rich people, *bone ba re tlaabong re ba fa* citizenship *le ba bangwe*, they have private jets. They need to come and register them *mo* Botswana, they pay. We need to expand our airports so that they have their hangers there, they keep their aircrafts there, we make money. Then they fly in our airspace, we must have technology that monetises that. So, we are now called upon to look for new sources of revenue so that we are not overly dependent on diamonds, but as I said, we need to raise the capital to settle all these debts because *batho ba rona ga ba a tshwanela go tswela ba kolotiwa ka sebaka se se kana*.

*Maiteko a tswelotse le fa o bona* Minister of Finance *a seyo fa, o mo motlhaleng wa go rulaganya gore re feleletse* because *ke ne ke beile* deadline *ya gore fa go iwa Keresemoseng, e seng jalo ga go na Keresemose, batho ba bo ba duetswe ba ba kolotiwang*. I had made that very clear, because *ke dumela gore fa re ka tlhwaafala, ra bitsa baitseanape ba rona ba finance*, they should be able to sort this problem out. It is not insurmountable.

**MR NKAWANA:** *Clarification. Thank you, Mr President. Ke a leboga Mr Speaker. Go na le potso nngwe e e leng gore o kare ga e arabesege sentle ya gore kana fa o bona motho a rekisa jaaka De Beers, ke solofela gore ke bone ba reng ba a rekisa, ke ipotsa gore a le dirile due diligence gore ke eng fa ba rekisa. A ba ithola mathata kana jaaka o bua ke lona le batlang gore le itshetse ka teng?*

Potso e nngwe ya bobedi, o ne o bua ka *carbon credit*, gore a mme rona mo Botswana re setse re na le *bankable carbon*, e e leng gore re ka kgona *to trade* ka yone, boramadimantsi ba kgona go e reka? Ke a leboga.

**ADV. BOKO:** *Mma ke tseye yone e ya bofelo. Ee rra, re setse re na... Ke gore fela ga re ise re tswerefalele to monetise. All these wetlands tse o ntseng o utlwa being declared kwa Okavango gotwe go wetlands, that is carbon credit ready, which we have not benefited from. We need to do that. The financial engineering I am talking about is actually monetising some of these resources that already are there, that have remained unutilised. Go ne go sena dikelelele le dikakanyo, so we have. When we add the renewables into the mix, we will then raise the ... (Inaudible)...*

Ya bobedi, gore a ba rekisa ba tshaba mathata; ee, ba tshaba mathata rraetsho. Ba tshaba mathata a ba a itiretseng ka tsamaiso ya bone e e kgopo e re e boneng.

*Have we done due diligence; we have engaged the finest on the planet, but you also must be careful when you engage in this space, this is a mafia industry. You need to be very careful about it, even who you select to be your transactional advisors, because ba ka go digela le bone. We have applied our minds thoroughly on this.*

*Where we are now? Re mo level ya go neelwa access to the data rooms, gone kwa information yotlhe e tlaa re supegetsang gore a re kile ra tsiediwa. The model ya De Beers gone jaana, ke yone e tlisang mathata, there is a lot of value leakage in the model that they have applied. So, once we take over, the challenge for us is not taking over, the challenge is restructuring this thing to make it profitable and it will be done. The expertise is readily available, we have it around the table. When we go to them, re tsamaya re tlhantletse go utlwala. So, e ntse jalo.*

Ke ne ke tswetsetse ka ya go baakanya itsholelo gore re tlile go patelesega go adima, mme re adimela fa godimo ga go supa gore itsholelo ya rona re e godisa jang. *There are a number of projects that are coming. These are projects where we are not investing anything, but the benefit to us is many folds:*

- (i) *We will be energy sufficient. Ga re na go tlhola re tlamega gore re reke motlakase kwa South Africa ka bo P3 billion every year. We save that P3 billion, that is money mo diatleng tsa rona, gakere re ntse re reka, re tsaya madi re a isa, fa re thiba phatlha eo madi ao ga a tswa jaanong, a nna fa.*
- (ii) *Ka le bone ba a tlhaelwa, ba ntse ba re re rekisetsa ka gore go turu e bile go ba tlisetsa dipoelo tse di kwa godimo, re tlile go ba rekisetsa ka ditlhwatlhwa tsona tseo, a bo le rona re tsaya P3 billion kwa go bone. Jaanong fa godimo ga P3 billion yo re tlaabong re mo save, re tlaabo re tsaya yo mongwe kwa go bone e bo e nna P6 billion. Re bo re kgona go dira ditiro le go aga ditsela kwa go Rre Kapinga. A se ka a tla a ngongorega thata.*

Dikgang tse bagarona, di batla kelotlhoko e re dirang gore re kgone *to monitor and raise capital*, mme ke dumela gore mo nakong e khutshwane, bone ba re ba kolotang, fa re ka tsamaisa sentle ka thulaganyo e ke e buang, re tlaa kgona go ba duela.

Ke tlhola ke utlwa le lela le re le batla dingwe kwa dikgaolong tsa lona. Fa go na le sengwe se ke batlang go se le tlhomamisetsa gone fa, o bona nna, ga ke wa thulaganyo ya gore o tle go lela fa gore hei! ga ke na

tsela, ga se thulaganyo e ke e eletsang gotlhelele. Fa go na le batho kwa kgaolong, go tshwanetse go nne le ditsela. *That is the only consideration.* Fa go na le batho, go tshwanetse go nne le ditlamelo. Ga se mo re tlileng go nganga fa mongwe a tswerefale go gaisa yo mongwe a lela. Mma Tshireletso o kile a lelela tsela ya Mookane. Re tshwanetse e bile re e bitse ka leina la gagwe. E le gore mo National Development Plan (NDP) ya bone maDomkrag, ba ne ba e ntsha. O ne a tsamaya a ya go thubega ka selelo fa pele ga ga Khama, a lela a ba a tswa a tsamaya. O ne a bidiwa gotwe tsela ya gago re tlaa e busetsa Mma Tshireletso.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)

**ADV. BOKO:** It is a true story.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O raya efe?

**ADV. BOKO:** E e fetang ka Mookane e ya kwa galona. Ga ke rate le ka tla go lela kwa go nna. *I do not want to insult your dignity in that manner.* Ke batla mo ditlhabololo di kgonang go diragala, *all we need to cudgel our brains around, is to raise the money. That is all. Once the money is there, ga go na fa re tlileng go tlhola re nganga, re omana fa. Le tlaabo le itumetse le ntse kwa dikgaolong.*

Fa moepo ole wa ga Rre Kapinga wa iron, ka gore go na le *high grade iron ore*, 40 kilometres (km) stretch kwa go ene le fa o utlwa a re ditlhabololo, re lole gore kompone ele re re e simolole, fa e sa simolole re tlaa e ntsha re tsenya e e ka simololang. Re batla batho ba e leng gore *they are shovel ready. They want to move, and that will mean, because re na le principle ya from pit to pot as a finished product. Then we will have to construct roads. Those roads will be self-sustaining. We can actually even toll those roads for trucks.*

So, the ideas that are contained in the NDP and the BETP, are revolutionary in this manner. *Ga go na ope wa lona yo o tshwanetseng go ngongoregela gore melemo e a tlhaela.* Right now, in relation to schools, I was signing CAB Memo where there has to be a special purpose vehicle that raises money off the Government balance sheet, you understand? If we take the Government balance sheet, we balloon the debt. We run the risk of being downgraded. If we create a separate vehicle, that references certain resources even from the schools, like school fees where ever school fees are paid, and uses these as seed capitals to go into the capital markets and raise money for the refurbishment of schools, the estimate says about P7 billion is needed. We are not

going to refurbish your school *kwa kgaolong ya gago wena* Rre Hikuama, *go se tlisa mo seemong se se ntseng se le mo go sone*, no, this refurbishment we are talking about, we are talking about a classroom of the now and the future, that speaks to an education system that recognises that the school is a voice of the future and that in every child, there is a tongue-tied prophet, that is the kind of education we are talking about. That is why we have to invest in, ensuring that the schools are not your... *O bona dikole tse rona re tseneng kwa go tsone, ga se tsa bana ba gompiano. Ga di a tlamelesega go ka dira tiro.*

We now want to teach these kids coding. We need to introduce infrastructure that enables them and that is why the digitalisation of education is key, it is critical. *Lona e rile go buiwa ka yone le bo le re it would be policing teachers.* No, that thing, that system enables kids to be taught, effect *ya teng* will reduce paper and it will save the Ministry of Education hundreds of millions of Pula in photocopying and other materials. That is the first thing.

The second thing, it will reduce the contact time between teacher and student by four hours every day because you make teaching so efficient and so accessible. It will enable a parent to track, it will enable the ministry to know which school is underperforming and the kids are falling behind. That system is working in other countries. In addition to everything else, it will make the burden on the teacher so light, it will make teaching such an enjoyable profession. That is what we want and there will be down time, "hei! system *e rile*, system *e a re*." We need to put data centres across. Hyper scale data centres will enable the processing of data in a manner that removes at any point, *mo gotweng* "system *e down*." That will be a thing of the past.

Here is another dimension to data centres, they consume a lot of power. *Gone jaana jaaka le ntse fa*, you do *bo* ChatGPT. The amount of power you consume by clicking ChatGPT is so high, very high. So, you need these electrons to flow, you need to have a lot of power. *Baitseanape ba bangwe ba ne ba nthaya ba re*, *lona* Botswana, you are thinking *ka bo* two gigawatts, you should be talking 20 gigawatts because data centres require a lot of power and when you give them power, you also need to back them up. At no point should there be *kgaogo ya motlakase*. So, we need to improve our transmission infrastructure, our generation infrastructure, our distribution and procurement. So, we are going to revolutionise the energy space in the shortest time possible.

*Ke batla mo nakong e ke fete ka e nngwe ke e ya babegadikgang.* I have said and I said this a long time, a profession...

**MR MAPULANGA:** *On a point of clarification.* Ke a go leboga *Mr Speaker*. Mma ke go leboge *Mr President*. Kgang ya me ga e ntsi, ke gore fela mo go tse dingwe ga ke a kgona go akgela mo go tsone. Ke ne ke utlwa o bua ka *from pit to pot*. Le fa o tlhalosa kgantele ka *the processing* ya teemane, ga o a wela, ke batla o wela ke go utlwe sentle *because* gakere *we are talking of generation ya employment. I am looking into manufacturing and processing* re le mo *centre* ya Botswana, re sa ise thata kwa ntle. So, ke batla gore o wele gore ke go utlwe sentle.

**ADV. BOKO:** When I said *pit to pot*, I said *pit to pot* as a finished product. But here is the intricacy; *kwa* Surat *kwa* India, *diteemane tsa rona* have created 700 000 jobs. *Kwa* Surat *kwa* India, cutters and polishers have such levels of skill and expertise in the art of cutting and polishing a diamond. For the amount of time that it takes us here, for the same amount of money, we produce 20 stones, they churn out 200 stones; same amount of money, same amount of time. What is the issue here? Skills levels, efficiency and productivity, those are critical. So, when we ask any investor to come here and create jobs, we need to have an architecture, an ecosystem that says *bogolo tlisang* 100 000 of those smart cutters and polishers *ba tle go dira le ba rona fa*. Over a period, we acquire the same level of skill if not higher and then in the fullness of time, we can say *re siame jaanong* we can handle it.

We must not put ourselves in a situation where we fail and we fail immediately because this will require an outlay investment. Can we do it? No. Who will do it? A foreign investor. What do they want? These high volumes. Do we have the capability? No. Let us bring the skills in here so that our people can understudy and we do that across.

*Rre* Disho *o ne a lela ka* substandard work *ya dikonteraka*; we will bring in world-class companies and pair them with our people and say to them in the next five years, we want our people to be at the same level of proficiency, then *lona le tlaabo le tsamaya. Ke bone ba tlaabong ba tsena ba bo ba dira kwano ba bo ba ya go dira le kwa mafatsheng a mangwe* so that they become mega companies dealing internationally *kwa bo* Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and elsewhere. This is what we are looking at.

*Ke ne ke re ke bue ka babegadikgang. Babegadikgang fa ba gakololwa, re a bo re sa ba sole. Re a bo re ba gakololela gore melao e e teng, go na le mo gotweng* criminal defamation. The reason I keep suggesting to them they should stop what they are doing, these fake news, these falsehoods that tarnish peoples' reputations, impair their dignity and their fame, those things are criminal. There are provisions in the Penal Code *ya Botswana*; Section 192 of the Penal Code criminalises criminal defamation. You can actually be taken to court and imprisoned for writing falsehoods about a person and tarnishing their reputation, fame and dignity. So, when I say to them stop this thing, I am admonishing them because very soon, they will end up in prison.

This matter arose in India. In India, there is a provision in their Penal Code, Section 500 of the Indian Penal Code - Criminal Defamation. In all the Commonwealth jurisdictions, *go na le* criminal defamation and criminal defamation says you publish something that is untrue with intent to harm the reputation of another, that is a criminal offence. So, our journalists are committing crimes by the day.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** ... (Inaudible)...

**ADV. BOKO:** *Le grammar. Ga re ka ke ra go isa sekoleng wa tla go kwala maxhambora, le a reng tota?*

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Laughter!)...

**ADV. BOKO:** *La re bana ba leswe fela re ba tsentse sekole, re ba rutila Sekgoa ba bo ba tla go ikwalela tsone dilo tse ba di kwalang?* We have the responsibility to admonish them and tell them write and write well, so that we read.

I can give you an example; if you take a newspaper *e bidiwa* WeekendPost, there is a guy there *gatwe* Aubrey Lute, that kid writes very well. Sometimes I do not like what he writes, I think it is not quite true but I enjoy reading, he writes very, very well and he is organised and logical. You might disagree but Aubrey Lute is a journalist with quality and his newspaper is always well structured.

*Ga ke re ke dumalane le se ba se kwalang. Fa gongwe ba a fetlhela le bone, ba nna ba fetlhela fela* but that is not the point. *Fa ke re* write well, take yourselves seriously, there is a craft, lawyers take themselves seriously. You get in, they check if are you a fit and proper person. To stay in, you must stay fit and proper. If you are not fit and proper, they kick you out. To come back in, they will examine you.

Journalists *ba a kwala*, you see an apology, *kamoso* the same journalist, apology. Has the person been struck off the Register of Journalists? No. So, we want our journalists to write, we want them to write well. We do not want them to defame anybody because if they do, they will be imprisoned. *Le bale* Section 192 all the way to Section 199 of the Penal Code, *ke molao o o teng, ba ka tlhatlhelwa*, they can be tried. So, I am helping them to avoid *dilo tse*. Thank you very much.

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** ... (Applause!)...

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Order! Honourable Members. Honourable Members, *re gorogile kwa nakong e le neng le e ipeetse*. I shall now call upon the Leader of the House to move a Motion of adjournment.

#### MOTION

#### ADJOURNMENT

**LEADER OF THE HOUSE (MR MOHWASA):** Thank you Mr Speaker. I beg to move that this House do now adjourn.

Question put and **agreed to.**

The Assembly accordingly adjourned at 7:30 p.m. until Wednesday 26<sup>th</sup> November, 2025 at 2:00 p.m.

## Table indicating the CBD buildings rented by Government

NO.	LESSOR	SHAREHOLDING AND CMZENERY	PLOT NO	USER DEPARTMENT	LEASE COMMENCEMENT DATE	TERM	MONTHLY RENTAL (BWP)	TOTAL ANNUAL RENTAL (BWP)
MINISTRY FOR STATE PRESIDENT								
1	G.H. Group (pty) Ltd	Aqueel Abdoola (Motswana) Gulaam Husain Abdoola (Motswana) Hawa Amond Abdoola (Motswana) Moosa Abdoola (Motswana) Raees Abdoola (Motswana) Tasneem Abdoola (Motswana)	54381	DCEC	01.04.2025	5	508,558.00	6,102,696.00
2	Zambezi Motors (pty) Ltd	Ishmael Takaedza Nshakashogwe (Motswana)	54352	Botswana Police Service	01.12.2024	5	91,350.00	11,896,200.00
3	Varsha Enterprises (pty) Ltd	Seyed Abolfazi Jamali (Motswana) Medhi Jamali (Motswana)	54357	Office of the Auditor General	15.08.2025	5	539,700.70	6,476,408.40
MINISTRY OF SPORT AND ARTS								
4	Coastal Development (Pty) Ltd	Jaleh Mazidi (Motswana)	54355	Ministry Headquarters	01.04.2024	5	2,154,065.00	25,848,780.00
MINISTRY CHILD WELFARE AND BASIC EDUCATION								
5	Varsha Enterprises (pty) Ltd	Seyed Abolfazi Jamali (Motswana) Medhi Jamali (Motswana)	54357 (floor 3 and ptn of	Department of Special Support Services and Department of	01.01.2021	3 (lease renewal process is ongoing)	267,918.94	3,215,027.30

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			4)	Technical Services				
MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT								
6	Varsha Enterprises (Pty) Ltd	Seyed Abolfazi Jamali (Motswana) Medhi Jamali (Motswana)	54357	Department of Social Protection	09.04.2016	5 (lease renewal process is ongoing)	387,856.00	4,654,272.00
MINISTRY OF TRADE AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP								
7	Alberta Construction and Engineering (Pty) Ltd	Jaleh Mazidi (Motswana)	54380	Ministry Headquarters	01.12.2022	5	1,270,950.00	15,251,400.00
MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT AND INFRASTRUCTURE								
8	Varsha Enterprises (Pty) Ltd	Seyed Abolfazi Jamali (Motswana) Medhi Jamali (Motswana)	54357	Central Transport Organisation	01.09.2020	5 (lease renewal process is ongoing)	336,755.00	4,041,060.00
MINISTRY OF YOUTH AND GENDER AFFAIRS								
9	The First Y2K Company (Pty) Ltd	Kuldip Singh Ruprah (Motswana) Satveer Singh Ruprah (Motswana)	54372	Youth and Gender Affairs HQ	01.04.2022	5	1,697,293.00	20,367,516.00
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION								
10	Varsha Enterprises (Pty) Ltd	Seyed Abolfazi Jamali (Motswana) Medhi Jamali (Motswana)	54357 (Floor 5&6)	Department of Teacher Training and Technical Education and Institute of Health Sciences	01.08.2021	5	248,090.00	2,977,080.00
11	Varsha Enterprises (Pty) Ltd	Seyed Abolfazi Jamali (Motswana) Medhi Jamali	54357 (Floor 4)	Department of Teacher Training and	01.01.2021	5	189,087.60	2,269,051.20

		(Motswana)		Technical Education				
MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND HOME AFFAIRS								
12	Varsha Enterprises (Pty) Ltd	Syed Abolfazi Jamali (Motswana) Medhi Jamali (Motswana)	54357	Department of Gender Affairs	21.04.2017	5 (Terminate don 22.04 2022)	141,450.00	1,697,400.00
MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS, KNOWLEDGE AND TECHNOLOGY								
13	Varsha Enterprises (Pty) Ltd	Syed Abolfazi Jamali (Motswana) Medhi Jamali (Motswana)	54357 (Floor 9)	Department of Information Technology	15.11.2021	5	126,520.00	1,518,240.00
<b>Total</b>							<b>8,859,594.24</b>	<b>106,315,130.90</b>

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