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**THE FIRST MEETING OF THE THIRD SESSION OF THE  
TWELFTH PARLIAMENT**

**WEDNESDAY 08 DECEMBER 2021**

**MIXED VERSION**

**HANSARD NO: 203**



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**DEPUTY SPEAKER**  
**Hon. P. P. P. Moatlhodi, MP. (Tonota)**

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His Honour S. Tsogwane, MP. (Boteti West)	- Vice President
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Hon. K. T. Mmusi, MP. (Gabane-Mmankodi)	- Minister of Defence, Justice and Security
Hon. Dr L. Kwape, MP. (Kanye South)	- Minister of International Affairs and Cooperation
Hon. E. M. Molale, MP. (Goodhope-Mabule )	- Minister of Local Government and Rural Development
Hon. K. S. Gare, MP. (Moshupa-Manyana)	- Minister of Agricultural Development and Food Security
Hon. P. K. Kereng, MP. (Specially Elected)	- Minister of Environment, Natural Resources Conservation and Tourism
Hon. Dr E. G. Dikoloti MP. (Mmathethe-Molapowabojang)	- Minister of Health and Wellness
Hon. T.M. Segokgo, MP. (Tlokweng)	- Minister of Transport and Communications
Hon. K. Mzwinila, MP. (Specially Elected)	- Minister of Land Management, Water and Sanitation Services
Hon. T. M. Rakgare, MP. (Mogoditshane)	- Minister of Youth Empowerment, Sport and Culture Development
Hon. A. M. Mokgethi, MP. (Gaborone Bonnington North)	- Minister of Nationality, Immigration and Gender Affairs
Hon. P. O. Serame, MP. (Specially Elected)	- Minister of Finance and Economic Development
Hon. F. M. M. Molao, MP. (Shashe West)	- Minister of Basic Education
Hon. Dr D. Letsholathebe, MP. (Tati East)	- Minister of Tertiary Education, Research, Science and Technology
Hon. L. M. Moagi, MP. (Ramotswa)	- Minister of Mineral Resources, Green Technology and Energy Security
Hon. M. Kgafela, MP. (Mochudi West)	- Minister of Investment, Trade and Industry
Hon. M. Balopi, MP. (Gaborone North)	- Minister of Employment, Labour Productivity and Skills Development
Hon. Dr T. Matsheka, MP. (Lobatse)	- Minister of Infrastructure and Housing Development
Hon. D. M. Mthimkhulu, MP. (Gaborone South)	- Assistant Minister, Presidential Affairs, Governance and Public Administration
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Hon. S. Lelatisitswe, MP. (Boteti East)	- Assistant Minister, Health and Wellness
Hon. N. W. T. Makwinja, MP. (Lentsweletau-Mmopane)	- Assistant Minister, Basic Education
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Hon. H. B. Billy, MP. (Francistown East)	- Assistant Minister, Youth Empowerment, Sport and Culture Development
Hon. M. R. Shamukuni, MP. (Chobe)	- Assistant Minister, Tertiary Education, Research, Science and Technology

## MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND THEIR CONSTITUENCIES

<b>Names</b>	<b>Constituency</b>
<b>RULING PARTY (Botswana Democratic Party)</b>	
Hon. L. Kablay, MP. (Government Whip)	Letlhakeng-Lephephe
Hon. Dr U. Dow, MP.	Specially Elected
Hon. P. Majaga, MP.	Nata-Gweta
Hon. J. S. Brooks, MP.	Kgalagadi South
Hon. C. Greeff, MP.	Gaborone Bonnington South
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Hon. T. F. Leuwe, MP.	Takatokwane
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Hon. O. Regoeng, MP.	Molepolole North
Hon. J. L. Thiite, MP.	Ghanzi North
Hon. A. Lesaso, MP.	Shoshong

### OPPOSITION

#### (Umbrella for Democratic Change)

Hon. D. Saleshando, MP. (Leader of the Opposition)	Maun West
Hon. M. G. J. Motsamai, MP. (Opposition Whip)	Ghanzi South
Hon. D. L. Keorapetse, MP.	Selebi Phikwe West
Hon. Y. Boko, MP.	Mahalapye East
Hon. Dr K. Gobotswang, MP.	Sefhare-Ramokgonami
Hon. C. K. Hikuama, MP.	Ngami
Hon. K. K. Kapinga, MP.	Okavango
Hon. G. Kekgonegile, MP.	Maun East
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Hon. K. Nkawana, MP.	Selebi Phikwe East
Hon. O. Ramogapi, MP.	Palapye
Hon. Dr N. Tshabang, MP.	Nkange
Hon. D. Tshere, MP.	Mahalapye West
Hon. M. I. Moswaane, MP.	Francistown West

#### (Botswana Patriotic Front)

Hon. T. S. Khama, MP.	Serowe West
Hon. L. Lesedi, MP.	Serowe South
Hon. B. Mathoothe, MP.	Serowe North
Hon. M. Reatile, MP.	Jwaneng-Mabutsane

#### (Alliance for Progressives)

Hon. W. B. Mmolotsi, MP.	Francistown South
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Wednesday 8<sup>th</sup> December, 2021

THE ASSEMBLY met at 2:00 p.m.

(THE SPEAKER in the Chair)

PRAYERS

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QUESTIONS FOR ORAL ANSWER

DISTRICT LABOUR OFFICE IN THE NORTH  
WEST DISTRICT

**MR K. C. HIKUAMA (NGAMI):** asked the Minister of Employment, Labour Productivity and Skills Development to update this Honourable House on the state and operational processes of the District Labour Office in the North West District and further state:

- (i) if there are plans to establish a labour office with elementary staff in the Okavango Sub-District; if not why not,
- (ii) plans to improve service provisions to both employees and employers more especially those with labour issues or disputes that need attention of the labour officer; and
- (iii) if he is aware that the Okavango Sub-District and its extension area is far and costly to be serviced by the Maun office.

**MINISTER OF EMPLOYMENT, LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT (MR BALOPI):** Ke a leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente. Ke dumedisa le batlotlegi mo tshokologong eno. Mma ke simolole fela ka go tlhalosetsa Ntlo e gore ofisi ya Maun e e dirang le dikgang tsa pereko, tse di tsamaelanang le go rarabolola kana go letlanya mo dikgannyeng tsa bodiredi, e dirisanya le go tlhatlhoba madirelo a go nang le bodiredi teng, a dikgwebo, e tsamaisa dikgang tsa gore ba ba batlang go lefiwa mo dikgannyeng tse di amanang le dikatso tsa bone ka ntlha ya tse ba neng ba di dira kwa ditirong tsa bone. Gape e ikamanya le go dira ditesiitso tsa bodiredi kana *work permits*. E na le bodiredi bo le boraro jwa sennelaruri ba ba dirang mo ofising eo, e le *officers*. E bo e nna le ba batlhano *who support* kana ba tlaleletsa ba ba rutetsweng dikgang tse di farologaneng, dingwe tsa tsone e le tse ke sa tswang go bua ka tsone.

Ke tshwanetse ke bue gape gore go na le ofisi e kgolwane kwa Maun e gape e e dirang le dikgang tse di tshwanang le tse ke sa tswang go di bua. Ofisi e ke neng ke bua ka

yone ke ya *District Labour Office*. Go bo go nna le e kgolwane ya *Regional Labour Office*, e konokono ya tiro ya yone e leng go dira ditesiitso tsa khiro jaaka ke ne ke sa tswa go bua jalojalo. Ofisi e ke e e tlhokometseng dikgaolo tse di mabapi le Maun tse di tsenang ka fa tlase ga tlhokomelo ya dikgang tsa Maun. E na le bodiredi jwa batho ba ba dirang le dikgang tsa khiro ba le bane, e bo e nna le ba batlhano ba ba tlaleletsang mo go bone, kana *support staff*.

Karolwana ya ntlha ya potso ya ga Rre *Honourable Hikuama*, yo ke mo tlotlang thata, o boditse gore a re na le maikaelelo mo bogompionong a gore re bule ofisi nngwe kwa Okavango ya dikgang tse di tsamaisanyang le dikgang tsa bodiredi kana khiro? Karabo ke gore ga re bolo go nna re na le mogopolo one oo. Jaanong dikgang tse di teng ke gore mo bogompionong ka ntata ya seemo se re leng mo go sone, go lebega re ka se ke re kgone go dira jalo. Dikgang tse di tsamaelanang le dingwe tsa bo *Industrial Court* jaana jalojalo, ofisikgolo ya Francistown e ntse e tswetse e thusa mo dikgannyeng tseo, e di tsaya gore e dire le tsone, mme gape ba tlaleletswa ke ba Gaborone Office.

Ke nankole mo karalong ya bobedi gore go tlhatlositse ofisi ya Maun *to D2 salary scale* e le go tsibogela dikgang dingwe tse re di lemogang gore di bophara e bile di akaretse dikgaolo tse di kgakajana. Selo se se a re tshwenya jaaka kwa Okavango; bo Shakawe le Gumare.

Gape fa go na le dikgang tse di fetang tse ba di kgonang e le bodiredi, le rona re le mo ofisingkgalo ya Gaborone, dingwe re a di tsibogela re di dire. Ke a itse e bile ke a lemoga gore ofisi e e ntseng jalo e tshwanetse e nne teng kwa Okavango Sub-District, gore e tle e akaretse dikgang go tswa kwa bo Gudigwa go ya go tsena gone ka kwano kwa bo Sepopa jalojalo le gone kwa Gumare. Ke dikgang tse di re tshwenyang le rona mme re ikiteile ka thupana gore fa seemo se tokafala, ke dingwe tsa dikgang tse re di beileng gore re di dire *Mr Speaker*.

Ke tsaya gore mo dintlheng tse ke di buileng tse, ke tlaa letela dipotso. Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente, ke a leboga.

**MR HIKUAMA: Supplementary.** Ke a leboga Tona. Ke a leboga *Speaker*. Ke lebogela karabo. Ga ke a utlwa sentle gore a la re le simolotse go nna le kakanyo ya go dira ofisi kwa kgaolong potlana ya Okavango, re sena go nna le COVID kana jang? Kana mo dingwageng tsotlhe tse re ntseng re le teng, a le ne le sa lemoge botlhokwa jwa gore re tlhoka ofisi ya go nna jalo?



Ya bobedi ke gore a mme o a lemoga gore batho ba ba tshabelwang ke dikgang tsa mabaka a tsa pereko, ke batho ba ba senang madi a a kalokalo, ba o fitlhelang ba hirwa ba duelwa madi a mannye? Fa motho a le kwa bo Xaxa kana Xangwa a sa kgona go duelwa sentle, gore a goroge kwa Maun, go nna bokete mo go ene. Batho ba le ikaelela go ba thusa ka tsela e e ntseng jang ka gore ba a bo ba setse ba jelwe ntsoma ke bahiri ba batla gore ba ipatlisise mme ba palelwa ke ditsompelo go goroga koo?

Gape o buile gore tiro e nngwe ya lona ke go tlathloba madirelo, mme re a itse gore dikampa tse di dikologileng bo Gumare le *areas* tseo tsa safari di tlhoka *services* tsa diofisi tsa lona. A mme la re batho ba le bararo ba ka kgona *to service* kgaolo e e kgakala jalo e bile ba na le kgwetlho ya gore ba goroge kwa bo Seronga le Gudigwa? Dikgaolo *are more than 500 kilometres from the office that services them*. A le bona e le seemo se se siameng e bile se siametse Batswana? Ke a leboga.

**MR BALOPI:** Ke a leboga *Honourable* Hikuama. Fela jaaka ke supile mo karabong ya me le mo dikganyeng tse re neng re di bua nako le nako tsa itsholelo e e akaretsang botlhe, ee, ke a dumalana le wena gore ga go a lekana. Ga go a lekana gore re bo re re ga re kgone go dira jalo mo nakong ya gompiano. Kana ditsompelo ke tsone di re letlang fela jaaka o itse gore le mo mehameng e mengwe e e farologaneng, go thata go fitlhelela sengwe le sengwe ka gore ditlhabololo tsa rona fa gongwe fa maikaelelo a gago e le gore o ya go fitlhelela sengwe se se ntseng se le mo tsamaisong e o batlang go e dira, go tlhagoga se sengwe se se tsayang meamusu e e mo seatleng se le sengwefela. Gore o kgone gore o se ka wa felela e le gore o boloka tse o di bolokang pele ga o ka ya kwa go tse o tshwanetseng gore o di dire, e le ruri ga go a lekana gore a bo re sa kgone go dira jalo. Ga se kgang ya COVID fela, o tlaa gakologelwa gore go na le dikgwetlho tse dintsi mo lefatsheng le, le letseno le le teng le re tshwanetseng gore re le aroganye, re le phatlalatse le dikgang tse dintsiyana.

O tlaa fitlhela e le gore dikgang tse di tshwanang le tse tsa mohiri le mohiriwa, se re lekang go se dira nako le nako go fema gore go nne le dikgang tse di ntseng jaana, ke gore re tle ka ditsamaiso le ditsetlana tse di ka tsamaisang molao. Segolo e re fa re ise re fitlhelele go ya go dira dikago kana re isa bodiredi gore bo reetse dikgang tse re tle ka melawana e e tlaa rotloetsang bahiri ka go farologana ga bone, gore ba simolole go itse gore go botlhokwa gore go nne le tirisanyo mmogo e e lolameng. Gape le go ikamanya le ba ba emetseng bahiri, gore re nne re gakololane gore re ka fema jang

gore dikgang tse dingwe tse dintsi re se ka ra di dira fa re ise re fitlhelele mo goreng re fitlhelele dikgaolo tse di ntseng jalo, re ya go dira ditlamelo kana tsone diofisi. Ke bua jaana ka gore maloba re ne re baya pele Palamente, e bile gape re dirile komiti e e akaretsang botlhe batsayakarolo, ya Botswana Decent Work Country Programme, e ya go fitlhelela dikgang tsa bo *inspection*, go tsaya batho sentle mo ditirong le tsa gore le batho ba lefiwa sentle mo tirong ka fa ba dirang ka teng. Le go tsaana sentle, jalojalo. E ke mengwe ya maiteko a rona a gore e re fa re ise re fitlhelele kwa dikgaolong re dira diofisi go na le babereki, e bo e le gore re dira dingwe. Ga re a nna fela, ga re a phutha mabogo fela. Le kemedi ya bodiredi jo re bua le yone letsatsi le letsatsi, nako le nako, re ikamanya le gore re a itse gore matshwenyego a teng, mme a re thusanyeng gore re a tsibogeke ka tsela tse di faloganyeng.

Jaaka o ne o bua ka Makgobokgobo *Labour Inspections*, re tshwenyegile thata ka bodiredi, jaaka o ne o itse gore mo nakong e e fetileng ke kile ka araba potso nngwe re sena go nna re bona mathata a go neng go supa gore go na le tlhoko kutlwisisanyo e ntsi kana kgonkgontsho ya ditshwanelo tsa setho, segolo jang tsa modiri kana mohiriwa. Ka jalo re tlaa nna re itebagantse le gore la bofelo re di feme. Mme re ne ra di tsibogela, re ntse re patagane le maphata a mangwe a Puso gore kwa go diragalang teng bo Mma Kereng jaana fa a ntse a ya kwa di *...(inaudible)...* tsa gagwe, kana ke nngwe ya karolo ya Puso. Re ne re eta re buisanya gore ba ba dirang kwa ga ba dire sentle jaana le jaana, e re fa o ntse o bua le bone o ba reye o re ba feme go dira tse di seng ka fa molaong, gore re tle re kgone go dirisanya sentle. Ke a dumalana gore letseno le le nnyennyane le mo bathong ba ba babalelwang thata, re tlaa tswela re le Puso jaaka re batla gore mongwe le mongwe e nne motsayakarolo yo o lolameng mo lefatsheng le, mo itsholelong e, gore re nne re bone gore re ka thusa jang batho ba go ya kwa pele. Mme re sa babalelele itsholelo mo e ka re paledisang go dira tse dingwe tse di tshwanetseng gore di dirwe mo nakong ya gompiano.

**MR HIKUAMA:** *Supplementary*. Ke ne ke re kana bontsi jwa batho ba ba tshabelwang ke dikgang tse ke ba ba senang madi, le ikaelela go ba thusa jang fa le santse le sena diofisi jaana, le goroga jang kwa go bone? A re tseye batho ba le kwa bo Xaxa, ba kobilwe mo *security* ka ditsela tse di sa siamang, le ba thusa jang gore le kgone go reetsa dikgang tsa bone, *what is the arrangement in place at the moment*.



**MR BALOPI:** *Thank you very much, ke a leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente. Ke lekile go bua kgantle gore re na le mo gotweng Circuit Courts, tlaya re bue ka dikgang tsa o ikuela mo o sa tsewang sentle o ya kwa bo Industrial Court jalojalo. Go na le Circuit Courts, go na le ba ba tsamayang, a Mobile Court, ba ba neng ba tsamaya ba leka go atumela batho gore ba kgone go reetsa dikgang tsa bone ba rarabolole mathata a bone. Ke supile gore ofisi ya Francistown ya Industrial Court go riana mo dikgannyeng tsa tharabololo e, e ntse e dira thata go ya kwa bo Okavango, dikgalo tsa bo Gumare le tse di mabapi, gore ba reetse dikgang tse ba tle ba kgone gore ba rarabolole bothata jo bo teng. Ke ne ke bua gape le gore le gone mo ga go a lekana ka gore dikgang tsa teng fa gongwe di a diega, mme fa di diega jaana di felela di beile modiri yo e leng gore ke ene yo o sa tsewang sentle mo mosing, gongwe e re morago ga dingwaga tse pedi kana tse tharo jaanong a bona tharabololo ka ntata ya bonya, e bo go raya gore ga go sa tlhole go mmaya mo seemong se a neng a le mo go sone ka nako e a neng a nna le mathata gareng ga gagwe le mohiri. Ka jalo ke sone ke reng, re dira gotlhe mo re ka go kgonang, gore e re kwa bofelong ka gore le ka dira dikgang tsa maranyane gore re nne re reetsa dikgang jalo ka maranyane, go na le dikgaolo tse e leng gore ke sengwe se re neng re se akantse thata. Ke dikgaolo tse e leng gore ga di na gone phitlhelelo e e lekaneng ya boranyane, gore re kgone go nna re ba tsenya mo dikgannyeng tsa gore re reetsanye le bone, re ba thuse ka dikgang tsa boranyane. Ka jalo ke sone se ke reng, over and above the Circuit Court le gone go nna re tsamaya re leka go thusa, re ntse re a bona gape re tswetse ka go bona gore tharabololo e e sennelaruri e e ka re kgontsang e ka nna efe go fitlhelela re ya kwa pele. Le jone bodiredi re tlaa nna re bona gore re bo oketse gore dikgang tse re kgone go di tsibogela ka bofefo. Ke a leboga.*

#### STATUS AND AVAILABILITY OF RIVERSAND IN THE SOUTHERN PART

**MR T. LETSHOLO (KANYE NORTH):** asked the Minister of Mineral Resources, Green Technology and Energy Security to articulate the status and availability of river sand in the Southern part of Botswana, in particular:

- (i) how people in Kanye, Moshupa, Mmathethe, Good Hope, Ranaka and surrounding areas access river sand;
- (ii) what the Government's position is on the collection of river sand with vehicles less than 5 tonnes for domestic use;

- (iii) what is the official Government pronouncement for the subsistence harvesting and sale of river sand;
- (iv) whether there are any quarries near Kanye and Moshupa for crusher dust;
- (v) how does the price for crusher dust compare to that of river sand; and
- (vi) if he is amenable to the administration of mining rights for river sand being delegated to Community Trusts and Village Development Committees.

#### MINISTER OF MINERAL RESOURCES, GREEN TECHNOLOGY AND ENERGY SECURITY (MR MOAGI):

Thank you Mr Speaker. *Dumilani Mbidzi.* Good afternoon to the House. Mr Speaker, I would like to preface my response with a little background.

#### Background:

- (1) Mr Speaker, sand is an important component and crucial commodity in the economic development of Botswana's construction industry. Demand for sand today continues to increase as a result of the construction boom across the country. With the limited sand resources in the Southern part of the country, sand mining activities in the Greater Gaborone area have been suspended because of the state of degradation that rivers are in. Sand mining causes damage to our rivers and also impacts negatively on other uses of the river systems, such as water abstraction especially for agricultural purposes.
- (2) Owing to the small sizes of rivers typically found in the Southern part of the country, as well as the low levels of sand resources in the rivers due to unsustainable mining practices and limited recharging associated with poor rains, the Inter-Ministerial Committee on sustainable mining agreed that licensing of mining of river sand in the Greater Gaborone Area should be stopped. The Department of Mines has since 1<sup>st</sup> March 2014 suspended receiving applications for river sand mining with a view to allow the river systems time to recover from the impact of sand mining.
- (3) Mr Speaker, there is a problem of illegal mining, of river sand. However, that is not the only issue: there is also shortage of river sand resources in most areas due to increasing demand while sand



resources are diminishing. The shortage of sand resources is more noticeable in major centres, especially in the Greater Gaborone area because of the small sized streams that are mined in these parts of the country. The shortage is further worsened by the low rain fall in recent years, which has resulted in low inflow of sand to recharge the rivers.

- (4) Licensing of sand mining, particularly in the high demand centers like the Greater Gaborone, appears to exacerbate illegal mining. Holders of minerals concessions for river sand in these areas also contribute to the degradation of the rivers due to none compliance while focusing on profit benefits.
- (5) Furthermore, the Greater Gaborone area has been experiencing a trend of illegal mining of river sand under the pretext of desilting of small agricultural dams. For all permissions for dam desilting granted over the past few years, there has not been any dam that had been desilted as proposed but rather these project proponents went after the sand in the river bed instead of silt removal in the dam. The Department of Mines has taken the position to stop granting permissions for dam desilting as a way of curbing illegal mining and identifying these illegal miners.
  - (i) Mr Speaker, the ministry has imposed a moratorium on licensing of commercial river sand mining in the Greater Gaborone area, including Kanye, Moshupa, Mmathethe, Good Hope and Ranaka. This was imposed in recognition of insufficient sand resources which cannot be mined sustainably. Therefore, the moratorium is intended to allow the degraded rivers to recover. Despite this moratorium we note that some people continue to mine illegally in these areas to sell to communities in the stated villages. Some community members have seen the need to switch to the use of manufactured sand in place of river sand, a change which the ministry encourages.
  - (ii) The Mines and Minerals Act does not prohibit collection of river sand by individual community members for use in construction of their homes or farms. However, given the damage already caused by river sand extraction, the ministry encourages community members to consider use of the more environmentally sustainable manufactured sand from quarries. My ministry’s position is that mining river sand in the Greater Gaborone area with vehicles of any size will not likely help in the reduction of degradation of the rivers.

Mr Speaker, my ministry continues to promote the use of manufactured sand in place of river sand for both commercial and domestic use. We have areas like Oodi (Belabela Quarries), Kgale Quarries and others, where we have seen an increase in uptake of manufactured sand by the community. We therefore encourage communities of Kanye, Moshupa, Mmathethe, Good Hope, Ranaka and surrounding areas to emulate the same.

- (iii) Government’s position is that sand manufacturing should be used for both subsistence and commercial purposes in the country. My ministry has been holding Pitsos, roadshow campaigns and Kgotla meetings to educate Batswana on the benefits of using manufactured sand. Licensed quarries have started producing manufactured sand and have picked up on their production. Major manufacturers of concrete products and some small brick-moulding businesses have shifted to the use of crusher dust and manufactured sand instead of traditional river sand.
- (iv) Mr Speaker, where a quarry is within a 100 km radius, we consider it accessible to provide the needs of the surrounding communities with their products. The quarries that are within 100 km radius of Kanye and Moshupa (where illegal mining is rampant) are as follows; and I have a table Mr Speaker, to mention that but will quickly go through some of them:

Holder	Lease No.	Contact	Location
Moshana Quarry ta Conduit Investments (Pty) Ltd	2007/32L	5410667/5410721/75935351	Moshaneng
DTD (Pty) Ltd	2010/79L	3918051/71278087	Mmankgodi
Finnet (Pty) Ltd	2016/17L	3937921/72447251	Mmankgodi



Hogan Holdings (Pty) Ltd	2010/87L	5306622/71281019	Lobatse
Mmokolodi Quarry	2004/6L	3161950/1381	Mmokolodi
Kgale Quarries (Pty) Ltd	99/1R	3161950/381/71319316	Gaborone
Khutse Tours (Pty) Ltd	2018/1L	72301990	Molepolole
Belabela Quarry	2003/32L	72307630/71380745	Oodi
Pride Lion Consortium (Pty) Ltd	2020/6L	76888611	Moshupa
Mines Read Cut 7 (Pty) Ltd	2019/13L	74809637/5333885	Lobatse
New Era Quarries	2019/25L	74857962	Moshupa/ Thamaga

(v) Mr Speaker, generally, the prices of river sand and crusher dust are within allowable and tolerable differences. Currently, the prices stand as follow for licensed areas:

Gaborone P/ton	Mahalapye P/ ton	Lobatse P/ton	Moshaneng P/ ton	Francistown P/ton	
Crusher Dust	River Sand	Crusher Dust	Crusher Dust	River Sand	C r u s h e r Dust
150-174	142-170	180	190	120-342	164-170

(vi) Mr Speaker, mining rights are administered through my ministry by qualified personnel on issues relating to mining, environment and safety to ensure that there is sustainable mining in the country and protection of people, animals and the environment. However, the suggestion for communities to be delegated to administer this has more cons than pros. We have seen the members in some of these committees now running parallel self-enrichment schemes, as opposed to holding in trust for the community. What needs to happen is for them to administer in a neighbourhood watch kind of dispensation like your community policing and report illegal activities to the police. I thank you Mr Speaker.

**MR LETSHOLO:** Ke a go leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo, ke leboga le Tona. Ke ne ke re gongwe fela ke simolole ka go mo tsibosa gore kgang ya gore dinoka tse di mo Kgaolong ya rona ya gaNgwaketse tota di feletswe ke motlhaba, ke ya bogologolo. Mo nakong ya gompiano dinoka tse di mo kgaolong ya rona di motlhaba o montsintsi, di kgonne go itshetlela morago ga fa a neng a dira ditshekatsheko tsa bone ka ngwaga wa 2014. Gongwe Tona le ba lephata la gago le ye go le baleba sesha, kana gongwe le re tshalosetse gore le ya go le baleba gape leng ka gore seemo se fetogile jaanong, ga e sa tlhole e le sa ngwaga wa 2014?

Fa re tswelala mo kgannyeng ya gore o re ba ba itirisetsang metlhaba kwa malwapeng bone ba ya go ikagela ba a letlelelwa, gongwe o re tshalosetse gore go a letlelelwa gore motlhaba o ba o tseye kwa dinokeng ba o tsamaisa jang ka gore mo nakong ya gompiano fa mapodise ba go bona fela o pegile motlhaba, a ke ka kolo efe, a ke re-ka-go- thusa kana ke eng, ba a go tsaya ba go isa *police* go go tshololela koo; o fiwa *charges* fela tse di fetang dithapo tsa loselo?

Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo, ke kope Tona go re tshalosetsa gore kgang e ya gore jaanong seemo se sa gompiano go simolola ka ngwaga wa 2014 se bo se sugakantse dikgwebopatlana tsa Batswana ba gaNgwaketse ba ba ntseng ba dira mo kgwebong yone e ya motlhaba le go o tsamaisa, yone o e bona jang? Fa ke ka mo fa dipalonyana fela gore sekai; fa re lebelela go simolola gone ka 2014 go fitlhela gompiano mme re bo re tsaya fela dingwaga tse pedi tse di fetileng, o lemoga gore *brick yards* di feta masome mararo di emisitse go dira ka gore ga di kgone go bona motlhaba mme e bile *crusher dust* e Tona a buang ka yone e tura go tura go feta motlhaba; go feta gabedi, gararo



go menagane. Dipalo tse o ntseng o di bua Tona, tla ke go tlhalosetse rraetsho gore ke tse rona re sa di itseng kwa gaNgwaketse. Re itse gore *crusher dust* e o buang ka yone fa gotwe ditlhwatlhwa tsa yone di kwa tlase ke bo P220 *per tonne*, a e leng gore ke madi a mantsi mo e leng gore motho yo o berekang kwa Namola Leuba tota a ne a batla go ikagela go le gonnyennyane, ga a ka ke a kgona gore a goroge kwa go yone.

La bofelo Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo, ke botse Tona gore ka a itse ba ba tsamaisang kgwebo yone ya go tsamaisa metlhaba ba dikoloi, ba kile ba nna le phuthego le nna le ene; *Truckers' Association* mme ba go kwalela Tona, tota fela phetolo ya bone e e tshwanetseng, e e maleba e e tletseng, ba tlaa e bona leng?

La bofelo gongwe o re tlhalosetse gore yone ya *crusher dust* e, a ga gona ka fa Puso e akanyang ka teng gore gongwe e leke go fokotsa manokonoko a ditlhwatlhwa tse mo Batswaneng gore tlhwatlhwa ya teng jaanong e tsamaele gongwe fa go kgonega, selekanyo sa tlhwatlhwa ya *river sand* gore batho le bone ba nne le *incentive* ya gore ba akanye go ka e dirisa? Ke a leboga.

**MR MOAGI:** Ke a leboga Motlotlegi Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente, ke leboge le Motlotlegi Mopalamente, for dipotso tsa gago, di siame e bile di tlaa fa sebaka sa tlhaloso. Ke boammaaruri metlhaba e sale e eme ka 2014 mme sebaka se teng sa gore e re morago ga lebaka le le rileng, go boe go lejwe gape mo dinokeng tseo gore a metlhaba ga e a boela gape gore e tle e tsewe ke ba ba e batlang. A re itseng gore le fa re lebile metlhaba mo go ba ba batlang metlhaba, re lebile le ba bangwe gape ka gore ga re nosi. Re na le ba ba dirisang metsi a a mo dinokeng tse gore le bone ba itshetse e le go siela diphologolo tsa bone kana go siela dimela tsa bone tse ba di jwetseng jaaka e le gore ba bangwe ba nosetsa ka tsone jalo. Jaanong ke sone se go tlhokang tsenelelo le therisanyo e e kwa teng, e e leng gore ga e a leba fela ba ba batlang metlhaba, e lebile le ba bangwe ba ba itshetsang ka yone meamusu eo ya tlhologo gore re kgone go ba sekegela tsebe.

Le fa go ntse jalo, re setse re na le thulaganyo ya gore ba ba tleng ba re thuse ka boitseanape bagarona ba Botswana Geoscience Institute, ba ye go re sekasekela metlhaba e go bona gore o kare fa re isa Tshutiso gore re tle re kgone gore re bulele, e bo e le gore ba lebile mo dinokeng tse di ntseng jang. Fa e le gore re lebile gore *area* ya bo Moshupa-Kanye kana go ya go felela kae, e sekgala se se kae, a ga gona gope fa go ka bulwang teng bogolo gore batho ba kgone gore ba bone motlhaba ka tsela e e ntseng jalo.

Gape re ntse re lebile le tsone ditlhokego tse dingwe tsa ba ba nosang mo dikgaolong tse di ntseng jalo. Ke sone se re se lebileng gore ba re neele *report* ya go nna jalo e e ka supang gore metlhaba mengwe e tlele mo matamong kana mo dinokeng tseo fa re ka bulelang teng. Ke solofela gore thulaganyo eo e bile gape re rotloediwa thata ke gore go buletswe dipuisanyo, o kare mo *quarter* ya ntlha ya 2022, re bo re setse re boetse kwa go lona go bona gore tsela re tsaya efe ya gore a go ka bulwa kana go ka se ke ga bulwa.

Le fa go ntse jalo, ke rata ke rotloetsa thata bagaetsho ka gore, rre o ne a bua ka dikgwebo tse amilweng thata ke sone se. Ke gakologelwa sentle ka nako e re neng re tsene puisanyo nna le botlhe ba ba amegang kwa Kanye kwa Education Centre, re supa jalo gore, a mme re se ka ra leba fela mo go reng kgwebo e ka tswa ka motlhaba o o tswang mo melapong, le rona re iteke ka gore go na le *licences* tse di ntshiwang ke ba *Department of Mines* tse di neng di rotloetsa batho gore fa le bone ba ka ipulela *quarries* mo e leng gore ba ka simolola *targeting* ditiro tsa setšhaba le tsa baikemedi tse di tletseng ka lefatshe tse di tlhokang *aggregate, manufactured sand*, le *crusher dust* gore ba ka ya go di itirela, bogolo jang re lebile mananeo ape a a ntseng a tswa a Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency (CEDA) a go ba adima madi gore ba kgone gore ba dire jalo. Re ne ra dumalana gore *associations* di tshwana le tsa Southern Truck Association, *communities*, Village Development Committee (VDC) le *trusts* tse re neng re lebile teng koo, di ka ikopela tsa dira jalo. Ka maswabi ga re ise re bone *applications* tsa go nna jalo. Ke santse ke rotloetsa gore ke teng kwa re batlang go ya teng ka gore fa go ntse jalo, go na le tsela e ba tlaa bong ba e supile gore ba tlaabo ba dira *mining* jang e e leng gore e ka tlhokomelesega, mme ya se ka ya babalela tikologo, ya se ka ya babalela le ba bangwe ba ba nosang mo melapong eo.

Ke supe jaana gore, kana go tswa gooLowe, e ne e re fa motho a itlela ka keribane kana ka kolotsana ya gagwe ya kwa lwapeng, a tsaya motlhabanyana a ya go oketsa mosasana wa gagwe, o ne a sa kgoreletsege. Jaanong gompiano ga go sa tlhole go na le *distinction* ya gore tota yo o rekisang ke ofe mme yo o batlang go ya kwa lwapeng ke ofe ka gore go raya gore o bonwa letsatsi le letsatsi a ntse a rwala motlhaba oo. Jaanong ke sone se o bonang go na le bothata jwa gore go itse gore mang ke ofe yo o tsayang motlhaba go ya kwa lwapeng kana yo o sa tseyeng motlhaba go ya kwa lwapeng. Mo mafelong a mangwe ga go bokete gore motho fa a tsaya fela e le gore o ya go dira ditiro tsa gagwe tsa kwa lwapeng, go



siame, bothata ke gore batho ga ba dire jalo, ba a rekisa ka tsone dikoloi tse di nyennyane tse re buang ka tsone, a tabola jalo. Ke sone se o bonang se paledisa gore go kana nna le tsepamo sentle ya gore mang yo o rekisang, mang yo o sa rekiseng.

Ke supe gape gore, kana tlhwatlhwa ya se o se rekisang, e laolwa ke gore ditshenyegelo tse o di tsenyang mo teng di kae...

...Silence...

**MR SPEAKER (MR SKELEMANI):** Honourable Minister, we have lost you. We cannot hear you Honourable Minister.

**MR MOAGI:** Ba etla ba ntima *Mr Speaker*. ...*(Laughter!)*... *Thank you Mr Speaker*. Ke ne ke supa ke re, tlhwatlhwa ya se o se rekisang, e tsamaya ka gore ditshenyegelo tse o di tsentseng fa o dira jalo di kae, ka jalo ga e ka ke ya tshwana le ya motlhaba o o fetang o o tsaya mahala mo molapong ka gore one o tlaabo o lebile *petrol* fela gongwe le mokgweetsi, jaanong o kana go ka tswa go na le kgang ya gore o ye go o thuntsha, o o sile gore o tle o nne sentle, ke sone se e leng gore *prices* tsa teng ga di ka ke tsa tshwana. Kana fa o setse o dirile jalo, o tsenya *price* e o itseng gore mme o tlaabo o duetse *costs* tsa gago, le wena o tlaa bona sengwe mo teng. Ke sone se tota ke santseng ke rotloesa ke re, a baikopanyi, *communities*, dikoporase, e nne tsone di emang ka dinao. E re le fa re letetse gore gongwe go ka bulwa, mme *quarries* tse di kanakana tse, di nne teng ka gore ditsela, *buildings*, *infrastructures* di etla tse di tlaa tlhokang *aggregates* le *sands* tse di leng teng.

Ke tshepise Motlotlegi Rre Letsholo gape gore rra, re ne re buisantsa gore e tlaa re morago ga nako e e riling, re kopane gape, ke santse ke batla re kopana ka gore mo gongwe go kwala lekwalo fela le sena tlhaloso, ga go kaone, jaanong go tlaa re e tle e re fela mo ngwageng o o rogwa, re dire thulaganyo eo, mafoko a monate matlho a phage a lebane. Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*.

**MR MAJAGA:** *Supplementary Mr Speaker*. *Thank you and good afternoon all Members*. Re a leboga Honourable Letsholo le Honourable Minister. Kgang e e tona, e batla nako. Ke ne ke re gongwe Tona, ke eng ka gore golo mo go tswa kgakala go ntse go buega gore a VDCs, dikoporase, *trusts*, di *foundations* di kope kwa metseng *to safeguard*, ba e katele metlhaba eo ka gore ba ka kgona botoka go na le *ministries*. Ke eng le sa tswe letsholo lona le le *ministries* ka bodiredi jo bongwe jwa lona la ya go kwadisa batho mo metseng ya bone,

kamoso le kwa Kanye, kamoso le fale, le bo le dira gore le ba thuse? Kana go lebega go na le bothata gone fa, mme ba dikompone bo makgorwane, ba a dira ba isa kwa *consultants*, ba fiwa *those licences*, mme batho ba rona bone ba palelwa. Ke eng le sa thuse *Minister*? Ke a kopa.

**MR MOAGI:** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*, ke a leboga Honourable Majaga. Honourable Majaga, nte re farologanye dikgang tse di fa tse, kana e ka re VDCs, *communities* le tse o ntseng o di bolela, o kare di batla *licence* nngwe ya gore gotwe tsamayang le ye go tlhokomela matlotlo a lona, *licence* e tla kwa *Department of Mines*, nnyaa ga e nne jalo. *Communities as we speak now, they are free to administer and monitor* matlotlo a tsone go sena *licence* epe e di a tshotseng. Fela jaaka ba dira *community policing*, fa mongwe a dira se, ba ema ka dinao, fa e ne e le leroo, ba a lebelelana, ga ba tlhoke gore ba ye go kopa *permit* ya go lebelela leroo le tshenyo ya lone kwa *Ministry of Agriculture*. So ke sone se ke reng, *in that space, they are free* gore ba ikopanye le *community*. Fa ba bona e le gore *there are illegal miners* ba ba dirang jalo, *then* ke go tsaya *information* e ba e bonang ba tsaya dinepe ba bo ba isa kwa *police*. *The police are the ones responsible* gore ba bone *how they deal* jang le *those suspected illegal miners*. Rona se re se ba rotloetsang, se re batlang go ba thusa ka sone mme ba ise ba se dire, ke gore fa go na le gore ba ka ya go ikopela sepe, a ba tlise *application as a community* gore ba tle ba kgone *to administer* golo foo. *Those applications* re di emetse. Ke tsone tse ke reng fa di tla, rona re tlaa ba thusa, *in as much as* gompieno ba ntse ba kopa gore ba ye go katolola matamo a bone. Fa re sena go nna re ba neela ditesi tso tsa go katolola matamo, *to desilt those dams*, nnyaa, kante *desilting* e e neng e bolelwa ga e dirwe jaanong, go tsewa motlhaba. O bona gore go ntse jang? So, tota *communities are free to do that*, rona re emetse go ba thusa, mme bone ga ba ithuse. Ke a leboga.

#### PRONOUNCEMENT ALLOWING CHANGE OF 50% OF ONE'S PLOUGHING FIELD TO COMMERCIAL

**MR O. RAMOGAPI (PALAPYE):** asked the Minister of Land Management, Water and Sanitation Services to apprise this Honourable House on the pronouncement allowing change of 50% of one's ploughing field to commercial, stating the following:

- (i) if there is any policy or guidelines in the ministry or at land boards;



- (ii) if he is aware that the Ngwato Land Board and Councils (Planning Department) are unable to support His Excellency the President's vision in converting some ploughing fields to commercial or civic and community plots due to claims that there is lack of guidelines or policy; and
- (iii) how land owners who intend to convert part of their ploughing fields will be assisted.

**MINISTER OF LAND MANAGEMENT, WATER AND SANITATION SERVICES (MR MZWINILA):**

Good afternoon.

- (i) Mr Speaker, following the pronouncement to allow for use of 50 per cent ploughing fields to mixed use and which its definition is clearly defined in paragraph 2.10.1.1 of the Development Control Code of 2013 as 'diverse but compatible uses into a single development'; my ministry went on to propose amendments on the Botswana Land Policy of 2015; The Development Control Code of 2013, Integrated Agricultural Farming Guidelines, Agro Tourism Guidelines, Tourist Related Accommodation Guidelines, as well as Revocation of Government Notice No 77 of 2001. These were approved through Presidential Directive CAB 14(A) of 2019. This culminated into the preparation of Guidelines on Agricultural Land Use which was first communicated to all stakeholders including land boards and councils through savingram referenced MLWS 6/6/12 IV (30) from the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Land Management, Water and Sanitation Services. The Guidelines were further revised a year later in October 2020 and officials of land boards and councils who are the implementers were duly consulted. The first savingram was in 2019, and the second one as an amendment, went out in 2020.
  - (ii) Mr Speaker, my ministry has continuously liaised with the relevant offices for an update on applications for ploughing fields and specifically as at September 2021, the Central District reported that in 2020 they received nine such applications, of which six were outright approved, and three were deferred with guidance given to the applicant. In 2021 so far, the district has received 24 applications, of which 15 have been approved while eight were deferred for the applicants to address the deferral matters. One application was rejected as it did not conform to the set guidelines.
- Among other things, some of the deferral reasons include:
- (a) the proposed change of land use contravenes the Development Control Code or
  - (b) the proposed change of land use contravenes the Savingram which changed the Development Control Code.
- (iii) Mr Speaker, on the part of assisting those who intend converting their ploughing fields, my ministry together with the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, duly represented by councils, shall continue to educate the public on what is possible and what may not be acceptable. The Honourable House should understand that in as much as we facilitate for the usage of ploughing fields, regard is made to all other considerations. It is in the best interest of the country to uphold the rule of law, as well as not eventually create anarchy. My ministry's vision is to attain sustainable human settlements, resonating with the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) Number 11, that of attaining sustainable cities and communities which are inclusive, resilient, safe and sustainable. I thank you Mr Speaker.

**MR RAMOGAPI: Supplementary.** Tona, ke a leboga rraetsho, go bo o re araba ka tsela e e ntseng jalo. Selo sa ntlha Tona, o kare go na le kganetsano mo go se o se buang le se se diragalang mo *field*. *Are you aware* gore kwa Palapye Sub-land board, fa batho ba re ba kopa go fetola masimo gore e nne kgwebo, ba a gana? O supa fa e le gore nnyaa, mme *guidelines* le *Savingrams* di teng.

Sa bobedi, dijarata tse di fa gare ga motse, la reng ka tsone ka gore kana ke ne ke tsaya gore jaaka Tautona a ne a bua jaana, ke selo se se ka bong se setse se sa bolo go diragala e bile ka bofefo, mme gompieno fa batho ba re ba a fetola, ba bewa fa le fa. Go bo gotwe kgang yone e o e buang e o re a motho, *development* ya gagwe e tsamaela le bo *Development Control Code* *what what*, mme kana Tautona e rile fa a bua, o rile, bagaetsho, mongwe le mongwe yo o nang le tshimo, fa a batla go fetola, o a fetola. Mongwe le mongwe yo o nang le lefatshe, fa a batla go fetola, o a fetola. A mme tota le ntse le mo go yone ka gore jaanong go na le *some barrier lines or impediments* tse di kganelang Batswana go fetola jaaka re ne re solofetse? Ke a leboga *Honourable Minister*. Thank you Mr Speaker.



**MR MZWINILA:** Ke a leboga Motlotlegi Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente. Se ke se itseng ke gore *land boards* tsotlhe di tlhaloganya tsamaiso e ke ntseng ke e tlhalosa, e bile ke ne ka bua dipalo tsa gore kwa *Central District*, dipalo di tsamaya fa kae. Dipalo tsa teng di supa gore ka nnete ba dira *change of land use*. Jaanong fa e le gore ba Palapye Sub-land board ga ba dire, ga ke itse fa go ntse jalo, ka gore ke itse *land boards* tsotlhe jaaka ke begile, ba tlhaloganya gore go dirwa jang. Ke tlaa ba lekola, ke tlhola gore a mme ba dira *change of land use* gape ba dira tse kae kana ba dirile tse kae mo ngwageng one o.

Potso ya bobedi e ne e bua ka dijarata tse di fa gare ga motse. Ke tseela gore potso e ne e sa bue ka dijarata tse di fa gare ga motse, mme legale ke ka tla ka e araba. Se re neng ra tsaya tshwetso ka sone ke gore, fa o na le jarata fa gare ga motse, go nne motlhofo gore o e fetole e nne ofisi kana *guest house*. Ke sone se ke tlhalosang gore re ne ra fetola melawana ya rona, e e tsamaisang dithulaganyo tsa go fetola tsamaiso kana merero ya lefatshe. Go raya gore fa o na le jarata fa gare ga motse, fa e le gore baagisanyi ba gago ba a dumalana, le fa e le gore se o se dirang se tsamaelana le tikologo e o mo go yone, re a letlelela gore o fetole tsamaiso ya teng kana ditirelo tsa teng gore o tswe mo *residential* go nne *mixed use*, mo e ka tlang ya nna ofisi kana *guest house*. Ke tsaya gore ke ditsamaiso tse di dirwang mo sebakeng sa gompieno. Ke a leboga Motlotlegi Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente.

#### SHORTAGE OF PSYCHOLOGISTS AT CENTRAL REGION

**MR K. NKAWANA (SELEBI PHIKWE EAST):** asked the Minister of Basic Education if he is aware that there is a shortage of Psychologists who assess children with special needs in the Central Region; and if so, to state the number of Psychologists who service the Selebi Phikwe constituents.

**ASSISTANT MINISTER OF BASIC EDUCATION (MS MAKWINJA):** Mr Speaker, I am aware that there is a shortage of Psychologists who assess children with special needs in the Central Region, and indeed across the country. The Ministry of Basic Education has three Educational Psychologists, one based in Francistown, one in Tlokweng and one in Kanye who render psycho-educational assessments across the country. It is a tall order Mr Speaker, because we have a population of just over 500 000 of school going children.

Mr Speaker, decentralisation of these services remains a priority for the ministry. The Central Region has a Case Coordinator whose role is to screen and identify learners that require diagnostic assessment, including in Selebi Phikwe. This year, a local service provider from the private sector was engaged through the support of the office coordinating people with disabilities under the Office of the President to address the backlog in the Central region. As a result of this intervention, 310 out of 910 learners were assessed. The remaining 600 learners will be assessed Mr Speaker, as and when funds become available and we are also looking at more outsourcing of these services because we really have shortage of skilled manpower in the area.

Mr Speaker, my ministry has prioritised the training of officers in the field of Education Psychology to help address the shortage. Currently, the ministry has five officers pursuing Master's Degree in psychology which is critical for diagnostics and assessment. They are due to complete their studies in 2022. My ministry will continue prioritising the training of Education Psychologists to ensure that learners are assessed on time. I thank you.

**MR NKAWANA: Supplementary.** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Tona, mma ke go lebogetse dikarabo tse o di mphileng. A mme ga o lemoge gore jaaka o bua ka ba ba 600, ba ba tlhokanang le *to be assessed*, seemo se se ntseng jalo, se ba ama go le kae go tswelela mo dithutong tsa bone? A ga o lemoge gore ngwana o simolola a latlhelwa ka sebaka sone seo, ka gore go lebege go ka nna ga tsaya dingwaga gore a bo 600 yo o leng teng *has to be assessed*, mme ngwaga le ngwaga go nna go tsena ba bangwe?

Potso e nngwe ke gore ga o nke o akanya *Minister*, gore gongwe le leke *to outsource* ka gore barutegi ba mofuta oo, ba bantsi mo seterateng, ba ne ba ka dira tiro e gore e fefoge? Ke a leboga.

**MS MAKWINJA:** Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Ke a leboga *Honourable Nkawana*. O bua boammaaruri rra. Jaaka ke go bolelela gore *right now, only three qualified* ba re nang le bone. Re na le bana ba le bantsi, *over half a million*, bana ba ba tsenang dikole *and naturally* mo mafatsheng a a tlhabogileng, ngwana mongwe le mongwe fa a simolola sekole, o tshwanetse a bo a le *assessed*, mme o ka bona gore re na le mathata a a kae. Ke jaaka ke bua gore go botlhokwa gore re tswelere re *train*, mme jaaka o bua, re simolotse go bona bone ba ba mo *market* ba re ka ba neelang gore ba re thuse.



Gape tota ke gone mo e leng gore *maybe going forward* ka gore *to train batho is going to take a long time*, go tlaa re e nne nngwe ya ditiro tse re ka bonang tota gore *we outsource*. Kgankgolo Rre Nkawana ke one madi, mme re tshwanetse *to prioritise this assessment*, ka gore *failing which we will not be able to attain our Education and Training Sector Strategic Plan (ETSSP) mandate*. Ke a leboga.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Supplementary.

**MR SPEAKER:** We are out of time.

### QUESTION WITHOUT NOTICE

#### ACUTE SHORTAGE OF CONDOMS AND HIV TESTING KITS.

**MR D. L. KEORAPETSE (SELEBI PHIKWE WEST):** asked the Minister of Health and Wellness to confirm the veracity of disturbing and gravely worrying information that there is acute shortage of condoms and HIV test kits in the country; the Minister should state and explain:

- (i) the extent of the shortage of the prevention materials and test kits, when the shortage was first experienced and if it's still there;
- (ii) whether the test kits include both rapid and lab;
- (iii) causes and possible effects of the shortage; and

how he intends to address the problem, to give timelines and how he will prevent recurrence.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Keorapetse.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** *Mr Speaker*, Tona a re ga ba ise ba ipaakanyetse go araba potso e, gongwe ba tlaabo ba ipaakantse mo go la kamoso. *So later date Mr Speaker.*

**Later Date.**

### RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

#### Motion

#### (Resumed Debate)

**MR SPEAKER:** The debate on this Motion is resuming. When the House adjourned yesterday, Honourable Autlwetse was on the floor and was left with four minutes.

**ASSISTANT MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT (MR AUTLWETSE):** *Thank you Mr Speaker and*

*good afternoon.* Motlotlegi Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente, ke boammaaruri ke letse ke eme ke santse ke dira tshedimosetso mo go se *Honourable Nkawana* a neng a nkopile gore ke se mo tlhalosetse. Ke ne ka mo kopa gore a ntetlelele gore ke kgarametse se ke neng ke se bua, e tlaa re kwa morago ke tlaa mo reetsa. Ke ne ke santse ke mo tlhalosetsa jalo gore, mephato ya rona ya itshireletso ga e a ema golo go le gongwefela, ka gore se se neng se diragala mo dingwageng tse di fetileng, seemo se fetogile ga se a nna jalo. Ka jalo, maphata a rona a batlhotlhomisi a tshwanelwa ke gore le one a itepatepanye le seemo ka fa se ntseng ka teng, gore ba tle ba kgone go fokotsa borukutlhi jo morafe o kuang ka jone, dikgang tse di masisi tse di tsenang kwa diofising tsa bone; di tshwana le tsa dithubetso le *corruption*. Ka jalo, makgotla otlhe a rona a a tlhotlhomisang jaaka Police, Criminal Investigation Department (CID), Special Branch, Directorate of Intelligence and Security (DIS), Directorate of Public Prosecutions (DPP) ...

**MS MONNAKGOTLA:** *Clarification.* Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker.* Motlotlegi Autlwetse, o letse a e tshwere sentle maabane ka e bile o ne a bua ka borukutlhi jo bontsi, a bua ka DIS ka fa e berekang ka teng, a bua ka DIS ya gompiano le ya nako ele. Tota kgang e ke santseng ke batla go e mmotsa ke gore, motlotlegi a wa re DIS ya nako ele le ya gompiano ga di tshwane? Tota e bile o buile gore DIS ya gompiano ga e ntshe batho mo ditirong. Ke botsa jaana ka gore, re ne ra bona motsadi wa rona Rre Lekaukau a ntshiwa mo tirong...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O batla bo Tona ka ditsela tsotlhe.

**MS MONNAKGOTLA:** ...o ne o bua gore ya gompiano ga e dire jalo. Ke batla gore o ntlhatswetse mafoko a o neng o a bua motlotlegi. Ke a leboga.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ga o ka ke wa bo bona bo Tona, Lesaso o fodile.

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

**MR AUTLWETSE:** *Mr Speaker*, ke boammaaruri, ke dumela ke re se Motlotlegi Monnakgotla a se buang se tsamaelana le tlhaloso e ke ntseng ke e dira gore, DIS ya letsatsi leno e farologana ka dintlha dingwe le DIS ya nako ele, ka gore ditiragalo dingwe tse di diragalang gompiano...

**MR MOSWAANE:** *Procedure.* *Mr Speaker*, o tlaa mpaakanyetsa mongwame. *I was a bit worried* gore motho yo o kopileng *clarification* a ba a fa a *false statement* a re DIS e kobile Rre Lekaukau. A o ka ntsha bosupi mo Palamenteng jwa gore e mo kobile? *I think she is unfair to this Parliament*, go fa *information* e e *untruthful*. *Thank you.*



**MR SPEAKER:** Unfortunately, we do not have access to her.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** So she can just lie.

**MR SPEAKER:** I know nothing about the lying.

**MR AUTLWETSE:** *Mr Speaker*, go ntse jalo. Ke gore fa gongwe re lebala ka bofefe, rre yo a buang ka ene; Moses Lekaukau, lekwalo le le neng le mo ntsha mo tirong le isitswe ke Director General wa DIS...

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

**MR AUTLWETSE:** ...a mo raya a re jaaka fa ke eme fa jaana, e re fa ke tswa fa o bo dule mo ofising. Seo se ne se se molato, ke ka fa a neng a dira jaana a le mo tirong...

**MR MMOLOTSI:** *Order. Mr Speaker*, kana golo fa go buiwa ka Rre Lekaukau *who is not in the House, and who is even late*. Ga re itse gore tsholofelo ke gore o ka ikarabela ka tsela e e ntseng jang. Se ke se bonang ke go utlwiswa ba masika a ga Rre Lekaukau botlhoko ...*(Interruptions)...* *evidence* e Rre Autlwetse a buang ka yone ya dikwalo tse a reng di ne di kwadilwe. Rre Autlwetse le Mme Monnakgotla *are out of order Mr Speaker*, a ko ba tsenngwe mo tseleng. Re a tlhaloganya gore Mma Monnakgotla o batla bo Tona.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** E ne e le *uncle* wa me, gongwe e bile ga o itse.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Mmolotsi, fortunately none of the members are saying anything bad about Lekaukau, absolutely nothing.

**MR MMOLOTSI:** Ba re o kobilwe.

**MR SPEAKER:** In fact, they are saying he was wronged, and he does not have to answer nor his family has to answer for anything being said. *O bona pharologanyo?*

**MR MMOLOTSI:** Nnyaa, mathata ke gore gakere Lekaukau...

**MR SPEAKER:** ...*(Inaudible)*... le fa a ne a le teng.

**MR MMOLOTSI:** Gongwe o ne a tlaa re ga a kojwa, *he volunteered to go*.

**MR SPEAKER:** ...*(Inaudible)*... o Motswana...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Wynter Mmolotsi, a ko o itshware.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Nnyaa, batho ba isitswe *court go sena court order*. La re DIS ya gompiano e siame fa kae?

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Autlwetse, you have 33 seconds.

**MR AUTLWETSE:** *Mr Speaker*, se ke neng ke se tlhalosa ke sone seo gore, DIS ya nako ele ba ne ba dira tiro ya bone ka fa seemo se neng se ba letla gore ba e dire ka teng. Ba gompiano le bone fela jalo, ba dira tiro ka fa seemo sa nako eno se ba letlang gore ba e dire ka teng...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ba isa motho kgolegolong ba sena *court order*.

**MR AUTLWETSE:** ...borukuthi ga bo tshwane, ga se gore fa motho a bonwa a dira borukuthi, a gatelela dikgomo a di tlovisa molelwane, go bo go simolola go *kopiwa (apply)* gotwe go batliwa *Court Order*. O a tshwarwa gone foo tse dingwe di tlaa...

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

**MR AUTLWETSE:** *Mr Speaker*, ke kopa *Honourable Moswaane* a leke go reetsa. Ga ke itse gore o mo go afe letsatsi leno e le moruti a beile sekopelo. *Mr Speaker*, a ke neng ke rata go a bua ke one ao gore, ga re ka ke ra...

**MR SPEAKER:** Your time is up Honourable Member, your time is up.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Le bo le fela.

**MR AUTLWETSE:** *Thank you Mr Speaker*. Ba njetse nako ka dilo tse di sa tlhokafaleng, ke Wynter le Moswaane.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Gatwe le fedile nkgonne leinane la teng?

**MR AUTLWETSE:** O a ineelela.

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

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Leinane ga le tlhabiwe motshegare, o tlaa timela.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O a itse le ene *Honourable Autlwetse*.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O ka bo a sa *debate*.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Le fedile?



**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Wena Wynter, o tlwaela Autlwtsetse.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Motsamai, I do not see any hand from your side.

**MR MOTSAMAI:** *You do not have to see the hand, ke go neetse list Mr Speaker, go tsena Kekgonegile, Keorapetse le ene o teng. Le nna ke ka nna ka ipoeletsa ga gore sepe fela. Kgaolo ya me e...*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O a lwala.

**MR MOTSAMAI:** Kgalemela Molale *Mr Speaker*, a se ka a re ke a lwala.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** *Mr Speaker*, ke ne ke dumalane le *Honourable Kekgonegile* gore ke tlaa tsena pele.

**MR SPEAKER:** Ee, tsena.

**MR KEORAPETSE (SELEBI PHIKWE WEST):** Thank you Mr Speaker. I thank the Almighty God for this day. I greet you all Honourable Members in the wonderful name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. It has been two years since COVID-19 engulfed us and killed many of our people and left many in dire health and socio-economic state. Like many Batswana, I have lost two good friends to COVID-19, friends who were my brothers, just born to different families. May the souls of Oteng "OT" Motshewa and Joel Malebang rest in eternal peace. May all Batswana who succumbed to COVID-19 and other conditions in the last year rest in peace and may the God Almighty comfort their families. To borrow from Franklin D. Roosevelt's words in his Day of Infamy Speech, I have no doubt that with the grace of God, Batswana in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory against the Coronavirus enemy. I find solace in Psalm 107:21-22 and paraphrase that; "let us give thanks to the Lord for his unfailing love, and his wonderful deeds for our nation. Let us sacrifice thank offerings and tell of his works with songs of joy". In Thessalonians 5:16-18 the Bible tells us to "rejoice always, pray continually, give thanks in all circumstances; for this is God's will for us in Christ Jesus."

Mr Speaker, this is the fourth State of the Nation Address (SONA) by President Mokgweetsi E. K. Masisi and it is not fundamentally different from the last three. SONA ought to be an annual critical self-appraisal by the President. The President should focus on important

issues facing this Republic and provide a comprehensive or systematic, time bound and realistic ideas on dealing with country's problems including suggestions for repeal or amendment or enactment of legislation and public policy reform or formulation. However, like the past three Addresses, President Masisi has been on a self-praise mode and even playing fast and loose with the facts. The President has for four times in this House failed a simple accountability test required of him. He has never implicitly or explicitly accepted responsibility for his actions. He has never fully accounted for his results and seldom takes ownership of his mistakes.

Since he ascended to the high Office of President (OP), he has through his pronouncement and actions behaved like a sophist who tries to pull the wool over our eyes. He has presented statements and argument that look plausible on the surface, but fallacious underneath. President Masisi with his administration, has behaved like a con artist who deceives you into believing that he is very much on your side. Often, he would pose as a caring President who has your best interests at heart. He has conned Batswana into believing that he is giving them a great deal when he was busy arranging everything so that he either ends up with a much better deal himself, his party, his cronies and or friends and he continuously attempts to scam Batswana out of their votes and good will. In the 2021 SONA, the sophist sure has spewed forth phony arguments! I would not trust another word he says, neither should any Batswana. Our country was completely duped by the slick-talking pretender who breezed into our politics, claimed to be a problem-solver of note, and sold us his quack socio-economic remedies. We did not realise he was a mountebank of the first order until after he was in office and we found his cure-alls were a complete fake. The President reminds me of a character in Charles Dickens' novel, *Oliver Twist*, the Artful Dodger, for he artfully dodges accountability and unceasingly promises miracles. Fortunately, the veil is being lifted from our eyes and many Batswana realise that this first citizen was intentionally trying to deceive us with his verbal gymnastics from day one. The Leader of the Opposition has coherently and persuasively articulated the false promises by the President in his response.

We have decided as the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC), in the exercise of our Constitutional mandate to hold the President and his Government accountable, to be devastatingly candid. We have been, are and will be neither circumspect nor circuitous in saying the truth.



Like Colin Quinn said, we have observed that a lot of lip service gets paid to being honest in the ruling party, but no one really wants to hear it unless what is being said is in the party line. Ezra Klein in *Why We are Polarised* says, the key idea pursued against the opposition by the ruling party here is “negative partisanship,” partisan behavior driven not by positive feelings toward the party one support but negative feelings toward the party one oppose. Like Malcom X pointed, the UDC will not be so blind with patriotism that it cannot face reality. Wrong is wrong, no matter who does it or says it. That is why we would not hesitate to hold the President accountable even in a Kgotla meeting. That is why we have from day one spoke out against the Directorate of Intelligence and Security (DIS) roguish attitude.

We have said and it is worth repeating that the President's relationship with truth is becoming more disturbing and dangerous. He seeks to expeditiously push us into a post-truth era, circumstances where the truth is no longer essential or has become obsolete. Botswana now is in state where objective facts are less persuasive in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief. A whole Government department, without flinching, can tell a lie so big that it requires an absolute readjustment of factual texture, a shift to another realism. It is very sad that many in the high echelons of power in this administration suffer from what George Orwell in his 1984 novel called “double think,” a self-deception to see something, but believe against it. Many see and know that we have taken a wrong turn as a country, but nevertheless choose to follow this road to nowhere.

## TRUE STATE OF THE NATION

### COVID-19 Devastation

There is no doubt that COVID-19 has not only led to loss of lives of thousands of Batswana and left many families in anguish and sorrow. Many Batswana now live with chronic conditions as a result of COVID-19 and some suffer from what is called long-COVID syndrome. The disease has also left the economy in a bad state. Many people lost their businesses, jobs and livelihoods. For those that are still employed, many are only receiving a portion of their salaries because of slow recovery of businesses. Some unprincipled employers have taken advantage of COVID-19 and have engaged in abuse of workers' rights. Failure to build a strong diversified economy that is integrated at a domestic level and self-sufficient in many sectors led to the devastation we

experienced as a country. The economy was left fragile and unable to withstand external shocks like the effects of COVID-19 on diamond sales and tourism among others. Many Batswana have experienced financial hardship directly and indirectly due to the Coronavirus pandemic and struggled to make furniture, cars and mortgage payments and sought payment relief from banks and other creditors during the difficult period of COVID-19 pandemic.

Mr Speaker, we have noted that some banks have extended COVID-19 hardship loan forbearance for some months. However, as I have indicated before asking Ministers' Question to Minister Serame, the deferrals due to the COVID-19 pandemic have lapsed or expired and the disheartening fact to note is that Government has not provided any form of financial assistance or legal support to make sure that at least Batswana remain in their homes and/or avoid foreclosures post COVID-19 emergency.

### COVID-19 Mismanagement, Corruption, Unethical Conduct

When the State of Public Emergency was declared by His Excellency the President, we protested as the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) and predicted an unprecedented bonanza for the affluent, well-connected through dubious dealings of chicanery and on the other hand gnashing of teeth for ordinary people. We have been vindicated by the report of the Auditor General and other observers. The report by the Auditor General paints a bad picture of poor preparation as well numerous incidents of repeated financial abuses costing millions. It would appear that nothing was learnt from management of HIV/AIDS in the past in how COVID-19 was managed by this Government. The report shows that Ministry of Health and Wellness was hit with a P58.9 million bill for quarantine accommodation by hotels and others, despite an unofficial pledge that the services would be provided as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). No formal agreement according to the Auditor General for the ‘charity’ existed! Two companies, Mileage Group and Pula Rich Investments were paid a total of P80 million through direct procurement for testing kits and Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) but failed to deliver the full supply. The audit could not find evidence for approval of this particular direct procurement. According to Auditor General, at least P24 million in ‘in-kind’



donations by various organisations could not be verified. A Call-center software was procured for P638 479 but the centre was later abandoned without documentary evidence providing reasons.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Matlhotlhapeló!

**MR KEORAPETSE:** A part payment of P437 236 was made for the software but the centre was dumped and never used. No records exist for why payments amounting to P343 200 were made to several companies. Remuneration within the Presidential COVID-19 Task Force was described by the Auditor General a messy affair. A foreign professional in the country on a visit was engaged to the Task Team and paid P1,800 daily allowance, although no record of payment exists.

Procurement during the audit period was found to be problematic. Procurement of PPEs and medical commodities was not done at market rates and not in compliance with emergency procurement processes. There were delays in the delivery of PPEs, which materially impacted on the quality and value for money of the services or products delivered. Similarly, there were weaknesses in the effectiveness of the internal controls in the exercise of oversight to ensure performance of financial accountability by inadequate planning, and coordination of responsible personnel. The Auditor General established general irregular spending, which could result in negative consequences. The covidpreneurs who became overnight millionaires benefited despite acute shortage of normal and high care bed capacity in private and public health facilities, lack of oxygen and ventilators, scarcity of ambulances, inadequate PPEs and lack of key ingredients to fight COVID-19 such as vaccines. This has resulted in thousands of Batswana succumbing to COVID-19, especially in the month of June and July. President M.E.K. Masisi and his administration's clumsy management of the pandemic should be blamed as the cause of many deaths of our people. The President must be held individually responsible for the COVID-19 deaths for he has failed to plan for just under three million people, including failure to timely secure enough vaccines to reach herd immunity.

#### **A Jealous System of Government**

One of the biggest impediments against prosperity for all in our country is that we are a small population where everybody knows everybody. Whilst in other small populations like Dubai or Mauritius, this has

been a big advantage, this has sadly, somewhat become our Achilles heel. The whole Government system has assumed a disturbing and evil characteristic. It is a system which has taken the character of its leadership. It is a system which wants to know whose son or daughter are you or which political party you are affiliated to, your father's surname or the tribe you come from. It has been, and continues to be a system that rewards foreigners over citizens. The natives, Batswana *ba sekei*, have become a sorry bunch of spectators at the dinner table. This is evident in the way we allocate land and how we award tenders. Ours is a system which is innately jealous like its leadership. It is a system which shuns extraordinary talent, exceptionality and hard work. It promotes mediocrity and *bolope* or party affiliations only. And it is a system that has inertia for change. It is a system which socialises its people to hate each other, to pull each other down. It is a system that teaches its people to bury each other's sunshine. It teaches our people to block each other's prospects and celebrate another man's misfortune. That is the main reason why Batswana are poor while foreigners and naturalised citizens have become wealthy and prosperous. This is in contrast with say Dubai, where Emiratis are wealthier than foreigners. An average foreigner you see in Emirates is a worker; migrant worker. In Botswana, public offices are distributed as patronage to reward party and leadership loyalists, relatives, boyfriends and girlfriends, *dinyatsi* and sycophants. It is so sad Mr Speaker, that some of our public institutions will never progress because other considerations take precedence over merit in appointments. Unfortunately, many of most of our extraordinary talent has decided to relocate and explore other opportunities where they continue to prosper in full glare of the sorry posture of the local leadership, while the world continues to embrace them handsomely.

#### **Regressing Democracy, Capture of the Judiciary and Roguish Directorate of Intelligence and Security (DIS)**

According to the recent Economic Intelligence Report, full democracy score was attained only by the island of Mauritius in Sub-Saharan Africa...

#### **MINISTER OF YOUTH EMPOWERMENT, SPORT AND CULTURE DEVELOPMENT (MR RAKGARE):** *On a point of procedure Mr Speaker.*

*Thank you very much Mr Speaker. Kana re reeditse motlotlegi mme go maleba gore o ka supa tse a di supang ka tšhakgalo. Ga ke dumele gore go tlhamaletse*



*Mr Speaker, gore re bue fela loosely and say batho ba reward masika le ba bangwe ba ba gaufi le bone. Lefoko le lengwe le because ke lefoko le e seng lone ka fa Setswaneng, ga se le ke ka le dirisang. Jaanong ke batla guidance ya gago gore a mme go mo tsamaisong? These accusations that the Honourable Member on the floor is making ke gore a di substantiate gore mme kana e bile dikai ke gore kwa boketeketete le boketeketete... Otherwise, go bua fela jaana, go raya gore anybody can come to Parliament and say anything about anybody. Ke kopa thuso eo ka gore ga ke dumele gore ke gone ka fa Motlotlegi Mopalamente wa Selebi Phikwe West a tsamayang ka teng. Golo mo a go dirang ke gore jaanong a bo a tsenya dikgang mo baeteledipeleng ba Puso tse e leng gore gotlhelele ga re itse fa di le teng, e bile gape...*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O lebetse gore o ne o reng, o ne o bua fela jaana.

**MR RAKGARE:** A ko o iketle pele Ramogapi. Iketle fela pele.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O a debate?

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Minister, I think what you are entitled to is to ask the Honourable Member on the floor whether he has evidence, because your objection assumes that there is no evidence and if there is, what would be the basis of your objection? That is not right... (Interruption)... wrong things being done.

You are entitled to ask Honourable Keorapetse for evidence and then if he cannot produce then you are entitled to say in your view, it means your position, he should withdraw. *Re mmogo?* I cannot intervene and tell the Honourable Member that I do not like his allegations when I have no basis to think that he is wrong.

**MR RAKGARE:** Further procedure Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** Yes.

**MR RAKGARE:** *Mr Speaker, that is exactly what I am saying, maybe you needed the word evidence, but what I am saying is, the Honourable Member holding the floor cannot come to Parliament and say, "go tlhamaletse people were rewarding ba ba gaufi le bone, girlfriends tsa bone kana ba ba gaufi le bone ka tsela e e rileng. Ditsala and masika were rewarded. Mme a bo a sa kgone go supa gore golo mo a go buang mo, o bua ka ga eng, that is exactly what I am saying Mr Speaker, otherwise ...*

**MR SPEAKER:** *Honourable Member you cannot say that, you cannot say fa a sa kgone go dira, a sa kgone a boditswe ke mang?*

**MR RAKGARE:** He is a legislator Mr Speaker...

**MR SPEAKER:** A boditswe ke mang?

**MR RAKGARE:** *Ga re mo patlelong Mr Speaker, this is Parliament, we do not expect ...(inaudible)... a bo a tla go bua ...*

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Rakgare! Honourable Rakgare! If you do not want to ask questions please hold your horses. There is a procedure, if you want to intervene and ask questions you are entitled to do that. You cannot assume that the Member who is holding the floor must speak the way you like. I told you that you are entitled to ask the Member on the floor for evidence, but do not assume ...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** *...(Inaudible)... go bo go tswalelwa jalo?*

**MR SPEAKER:** *A boditswe ke mang? Suppose ba teng, you are assuming that ga ba yo, what is your basis for assuming gore ga ba yo?*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Further procedure Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** No, there is enough of these procedures. I have indicated Honourable Rakgare how he can proceed if he has got any objection. If he does not take that floor, then that rules. Honourable Keorapetse proceed.

**MR RAKGARE:** I wish to take it Mr Speaker. I wish to take and...

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Thank you Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, in respect of the categories of the people that I say benefit from our general crooked system, the only one which I cannot produce evidence for is in respect to paramours, because as a Member of Parliament I do get reports and these are in confidence, but in terms of the category of other people the evidence can be produced. I hope I am clear.

On regressing democracy capture of the Judiciary and Roguish The DIS. Mr Speaker...

**MINISTER OF YOUTH EMPOWERMENT, SPORT AND CULTURE DEVELOPMENT (MR RAKGARE):** *Point of order. Mr Speaker I challenge Honourable Keorapetse gore a ntshe bosupi jwa se a*



buang ka sone, se a reng o ka tliša bosupi fa pele ga Palamente ka sone. *He must produce that evidence* re tle re kgone go tšwelela pele sentle. *We cannot come to Parliament* ka *hearsays* re sa kgone re le Mapalamente gotwe re batlotlegi, go supa gore se ke buang ka sone bosupi ke jo. Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O tliše go re lapisa waitse.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Wa re a ntshe eng?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ga a re lapise ka gore la re bomme *for them to be promoted* ke fa e le gore ke *girlfriend*.

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

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Lelope le le a re lapisa bathong ba Modimo.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Nnyaa ga a re lapise.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** ...(Inaudible)... ba Mogoditshane ba dirile phoso.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** E-e le batla go senya bomme maina.

**MR SPEAKER:** Mma Monnakgotla, who gave you the floor?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Mo kobe *Mr Speaker*.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Lona ntlha ga nke le kobiwa, ga ba nke ba kobiwa bo Gobotswang, bo Moswaane.

**MR SPEAKER:** Wena o tšwa kae jaanong, o tšwa kae? *Honourable Keorapetse*...

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Yes Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, in terms of the system rewarding party loyalists, friends, relatives, that evidence I can produce, not now, but I can produce it. With respect to paramours, I am saying, I have received reports in confidence as a Member of Parliament and the reports can get people into trouble. That is why with that respect I cannot produce evidence regarding paramours.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Keorapetse, Honourable Rakgare says can you produce the evidence which you say is available. That is what he is asking for. Where is the evidence?

**MR KEORAPETSE:** I do not know Mr Speaker if he wants me to name names of party loyalists who have been rewarded by the system...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Keorapetse *ke* Chief of staff *wa* Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) kante wena fa o ntse o dikologa jaana. Chief of staff!

**MR KEORAPETSE:** There are so many examples Ramogapi, just wait. There are so many examples, I am saying for relatives and party loyalists rewarded by the system we can produce evidence, even the names if he want, but such people I believe because they are not here to defend themselves it would not be appropriate. If you want the evidence we can give it, but I am saying with respect to paramours evidence, I cannot avail it because of the obvious reason.

**MR SPEAKER:** I heard you.

**LEADER OF THE HOUSE (MR TSOGWANE):** *Point of order. It is a further point of order* mo go e e setseng e kopilwe ke Motlotlegi Tona. Kana ntlha e e na le ntlha tse pedi tse re batlang bosupi mo go tsone. Selo santlha go buiwa ka badirelapuso, ba eleng gore le bone ga ba ka ke ba tla go iphemela, mme e bile jaaka a bua a re o ka ntsha bosupi, a bo a itse gore se a neng a se bua o ne a bua ka bodirela puso gore ke jo e leng gore ga bo na boleng, bo tlhatlosa maemo kana bo filwe tiro e ba e filweng e se ka fa tsamaisong. A bo a dirisa mafoko a mangwe a a botlha ...(inaudible)... jaanong re batla bosupi joo le gore tota batho bao ba ne ba direlwa *favour* ba sikana le bo mang, *because* ga o ka ke wa bua ka *system*. *System* ga se lesika la ga ope. *So* fa o bua ka gore o tlaa ntsha bosupi, o re neele bosupi jwa gore ba ne ba direlwa jalo ke bomang ba ba direla *favour*, e le badirelapuso ba re itseng gore khiro ya badirelapuso e dirwa fela ka fa tsamaiso e tshwanetseng gore e nne ka teng. Le jone bosupi joo e bo e le jo re tlaa batlang gore bo tsenelele, bo supagale, gore le fa motho e ne e le lesika la gago, a mme o ne a sa *qualify* gore a dire kana a hirwe fa a hirilweng teng. Re tliše go batla dilo tseo *Mr Speaker*, bosupi jo bo ntseng jalo mo go motlotlegi. Le yone e a reng ke sephiri se a ka sekeng a se bua. Ga gona sephiri se a ka sekeng a se bua a buile ka se a buileng ka sone mo Palamenteng. Mongwe le mongwe yo o buang mo Palamenteng o sireletsegile, *so* ga gona sepe se a reng, nnyaa mo *I was told in confidence*. Fa o boleletse *in confidence* go tewa gotwe o se ka wa ya go bua sepe kwa ntle. Jaanong fa o tla mo Palamenteng o bo o tla bua o bo o re *this I was told in confidence*, ga ke ka ke ka ntsha sephiri, nnyaa *he should withdraw* mo eleng gore o bona gore ke sephiri se a ka sekeng a se ntsha. *He must withdraw. Thank you Mr Speaker.*



**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Keorapetse, Honourable Rakgare has become clear that please produce the evidence, following your statement of these several categories of persons who got what was not due to them or got whatever they got in a corrupt way, that is what he is demanding. Those people, I know you have just said they cannot answer for themselves, indeed they cannot answer for themselves if you name them, because they are not in this House, but we ought to be very careful and think before we start this kind of debate.

It really goes beyond your speech but rather to the Whole House *gore le kamoso* when you say something negative about a person or a group of persons who cannot answer for themselves and then you name them, and they cannot sue you because you are in Parliament; you are immune. I get worried when we go to this line of thinking or debating. On the other hand, if as he is saying we have the evidence, you come and criticise *o re o tshotse bosupi*, the best that can be done is that *e re fe*. You can first produce it to me. If you think you ... (Inaudible)... you could ask Honourable Rakgare and whoever has raised objection. Honourable Keorapetse.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Thank you Mr Speaker. The only part which I wish to withdraw is with respect to paramours.

**MR SPEAKER:** Okay.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Yes.

**MR SPEAKER:** Thank you very much.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** The rest, I do not mind coming to your office and saying these are the kind of people I am talking about, who are rewarded by the system.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ba bue fela ga go re sepe.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Keorapetse, the Vice President (VP) is saying if you say the system favoured certain individuals and they are civil servants and they were promoted when they were not due for promotion, they want to know how then does the system become the BDP or His Excellency (HE)? In other words, if the system right now were to appoint A, will it still qualify as a matter of fact? How would His Excellency know about it? Has he set up the system himself deliberately? These are the kind of questions that would be asked when you say the system, rather than *semangmang* because *semangmang* then *re tlaa itse gore re ka botsa mang*.

The system, there are committees which look at these people, at least *mo ke leng teng nna*, there are boards which look at several officers to determine whether they qualify. It is through that system, the names will ultimately come to me and I have my little say. That is the system and I am quite sure, I know, I have never spoken to HE about that, he does not know the basis on which I will agree or disagree with this system in appointing. *Kgang ke yone eo gore fa o re system o bo o e nyalana le HE, wa re jang mme gone ke bomang batho bao?*

The only other thing I want to add Honourable Members is that this debate has been timed and the longer we take on such points, the more probable some Members will not have time to debate because the 15 days would be arrived at before they can debate. *Ya ntlha Honourable Keorapetse, gore system e amana le HE jang mme maina one a kae? Maina a batho ba o reng ba tsholeditswe maemo, ba filwe dikonteraka mme tota di sa ba lebagana, fa go akanngwa gore go na le batho ba ba itseng botoka go na le bone; ba filwe dilo tse e leng gore tota ga di a ba lebagana.* That say regards to corruption as I understand it. So *fetisa VP gone foo, a re system e amana le HE jang?*

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Mr Speaker, what I can speak for is when I have clearly violated the Standing Order not because I am debating in a line which makes the VP uncomfortable. My speech cannot be punctuated by explanations to the VP. When I am saying the system is crooked in the sense that it rewards a certain category of people, minus the category which I have withdrawn. I am saying to you, if you want the names of people which in my opinion I believe that they were rewarded simply because they are loyalist of the ruling party or they are loyalist of the system, then I can do that in your office but I am not going to debate in the manner that the Vice President wants.

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

**MR SPEAKER:** No! No! Nobody is saying that you should do that.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of order.

**MR SPEAKER:** Vice President.

**MR TSOGWANE:** *Point of order. My point of order; o buile kgang ya bonyatsi. Ga ke itse gore nyatsi ya system ke efe Mr Speaker. Ga ke itse gore system e e leng gore jaanong...*



**MR SPEAKER:** VP!

**MR TSOGWANE:** Yes sir.

**MR SPEAKER:** That matter has been withdrawn. It is on the record here; he has withdrawn that.

**MR TSOGWANE:** *Go siame* Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** Re tlaa sala re setse ya ditsala tsa motho le eng le eng tse a reng o ka tlisa maina a teng. Wena o moDomkrag, o a bona gore ke ba ba tletse ke maDomkrag. He can produce those names. *Whether you then agree with him* gore ke maDomkrag, *it is another debate but he agrees that they are or they are loyalist of the BDP.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Bao VP o a ba itse gakere.

**MR SPEAKER:** Ee, tswelela.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Mr Speaker, according to the recent Economic Intelligence Report, only the island of Mauritius in Sub-Saharan Africa scored full democracy...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** On a point of order Mr Speaker.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Botswana, like few African countries ranks as a flawed democracy. Others in Africa, we cannot even talk about.

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

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Freedom in the World Report of 2021 by Freedom House has also picked fundamental flaws in Botswana's democracy.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Rakgare.

**MR RAKGARE:** Point of order. Mr Speaker, thank you very much. *Kana kang e feletse mo tseleng.* Honourable Keorapetse either he withdraws...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Maina a tlaa tla kwa ofising ya *Speaker*.

**MR RAKGARE:** *No*, ga se wena *Honourable* Moswaane yo o tlileng go nna *Speaker* jaanong, o Mopalamente fela wa Francistown West. *Jaanong Mr Speaker*, ke ne ke re le gone kana gore o ipofa fa kae fa e le gore o a letlelela gore maina a tle, a go nne le kang e e tlhamaletseng ya gore o ya go tlisa maina leng.

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

**MR RAKGARE:** In fact, he should not continue ... (Interruptions!)...

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

**MR SPEAKER:** I only gave the floor to Honourable Rakgare? *Yo o buang gape*, I am going to park you.

**MR RAKGARE:** *Thank you very much Mr Speaker. He is going to continue* a bo a bua le tse dingwe kwa pele, tse di tlileng go felela di tshwana le yone e. Ke ne ke re a maina a tswe *Mr Speaker*, re se ka ra mo diela nako ka gore re batla go mo reetsa, a leka go thusa Puso gore re ka busa botoka jang. A a ntshe maina, re bo re tswelela pele *Mr Speaker*.

**MR SPEAKER:** I understand the eagerness. If it were possible Honourable Keorapetse, do you remember one, two or three names?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** *Tender* ya di Antiretrovirals (ARV).

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Procedure Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** A ko o iketle.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Procedure Mr Speaker!

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Re batla go mo thusa go tla ka maina.

**MR SPEAKER:** You do not have to give a hundred, two will indicate.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Mr Speaker, I am uncomfortable with you giving a ruling and then the Minister interjects, and then you sort of rescind the ruling.

**MR SPEAKER:** No, there is no problem.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** There is no problem, we know the key campaigners when we were going into the 2019 elections; the current Chief of Staff was in the campaign, the current Chancellor of the University was also on the campaign team. There was another homeboy of mine in Mahalapye, who I do not believe he has finished at the university, but he is holding a very senior ranking position in the Office of the President (OP). I can go on and on. I can give you more names if you want Mr Speaker, but not today.

**MR SPEAKER:** I do not think ...(interruption)... *re mmogo* Honourable Member?



**MR KEORAPETSE:** I am saying Mr Speaker, that we cannot want to satisfy Ministers who object in this House by rescinding our ruling.

**MR SPEAKER:** No, what you have done now, for me can help me by indicating a couple of people who in your view *ba ne ba fiwa* when it was not necessary. *A re tswelele.*

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Mr Speaker, thank you very much. There is no doubt that limits to civil liberties including the arrest of journalists and political opponents, flaws in the electoral system, limited pluralism and widespread corruption and weak laws to combat money-laundering, have contributed to low democratic score by both Freedom House and Economic Intelligence Report among others. President Masisi, if at all President Khama has wronged you, my advice to you is well said by Mahatma Gandhi, and repeated by the People's Poet; 'an eye for an eye makes the world blind.' You, Mr President, must put an end to the war with President Khama, or this war will put an end to you. Political hatred must cease. A better Botswana has to be build. Images of a new Botswana should emerge.

I believe the President has to listen to some of his executive and fire the Director General of DIS, P. F. Magosi. He has to initiate the review of the DIS Act and subject it to a judicial commission of inquiry. This we have been saying before some in the system were born again and reiterated our calls.

There are worrying developments which are eroding and compromising the independence and integrity of our judiciary, as well as diminishing public confidence in it. We have decried the appointment criteria of Justices, that it was obsolete as it is highly secretive, and at times does not make sense. Wheels are falling off Mr Speaker, merit seem not to matter under President Masisi. Under him, there seems to be no equal citizenship, Batswana would appear are not equal. For the most part, you have to come from a particular part of the country, political party, some circle, or be mediocre to get the nod. Excellence is despised, academic qualifications and experience are frowned upon, it would seem. In our considered view, the decisions taken are calculated as a medium to long-term investment to protect the regime when it matters. It may well be that the foundation of judicial rigging of the 2024 elections is being put in place. The developments in our judicature are a perfect and unambiguous political agenda by this President. We observed that the Chief Justice was catapulted from

nowhere and without any claim to being distinguished ahead of his seniors, specifically Justice Abednico Tafa, and more distinguished Batswana jurists. Now it seems the reasons are becoming clearer. What the Chief Justice did with judge shopping of Justice Gabanagae on Former President Ian Khama matter and then resorting to untruths that he is senior after being caught is instructive. His conduct is in itself proof enough that there was mischief behind hand picking the 'gun man.' The judge shopping of Gabanagae, which has irked the legal fraternity, including the Law Society of Botswana, amounts to weaponising the judiciary and turning it into a convenient tool at the disposal of the President to legitimize stolen elections and settle political scores.

**MINISTER FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS, GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (MR MORWAENG):** *On a point of order. Mr Speaker, gongwe go tlaa tlhokega guidance ya gago, gore a gone mme tota thulaganyo e ya go nankola maina a bo Judge ba lefatshe la rona ka maina ba bo ba buiwa jaana mo Palamenteng, a re itirela sentle re le lefatshe?*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Mathata a teng ke eng?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** *Mathata a teng ke gore they are not here to defend themselves.*

**MR MORWAENG:** *Yes, of course, ke raya gore a go siame gore Mopalamente ...(interruptions)... a bo a ema picking Judge nngwe, a bua ka yone, picking another, a bua ka yone, ba sa kgone to defend themselves, honestly ga re direle lefatshe ...*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** It is in public domain my friend.

**MR MORWAENG:** Ke ne ke kopa jalo gore ka boikokobetso jo botona Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente, *judiciary* ya rona a re e sireletseng batho betsho. Ke a kopa.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Morwaeng, if what Honourable Keorapetse was doing was to attack judiciary, I would say you are point on, but as I understand his debate, he is attacking the President by pointing at the examples which you asked for. So that ...(interruption)... clearer what he said, this President indeed he is in the wrong way, *a go bolelela gore jang, fa kae, bo mang*, he is not attacking the judges.

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



**MR SPEAKER:** Can you please cut Honourable Mthimkhulu, ... (inaudible)... him?

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

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Thank you Mr Speaker. I was saying that even the Law Society is worried Mr Speaker. We have noted the appointment of Justice Mercy Gaarekwe to the Court of Appeal bench ahead of other senior, experienced and more qualified judges. We still do not understand the criteria used. We have observed the appointment of Justice Tebogo Tau as Judge President, ahead of Justice Isaac Lesetedi, who was not only recommended by the outgoing Judge President Ian Kirby, but was what Batswana expected as the next Judge President (JP) as the most Senior Court of Appeal judge. However, President Masisi appointed a new comer into the Court of Appeal to the position of Judge President. The appointment of Tebogo Tau left us in shock and devastation, as it was the last nail in our view, on the coffin of the reputation of the judiciary. We all know that the prerogative of who to appoint remains with the President, but this appointment in our view, was just something else. In our view, it has killed the independence of the judiciary. We think the President is just paranoid and doing everything in his power to protect himself.

**MR MOATLHODI:** On a point of procedure Mr Speaker. *Ke a go leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente.* Point number one, Standing Order 23.2 says the name of the President should be used respectively. Now if the Honourable Member goes to an extent of talking about paranoidism referring to His Excellency the President, there is no respect in that.

Secondly, with due respect Mr Speaker Standing Order 57.6 is very clear that the names of our judges, magistrates and other people of authority that are mentioned on Standing Order 57.6 should not be mentioned, but honestly, *ke sa go nyatse motsadi wa me o nthutile tiro, re kopa* Standing Order 57.6 is very clear.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O a mo nyatsa.

**MR MOATLHODI:** Ke a leboga Motsamaisa Dipuisanyo tsa Palamente.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** PPP respect the Speaker please.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** *Mr Speaker,* Rre Moswaane le Rre Ramogapi ba dira jaana gantsintsi, mme Motlotlegi Mthimkhulu o kobilwe. *Why* go ntse jaana *Mr Speaker?*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Wena?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Thakaa! Ba bone ba bua fela re lebile.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** What is the criteria, because these guys are disruptive, but they never get thrown out?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** They have always been. Always!

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Keorapetse o se ka wa lebala gore Morwaeng *was appointed*...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ke gore lona le dira eng fa le rialo, ga le *disruptive?*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Le a re tlhodia tlhe batho ba Modimo.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ee, Morwaeng re ka mmua ka gore ene o teng gone fa.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O tlodile bo Molale.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Nna o tswapetsa Kablay, Dithapelo.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Dithapelo o bua ka *appointments* tsa Pitso ya Batswana.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Motsamai, iketlele Kablay rra.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Kablay o ka tloga a wa ka pelo a re golega, a tlhokafalela mo Palamenteng.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Wena Lucas, kana KK o sale a go bona gore o motho wa semorafe.

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Honourable Members, Honourable Healy, you are asking for a parking, I will give you a parking space. Honourable Deputy Speaker, Standing Order 57.6 talks of the conduct of Members of the National Assembly, Magistrates, Judges, Ombudsman, Members of the Judicial Service Commission (JSC), Members of Ntlo ya Dikgosi, Members of Independence Electoral Commission (IEC) and individual public officers, shall not be raised except on a substantive Motion. The conduct! Honourable Keorapetse is not raising their conduct, he is raising the conduct of the President.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O itiretse Standing Order.



**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Motsamai...(Inaudible)... to help me.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Re tlhola re gatelelwa ka Standing Orders.

**MR SPEAKER:** ...(Inaudible)...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** E a pala *interpretation*.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ba ya go tswelela... *Mr Speaker*. Ba tlhola ba re bolelela ba re o a ba rata, ga o ka ke wa ba koba, bone ba ya go tlhodia fela mo Palamenteng.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Rakgare!

**MR RAKGARE:** Re a dumela jaanong *Mr Speaker*.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Honourable Rakgare*, ba tlaa bona.

**MR RAKGARE:** Ramogapi o tswelotse fela.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Keorapetse, you have the floor sir.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** Thank you Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, the political deployment at the bench has been pursued with astonishing zest and we suspect the intention and the agenda. We have never seen anything like this in our lives! It is the worst since independence! I appeal to this House to put its position down to stop the rot! Colleagues and all progressive forces in Botswana, we need to rescue the Judiciary from total capture where there is an attempt to curl it into a political tool to advance the agenda of the President and his governing party.

### Democracy and Constitutional Review

Constitutional review is the most important democratic project of our time. If done properly, it can put us back on a path to democratisation, away from regression and can fast-track us into democratic consolidation. However, Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) will not accept a situation where the ruling party and the President monopolise the process and choreograph it to satisfy their interest. We will accordingly reject an imposition of chair of the Constitutional Review Committee and the members. We will raise funds and campaign for a NO VOTE if the process is rigged from the very beginning. Our view is that stakeholders must choose members and chair in a transparent manner. We cannot allow the process to be rigged from the word go! Otherwise we may end up with a draft document

prepared at the Office of the President (OP), perhaps by Honourable Mthinkhulu, we cannot allow that. As the opposition, civil society, student movements and trade unions, we need to start acts of civil disobedience to protect our democracy. We must watch with a hawk's eye who is going to be the next chair and Secretary of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), chair of the Delimitation Commission and how it will demarcate electoral districts, constituencies and wards. We are eagerly waiting to see who will be in the Constitutional Review Commission! If we are not careful Honourable Members, Batswana at large, the jig saw puzzle of one man will fall into place and he will get away with murder of rigging the entire system.

### Unemployment

Unemployment, especially among the young people is a ticking time bomb which must be swiftly defused. According to Trading Economics global macro models and analysts expectations, unemployment rate in Botswana is expected to reach 24 per cent by the end of 2021. Statistics Botswana's multi-topic survey labour force report for first quarter 2020 showed that the country has a labour force of 978 396 people, up 2.5 per cent from 2019. The labour force is made up of people aged above 15 years who are out of school and are active to undertake work. From the 978 000 plus manpower, only 76.8 per cent are employed, leaving 226 598 without jobs in the first three months of 2020, marking a 23.2 per cent unemployment rate, higher than the 22.2 per cent unemployment rate in 2019.

The 23.2 per cent unemployment rate does not include discouraged job seekers and Ipelegeng participants. Statistics Botswana estimates in the same survey that the number of discouraged job seekers at 59 212 and when added to those actively seeking jobs, there are 285 813 people without jobs, resulting in the extended unemployment rate of 27.5 per cent. Unemployment has affected our young people, for instance 146 899 people under the age of 35 are jobless - representing more than half of the total unemployed people in the country. The data also shows that unemployment is highest in urban and rural villages and it is steadily rising in rural areas as well. From the 226 598 jobless people, about 22.2 per cent or more than 50 000 are graduates from tertiary institutions, while secondary school leavers account for 60.2 per cent of unemployment. The statistics showed that 35.1 per cent (79 551 persons) reported that they had been seeking work for two years and more. These were followed by persons who reported to have been



looking for work for one year to two years at 21.3 per cent (48 214), whilst those who reported that they spent one month to three months stood at 40 907 (18.1 per cent). We should have heard these data from the President, lamenting that it pains him and showing us how he will solve the problem, giving us targets of jobs he will create and in how long. He could not even bother to tell us how many jobs the economy shed since COVID-19 pandemic, against the number of jobs he said he has created so as to fully account.

### Poverty, Inequality and underemployment

The true state of the nation Mr Speaker is reflected in unprecedented levels of poverty. Despite our upper-middle income economic status, poverty is endemic in Botswana. Many Batswana cannot afford basic things like shelter, food and clothing. Poverty has taken a new characteristic of the working poor. Many of our workers are poor because of slave wages and the refusal to introduce a living wage regime. Majority are actually underemployed; many graduates work as interns, Tirelo Setšhaba, in restaurants as waiters and waitresses, security guards, petrol attendants, receptionists, Personal Assistants (PAs) or secretaries and household helpers earning very low wages, notwithstanding their Diplomas, Degrees and Master's Degrees qualification. Batswana workers are forced by economic and other circumstances to spend more than 30 per cent of their monthly earnings before tax on rent and consequently become cost burdened. As a result, they cannot afford decent life; the exorbitant rent causes them to sink deeper into debts because they cannot afford schools fees, proper food and clothing, health care and they cannot even build savings. Mr Speaker, the gap between the rich and poor and between the high earners and the poorly paid is disproportionately huge. This does not concern our President inferring from his speech and as a result, he offers no solution to this problem.

It is heart breaking that the back breaking work of retail cashiers and packers has the lowest rate of P6.31 per hour even after the current increase.

These sectors constitute at least 60 to 70 per cent of Botswana's formal sector employment according to Statistics Botswana Labour Force Survey Quarter 4 of 2020, the Botswana Democratic Party Government continues to condemn 70 per cent of workers to poverty with these rates. Most firms can afford to pay better than these rates, and still make decent profits. These slave wages explains why Botswana has some of the highest

levels of inequalities in the world. If we are to analyse the published financial statements of big retail stores and calculate the impact of paying a living wage, you may actually find that they will still make a decent profit for shareholders. In fact, one of the big retailers told a local media outlet that they pay according to the laws of Botswana. Most businesses can afford to pay better, but they pay low rates because this Government has set these low rates, not because businesses cannot afford to pay better wages.

The cost of living has been exacerbated by increasing service levies; renewal of public transport operators fees; taxis and buses has increased, food prices are high, electricity and water tariffs are high, fuel costs are up, license for exporting phane has been increased and many other hidden taxes. The loud message from the President and his Government is that, Batswana must pay heftily for bad decisions which resulted in a fragile economy which could not withstand external shocks. *Ke gore ka tsela e nngwe, Tautona Masisi le Goromente wa gagwe ba tšhonela mo Batswaneng.*

### Sport and Performing Arts

Mr Speaker, sport, especially contact sport was greatly affected by Government's mishandling of COVID-19. The failure to procure vaccine on time meant that for more than 18 months there was almost no activity. Football as the principal sport was seriously affected. Sport has suffered a big damage. To illustrate with football, there has not been income through gate takings. There is currently slow or no renewal of sponsorship contracts. Some corporations have left sport indefinitely. A few big clubs; Jwaneng Galaxy, Orapa United, Township Rollers, Morupule Wanderers, Masitaoka and Gaborone United...

**HONOURABLE MEMBERS:** And Notwane.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** ...and of course institutional teams funded by Government like *bo* Police XI and BDF XI, were the only clubs that managed to pay players during the period of no activity. In fact, some could not even afford to pay full salaries. Now, just imagine 10 other clubs which are worse than these. To demonstrate how this has impacted on many people, there are 32 football clubs in both the premier league and first divisions leagues employing just under 1000 people (960 people), and these are with dependents. This sector has suffered.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Correction.



**MR KEORAPETSE:** There has also been scientific damage, because of lack of activity and this has affected performance, I am talking about physically fitness. There was no grant from COVID-19 Fund to assist clubs in the 18 months.

Whilst sport is back, stadia cannot be at full capacity, because of limited number of Batswana who are vaccinated. So, this has affected gate takings and financial state of clubs. It has also affected informal sector associated with sport. Stakeholders like referees, media, security, ticketing, marketing, catering companies and many others have been affected. The return to sport proves costly for the clubs, as they spend more money in the return on tests, vaccines, masks, thermometers and labour.

The ministry should prioritise football and athletics to go international. FIFA calendar recently released does not see us Botswana featuring anywhere, which means it will take long for the Zebras and other national teams to get back to business. The Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC) is of the view that, there be more incentives for companies that meaningfully contribute to sport. Diamond Trading Company Botswana (DTCB) for instance, recently contributed P2,4 million to women football, our youthful Minister officiated at the event. My view is that this is a disappointing amount, given the size of the company. There is a tendency of big multinational corporations which rake in huge profits to contribute paltry amounts to sport and gain huge mileage at almost no cost. We need to deal with this bad corporate attitude.

Football Premier League started with no sponsor, and this is a really bad sight for the image of the Botswana Football League (BFL), especially as an emerging corporate brand whose objective is to commercialise football in Botswana. This has to be corrected as soon as possible. We need to help both the Botswana Football Association (BFA) and the BFL in this regard as Government, especially in pushing the Corporate Social Investment obligations of Corporate Botswana in relation to not only football, but general sport.

Our other sport codes which do much better for our country have very little to gain from Corporate Botswana. Athletics, Karate, Volleyball, Netball and Softball remain top five in Africa in various rankings, but our attitude towards the welfare of these codes and their athletes leaves a lot to be desired. Corporate Botswana is not agile enough to appreciate these athletes especially in

view of their welfare during and after COVID-19. This attitude is demonstrated further by Corporate Botswana in relation to other sectors such as beauty pageantry as we saw how they sought to reduce the shine of our Miss Botswana, with little interest especially in relation to her prizes. I think this is a serious indictment on Corporate Botswana. Many companies are now sending gifts and donations to Miss Botswana, Palesa Molefe, when she is already raising the national flag, and we all know that they do this at her expense to milk publicity as much as possible. I am worried about what happens when she returns, will she be given proper respect by Corporate Botswana and endorsement benefits commensurate with her international stature?

UDC is of the view that sport and performing arts are areas in which employment for many young people can be created. There is therefore an urgent need to do more in terms building infrastructure and capacity, for instance the building of sport academies, theatres, properly equipped music, drama, choreography, dance and poetry schools and training centres. Let us put more grants and resources in this sector, and invest in the future of our young people. Botswana Television (BTV) and the entire state media must be freed from the claws of the Executive where, they are used for propaganda. They must be turned into a public broadcaster run by an independent board to enable them to make business decisions that would enhance our sport and performing arts.

Mr Speaker, on the reopening of BCL, I have few paragraphs here. I wish to say that Premium Nickel Resources (PNR) is reopening BCL because it has commercial interest not because any President or Minister has done anything that is extraordinary. We know that the mine was not supposed to be closed in our view. We have been told a litany of untruths that the shafts were deep, that there was no ore, that the Government was pumping money into BCL. And I have demonstrated in the past that in fact Government took over P1 billion from BCL in 2014 at the time when the company was preparing to refurbish its smelter and was struggling...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** No clarification, I do not have time. ...because of depressed metal prices. Our view is that it was a reckless decision. We actually do not care who closed the mine, but we know it was a reckless decision. We know that is was Cabinet acting on the advice of Minerals Development Company Botswana (MDCB).



Whilst there is light at the need of the tunnel Mr Speaker, it is not yet uhuru for us in Phikwe, many lives were unnecessarily destroyed in unemployment, instant destitution or abject poverty and indebtedness leading to blacklisting and civil imprisonments. We can only celebrate once impactful economic activities related to the mine are in place and our people are employed and empowered through meaningful participation. It would appear PNR is going to start mining operations around 2026 according to their plan, unless something changes. Initially, they had been given three to four months for regulatory issues and finalisation of the transaction. After that they said they are going into prefeasibility study for 12 months. Then feasibility study for another 12 months. From there bankable study for 6 months. Our prayer is that within this period, they do not get financially fatigued. Our hope was for the smelter to be reopened, so that more jobs can be created.

Mr Speaker, Selebi Phikwe used to have a booming textile industry. We had firms like Sports Line, Garments, Orbot, Back Packer, Tex and others. Most of these firms closed because there was no plan to protect the industry which employed thousands, majority of which were young women. Currently we have Denish, Other Options, Nitaz Collection and a few others.

At paragraph 8 of my response to the State of the Nation Address (SONA) in 2020, I advised, “we need the Minister of Trade to swiftly without delay, enact a subsidiary legislation by way of a Statutory Instrument to prevent importation of school uniforms such as the common grey pants, white and blue shirts commonly sold at Woolworths, PEP, Cash Bazar, Ackermans, etcetera. We need to stop importing Personal Protective Equipment (PPEs) including superior protective workwear. Corporate uniforms can be manufactured by firms in Phikwe and elsewhere in Botswana”. When responding to 2021 Budget Speech by the Minister, I reiterated at paragraph 16, that “the Minister of Investment, Trade and Industry should protect and revamp our textile industry. She should ban the importation of uniforms, PPEs etcetera. and have these manufactured in Phikwe.”

Mr Speaker, we have noted the introduction of Statutory Instrument No. 76 of 2021 published in the Government Gazette in 24<sup>th</sup> September, 2021 banning importation of school uniforms without a permit, which came almost 10 months after I first made the suggestion during the 12<sup>th</sup> Parliament. However, the Instrument by the

Ministry of Investment Trade and Industry is inadequate in that it has not included a ban on corporate uniforms used by corporations, banks, chain stores, parastatals, and other companies. It does not cover PPEs in mines, construction and health. The Minister must get the message that we have capacity to produce all these in Phikwe. All we need to do is to work with Botswana Bureau of Standards (BOBS), Citizen Entrepreneurial Development Agency (CEDA), Local Enterprise Authority (LEA), Business Botswana and others to capacitate the firms in Phikwe to produce according to the required standards. The decision to ban importation of school uniforms, albeit inadequate, is a welcome development but must, however, benefit Batswana *ba sekei* who are not big players in the industry currently. Big chain stores like PEP, Woolworths, CB Stores, Ackermans and others should not be allowed to dictate price through provision of cloth or fabrics to Batswana factories and outsourcing textile manufacturing or basically using Batswana factories as cheap labour. We cannot allow that and if it happens we will fight it! We encourage the Government through its city, towns, district councils, parastatals, big buyers such as police, prisons and the army to fulfil the 30 per cent quota and buy from Phikwe based firms.

For any meaningful economic activity to take off in Phikwe, we need improvement of our old infrastructure such internal roads, streetlights, massive land servicing which was promised in the last SONA by the President but this time around he has offered with no update in terms of how far with the land servicing. We still need Botswana International University of Science and Technology (BIUST) Phikwe campus focusing on mining related programmes. We need expansion of the technical college. We need expansion of the Eastern Military Garrison whenever there is decongestion of Sir Seretse Khama Barracks (SSKB) or any garrison. We are still calling for a parastatal or Government department like that of Department of Mining to relocate to Phikwe to breath more life into our economy.

#### **POLICY ALTERNATIVES**

Mr Speaker, we are of the view that the Minister must introduce limited foreign exchange controls to guard against money laundering and tax avoidance or evasion because we were told that this will attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) but we see that FDI remain on average at less than 2 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per annum in the past 10 years according to S&P Ratings



of 2019. We are of the view that Government should revamp collection of Government revenue, and improve tax collection and Government efficiency.

The Botswana Unified Revenue Service (BURS) Act has been amended, unfortunately on implementation, there is little tax that is collected especially from the big taxpayers. We are of the view that the 12.1 per cent that is our tax to GDP ratio according to Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Africa Revenue Statistics 2020, is lower than even the average of 30 African countries. This points to a monumental failure of our economic high command in the ministry of *Mme Serame* to collect revenue. We are of the view that more can be done in terms of improving tax collection and we have offered solutions Mr Speaker. We are of the view that in improving Government efficiency, Honourable Serame should try and get the International Growth Centre which aims to promote sustainable growth in developing countries by providing demand-led policy advice based on frontier research.

They are doing wonders in Rwanda where they were invited by President Paul Kagame, let us invite them here. We are also of the view that work with Performance Management and Delivery Unit (PEMANDU) Associates. They are also doing wonders, they have done so in Malaysia, they are doing so Tanzania and they have deployed their Big Fast Results (BFR) Methodology in Tanzania. We are of the view that this can be done in Botswana to improve Government efficiency.

### Immigration

On immigration, we believe that children who are reaching age 18 should remain Batswana even if they do not renounce other citizenships at age as a default position. Dual or multiple citizenship is long overdue. We are of the view that you should encourage so that our flag can be raised higher by giving citizenship to people with extraordinary abilities or acclaim. (Sportspersons, creative artists, executives etcetera).

### Citizen Empowerment

It is important to make sure that we no longer give more tenders to Chinese companies. Let us give more tenders to Batswana companies, let us make sure that foreign companies which are awarded big tenders, invest a portion of their income in our economy and not repatriate all the profits.

### Aviation Industry

Honourable Segokgo, a lot can be done in the aviation industry to diversify the economy and do wonders and create more jobs. It is important that we create jobs for young people. Our view is that tertiary education ministry should setup an office where they make sure that they place young people who have gotten second class, first division and first classes to international universities. Introduce home ownership protection. With that Mr Speaker, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity and thank Members for their time. I thank you.

### “EXCHANGE OF SPEAKERSHIP”

**MR SPEAKER (MR MOATLHODI):** Honourable Member for Ghanzi North. Honourable Member for Ghanzi North!

...Silence...

**MR MOSWAANE:** *Procedure. Mr Speaker, ke go tlotla thata mme ke batla go itse gore a mo tsamaisong go siame gore o challenge boss ya gago mo ditshwetsong tse a di tsayang? You are doing this for the second time today. A o raya gore o re tsamaisa sentle? Re bona e kete letsatsi le go busang wena gone foo, re tlile go sokola Mr Speaker. Ke raya fa o kgona to challenge ditshwetso tsa boss ya gago. Last week you did that, this week you did that, ga ke itse gore la boraro gone go ya go nna jang jaanong. Dilo dingwe di re supegetsa gore fa o ka bo o le foo, re ka bo re sokola go feta.*

**MR SPEAKER:** You have made your point Honourable Moswaane. All matters that were treated by the substantive Speaker have been done and buried, Standing Order 59.1. You have no right to challenge anybody's decision here. Honourable Member for Ghanzi North!

...Silence...

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY (GABORONE CENTRAL):** Thank you very much Mr Speaker and good afternoon. Good afternoon Honourable Members. Once again Mr Speaker, thank you for this opportunity to respond to the SONA by His Excellency Dr Mokgweetsi Eric Keabetswe Masisi. We are all aware that this speech is being made in the most challenging time of our Republic and probably the world over. Despite all this, I believe the President's speech was robust and well put together. In fact, the speech was



very instructive and has set a tone for what it will take to propel this beautiful country forward. Before I share my thoughts Mr Speaker, I would like to start off by sending sincere condolences to families that have lost loved ones to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The 2 420 deaths recorded so far had been tragic and my hope is that we will ensure the number does not increase by observing the protocols, vaccinating and lowering the spread of infections. I extend my most sincere condolences to the affected families and equally want to stand up to our 2000 plus patients who are currently struggling with this monster called COVID-19. I would like to encourage them to stay strong and we shall keep them in our prayers.

Mr Speaker, I want to extend immense gratitude to those who have been in the frontlines. Usually when we talk of our frontline workers, we think of our uniformed personnel; service men and women but we must also not forget the valuable contribution that comes from workers such shop assistants, truck drivers and petrol attendants among others.

Mr Speaker, I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Botswana who represent us on the international stage. A special shout out goes to the team that represented us at the Tokyo 2021 Olympics as well as the Africa Championships.

At this juncture, I also want to urge the nation to rally behind Miss Botswana as she flies our flag high in Puerto Rico at the Miss World Competition. I want to say to her, Palesa you are a strong girl, you are a girl we are very proud of and we are very sure that you will do this country proud. Fortunately, I have had the pleasure of hosting Palesa and other Miss Botswana Top 16 finalists at the Gaborone Central Constituency. I must say from my interaction with these strong brilliant young ladies that the future of this country is bright in the capable hands of the younger generation who are immensely talented and smart. We need to support them in every way possible.

The President's speech was centred around four thematic areas, which in itself was a departure from previous State of the Nation Addresses. In the speech, His Excellency the President shared his vision for this nation. The vision is best summarised by the President's Reset Agenda. At the top of the agenda is to save Botswana from the COVID-19 pandemic. This is a novel virus that has caused deaths and economic damage the world

over. The Government has had to learn through trial and error. Nobody could have got it perfect. Nobody has got it perfect. So, it is expected that there will be mistakes. So, when we critic and point out the wrongdoing, we must do that in a spirit of wanting to correct and refocus so that it is for the greater benefit of the people of the nation of Botswana.

It is pleasing to see that the Government appears to have found the speed in containing the raging virus as marked by the relatively low deaths and infection rate. I say relatively because we are comparing it to other parts of the world. We do appreciate that losing 2 500 people is a lot for us but I am saying so in comparison to what we have seen the world over. In addition, we are finally getting the large consignments of vaccines that we have long purchased and long spoke to our international partners about donations and whatever help that we may get from our fraternal relationships. I know that for a long time a lot of people, especially particularly the opposition in this August House, were making a lot of allegations about vaccine procurement. They were trying to give the nation of Botswana the impression that nothing had been done, there had been no purchases, and people are just sitting on their hands. If you look at the numbers right now, I think you will not argue with me. I think as of yesterday, Botswana was probably number 5 on the African continent in so far as the vaccinations go. In the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Region, not speaking about Mauritius, we are the leader in those terms. I believe we must say to the relevant ministry that you are doing a very good job under extremely difficult circumstances.

Botswana is already leading its peers in terms of vaccinating people. We applaud this life saving progress. Thanks to the vaccines, economic activities have returned and we are expecting positive economic growth this year and in the coming years. As a matter of fact, when you look at the projected gross rates of up to 9.1 for Republic of Botswana, it is amongst the highest on the African continent. While the rest of the continent is talking somewhere in the region of 4 per cent, we are more than double that. Once again, I must say that all hands are on deck. It is very very evident.

While we anticipate economic growth, COVID-19 was a strong reminder of how fragile our economy is. Indeed prior to Covid-19, Botswana's economic growth was already declining. It is not a surprise that the President's Reset Agenda also focuses on strengthening the economy through digitisation, value chain development



and top most, mindset change. You can have all the money in the world as the generations before us have had but if you do not have the right mindset, all that money is practically a waste because as the English says, "a fool and his gold are soon parted."

It is quite saddening Mr Speaker, that some Members of this House in the opposition were making strong allegations that there is no COVID-19 in Botswana. Now when you remind them of these issues, they start rabble-rousing. We spend hours here with them trying to deny, trying to play points when they know very well what they said when we were at Boipuso Hall. They categorically denied the existence of COVID-19. So, I challenge them right now to deny that when we were at the Boipuso Hall, they denied the existence of COVID-19.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of order!

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Mr Speaker, this country's challenges are very well-known. Dr Tshabang, I am referring to you, in case you want to dispute that you said there is no COVID-19. I see you keep looking out a lot.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of order!

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** This country's challenges are well-known...

**MR SPEAKER:** Sorry Honourable Member for Gaborone Central. I cannot hear properly, is there anybody calling for a point of some sort? Leader of the Opposition.

**LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (MR SALESHANDO):** Yes Mr Speaker, I am calling for a point of order.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Tshabang.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Tshabang, let us get Honourable Leader of the Opposition first, I have called his name.

**MR SALESHANDO:** Mr Speaker, it is a simple point of order. Many rulings have been made against those who allege that some Members refused or alleged that COVID does not exist. You cannot have this matter being repeated continuously when a ruling has been made because none of those who made that statement were able to bring any indication or evidence to suggest that it is so. No one ever denied the existence

of COVID-19. I think like those who came before him *jaaka Rre Kgotla* Autlwtse, Honourable Healy must withdraw that statement.

**MR SPEAKER:** I think in all fairness, we need to give him the benefit of the doubt so that he comes out with evidence of some sort. If he fails to substantiate his argument, that is when a decision can be made.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, as I have already clearly pointed out, an example being Dr Tshabang, if you want me to present the evidence, I am very prepared to do that, I repeat that Members of the opposition said there is no COVID in Botswana. I repeat that Honourable Saleshando, in case you did not hear me. An example is Honourable Dr Tshabang, Member of Parliament for Nkange. Mr Speaker, if you call for me to bring the evidence, I am much prepared to do that.

**MR SPEAKER:** I am calling upon you to bring the evidence.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Yes, sir I will duly do so.

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Order! When are you giving the evidence Honourable Healy?

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Mr Speaker, I can whatsapp to you right now as I am on the floor, if you so want.

**MR SPEAKER:** I am not on any gadget, I am not allowed to have any gadget in my possession when I am here. I think that type of audio, whether is audio or what, you want to give out as...

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Is a video sir...

**MR SPEAKER:** May we have order please. Whether you want to give as evidence I do not know, just a minute.

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

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** I am going to bring the evidence full stop. You have no right to dictate to me...(inaudible)...

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

**MR SPEAKER:** May we have order please! Thank you for the silence. Honourable Member for Gaborone Central, the audio that you are talking about *selo santlha*



*ke batla go itse gore o e tsereng kae? Wherever kwa o e tsereng reng fa e le gore ke ya mo Ntlong, fa e le gore that audio ke ya Palamente, obviously there is a Hansard for that, we shall call for Hansard.*

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Okay Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** We shall call for Hansard and it will be read tomorrow.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Fair enough. Thank you Mr Speaker, I have no problem...

**MR SPEAKER:** Fa e le gore bongwanake ba ka e tlisa gompiano...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** They should state the date of the Hansard.

**MR SPEAKER:** May we have order please! *Fa e le gore bongwanake ba ka tlisa* Hansard *gompiano* I shall along the line stop the proceedings and read out the Hansard.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** *Ga ke na mathata* Mr Speaker, even though I have my own evidence, but I will be guided by you.

**MR SPEAKER:** I have already guided you Honourable Member. Let us have...

**MR RAKGARE:** *Mr Speaker* dilo tse o kgona to project go bo go supagala motho le lentswe le tswa la ga Tshabang.

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Honourable Minister Rakgare. Honourable Member for Nkange.

**DR TSHABANG:** Go buiwa ka nna ga o ntshupe ke re procedure.

**MR SPEAKER:** Ke go supile.

**DR TSHABANG:** Point of order. *Se ke se buang ke gore, ka gore* we are still going to look for evidence, let us withdraw the floor from the Honourable Member *re emetse ...*

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Yo o batla go re diela nako.

**DR TSHABANG:** *O itielana nako* because we cannot continue with ...(inaudible)... allegation...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** What is the procedure Honourable Member?

**MR SPEAKER:** *A ko o mmoitse rra, a ko o mmoitse fela gore* what is his procedure? Honourable Member for Nkange, we have never done that before.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** It is procedural.

**MR SPEAKER:** It is very procedural *se re se dirang.* We are saying the Hansard...

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

**MR SPEAKER:** May we have order please! Honourable Member for Nkange, please be quiet!

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O mo tsena ganong *Mr Speaker*, ke eng o sa mo tlogele to elaborate se a se buang, then you can rule. O mo tsena ganong a ise a bue.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Kekgonogile, *ga gona ope yo o kileng a go supa.* Honourable Member for Gaborone Central please continue.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you very much Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker the country's challenges are well-known, rising unemployment levels, growing inequalities and ...(inaudible)... corruption which hinders progress. I have stated before that our country actually has ...(inaudible)...but we are being led down by implementation.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Member for Gaborone Central, *fa e le gore o na le* date on whatever you have, it will be very good if you can communicate the date to myself and my staff, so that it makes easy for us to access the Hansard, but continue with your debate Honourable Member.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Mr Speaker, I do not have the date with me right here, but it was on the debate of the State of Public Emergency at Boipuso Hall. So I think your staff will probably know when the dates were. So I do not have the exact date, but I can shred it down for you to a particular couple of dates being those dates.

**MR SPEAKER:** You have made your point, it is in order. Please continue.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** May I go ahead?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Procedure sir.

**MR SPEAKER:** Who is this one calling for procedure? Honourable Ramogapi.



**MR RAMOGAPI:** *Point of procedure. Thank you Honourable Speaker. Mr Speaker, ke kopa gore with the procedure I am raising, let us not raise double standards. Honourable Mmolotsi e rile fa gotwe mafoko a gagwe a se ka a bua go fitlhelela evidence e tswa, o ne a ema, up until a re, "go na le gore ke eme, ke letlelele continuity go nne le flow, bogolo let me withdraw." Therefore let us apply the same procedure and ruling. Re se ka ra dira double standards. Fa e le gore mafoko a a tshwanetse gore a eme, a a eme pele fela jaaka Honourable Wynter Mmolotsi a ne a emisiwa. Ga se ene fela re ntse re emisiwa re le bantsi. Therefore I call on procedure ya gore a Honourable Healy le ene a emisiwe fela go fitlhelela bosupi bo tswa.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Jaaka Nkawana a ne a emisiwa.

**MR RAMOGAPI:** Le Nkawana, re bantsi, re ntse re emisiwa.

**MR SALESHANDO:** Yes Mr Speaker, I wanted to do a follow-up on my point of order.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Waitse go nna le Speaker sa moDomkrag ke mathata fela.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** ...*(Inaudible)*... kwa Boipuso Hall *gompiano o ...**(inaudible)*...account for the things you said *le ikgata megatla.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Le Kapinga kana o ne a rile ga e yo kwa Okavango, o se ka wa mo lebala.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Go a diragala, gompiano ke kgang, e rile re ba gakolola nako ya teng re re, kana e tlile gore re le gakolola dilo tse le bo le itatola.

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

**MR SPEAKER:** May we have order please! *Bagaetsho* let us have order please, Honourable Mthimkhulu! Let us have order please. *Bagaetsho, nnyaa le se ka la leka go ntsha Ntlo e mo tseleng.* Honourable Mmolotsi, I still remember very well, it was on his own accord when he decided *gore o batla* to withdraw, most probably he felt that his submission was incorrect, but Honourable Member for Gaborone Central is standing his ground. *Ga se ka* Honourable Healy *fela, re ntse re dira jalo re re, motho a tswelole kamoso re bo re tla ka* Hansard. It was on Friday last week *mongwe wa Mapalamente a raya* a certain Member for Tonota *a mo raya a re o buile mafoko a e seng one.* A Hansard was pulled out

and it is ready, that gentleman never came back with his allegation. Therefore Honourable Member for Gaborone Central is continuing with his debate until tomorrow when we bring out the Hansard. *Fa e le gore Motlotlegi Mopalamente wa Gaborone Legare o bua mafoko a e seng one, o itse gore o tlaabo o itsenya mo mathateng, o tlaabo o ikgoletsa molelo o o tlaa palelwang ke go o ora,* but we are going to wait for the Hansard. Please continue Honourable Healy.

**LEADER OF THE HOUSE (MR TSOGWANE):** *Point of procedure. Ke a leboga Mr Speaker. Ke lantlha, e bile I do not think go ka diragala ka batho bape fela gongwe fa e se Mapalamente a gompiano a. Ke lantlha ke bona batho ba ba lebalang jaana, wena Mr Speaker e bile o ile kgakala, o bua ka bo last week, just recently Keorapetse o kopile gore a tle ka bosupi kamoso, just recently. So ga ke itse gore go lebala mo go kanakana ga bo Ramogapi ke...*

**MR RAMOGAPI:** Le ganne Keorapetse a bo a bua maina gompiano jaana, le gana.

**MR TSOGWANE:** O buile maina...

**MR RAMOGAPI:** ...*(Inaudible)*...

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Honourable Ramogapi

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

**MR TSOGWANE:** ... mme o ne a sa patelediwe go ne go tlilwe re ka tsaya Hansard, go tlilwe a tlise bosupi, ...*(inaudible)*...

**MR SPEAKER:** Thank you very much, Thank you VP. Honourable Member for Gaborone Central.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you Mr Speaker. You know it is very telling how in the response to this debate, Members of Opposition are not even bothered by what Leader of the Opposition said in his response. One of them even bother to refer to any of the things he said, it is very telling *jaaka go ntse go buiwa ka* Motion of no Confidence, I think that is a direct Motion of no Confidence on him. Everybody is talking about what Dr Dow said, talking about this, nobody is bothered what LOO has even presented but I am not surprised. That is why they will spend time on the trivial issues because *tota le a itse gore ba mono fela. Ke ka tswelolela gakere* Mr Speaker?

**MR SPEAKER:** Yes sir.



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

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** I am delighted ... (Interruptions)... youth challenges and has full interventions that will help the country. In particular, the President's plan to align Government machinery for the presidential agenda will bear fruit. It is common for the blame to be levelled against politicians while...

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

**MR SPEAKER:** Point of order. Sorry, Honourable Member. Honourable Member for Gaborone Central, just put a halt. Honourable Member for Selebi-Phikwe Botlhaba.

**MR NKAWANA:** Point of order. Thank you Mr Speaker. *Ga ke a bolo go e kopa* before Vice President (VP) *a tsena*. Ke ne ke re...

**MR SPEAKER:** Ema pele *Honourable Member for Selebi-Phikwe Botlhaba*. Ema pele ngwana wa bomme.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Dums, *kana* these people have not said anything about what you said, they are not even bothered. I think they are trying to....

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order! Honourable Healy, please*. A ko o didimale re a bua.

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

**MR SPEAKER:** *A ko le iketle tthe bagaetsho*, we are in Parliament here. *Ga bo buiwe fela jalo*. Point Number 1; Honourable Mthimkhulu, the substantive Speaker of this House had parked you. I think whoever did park you, please un-park him so that he can be part of the House. Honourable Member for Selebi-Phikwe Botlhaba, let us hear your point of order.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** *Mr Speaker* o dirile mathata jaanong.

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

**MR NKAWANA:** My point of order is in reference to...

**MR SPEAKER:** Buela kwa godimo Mopalamente.

**MR NKAWANA:** Go raya gore maranyane a na le mathatanyana. *My point of order* e amana le se se neng se buiwa ke *Honourable Healy* fa a ne a re akaretsa rotlhe a re *some of the members of opposition* said this mme

fa go tsewa tshwetso, o bua ka *Honourable Tshabang*. *Honourable Tshabang cannot be some of the members of opposition*. Ke ne ke re yone eo *Mr Speaker*, a ko tlise bosupi jwa *some of the members* ba a buang gore... (Interruptions)...

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

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Tshabang please, order! *Bagaetsho*, we can all see but we cannot all talk. We cannot. Our staff has already confirmed that they are busy searching for the Hansard. The Hansard will be here and it will reveal, either corroborate or refuse what Honourable Healy was saying. Honourable Healy, please continue with your debate.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you very much Mr Speaker. *Mogolole* Honourable Nkawana, the word 'some' means out of...

**MR SPEAKER:** I have made a ruling on that matter. Honourable Healy, migrate to a new point.

**MR NKAWANA:** O batla go nthuta Sekgoa?

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Can I go ahead?

**MR SPEAKER:** Please.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** I am delighted that the President has shown concern for these challenges and has since put in interventions that will help our country. I expect that with the RESET agenda, we will see positive changes where we are pulling together in the same direction. This calls for increased vigilance which should prioritise efficiency across the Government and public sector. Furthermore, with the impending Constitutional Review, as legislators we must ensure the strengthening of public institutions.

Mr Speaker, I represent one of the largest constituencies in the country by population size. The issues of Gaborone Central Mr Speaker, are not issues that we should be talking about in the year 2021 in a middle income country. Gaborone Central is the centre of the city of Gaborone but we are still having issues to this day of the city being dark. When Gaborone City Council (GCC) was sworn in, they had promised that they are going to light up Gaborone in 100 days. To this day Mr Speaker, we still have street lights which have not worked as far back as 2004 in the city of Gaborone. The city of Gaborone is extremely dark. When you come into the city of Gaborone at night, it is such an embarrassment, especially if you happen to be that person who is coming



to Botswana for the first time. It is extremely dark and all you would see is car lights as cars are moving about in the city on the ground. The city is extremely dirty and the roads are extremely bad. Mr Speaker, we cannot be speaking of these issues in 2021.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) is failing.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Storm water drainage; when you go to *bo* Tsholofelo, Boikhutso, Maruapula, Segoditshane, Ginger; all these places Mr Speaker, when it rains as we are currently in the rainy season, our citizenry end up *ba lwa ka bobone* because one neighbour has a wall and it now creates a dam in the other neighbour's yard. Honourable Serame, as we are preparing for our next National Development Plan, I call for us to have a holistic and one-centred approach to solving the issues of storm water drainage in Gaborone, lighting up the city of Gaborone and the bad roads that we see in Gaborone. We need to allocate a budget Honourable Serame that is going to address all these issues at once because we cannot be talking of a dark, dirty, flooded, pot-holed city of Gaborone in the year 2021. In line with the RESET agenda, we must demand accountability from those entrusted with ensuring that these things are delivered.

The President's RESET agenda, speaks about...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification  
Honourable Healy.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** *Not now* General, tla ke tsene fa pelenyana.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ke go file maabane, o a simolola gakere?

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** *Nnyaa, ke tlaa tla ke e tsenya.* Do not worry, I will give you.

I urge citizens and residents of the city of Gaborone to be very vocal about the issues of service delivery. If we can amplify our voices, I am sure those at city hall will be able to hear us.

Mr Speaker, economic inclusion; the Economic Inclusion Bill was passed recently in the last sitting of Parliament. That was a welcome development and we will be monitoring the implementation. The Bill came at a time when the majority of citizens are being side-lined and closed off from the lucrative sectors of the economy.

Now Mr Speaker, when we were debating the Economic Inclusion Act, I was one of the people who was very concerned about how far it will go in addressing the issues of our people. How far Motswana *wa sekei* is going to benefit from this Economic Inclusion Act? I said, we will accept this as a start for bringing Batswana into the mainstream economy but we need to go much better than this. We cannot just stop at this one stage. I call on the relevant Ministers to continuously work at strengthening areas where Batswana can be empowered.

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

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** I will tell you. Sorry Mr Speaker. ... (Inaudible)... Honourable Tshabang, *ko o ikettle.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** *Tlisa clarification monna.*

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Mr Speaker, let me give Honourable Moswaane a clarification before I go too far.

**MR MOSWAANE:** Clarification. *O e tshwere* Honourable Healy. *Ke utlwile o bua ka* storm water drainage *mo* Gaborone city *le go tlhoka dipone.* About 100 metres away from Office of the President (OP), *go na le lekeishane le bidiwa* White City and about 150 metres from the State House, *lekeishane leo* still exists with no roads, electricity whatsoever. *Ke ditsela tse di saleng di nna jalo from 1966 up to today.* A ga o bone gore tota BDP e a palelwa fela mo go thomolang pelo mo e leng gore le bo Tona ba a lela letsatsi leno *including yourself? Thank you.*

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you very much Honourable Moswaane. *Go lebege o na le lebakanyana o sa tsene kwa* White City because I can tell you for a fact that those roads that you are speaking of as we speak are paved in White City, so what you are saying is not factual, but I agree with the general sentiment.

Honourable Moswaane, oftentimes when I hear you saying these things, I am very perplexed because you are a person who was selling the programmes of the BDP in order to be elected to this year Parliament in the past elections. So, one wonders, when did you get this revelation, when did you wake up and see that the BDP ...?

**MR MOSWAANE:** *Le ne le ntse le batla go nkoba mo phathing ke ntse ke re le a palelwa, gakere o a itse.*



**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Wait Honourable Moswaane, I am answering you, *gakere* you had the opportunity. So I am just wondering where this aha-moment came from, because all along you were with us singing maDomi *tsholetsa le Rre Masisi, jaanong re ipotsa gore* this ...(interruption)... where exactly did it happen.

**MR MOSWAANE:** Ga ke ise ke ...(interruption)... go nkoba malatsi otlhe, o a itse.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Were you riding the BDP in order to get elected while you had a different master who you were preparing to defend after the elections? You were simply hoodwinking the people of Francistown West knowing that they wanted to elect the BDP, and since you wanted to come back to Parliament, you wanted to use the BDP as your vehicle back to Parliament. Honourable Moswaane, you must be sincere in your principles, if you did not agree with the BDP, you should have said so before the elections not after. Thank you.

**MR MOSWAANE:** BDP ke moroko *party*, o a itse le wena, moroko.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Citizen Economic Empowerment (CEE) should not ...(interruption)... only, but on how to bring citizens into the mainstream economy. This involves having to confront legacy problems where old dominant players have had their fingers in every pie, creating barriers for entry for new players.

Further, solving this legacy problem, thus spreading the wealth, is by using the Botswana Stock Exchange (BSE). The listing of the Botswana Telecommunications Corporation (BTC) on the BSE was instructed enough that Botswana want to be active participants in the economy. I think equally so was the listing of Choppies, both of which were highly oversubscribed.

The number of citizen investors more than doubled in the local stock market, thanks to the BTC listing. Thus, we need to create more opportunities for that to happen again. We need to see more businesses listing on the stock exchange, and the law hanging fruits include state owned enterprises. Not only will it chip wealth for the citizens, but listed companies have been proven to be resilient as well as ... (inaudible)... shareholder value.

Another way of boosting the economy in creating wealth is to build strong communities that believe in shared wealth creation. This speaks to the Motion that

we had on Parliament a couple of weeks ago, which was talking about drilling boreholes for individual farmers. The only way that we can build strong communities and strong businesses is by clustering, by bringing groups together and availing resources to be shared by the group because we cannot afford to do one-one of everything for every single member of this society.

As I stated before in Parliament, Botswana has good policies and interventions, but the downfall has always been implementation. I will give an example of the Village Development Committees (VDCs), these have a very important role to play in building communities, but they have very little results to show. This is because VDCs need to be revamped, from how they are constituted to their mandate. The process of selecting VDC has to change so that the structure encompasses the diverse skills from the local communities. Members should be highly skilled to be to implement projects and initiative beneficial to the community. To attract such high kind of people; is that Honourable Hikuama?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Yes Sir.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Mr Speaker, I am yielding for now.

**MR SPEAKER:** May we have order please. Honourable Healy, *o fana eng le mang, le fana eng?*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O ne a re *he is yielding*. O a nkgana?

**MR SPEAKER:** Go kopiwa mo go nna.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ke kopile o bo o sa ntshupi *Mr Speaker, he yielded for me*.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** A a tsene *Mr Speaker*, nako e a tsamaya, kana ke tswelele?

**MR SPEAKER:** Ga ke a bolo gore yo o kopileng a tswelele, ga a tswelele.

**MR HIKUAMA:** *Nnyaa, ke a tswelela comrade. Ke ne ke re Honourable Healy, you were talking about a very important point ya lack of implementation. I hear a lot of Ministers and Members of Parliament, more especially from the BDP, they are talking about this lack of implementation, tota la re gore go nne le implementation of policies le programmes, ke fa go ka dirwa jang? Fa go lediwa rotlhe, Minister, Mapalamente le President o lela ka implementation, who are we expecting to come to this point to ensure that there is implementation against the programmes in this country? Ke a leboga.*



**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you very much Honourable Hikuama. *Nnyaa rra, ga se kgang ya go lela*, the issue at hand is being honest to our challenges, we do not want to hide behind, and keep quite when the challenges are steering us in the face. So there are challenges Honourable Hikuama which need to be addressed. So, we are saying one of the best challenge is implementation. So, several people may be held accountable for implementation, but that is not the focus right now, including ourselves the BDP having led this country, but it is not just us, it is a national problem of implementation. I do not want to dwell on that one, *ke go utlwile*, I take it *gore o nkutlwile*.

As I was saying about VDCs, the allowance for P400 simply is not enough, we need to incentivise people more, it does not necessarily have to be monetary, but we have to look at beyond the P400 that we give to people in the VDC, what else can be done to attract people of the right calibre with the right passion into these community development structures. With the right VDC structures, the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) could have been a programme administered, in conjunction with the area Member of Parliament, administered by VDCs unlike the case now where council practically runs the whole show.

At this juncture, I would also like to speak about the empty spaces that remain unutilised. Gaborone City is littered with empty spaces that remain unutilised. I am aware that calls for proposals have been made with regards to this, but we need to move faster and we need to utilise more of them, not a piecemeal approach. We need to have a policy that is going to make our empty spaces of great economic value to our people. Citizens are frustrated about being thrown from pillar to post in trying to get information on how to better utilise these spaces. The lack of transparency and accountability with regards to open spaces is also a concern.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** By BDP!

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** No, if you recall, the previous Gaborone City Council (GCC) was under the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC), so these are framework that came from them.

Our constituency offices frequently receive proposals from community members seeking to turn these empty spaces to productive use. These are spaces that can be used to offset the high cost for doing business such as high rentals charged by retail malls. Through open

spaces, we can have local community markets where residents have amenities to showcase these services and goods at a lower cost. This calls for a master plan on how to best use the empty spaces.

I was very impressed by what I saw in Gaborone Main Mall on how some young people are using the space in front of National Development Bank (NDB), thus bringing many young talented Batswana to showcase their products, the place has a coffee shop, various food joints, music arts and a library. So, this is a start of what we can see being done in our open spaces.

The Segoditshane River cuts across my constituency, and it is a multimillion pula business waiting to be explored, and while this is a fact to most people, the river remains underdeveloped, thus missing out on economic activities. The same can be said of Gaborone Game Reserve.

My constituency represents a large part of the Government workforce, and thus I am aware of the challenges that they face.

The President together with some Ministers have mentioned that the public service has to be restructured. I completely support this but I must say restructuring does not have to entail cutting of jobs. Instead, it should be about boosting productivity. Police officers, nurses, teachers and other Government workers are frustrated by their careers because they are stuck in salary grades while the cost of living has continued to rise.

It would be interesting if the study was done to see how many of them have mortgages, their conditions of service have greatly improved in line... sorry...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ke go bala *statement*.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** ...their conditions of service has to be greatly improved in line with their valuable contribution to the society.

In my previous response to the Budget Speech, I said we need to develop a raft of initiatives for this group of workers. Countries like the United States of America (USA) have some of the most generous pension benefits...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Akere Keorapetse o ntse a bala le ene.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** ...teachers and other such professions. This has allowed them to attract the best talent in the market.



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

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Ke ipotsa gore motho fa a re o se ka wa bala, o tsaya gore *speech sa paragraphs* tse 154, o ka se *cram*?

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Tshabang, please.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** In our current set-up, it is hard for them to stay motivated. I have met the nursing staff in Marina who are frustrated at being stuck in salary C1-scale for many, many years. This is not only peculiar to nurses, rather, it cuts across the working force. How are you able to stay motivated when you know that your career has come to a standstill? We also need to come up with regulations that protect workers from predatory lenders. Loans books from commercial banks are largely made up of Government workers and they have been trapped in this vicious cycle of debt. What is even more sad is that profits made by these banks are repatriated outside the country, which Honourable Serame, takes us back to the issue of exchange controls. Are exchange controls working for the Republic of Botswana or is it something that we saw been done in the Asian Tigers, or in Mauritius and it may have worked for them, but our circumstances are peculiar to us and clearly at least from where I am standing, exchange controls have not been very beneficial to the Republic of Botswana. So we need to relook these things.

Perhaps it is time we have a state-backed mortgage bank that will create house ownership among Government workers. I know about the existence of Government Employees Motor Vehicle and Residential Property Advance Scheme (GEMVAS), but that is still simply not enough.

Disability; as patron of the Botswana Association of the Deaf, I have taken great interest in the welfare of people living with disabilities. These people who most of the time have to endure challenges on a daily basis, some of these challenges should not be there in the first place. They struggle with accessibility, whether it is taking public transport or getting assistance from offices, or just simply accessing a building. While we introduce mother tongue language in the curriculum, it is also about time we introduce sign language training in schools and training centres, particularly for frontline workers and transport operators.

Furthermore, the integration of people living with disabilities in public schools has been a wonderful development, but this should be matched by capacitating

education workers and learners on how to deal and engage with people living with disabilities. The schools at the moment are under resourced to deal with this integration.

Governance, peace and security; *ke tsaya gore nako ya me e setse e felela* Mr Speaker, for years, our country has been known for its peace and stability, that is concerning now to see that some of these wins are being undermined by some people who have their own agendas. To start off with, we have seen the independence of the Judiciary being questioned here in this House, just because decisions of the Judiciary do not please certain people. Just now, I have just been listening to this debate about the Chief Justice, I think it was Honourable Molao who used the example of the outgoing South African Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng, that he was picked from a litany of Judges to be made the Chief Justice. So it is nothing new, it is nothing that has not been done in many other jurisdictions.

**MR MOSWAANE:** *Point of order. Mr Speaker, the Honourable Member of Parliament (MP) here a re mo Ntlong e go nyadiwa Judiciary system. Ke re a tlhalose ka botlalo gore ba nyadiwa ke mang, leng, jang? Fa a na le bosupi joo, a bo neele wena Mr Speaker gore go boammaaruri Ntlo e e nyatsa Judiciary. Ke batla gore kgang e e tlhalosege ka gore o re senya leina against the Judiciary. Go tlhalositswe go le gantsi gore o kare ba ba neng ba bua, ba ne ba le against the President ka tsamaiso e a e dirisang, not the Judiciary. Ke ne ke re o ka re thusa foo Mr Speaker. Thank you.*

**MR SPEAKER:** A ruling has already been made on that issue. So nobody can resurrect it. Please, continue Honourable Healy.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you Mr Speaker.

**MR MOSWAANE:** Further point of order Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Moswaane, a ruling has been made on that...

**MR MOSWAANE:** Let me just clarify because *ga o a e tshwara sentle* Mr Speaker. A ruling has been made, but he cannot repeat the same mistake, he has to be stopped. If a ruling has been made, he has to be stopped. He cannot repeat it.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Iketle, o ne a bua ka South African Judges. Let the gentleman conclude.*



**MR MOSWAANE:** No, *ga wa reetsa* Mr Speaker. We can pull the Hansard. *O ne a bua ka rona kwano, a bo a fa sekai ka South Africa.*

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Moswaane, I am running the House, not you.

**MR MOSWAANE:** You are not listening to the speaker *fa a bua*. Otherwise, you have chosen to just be biased *fela ka tsela nngwe*.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Moswaane, please be quiet.

**MR MOSWAANE:** Healy o ntse a bua gompieno o reeditse *Mr Speaker*.

**MR SPEAKER:** Control, just switch off Honourable Moswaane. Please, continue Honourable Healy.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you very much Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, we must be careful of things that we say for populism. Rating agencies and other observers rely on what is being reported, whether factual or fiction, thus the countries ...(Inaudible)... seen as not being law abiding.

Mr Speaker, in the 2019 elections, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) made a promise of the Constitutional review, we are committed to that promise, and the President reiterated that commitment. The Constitution is the foundation of a country and as such, it cannot be rushed at the whims of opposition parties. There is a process to these things. It amazes me that the same opposition parties, that have constitutional crises as we speak amongst themselves, whenever they open their mouths, they want to start speaking about the national Constitution. What I want to give to the opposition as advice is, go and get practice in drafting a constitution, by drafting a working constitution of the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC). Once you know how a constitution works, once you have practice in drafting a constitution, then you would be better placed to talk about the Constitutional review. For now, go to the Registrar of Societies and sort out that Clause that stops you from having what Honourable Dumelang Saleshando is saying is the democratisation of the UDC. Once you have dealt with that, you will understand what a Constitution is and then we can have this discussion about the Constitution. For now, stay ...(Interruptions)... In this regard...

**MR HIKUAMA:** *Point of procedure.* Tanki Honourable Speaker. Ke ne ke re gongwe o busetse diemo mo tsamaisong. Kana fa go buiwa ka *Constitution* ya

Botswana, ga go buiwe ka *constitution* ya ga Domkrag. Jaanong batho ba tswa mo tsamaisong, ba lekanya kana ba tshwantshanya *constitution* ya Phathi ya UDC le ya lefatshe. Fa ya lefatshe la Botswana e le ya rona rotlhe, e se ya ga Domkrag. MaDomkrag ba batla go ikgagapelela *Constitution* e, ga se ya bone, ke ya lefatshe.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Mr Speaker, Honourable Hikuama is debating on the matter that I am still talking about.

**MR SPEAKER:** Yes, he has. Honourable Hikuama, you have made your point. Honourable Healy, just put your record straight, so that your colleagues can understand you.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Okay. In this regard, be assured that the Constitutional review will be done through the right channels, so that we do not end up with an ambiguous Constitution as is the case with opposition parties. It would be done correctly; it would be led by the people who have been given the mandate to lead this review. Everybody will be involved, including the opposition parties but it will be led by those who have been given the mandate.

I am surprised by the opposition stand, it is their nature to create panic and ride on populist notions. I guess it is expected from them, since they have never run anything, even the amalgamation of parties that they are running clearly has no direction, has no constitution. Even the leadership is doubtful because one leader says...

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

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** ...we are not going to congress, and then another leader says I am democratising the UDC ...(Interruptions)...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ba betse.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** It is just an amalgamation of confusion. So we cannot waste time with people like that. Let us lead you, wait for us to lead you and we will take you to the Promised Land.

Idealism and reality are totally different. We know that in the past, some had shadow Cabinets, shadow this, shadow that. That was the idealistic world, this is the reality now...

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Member for Gaborone Central, do not worry, we have frozen the clock. Honourable Motsamai, what is your point of order?



**MR MOTSAMAI:** *Order.* Ke ne ke re le fa Motlotlegi Molale a re “ba betse, ba betse,” a mo ntsha mo tseleng...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** I am not on the floor.

**MR SPEAKER:** Ke tlaa mo kgalemela mo lese.

**MR MOTSAMAI:** Ga o mo *floor*; mme o a bua. Dikgomo tsa gago di jetse bana *jersey* kwa Xanagas kwa...

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Motsamai, you are very, very irrelevant.

**MR MOTSAMAI:** *Mr Speaker, my point is Honourable Healy a boele morago mafoko a go suputsa diphathi tsa kganetso, a bo a supa gore ga re na constitution that we run diphathi tsa rona ka yone.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O senya nako, go siame...

**MR MOTSAMAI:** Fa e le gore a re ga re na yone *Mr Speaker*, ke boammaaruri... didimala *Mr Leuwe*... (Inaudible)...

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

**MR MOTSAMAI:** ...a a ntshe bosupi ka kgang e a reng ga re na molaomotheo. A bo beye mo teng ga Palamente e *Mr Speaker*.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Healy, please continue.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you Mr Speaker. Gender-Based Violence (GBV) and women empowerment; as we are aware, the first 16 days of December are dedicated to ending GBV. This is an important issue that cannot be overemphasised. Each year we receive harrowing stories of GBV. I want to thank this Parliament and the Government for ... (Interruptions)...

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

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** ...to GBV as evidenced by the Inter-Ministerial Committee that was set up earlier in February this year. However, I am disappointed on what seems to be... (Interruptions)... of the committee.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of order.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Nnyaa rra*, you are wasting time.

**MR MOTSAMAI:** Ga se nako ya gago gakere *Mr Speaker*; le nna ke ya me. Ke nako ya rona rotllhe.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Motsamai, please do not disturb the proceedings. You have made your point *re go utlwile, tlogela* Honourable Healy with his debate.

**MR MOTSAMAI:** O ntsaya ka lebogo la molema *Mr Speaker*, ke go lemogile.

**MR MANGWAGAPE-HEALY:** But I am disappointed by the slow progress of the committee. We need to see more from the committee in terms of briefings, awareness and engagement. More research has to be done to look at the underlying causes of GBV. In particular, we need to focus on mental health.

I would like to applaud the First Lady *Mma Atsile*, for being at the forefront of tackling this issue of GBV. I have heard politicisation of this one as well, *Mma Atsile* is going around the country as a member of the Organisation of African First Ladies, where she got a grant that speaks to the issues of GBV. It is not like she went and got Government money and is running around the country with Government money on this issue, that some feel maybe it belongs to them and it has been stolen from them. It is a separate initiative for which we want to applaud her.

Speaking of GBV, sometimes one gets very perplexed, Honourable Dr Gobotswang came and read a petition in this Parliament, which was speaking to matters of GBV. You must realise that some people are not genuine in the things that they do. He came to this Parliament to read a petition about GBV, to my utter dismay and shock, in the last Parliament when we were discussing the Penal Code with regard to sexual offences, Honourable Dr Gobotswang protested vehemently at the sentences that were aimed at attempted rapists. He even said, “no they did not manage, we cannot be so stringent on people who did not manage, we must be lenient on them because they did not manage to execute the rape.” So says the person who comes to Parliament to present a petition on GBV. I am not surprised, this is how the opposition works, they say one thing for populism, and in reality they do another thing. Yandani Boko is another typical example, youngest Member of Parliament; he stands here every day talking youth unemployment and you say, you have been given a small opportunity at your constituency office to hire somebody amongst the unemployed youth that you talk about every day. He



then goes and hires somebody approaching 80 years old, as a Secretary. So you can see, the commitment from these gentlemen, they say one thing and they do another thing...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of order.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** We have been living with this kind of behaviour and we are accustomed to it. We now understand that that is how the opposition works. They shout at the top of their voices. Some at political rallies were asking for contributions for an investigation into the death of *Rre Gomolemo Motswaledi*, alleging that he had been assassinated by the Directorate on Intelligence and Security (DIS). Right now when people ask where is that report, I remember the leader of one of the parties here working with *Rre Mmolotsi*, even said those who have contributed must bring the receipts and they will be refunded. What cheek when you have taken people's money under false pretences, now the people are asking you to account, you start saying those who have paid must bring their receipts. You are dishonest, that is the height of dishonesty...

**MR SPEAKER:** There is someone asking for a point of order, who is that?

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** The one with the oldest employee.

**MR BOKO:** Order. *Mr Speaker*, gongwe re lemogore *Honourable Healy* o dule mo tseleng, ka go mara ba *opposition* dikgang tse di senang boammaaruri, tsa gore gatwe ba tsere madi a lesa la ga *Motswaledi* *under false pretences*. Gongwe *Mr Speaker*, fa a ka thusa a tla ka maina a batho ba ba a tsereng *under false pretences*. Sa bobedi *Mr Speaker*, a ntshe bosupi jwa teng.

Sa boraro *Mr Speaker*, gongwe fa go ka kgonagala le re rekele *machine* o o tlhatlhobang. Fa Mapalamente ba tla mo Palamenteng, le re tlhatlhobe dilo tse dintsinyana,

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** This guy is wasting our time *Mr Speaker*, utlwa dilo tse a di buang.

**MR BOKO:** ...ka gore fa gongwe *Mr Speaker*, bangwe ba tla fa... (*Interruptions*)...

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

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Please. Thank you Honourable Boko. Honourable Healy, please continue.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you my Lord.

Boko, you will never distract us from the fact that you say one thing, and you do another. I want to repeat, in all the constituencies, you have the oldest employee, you are the youngest Member of Parliament, the things you say and the things you do, do not tally. Stop making points of order, and refute what I am saying.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Wena o hirile masika a gago, mme ga gona ope yo o go tsoetsang modumo.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** As we go along *Mr Speaker*, *ba ba tlaa re diela nako ba*. Rule of law; "*e seng mo go Kgosikgolo*." *Mr Speaker*, this is politics and we are politicians. There are no Kgosis, kings, chiefs in politics. Anybody who engages in politics, must know that he is going to be answered politically.

Where were those sentiments of "*e seng mo go Kgosikgolo*" when Kgosi Tawana Moremi II was being persecuted by the same people who are now crying foul? Where were those people when Kgosi Kwena Sebele of Bakwena was sentenced by a court of law, where were they with "*e seng mo go Kgosikgolo*?" Where were they when Kgosi Lotlamoreng was being ridiculed by the same *Kgosikgolo* that they are now protecting?

Did they not have the voice to say, *e seng mo Dikgosikgolong*? We cannot tolerate that. There is no *Kgosikgolo* in politics, you must get it clear. If you want to be in a political field, *Kgosikgolo*...

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

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Monna wee! Khama ke *Kgosikgolo* ya me, fa e le gore ga o na *Kgosikgolo* mo Gaborone Central...

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Ramogapi, Order!

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ga o bone phangka ya teng, ga a ka ke a nna le *Kgosikgolo*.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Where were you when Kgosi Kgafela was being persecuted? Have you just found your voice now, that the same man who said, "there is no such thing as *Kgosikgolo*," is roaming this country calling himself a *Kgosikgolo*? He has told us that, there is no *Kgosikgolo*. I can certainly tell you there is no *Kgosikgolo* in politics. In politics we are all equal, okay. So, that Motion must stop.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O itsenya bati ka go tlhasela *Kgosikgolo*.



**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Rule of law Mr Speaker, is the righteous infliction of retribution manifested by the appropriate agent. If the Directorate of Intelligence or the Directorate of Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC) or the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) within their mandate see it necessary *go ikatumetsa* any member of society, so be it. I repeat, rule of law means righteous infliction of retribution manifested by the appropriate agent, in this case being the state agent. Whoever has got anything to answer, they must come before the courts and prove themselves innocent. If they are innocent, life will go on, if they are guilty, the necessary will be done. There is no fear or favour. This country is premised on the rule of law and anybody who violates the law will face the consequences, irrespective of who they are, where they were, how they were...

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

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** I thank you for that one. Mr Speaker...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Very quick.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** *Through you, kana Speaker* le ene ke mathata fela.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Okay, let me go on...

**MR SPEAKER:** Just a minute Honourable Healy, Honourable Kekgongile, you are being derogative on me and I do not like that. Honourable Kekgongile, you are being derogative on me and I am not taking that... (inaudible)... Please continue Honourable Healy.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you Mr Speaker. International relations; as you are aware, recently you sent us to Nigeria. I was fortunate enough to be with the Leader of the Opposition (LOO) in Abuja, Nigeria, where one of the United Nations (UN) Chiefs remarked that, it is good to have...

**LEADER OF THE HOUSE (MR TSOGWANE):** *Procedure.* Go lebala go teng...

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

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order!* Mogolo o a bua!

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

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Ramogapi, the Leader of the House is on the floor. Please continue Honourable Leader of the House.

**MRTSOGWANE:** Ke ne ke re go lebala go teng. Motho o kgona go lebala. Go tletse palo e e seng kana ka sepe mo Ntlong, e tsamaya sentle. Gongwe re lebetse *Mr Speaker*, o ne wa dira *ruling* gore mongwe Mopalamente a didimatswe. Gongwe ba mo didimaleditse ruri Rre Moswaane. Gongwe le mo lebetse le mo golole.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** *Mr Speaker*, re kopa go go gakolola, o se ka wa bitsa Mapalamente bana, o bo o re mogolo o a bua.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Thank you Mr Speaker. Mr Speaker, as I was saying, I was with my Member of Parliament, Honourable LOO in Abuja, Nigeria recently. One of the UN Chiefs remarked that, it is good to have Botswana on the international stage. He said, "you have been in some hole for the last 10 years and we are glad that you are now participating. You are now visible on the international stage." So, we once again want to applaud His Excellency the President Masisi for being visible because it is through this visibility, that we now see the likes of *Rre* Magosi having been appointed to head Southern African Development Community (SADC). It is through this visibility, that we see the likes of Dr Moeti. It is through this visibility, that we see Botswana being welcomed back on the world stage. For the first time His Excellency the President of the Republic of Botswana led a delegation to the World Economic Forum, things that we were not used to. *Rona re ne re tlwaetse go bina* Polka. *Re ya go thembola kwa* Khawa. *Re phakisa diphaphatha.* We did not want to go out there and meet our peers. Now ... (interruptions)... to talk to his peers. A President who is not scared to face his peers in the eye and say, *nyaa ga ke dumalane le wena. E seng a bua kwa phuthegong kwa* Samochima *ka selo se se diragetseng kwa* West Africa *kana* East Africa, *batho ba* East Africa *ba sa utlwe gore a reng. A tile go bolelela batho ba* Khawa *re sena go bina* Polka, *go sena le fa e le yo o mo utlwang.* We are glad to have a President who can face his peers and speak to them.

Rule of law; Mr Speaker, there has been many challenges, many ... (interruptions)... at the Director of Public Prosecution among other arms of Government. Court of Appeal ruled as a matter of fact, reemphasised the independence of Directorate of Public Prosecutions (DPP). The rule of law is intact and visible. They say law has to be seen to be done. *Ke batla go wetsa ka one mafoko ao* Mr Speaker, that Botswana is back on the world stage. Botswana is open for business. Our



President has peer to peer engagements with his peers. Our President is not scared to callout organisations that do not seem to be doing us right.

In closing, I want to also talk about the spread of poaching that we have seen since 2018 and how surprising that news networks that seemed to be affiliated to people who are confusing, spreading, disturbing the peace in these countries, are always the first one to write about that project...

**MR SPEAKER:** Your time is up!

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

**MR KEKGONEGILE (MAUN EAST):** Tanki *Mr Speaker*. Mma ke simolole fela ka go lemoga gore paka ya gompiano, e bokete thata mo malwapeng a le mantsi mo lefatsheng la rona. Kwa kgaolong ya rona go ntse fela jalo.

Re bua mo nakong ya gompiano e le gore mongwe wa *struggle icons* tsa South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) mme e bile gape e le *trade unionist of note* mo lefatsheng la rona, Comrade Meshack Kachiteo o robetse. Re bua jaana e le gore mongwe wa barati ba tlhologo (*nature*) mo lefatsheng la rona, e le monana a bidiwa Dan Ntsogotho, o robetse ka ntata ya nare kwa Khwai. A mewa ya bone e robale ka Kagiso le botlhe ba ba re tlogetseng mo bogaufing le mo malobeng. Kana botshelo re bo tshela ka dipaka tse di farologaneng. Fa ba bangwe ba le mo kutlobotlhokong, ba bangwe ba mo boitumelong. Re bua jaana e le gore mokaulengwe Gosetsemang Mazaira le ba bangwe ba tlaabo ba tsena mo nyalong e e boitshepho mo mafelong a beke, re ba eleletse masego le matlhogonolo mo go ageng malwapa ga bone.

*Mr Speaker*, re bua ka seemo sa setšhaba, seemo sa lefatshe, mme re bua mo go sone re lebile mafoko a ga Tautona Masisi a maloba. Gantsinyana mo mafatsheng, puo e e ntseng jaana, ke puo e e nang le tebelopele le *targets*. Ke puo e e nang le gore re ya go dira se ka nako ya go nna jaana re se direla gore maduo a tle a nne jaana. Fa re sale re tsena mo Palamenteng e, puo e ya ga Tautona e fa go tla mo pakeng e ya Palamente, gantsinyana baelatlhoko ba dipolotiki ga ba e farologanye le *composition* ya ga Benny and Betty. Ke puo fela e e buiwang ka gore go tshwanetse ga buiwa. Ga se puo e e buiwang e ganeletse mo goreng re direla se lefatshe ka ntata ya gore re tokafatsa se. Ke puo e e buiwang fela ka gore se se tshwanetse go nna teng mo

lefatsheng go sa kgathelesege gore go nna teng ga sone go *beneficial* go le kae *to batho* ba le kae, a re ka se ntsha ra tsenya se ka e le sone se e leng gore mo pakeng ya gompiano ke sone se se ka berekang.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O a bo o reng Kekgonegile?

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Go botlhokwa thata gore jaaka re le mo puong e, e bile thatathata jaaka go iwa *by-elections* jaana, re itse gore kana Puso e tsamaisiwa sepolotiki. Fa e tsamaisiwa sepolotiki, re tlhaloganye re le setšhaba jaaka re tlaabo re tlhopho ka go farologana. O ka tswa o le kwa Khwai, Motokwe, Nkange North, Tumasera, Tamasane, Metsimotlhabe, Lerolwane, Molopo, Metsimotlhabe le Lentsweletau, mme tlhopho ya gago ke yone e e ka bopang lefatshe kwa o batlang le ya teng. Fa o le mo tshokolong e e dirwang ke ditshwetso tsa sepolotiki, o tshwanetse go supa ka tlhopho gore ditshwetso tse ga di mperekele.

Hichilema o ne a re tlhopho ya gago ke yone e e ka baakanyang manokonoko a a dirwang mo lefatsheng ka *corruption, arrogance* ya babusi, tlhoko ditiro le tlhoko ditlhabololo tse di dirwang ka bomo mme di go lebagane.

*Mr Speaker*, re bua jaana re lebile *sector* ya *economy and employment* gore lefatshe la Botswana le lebiwa e le *a medium income country*. Motho o ka ipotsa a le kwa Khwee gore lefatshe le e le la khumo e e fa gare mo mafatsheng, a go a mperekela mo lelwapeng kana mo motseng wa me? Fa go sa go berekele, tshwetso e o tshwanetseng go e tsaya ka 18<sup>th</sup> December 2021 ke efe? Kana *medium income country status* ga se a tlisa sepe mo lefatsheng la rona se gongwe re ka reng gompiano motho o ka tshela ka sone.

Mopalamente mongwe yo o ntseng a bua fa, o bua ka dilelo mo lefatsheng le, le one maDomkrag tota. Ba galaletsa *for 10 minutes* ba bo ba bua dilelo *for 35 minutes*. Seo fela ka bosone se supa gore phathi ya Domkrag ga e kgone go tsamaisa lefatshe le.

Puso e ya dingwaga tse 50, itsholelo e e reng ke *medium income*, ga e a tlisa *any investments* mo botsogong le *infrastructure* ya segompiano fa o e tshwantshanya le mafatshe a a re dikologileng. Gompiano go buiwa ka gore Botswana o tshwanetse go ya go nna *a high-income status country*. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Report ya 2020 *on inequalities in Botswana* e supa gore lefatshe la Botswana ke la borobabongwe mo mafatshefatsheng ka go katologana



ga itsholelo fa gare ga ba ba nang le sengwe le ba ba senang sepe. Potso ke gore fa e le gore *medium income status* e kgona gore e re gorose kwa go boferabongwe, *high income status* se ya go re gorosa kae, kwa go bobedi kana bongwe? Gone moo go raya eng fela? Go raya gore bahumi mo lefatsheng la Botswana ba humela kwa pele, bahumanegi ba humanegela kwa pele. Gone moo fela go raya gore 1 *per cent of the population* e tshwere 99 *per cent of the income* ya lefatshe la Botswana.

Dikgaolo di tshwana le South East le Kgatleng ke tsone tse di nang le *the highest inequality in the country*. Fa o le kwa Boseja kwa Mochudi o tsoga o tlhopho ka 18<sup>th</sup>, itse gore khumanego mo kgaolong ya gago e gata *step*, mme e tsamaya fa pelenyana ga khumo. Fa e le gore lelwapa la gago le ntse le tshela ka sengwe, e tlaare mo dingwageng tse pedi, le ka nna la wela kwa tlase la tlhoka go tshela ka sepe. E re fa o tlhopho ka Sateretaga o tlhophe o itse seo.

Fa o le kwa mafelong a Metsimotlhabe kana Lentsweletau o tlhopho, a ka tswa a le mo Kweneng *but economically, they fall in* South East. Fa o tlhopho o itse gore tlhopho ya gago e raya eng.

*Mr Speaker*, kana 55 *per cent* ya lefatshe la Botswana le mo ka Sekgoa go ka bidiwang gotwe *existent stage*. Ba mo *development stage* se e leng gore ba tshela ka meamuso fela e e tswang mo go Goromente. Fa re bua ka itsholelo ya rona, maDomkrag ba bua thata ka gore *private sector* e tshwanelwa ke gore e bo e tsamaisa itsholelo ya rona. *Private sector* e tsamaisa itsholelo ya rona jang fa e le gore yone ka boyone e a kgaratlha ka *markets* le madi a e ka dirang ditiro ka one? Goromente gompiano ke ene *who had taken over* ditiro tse nkabong e le gore *under normal circumstances* di ka bo di dirwa ke *private sector*. Maloba go ne go tla *Bill* fa e bidiwa...

**ASSISTANT MINISTER OF INVESTMENT, TRADE AND INDUSTRY (MR MOLEBATS):**

*On a point of clarification Mr Speaker. Thank you Mr Speaker.* O nankole ditiro tse o reng Goromente o di iphile. Gape ke re gakere o lemoga gore molao wa Citizen Economic Inclusion Act ra re re fa Botswana ditiro le *institutions* tse di mo go Goromente? Wa reng ka one *honourable*?

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Tanki *honourable*. Molao o tsholofelo e ne e le gore e bile ga o na lefoko "*citizen*" mo go one, *so* o ntshe lefoko "*citizen*" mo teng. Tsholofelo ya molao o e ne e le gore o ya go bidiwa Citizen Empowerment Act. Botswana ba ne ba solofetse go le

gontsi mo go one, gore *is going to empower citizens*. *It was watered down* go nna Economic Inclusion Bill e e leng gore jaanong ga e sa tlhoke e lebaganye le *citizen*, e lebaganye le mongwe yo o tshwereng Omang. Gone moo fela ka bogone go raya gore tsholofelo e Botswana ba neng ba na le yone e dule ka lelati la Palamente letsatsi le penne...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Targeted citizens.

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Fa go ntse jalo go raya gore ditsholofetso tseo ga di yo, gape fa godimo ga moo, molao o ga o na *structure* sepe fela se se yang go o diragatsa. Maloba kwa Maun re ne re kopane le borre Habano, ba e leng bagwebi ba ba botlana mo diterakeng, dikokong, maeng, dikonkoreiteng, mantsweng le *horticulture produce*, ba bua gore mo Maun re lebile batswakwa jaaka ba tshela ka meamuso ya lefatshe la rona. Kwa godimo kwa ke makula, fa tlase fa ke maZimbabwe, ga gona *structure* se e kareng molao o o tla, o re se le se se diragadiwa ke Botswana fela mo lefatsheng la Botswana. Go bo go na le *structure* sepe, kana ofisi epe e e teng letsatsi le letsatsi e e tlhodumelang gore amauri ditiro tse re reng di dirwa ke Botswana di dirwa ke bone. Ga gona le fa e le *structure* se se ntseng jalo. Ke molao fela o o leng foo, o e leng gore ga o na mosola mo Batswaneng. Go fitlhelela go nna le seemo se se ntseng jalo, *illegal operations*...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of correction.

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Ke go file *chance comrade*, o tlaa tla o *debate* ka nako ya gago. *Illegal operations by non-paying and non-permit holding business people* mo lefatsheng la rona go kwa godimo fela thata. Ka gone moo fela go raya gore Botswana ba jewa ntsoma, mme ba jewa ntsoma ke Goromente wa bone kabomo. Ke sone se re reng fa o tlhopho ka di 18, simolola loeto la go baakanya seemo mo lefatsheng le, simolola loeto la go busetsa itsholelo mo Batswaneng.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of order.

**MR SPEAKER:** Just a minute Honourable Kekgonigile, who is that one calling for point of order?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Honourable Molebatsi.

**MR SPEAKER:** You are not going to do that Honourable Molebatsi. Standing Order 53.2 debar you to do that. I have been listening to you, many are times when you were advocating for point of something, something, now realising *Mopalamente wa* Maun



*Botlhaba a go raya a re, "ke go file comrade," you change o bitsa point of order. You are not allowed as per Standing Order 53.2. Please continue Honourable Kekgonegile.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Procedure Mr Speaker.

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Tanki *Mr Speaker*. Fa re tsena mo dikgannyeng ditiro, *labour and employment Mr Speaker...*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Ga a bue boammaruri gatwe a tlogelwe fela bathong.

**MR SPEAKER:** Who is that one calling for procedure?

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Rakgare Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** Please go on.

**MR RAKGARE:** *Point of procedure. Thank you very Mr Speaker. Re reeditse Motlotlegi Mopalamente wa Maun East ka tlhloafalo o bua bontle thata. Mathata jaanong ke gore tsamaiso e go lebegang e tlaa nna ntšha mo Ntlong ya gago, a re tlaa e kgona mo nakong e e tlang ka gore kana Honourable Member holding the floor is busy campaigning. Jaanong ga ke itse gore a le ba ba tlaabong ba latela after him go tlaa nna sentle fela gore before di 18 jaaka go iwa ditlhophong jaana, mongwe le mongwe yo o mo fang sebaka go bua o tlaabo a bua ka campaign, e le gore o bua ka gore go tlhophiwe jang, go se ka ga tlhophiwa jang. Ke re gongwe o gakolole Mr Speaker gore a mme re gata sentle? I personally think we are setting a very bad precedence. Ke a leboga Mr Speaker.*

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

**MR SPEAKER:** *Let us have order please. Ke lona le dirang akere, Motlotlegi Rraetsho Tautona o le beile mafoko pele, ke lona le itsenyetsang a lona. Jaanong kana le bagolo, ga le ka ke la kotelwa jaaka bana to a certain extent. Generally Honourable Rakgare to an extent I agree with you. Jaanong bagaetsho, we have rules in this House, Standing Order 57.1 ya re o itebaganye le se se beilweng pele. Ke ntse ke mo reeditse le nna Motlotlegi Mopalamente wa Maun Botlhaba a bua ka campaigns, I beg you Honourable Kekgonegile, please comply with Standing Order 57.1 o bue ka se se kwadilweng mo pampiring ya ga Motlotlegi rraetsho Tautona, and I am saying please! please! Honourable Kekgonegile.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** ...(Inaudible)... se se ka buiwang ka yone.

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Tanki *Mr Speaker*, mme ke ne ke kopa *guidance* pele fa ke tswelela o ...

**MR SPEAKER:** *A ko o intshwarele pele Honourable Kekgonegile. Honourable Hikuama, ke kopa gore o berekisanye le nna sentle. You have got a tendency ya go nna o tsenelela, tsenelela our deliberations o sa lalediwa. I am talking to you for the last time, you dare do that! The Standing Order empowers me to throw you out of this House for seven days, and I shall do that without hesitation. Honourable Kekgonegile please continue.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** *Ke kopa procedure Mr Speaker.*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of procedure.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Kekgonegile, please continue.

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Tanki *Mr Speaker*, mme *procedures* ke tseo di a bidiwa ga ke itse gore...

**MR SPEAKER:** And please stick to the point.

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Ke ne ke kopa *your guidance* fa *Mr Speaker*; go ne go ntse go buiwa ka *tumbling* kwa Khawa, go tshameka ka dikuta, ga ke itse gore a gone go teng mo polelong ya ga Tautona?

**MR SPEAKER:** *Akere o nkuthwile ke go raya ke re ke lona mo Ntlong e le ntseng le dirang jalo, but two wrongs do not make a right. Honourable Member for Maun Botlhaba, two wrongs do not make a right! Please continue.*

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Tanki *Mr Speaker*, ke ne ke kopa gape gongwe gore *guide me* ka e nngwe ke e, kana golo mo Palamenteng e re tswa ka fa kganetsong, go na le ba ba tswang ka fa *phathing* e e busang. Mme *the interjections* tse di dirwang ke batlotlegi di tswa kafa le kafa, *but personally I have observed you Mr Speaker, never* o bitsa Mopalamente ope wa *ruling party* ka leina o re, semangsemang ga o bue sentle, *but* ba *opposition* le fa wa *ruling party* a kile a bua gantsintsi, wa *opposition* fa a ka bua gangwe fela fela *you bring the House to order there and then*. Gongwe go ka siama *Mr Speaker* fa o ka dira tshiamo kafa le kafa, e se ka ya nna o kare o betsa *side* e le nngwe fela fela. Tanki *Mr Speaker*.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Honourable Kekgonegile, I am running this House on the Standing Orders. Anybody who does wrong... ke ntse ke kgalemela Honourable*



Molebatsi gone jaana. Ga se ene fela ke ne ke mo kgalemela, ke kgalemela mongwe le mongwe *and you are not an exception*. O ntse o re *Speaker* ke mathata, ke go kgalemetse *and if you dare continue*, ke tlaa go kgalemela! *Please continue with your debate*.

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

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Tanki *Mr Speaker*. E *Honourable* Tsogwane o e ratile. *Mr Speaker*, mma re tsene mo go ya *labour and employment*, gore lefatshe la rona fa re bua ka tlhoko ditiro e kwa godimo fela thata. Mme ga se yone fela, ba ba reng ba a bereka le bone dituelo tsa bone di ngomola pelo. *We have the lowest wages in Southern Africa*, mme fa o lebelela itsholelo ya rona o e tshwantshanya le mafatshe a Southern Africa o ya go fitlhela e le gore a le mararo, a le mane, itsholelo ya rona e kwa godimo thata mo go bone. Mme dituelo tsa rona di ngomola pelo. Sone se fela *Mr Speaker*, fa o se tshwantshaya le gore dikgotla (*courts*) le tse dingwe fela jalo, dikgang tsa pereko di dintsi fela thata teng, go ikuela babereki ka go farologana. A ke *private* kana *Government sector*, gone moo fela ka bo gone go supa gore *industrial relations* ya rona e *poor*, e bile gape go supa gore melao ya rona e gateletse ka fa bahiring thata go gaisa ka fa babereking.

Sone seo fela, go ne go na le tsholofelo ya gore melao ya pereko e tlaa kgobokannngwa, e tokafatswaa. Re ne ra fiwa *July* gotwe ke ene go tlaa dirwang jalo gone mo Palamenteng e, gompiano re mo go *December*. Sone seo fela *Mr Speaker*, se baya babereki ka fa mosing. Go na le *National Employment Policy* e re neng re e amogela (*adopting*) maloba re le Palamente. Re buile ra re mo kana e a bo e le pampiri fela, ditiro tse di tshwanelwang ke gore di a bo di patagana le *policy* e di e diragatsa ga di yo. Ga gona *political will* le *strategic and visionary leadership* mo go Goramente gore o ka tokafatsa seemo sa babereki mo lefatsheng la Botswana.

Re ne re bona maabane gotwe go oketswa *minimum wage* ka 80thebe; *imagine; at most 80thebe*. Ke gore o raya gore fa o re o okeleditse motho madi, o bo o mo okeletsa ka P8 ka letsatsi, o bo o re o mo okeleditse madi? Gone moo fela go ngomola pelo mo lefatsheng le *Mr Speaker*. Re tswa kgakala re re *an alternative to minimum wage* ke *living wage*. Gore ba bo ba amogela bo P2, 200, P1, 800 bo P1, 200 *in the retail industry*, ga go re berekele mme e bile gape go tlisa boithobogo mo bathong. Ga go tokafatse matshelo a batho; P3, 000 *as a minimum living wage* ke one a re tshwanelwang ke gore re bo re berekela mo go one.

Fa o tsena mo dikgannyeng tsa pereko, tsa bo Performance Management and Delivery Unit (PEMANDU), Public Service Bargaining Council (PSBC) kwa goora Goramente, tsa bo Private Sector Bargaining Councils, Independent Labour Arbitrator, sengwenyana se se tshwanang le bo Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) kwa South Africa, ke tsone tse di ka tokafatsang seemo sa pereko mo lefatsheng la rona. Babereki le bahiri ba ka nna fa fatshe ba buisana, ga nna le tharabololo.

Re le UDC re santse re dumela gore 100 000 *jobs* o ka diragala mo ngwageng mo lefatsheng la rona. Re le UDC re santse re dumela gore *living wages*, go simolola ka P3 000, ke yone e e ka tokafatsang seemo mo lefatsheng la rona. Re santse re tlaa bua dikgang tse go fitlhelela di diragala, *whether* re mo Pusong kana ga re mo Pusong.

Banana ba lefatshe la Botswana, o simolola go bona tiro e e *permanent* e le *pensionable* a le mo dingwageng tse 30, a ne a tswa kwa dingwageng tse 23 *or 22* a fetsa kwa *tertiary*. *For seven years* o tsamaya fa gare ga *internship, casual labour*, Tirelo Setšhaba le *temporary* go fitlhelela a ya go tshwara dingwaga tse 30. *For five to 10 years*, selo seo se dira gore banana ba Botswana ba gole ba nne *economically independent very late*. Mo go raya gore matshelo a bone a simolola go nna botoka ba setse ba godile fela thata.

Fa o ya kwa *private sector*, ga gona bo *pension alternatives to gratuity*. Dituelo tsa bone di kwa tlase mme e bile gape fa o tla kwa *security* le *some retail industries*, o ya go fitlhela e le gore ba duelwa ka bo di 10 batho ba Modimo. Kgwedi e e tlang o duelwa ka di 5, kgwedi e e ka kwa o duelwa ka di 15. Ga gona yone tsamaiso e e tsenyang bahiri mo tshiamong. Motho wa teng fa o mo leletsa o go raya a re motho yoo ke tla mo duela nako e ke batlang go mo duela ka yone. E bile ba ba *security* fa o ba botsa gore naare go diragala eng, ba go raya ba re le rona Goramente o re duela gone ka bo di 10 le di 15 jalo. Go raya gore *it is a chain* e e leng gore *the root cause* ke Goramente wa lefatshe la Botswana. Goramente wa lefatshe la Botswana *is destroying small industries, businesses and small business people in different sectors*. Gone moo fela ka bogone go tshwanelwa ke gore setšhaba se tlhoboge batho ba gore dingwaga tse 50 le go feta, ba paletswe ke gore ba ka tokafatsa matshelo a bone. Ga se mo gompiano ba setseng ba tsamaya kwa ngwageng wa bo 60, go ka solofelwa gore sengwe se se botoka se ka tswa mo go bone.



Fa o tse na mo mabentleleng a *retails* a a tsamaisiwang ke Makula, *managers* tsotlhe di tswa India. E bile moo go ya jaanong le kwa dikoleng tsa bone tsa *private schools* tse ba di tsamaisang, *School Heads* ke maIndia. Ke gore Batswana bone ba tlaa bereka fa kae? Naare gatwe *to manage* shopo fela, ke gone go tlaa tlhokafalang gore motho a tsamae lewatle ka *flying machines* a tle go goroga kwano. Sekole fela sa sekole...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** ...re tswa kgakala ka dikole tse di kana. *Granted Mr Speaker.*

**MR MOTSAMAI:** *Clarification.* Tanki *Mr Speaker.* Motlotlegi Kekgonegile, kgang e o tlang o e bua, ke e tota e itshekisang dikeledi. A o raya gore dikgang tse gongwe di tletsetletseng tsa gore Motlotlegi Tautona o tsamaya lefatshe lotlhe a re batlela bagwebi ba bahumi, di tlhobosa tiragalo e e diragalang ya bagorogi ba ba gorogang, ba bo ba felela ba tla go sotla bana ba lefatshe le ka dituelo tsa bokgoba tse ba di bonang? A o raya gone jalo rraetsho? Ke a leboga.

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Tanki *Honourable Motsamai,* go ntse jalo rra. Ditsala tsa bahumi tse gotweng re a di tlelwa tsa *jets* tse tharo, ke bone ba ba sotlang banana le babereki ba tshaba e mo go feteletseng; fa e le gore ba bonwe. Rona kana kwa North West ka 2018 go kile ga tliwa ra bolelelwa gore tsela e e tswang Nata e ya go ema kwa Mohembo e bonetswe P10.2 *billion.* Gompiano re mo go 2021, re a omanngwa fa re botsa gore P10.2 *billion* o kae wa tsela e e fa. Fa gongwe e a bo e le tlhoko boammaaruri fela e e feteletseng, e re e bonang ka yone tsela yone e ya Nata-Mohembo.

*Mr Speaker,* fa re bua gape ka yone *public sector,* kana *quality of service* gompiano e eme tsii! E bile e wela tlase fela ka gore go sale gotwe *there is rationalisation of posts* mo goora Goramente. Le gompiano; *zero growth;* mo go rayang gore *staff shortages,* babereki ga ba a yo mo ditirong ka ntata ya gore ga go hirwe mme e bile *there is no rationalisation of key positions or strategic positions* tse di tlhokafalang gore di ka bo di tsamaisa itsholelo le ditlhabololo kwa dikgaolong. Rona gompiano kwa North West kwa Maun Administrative Authority (MAA), Senior Assistant Council Secretary (SACS) o na le *eight months post* ya teng e le *vacant.* Molaodi o na le *six months post* ya teng e le *vacant,* mo o ipotsang gore fa *these strategic positions* di sa tladiwe, Goramente o ikaelela gore o ka tsamaisa jang fa go sena bape *who lead the district.* Naare *district* e e a itsamaisa? Dilo tsa Domkrag ke mathata.

Fa o leba kwa *Ministry wa Presidential Affairs, Governance and Public Administration (MoPAGPA),* o tshwanelwa ke *to provide strategic leadership* jaanong *it is an operational ministry.* Bo *disaster, Poverty Eradication, DIS, DCEC* ba koo; sengwe le sengwe se kwa *Presidential Affairs.* O bo o ipotsa gore kana *this ministry is supposed to be strategic, leadership role-playing,* jaanong fa o kgobokantse batho fa ba dirang teng, go tlaa akanngwa leng fa e le gore dinako tsotlhe go sianwa le go dira? *Rationalisation* e bothokwa; MoPAGPA e tshwanelwa ke gore go ntshiwe maphata a a tletseng koo, le one a nne botoka.

*Political patronage* mo *civil service;* bone bo *Chief of Staff,* ke gore fa o ya go tsaya motho o bo o mo dira *Chief of Staff* e le lepolotiki, *rewarding him* gore *he was a national campaign team player,* a o solofela gore *civil service* e tlaa bereka kana e ya go nna *partisan in its mandate?*

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Granted.

**MR MANGWEGAPE-HEALY:** Clarification. Thank you very much Mr Speaker. Thank you Honourable Member for yielding. Honourable Member, *kana ke tsaya gore o a itse gore* this position of Chief of Staff was not created in the Republic of Botswana. It is something that is very common in other countries, the United States of America (USA) as an example. Are you aware that for the most part, people who are put in that position are those who are coming with the leader from a political background? It is nothing new that you are seeing here in Botswana. I thank you.

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarity?

**MR KEKGONEGILE:** Tanki *Honourable.* *The political setup and the public service setup* ya Botswana le ya America *are two different things.* America ga a na mo go bidiwang gotwe *Public Service Act* e e supang gore *our civil service is not partisan.* For *Chief of Staff* gore e bo e le modirelapuso, a ka bonwa ke ditsamaiso tsa bodirelapuso, mme a bo *mandate* wa gagwe e le go kopana le *Communications Strategy Team* ya Domkrag, gone moo fela ka bogone, go raya gore re tseye mo Domkrag re mo tsentse, o hirilwe ke *party* mo Office of the President (OP), *and* o dira *mandate* wa Domkrag mo OP *through* madi a rona a *civil service.* Gone moo, go raya gore re dule mo tseleng ya tsamaiso ya rona ya *civil service* mo lefatsheng la Botswana.



**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Elucidation!

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Order! Honourable Members, as it is now six o'clock, I shall now call upon the Honourable Leader of the House to move a Motion of adjournment.

**MOTION**

**ADJOURNMENT**

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

Ke a leboga *Mr Speaker*. Jaaka o kopile gore ke kope Batlotlegi ba golole Ntlo e, gore ba eme gone fa re emeng teng fa. Ke a leboga.

Question put and **agreed to.**

The Assembly accordingly adjourned at 6:01 p.m. until Thursday 9<sup>th</sup> December, 2021 at 2:00 p.m.



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