

**APPROPRIATION (2016/2017) BILL, 2016 (NO. 1 OF 2016)**

**Second Reading**

**(Resumed Debate)**

**DR P. BUTALE (GABORONE CENTRAL):** Thank you very much Madam Speaker for this opportunity to also comment on the speech. I wish to start and preface my commentary with a rather big disappointment that we continue to call ourselves a democracy, yet when the President comes to address this House, the state media is here full force. When the Budget Speech is read, the state media is here to even broadcast it live, but when the alternative voice is now offered, the state media is not there. What kind of a democracy is this, where only one view matters? I wish to state what I stated before that this continues to be an autocracy, a dictatorship that masquerades as a democracy because you fail the first test which is tolerance of divergent views. That is the very first thing that I wanted to touch on.

The other thing that I wanted to also speak to was that Honourable Minister, you successfully painted a very gloomy picture, you told us about a P4 billion deficit and you are forecasting a further P6 billion deficit, tragically you then abandon us there. You offered no pathway out of the gloom, you told us that the situation is going to be tough but you do not chart the path to recovery. One expected you to come up with a very aggressive plan that would say this is how we are going to survive. But anyway, without waiting for the end of my speech, I wish to say this...

**MADAM SPEAKER:** Order! Order! Time up!

**MOTION**

**ADJOURNMENT**

**MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT (MR TSOGWANE):** Thank you Madam Speaker. Madam Speaker, as that concludes the business of today, I move that this House do now adjourn.

Question put and **agreed to.**

**DR P. BUTALE (GABORONE CENTRAL):** Thank you so much Mr Speaker. I would like to do a quick recap of what I started with yesterday. I started with a complaint of...

**MR MOSWAANE:** Order, is provided for on the Standing Orders.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Honourable* Moswaane, ke rile ga ke na go go letlelela.

**MR MOSWAANE:** *Ka re* point of order. I am not wrong.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order! Honourable* Moswaane, ke rile ga ke na go letlelela *any more point of order on the matter* e ke e tswetseng.

**MR MOSWAANE:** *O dirisa sefe* Standing Order Sir?

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Moswaane, dirisanya le nna sentle, ke batla Ntlo e e tswela.

**MR MOSWAANE:** *Ee, ke ne ke rile* a point of order. I am rising on a point of order Sir.

**MR SPEAKER:** Nnyaa tima *microphone Honourable* Moswaane.

**MR MOSWAANE:** *Ka re* point of order Sir!

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Butale.

**DR P. BUTALE:** Thank you very much...

**MR MOSWAANE:** Point of order Sir is allowed by the Constitution of Botswana.

**DR P. BUTALE:** Mr Speaker, how does this Honourable Member speak to the Minister sitting down?

**MR SPEAKER:** *Honourable* Butale, nna pele fa fatshe. *Honourable* Moswaane, *your point of order* e seka ya bo ya bua ka kgang e ke ntseng ke e tswala.

**MR MOSWAANE:** Nnyaa e o neng o e tswala ke e nngwe. Mme ke ne ke re ke go lemose gore a o itse gore *Madam Speaker* o ne a le *reluctant*, e bile a batla bosupi mo *the ruling party*, mme mmui a le teng. Kana selo se se re belaetsa gore o kare jaanong le ja le ba ba ka kwa.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order!* Gakere o a bona ke tsone dilo tse ke neng ke di bua? Yo o tlaa boang gape a dira jaaka *Honourable* Moswaane ke mo ntshetsa kwa ntle. Ke batla Ntlo e e tswelela. *Honourable* Butale, a ko o tswelele le *budget*.

**DR P. BUTALE:** Thank you very much. I was going to recap on my complaint and lack of coverage that is often given to the views expressed by Members from our bench on various policy issues. I could not help but wonder if the other side is so confident about your policies and your ideas, you are so confident about your performance in Parliament. I could not wonder why you cannot broadcast Parliament live and the speeches of the Leader of the Opposition live, so that Batswana can make informed decisions. I think that is a very serious deficiency in our democracy. I think next time when anyone of you speaks about the good name of this regime you need to know that there are vibrant and functional democracies out there, your days of basking in the limelight are over.

I had also started making a point of the gloomy picture that you have successfully painted Honourable Minister of Finance and Development Planning. I shall return to that point. I wanted to deal first of all with something I believe is a misconception.

Most of us believe that the budget is only about allocation of funds. I think the budget is much more than that and I want to deal briefly with the budget as a policy tool. Philosopher or writer Thomas Dye explains that a policy is everything that a government intends to do or not to do. Which means that at a macro level we would have expected Honourable Minister to chat the way forward, and make clear policy pronouncements. For example, you needed to have given us at

least a total in terms of quantum of how much you are going to use on Economic Stimulus Programme (ESP). I will return to the issue of ESP later.

But when you look at issues of education, you told us you are going to increase or education is going to get more money than any other Ministry but that has been happening in the past few years, but the results have been plummeting instead of improving. You are not telling us how different your approach is going to be. In fact in my constituency, parents are concerned about results of schools such as Segoditshane, Boikhutso and Notwane where the results are very bad. At this juncture maybe I should sneak in and congratulate Camp Primary who under difficult conditions... If you go to teachers' quarters at Camp Primary School, you will cry because it is just inhabitable but they have indeed continued to do well. But again because you did not provide direction in terms of policy as the budget should do, there is confusion in terms of exactly what do you want to do in terms of skills development in education. At the University of Botswana (UB) right now, there is something that I could...

**MINISTER OF HEALTH (MS MAKGATO):** Point of order. Thank you very much Honourable Speaker. I am listening to my colleague here and what he is asking for, he is now on Committees of Supply. *Rre Matambo ga se* Minister of Education and Skills Development, he cannot talk about policy issues and all those things *tse e leng gore* the Minister of Education and Skills Development will come and talk about. *Gone jaanong* we are debating the generalities of the budget speech. *Ke ne ke re o mo tsenye mo tseleng.*

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order! You are right Ms Makgato, ga re ise re tsene kwa Committee of Supply but ke reeditse Mopalamente gore o bua kang. O santse a baakanyetsa go boela mo kangnyeng e, a re mo feng sebaka. Le ene a seka a diega thata mo goreng dikole di a wa kana classrooms di*

rileng. O tlaa tla o tsena mo go tsone kwa *Education*. A re bue fela ka *the generalities tsa budget Honourable Member*.

**DR P. BUTALE:** But you see the problem with the Honourable Minister is that she has just arrived. I told this House that the budget is not simply about allocation of funds, a budget is a policy tool, a budget is an instrument of governance. So your myopic understanding of the budget cannot limit my debate. I am saying it at macro level...

**MS MAKGATO:** Point of order. The Honourable Member is the one who is myopic because Committees of Supply is part of the budgeting process. It is just a question of at which point do we discuss what he is discussing now. I am correct in saying where we are, we talk generalities, not specifics. So *eo ya myopic, ke ene a leng myopic*.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order!* Buisanyang sentle. Kana Sekgoa se sa lona se a bo se tlaa tloga se le senyetsa tsamaiso ya gompieno...

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

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order!* Buisanyang sentle, *Honourable* Butale, buisanyang sentle. Kana fa le ntse le dirisa mafoko one a a rayang gore ba bangwe ba tswentswe *hourrclapp*, ba *myopic*, ga le buisanye sentle, le bagolo. Buisanyang fela sentle ka tlotlano, le ganetsanye le tlotlana, le tlaa bona sengwe le sengwe se tsamaya sentle.

**DR P. BUTALE:** Mr Speaker, I am talking about approaching the budget at a macro level. That is exactly where I am. You can help me describe it if is not myopic. I am talking about generalities at the macro level...

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order!* O boelela gape gone mo ke neng ke re o ...

**DR P. BUTALE:** At the macro level...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Point of order.

**MR SPEAKER:** Ema pele *Honourable* Makgato. *Honourable* Butale, ke ne ke eme ka dinao ke go gakolola gore dirisang mafoko a a sa tsobereng ba bangwe gore o tle o kgone go dira tiro. Jaanong o boa gape o bua gone mo ke neng ke ntse ke go go kgalemelela. O a bo o re ke reng jaanong?

**DR P. BUTALE:** I am addressing the budget at a macro level. She is talking about the micro level where we talk about specifics...

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order!* Nnyaa akere se ke se buang ke gore o utlwile gore o seka wa dirisa mafoko a a ba rumolang a *bomyopic*, le bone ba tlile go bua a mangwe a Sekgoa...

**DR P. BUTALE:** Is she going to dictate to me how to debate? Is that what you are saying?

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order!* *Honourable* Butale, fa go na le sengwe se o sa tshwanelang go se dira ke go nganga le nna ke go gakolola. *I am trying to facilitate a smooth debate* mo Ntlong e. Buisanyang sentle. Ba lese go go kgoreletsa gore o seka wa bua ka gore ke batla go go reetsa o bue, jaanong fa ba ntse ba go kgoreletsa la bofelo o tlile go lebala le se o tshwanetseng go se bua. A e re ke go gakolola rraetsho o tseye kgakololo ya me.

**DR P. BUTALE:** Thank you very much. I was speaking...

**MR KHAN:** Point of order. Honourable Speaker, if you recall in this very House when you were seated right there, you permitted Honourable Makgato to use the words ‘kindergarten mentality’ referring to us on the other side aisle, and you permitted that, you set precedent. So now all of a sudden because it is the other way, it is wrong to use words like myopic. I think you correct yourself; we should get this House in order from that seat that you are in.

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order!* Ee o lebetse tota fa o bona o simolola o ntsenya mo dikgangnyeng tsa lona tse le di buang. Ke ne ka kgalema nako eo gore mafoko ao ga a a siama mo Palamenteng,

buisanyang sentle, ka gore labofelo le a bo le tlaa bo le lebisa mafoko kwa go nna ke bo le nna ke a busetsa kwa go lona. *Honourable* Butale, tsena mo *budget* o bue kgang ya gago.

**DR P. BUTALE:** My approach to this budget is in twofolds, there is macro level where the budget acts as a policy tool and then there will be the micro level where we come in and discuss the allocations. That is how I am going to approach this budget. I was speaking about the lack of direction in terms of the education approach and development of skills. I was going to speak briefly about what I believe is a systematic way of trying to do away with the pride of Batswana which is UB through a drastic reduction in the sponsorships of the arts.

I think that is something that we need to have a very clear policy direction because global thinking is going towards multi-disciplinarity instead of narrow focus on certain subject areas.

I also wanted to talk about this lack of clear use of budget as a policy tool. It comes in mixed priorities. I will give an example of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) expenditure on weaponry. As Honourable Molao was speaking earlier on, I could not help but wonder how we got here, how we got to this point where we are struggling to understand very basic issues. The issue is not about starving the military; the issue is about knowing exactly what our military needs. The issue is about proceeding knowing that we need a small and professional military. Our military does not need fighter jets. Our military for example needs helicopters. That is what our military needs. So our military needs us to focus on the welfare of our officers. And I say I brought a question in this Parliament earlier on last year talking about the salary structure of soldiers and guards at Prisons and police officers. The Minister promised that the structure will be done by February and the people will start benefiting in April last year.

We are going to another April, we are proceeding in terms of salary negotiations for those that are not disciplined, but these people have nothing to show, and nobody is thinking about them.

That is where the money is supposed to go. And I am saying if your budget was used properly as a policy tool, then we will be able to address exactly what we need to address.

In Maruapula Special Support Group (SSG) Camp, somebody who has been serving wearing uniform with pride, serving this nation for five (5) years, has been staying in a tent for five (5) years. That is where the money is supposed to go. That is what we are saying, and it is very simple logic, I think it should be very easy to understand.

I also say the budget lacks a very clear developmental philosophy ...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** Clarification.

**DR P. BUTALE:** I am not yielding. It lacks very clear developmental philosophy that would show that Honourable Minister, you are in touch with global thinking on development. You spoke about Local Economic Development (LED) which is a welcome development, but one wonders as the Leader of the Opposition said, why are you speaking about it now? Your commitment is suspect because instead of decentralising, you are centralising, and centralisation has nothing to do with Government efficiency and effectiveness. I think it has everything to do with Government tenders.

Centralisation in a situation where Ministers and civil servants are allowed to do business with Government and it encourages what is called state capture. Minister, prove us wrong, take LED seriously and make sure that it is implemented.

When you talk about decentralisation, Gaborone as a city is growing fast. The people of Gaborone have the capacity to run a very successful and vibrant economy if the fiscal authorities allow them. We have a potential strong tax base; we can deal with the challenges that have eluded this Government. Challenges such as dusty internal roads, dark streets, we can deal with them if you could reduce your stranglehold on Local Government. Far-sighted governments have



seen that this is the way to go in terms of allowing cities to have more autonomy in terms of dealing with their own developmental issues, and I think this is a very important point.

I want to also now get to the point or the issue or the much talked about ESP. Mr Speaker, before I get into that, I want to introduce a concept to you, this concept is a propaganda technique that is often attributed, that is often credited to one gentleman called Adolf Hitler. It is termed a 'big lie,' that is the concept. Hitler believed in the use of a lie so colossal that it would be almost impossible for it to be believed. He believed that you tell this lie repeatedly and frequently and then you stand a better chance of this lie becoming believable. Unfortunately ours is a society where knowledge, in terms of economic literally, is low, even amongst those of us who have tertiary education. I would expect this Government to be worried about this instead of exploiting it ruthlessly for political gain, but this is exactly what is happening with ESP.

His Honour the Vice President, some Ministers, and other people have used every opportunity to sell this untrue ESP as a bold plan to transform the economy. Honourable Minister, I want to put it to you, very steadfastly, there is nothing bold about this intervention, not the idea, not even the amounts involved and certainly not the potential. The only bold and audacious thing about this ESP is dishonesty involved.

We have been told that ESP is a bold plan to transform the economy, and all those who brought emulations and placing it on ESP have failed to engage the concept. Tell us what is ESP?

The accounts or the budget tells a different story. The budget of 2015/2016 is P3.5 billion lower than that for fiscal year 2014/2015; there is no fiscal expansion here. There is no ramping up of demand, and therefore there cannot be any stimulus. How do you talk about fiscal expansion when the budget has gone down? Those of you who are going to speak, engage this concept, stop emulating, tell us, engage this concept so that we can compete at the level of ideas.

**MR KEORAPETSE:** *On a point of elucidation. Ke a leboga Mr Speaker. O e tshwere sentle mokaulengwe. Kana kgang e o e buang e e buiwa le ke economists gore go tla jang gore go ka nna le stimulation of the economy with reduced spending; how is that possible?*

**DR P. BUTALE:** Exactly, it beats me. And I challenge all for you who are going to speak about ESP to engage this concept because it is not feasible. The budget for ESP, at least the one that we know is only P2 billion and I do not know which word to use these days but it is naive. Even if we were to agree that what this economy needs is more money, it is naive to believe that P2 billion will suffice. And I am just wondering how do you convince yourself that P2 billion would deliver exactly what you are promising to the nation?

But let me tell you what P2 billion can do, P2 billion can line the pockets of a few corrupt tenderpreneurs; P2 million can line the pocket of a few corrupt politicians because ESP, the more you speak about it, it comes to me as a plan to circumvent normal public procurement processes. That is what it is.

ESP basically has no design. When you look at it, it is backlog eradication; when you look at it, it is the EDD. The Vice President spoke in this House in November that ESP was brilliantly conceived and delivered by the President. With due respect, the Vice President is being very mean and unkind to the President. There is no programme design in ESP, not at all. It is poorly conceived. It is poorly designed, let alone the monumental disaster which is the poverty eradication framework.

While I am there, I think it should be concerning to everybody, to all Batswana that the person responsible for ESP is none other than the Vice President. This is the same man, as I said, who led the disinformation on ESP, but it is the same man who has led to the failure of the poverty eradication framework. He has to-date failed to give this Parliament the Poverty Eradication

Policy he promised in the last Parliament. As if I forget, he is the same man who failed to deliver to this Parliament the Freedom of Information Act which he promised that it would come in a matter of months after he connived to defeat the Private Members' Bill that was brought by Honourable Dumelang Saleshando as he then was. Now my question is can we trust him with an equally weighty assignment as job creation; I do not. And I do not understand the excitement about ESP.

I think the issue of ESP; the hoax it is and the big lie it is, is rested.

Now I want to speak to the issue of youth unemployment. I think we can fail to do everything else but something that we can ill afford is to fail our youth. I think the cost of our poor education system and the gambling that we are doing with our young people, today it is bridging courses, tomorrow it is Tirelo Sechaba, the next day is the Boot Camp, the other day it is the next thing. I challenge you Honourable Minister of Youth to show to us that these plethora of programmes are sufficiently grounded on evidence, evidence that we see as we live with our people. I want to say...

**MR MOSWAANE:** Point of order.

**DR P. BUTALE:** I hope you heard me.

**MR MOSWAANE:** I do not care about a doctor like you.

**MR SPEAKER:** No.

**MR MOSWAANE:** You heard him too.

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Moswaane, withdraw that.

**MR MOSWAANE:** Why is he saying that to me?

**MR SPEAKER:** Withdraw that.

**MR MOSWAANE:** He should withdraw asking me if I heard. Why can he not? Why are you afraid of these people?

**MR SPEAKER:** Withdraw that.

**MR MOSWAANE:** Ok, withdrawn, but I will deal with him.

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

**MR SPEAKER:** Honourable Moswaane, order! Sit down and switch off that microphone. What is wrong with you? Every time you stand up it is either you provoke the Speaker or you say something unusual in this House. If you wanted to go before adjournment time, I am going to keep you there until 6:00 p.m. Maybe you will grasp what we mean by 'order', and learn to be guided and cooperate. Honourable Member, ask what you wanted to ask.

**MR MOSWAANE:** Thank you Mr Speaker. You heard me doctor. The doctor is making some personal attacks to the Honourable Vice President, calling him a failure and untrustworthy. Is this not imputing improper motives to the other side? I wanted you to make a ruling whether making personal attacks is acceptable. Thank you.

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! I am listening to him Honourable Member. I think you have not heard him well. But Honourable Leader of the House is here, he will have his time to respond. So far, so good, he has not said anything that I can reprimand.

**DR P. BUTALE:** Before I was interrupted, I was going to say that Honourable Minister, there are no shortcuts...

**MR SPEAKER:** Sorry, Honourable Olopeng, you cannot go, you are 21.

**DR P. BUTALE:** There are no shortcuts, instead of the piecemeal approach of coming up with ESP, we need as proposed by the Leader of Opposition, economic transformation as a matter of urgency. We are ready this side of the aisle to roll our sleeves and engage professionals and

experts to come up with the pathway out of the current difficult situation of a slow and jobless growth. This trajectory needs to be changed.

Regulatory reform; the Leader of Opposition has spoken broadly about this and I think we need to say this and echo this, and buttress this point, it is not rocket science Honourable Minister. Stop vetting investors; stop Directorate of Intelligence Services (DIS) from harassing investors. Make business regulation generally more efficient and less cumbersome. Do away with archaic work and residence permit procedures that stand in the way of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and also stand in the way of business growth and employment creation. Then work towards faster contract enforcement mechanisms. That is not rocket science.

We also need to empower the youth and create opportunities for them. We need to create opportunities for our young people and I think we need to disabuse ourselves from the belief that unemployment is simply a problem of lack of skills. I would argue that it is more of a problem of lack of opportunity...

**ASSISTANT MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT (MR MOLAO):** Point of order. Thank you Mr Speaker. I am listening very carefully to the deliberations made by this angry legislator. He has made a statement to the effect that we must stop DIS from harassing investors, certainly this is a very loaded and serious accusation levelled against the DIS. One wonders if the Honourable Member can bring to this House evidence of harassment by DIS on investors if any because to make a blanket statement that DIS is harassing investors and we just let it pass in this House, it is rather a serious matter to just let go. Thank you Mr Speaker.

**MR SPEAKER:** Order! Thank you Honourable Molao. Honourable Butale, what do you mean by harassment? Or you used a wrong word? Stand up and use the proper word; if you say harassment, give us proof that indeed they are harassed.

**DR P. BUTALE:** I never run out of alternatives to what I say. Synonyms, I wonder who is angry between me and the Honourable Member. But I...

**MR SPEAKER:** Me?

**DR P. BUTALE:** What I was speaking about is what is generally happening, but I could rephrase if you want and say that perhaps we need to rethink the involvement of the DIS...

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order! Honourable Butale, nna fa fatshe pele. Kana fa o bona ke sa rate go nna ke le tsena ganong jaana le bua, ke bo ke le gakolola fa le dirisitse mafoko a a fatlhang, ke a bo ke raya gore o baakanye. Fa o utlwa ke re baakanya mafoko a gago rraetsho, fa o rile batho are being harassed, tlhalosa gore jang? Fa e le gore ke lefoko le o batlang go le ntsha o dirisa le sele, le ntshe and rephrase jaaka o ne o bua, ka gore kwa it is recorded ga kere. Dira jalo Motlotlegi.*

**DR P. BUTALE:** I offer to withdraw that statement and replace it with the one that says we need to rethink the involvement of the DIS in the vetting process of people who are coming into this country. I am reminded of what the Honourable Member said happened, he says the advent of 2014 brought with it some babies. I was tempted then, not now. I was tempted then to say that perhaps it is better to have babies because there is opportunity for growth, it is more tragic to have babies trapped...

**MR SPEAKER:** *Order! Order! Ema jalo pele Honourable Butale. Mongwe o ngwegile gone fela gompieno jaana. The quorum has collapsed ka le ntse le le 21. Honourable Butale, a ko o ba*

bitse kwa ntle koo. *Mother of the House*, kana fa o tswa go raya gore *quorum* e ole gape. Tsamaya yo mongwe o tlile.

**DR P. BUTALE:** I was just saying that it might be better not to have babies trapped in other bodies because then that is doom and gloom. In conclusion...

**HONOURABLE MEMBER:** O utlwile bothhoko.

**DR P. BUTALE:** You are just coming in, so you would not understand.

In conclusion, you see the reason why I was saying that it is better to have babies instead of babies trapped in others' bodies; it is very difficult to understand very simple things when you are at that level.

I want to speak to workers of this country. Like the prophet of ode has said, "you have nothing else to lose but your chains." I wanted to say that you need to be aware of wolves wearing sheep skin in your midst. You need to be aware of unions and union leaders who abject your struggle, yet there are tools in the hands of the enemy to try and disrupt your march to victory. I think I need to say to you that unity is key.

I also wanted to speak to friends on the other side of the aisle that we are mismanaging labour relations in this country. The tension that is between the Government and the civil service is breeding the inefficiency that we are talking about. The current stalemate at the Bargaining Council is really worrisome. I think it is not right to be treating our workers in this way. Like everything else, when you wake up in the morning it is a new opportunity. You have an opportunity to be on the right side of victory.

There was talk here the other day about an event somewhere where men and women were queuing up to get something from somewhere and I was reminded of a song by Tshepo Tshola 'waiting for my name to be called'. I am hoping that this is not true because if it is true, it will be

unfortunate to have Government resources shared like gangsters will share the loot after a successful night out, not a good day at the office. I hope that is not true.

I also wanted to speak to you Honourable Matambo. I think at the rate at which we are going, a future historian will have to write that it was under your tutelage that this economy was ransacked and mismanaged. I have a lot of respect for you. I believe that you can stand up now and say no, to the ever expanding Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) patronage network. You can stand up and say, no, to the current oligarchy and choose Botswana and choose Batswana.

I think my message in a nutshell to you and your colleagues is that this is the opportunity for you to stop making a butchery of your conscience. ESP and many other programmes that have been introduced are milking our economy dry. I know you know it. I know that if you were not under duress, you would advise or maybe you have advised. But my fear is that the rate at which we are going when history is recorded, your name will come up. It will come up saying that it was during your tenure, it was during your reign, that everything that we managed, that we achieved as a nation was undone.

I think we need to say these things because we are all supposed to want only what is best for this nation. I think if we engage and I challenged earlier on everyone who is going to talk about ESP, to talk about the concept. We have heard enough ululations about ESP. We know you like it. We do not want to hear more of it. Tell us about the concept. Tell us about how you can talk about financial or fiscal expansion when this year's budget has gone down compared to last year's budget. That is the kind of contestation of ideas that we are challenging you to bring forward. So, whoever comes and wants to sell ESP, we have heard about it. We have heard about the bits and pieces that have been proffered in this House. Engage the concept. That is what I am challenging the other side of the aisle to do.



I want to end by saying that if you were to decide Honourable Matambo, to be like Shadrack, Meshack and Abednego who were thrown into the furnace of fire because they could not worship the golden image of King Nebuchadnezzar, you should know that you are not alone. May God help you and may he bless our country abundantly. I rest my case.