SPEECH ACTS AND THEIR RHETORICAL PURPOSES IN THE NAMIBIAN PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE, 2015-2016

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ABSTRACT

The use of rhetoric is essential to verbal communication between politicians who debate *pro et contra* (for and against) to win arguments and persuade their audience. In this study, parliamentary rhetoric in the Namibian parliamentary discourse for the period 2015-2016 was analysed.

This is a qualitative research study. The Hansard was used as a source of information, while observation and audio recordings were used as instruments to collect data. The data were purposively sampled by selecting the desired information from ten volumes of the Hansard within the period of March 2015 to March 2016. The study applied Discourse Analysis research design by identifying speech acts based on Searle's five classifications of speech acts and explaining how they were persuasive. Three theoretical frameworks informed this study. Austin's speech act theory contributes to the speech acts, especially performative acts uttered by parliamentarians. Further, Aristotle's theory of rhetoric is important to the persuasive intentions that Members of Parliament (MPs) demonstrated. Burke's theory of identification is important to the persuasive acts that MPs demonstrated in an attempt to identify with their audience and vice-versa.

The major findings of this study show that assertive, directive, commissive, declarative and expressive speech acts were used by MPs. These speech acts were used to persuade the audience to believe the assertions, get things done, give hope, change the statuses and circumstances, and show solidarity, respectively. Further, some MPs used 'unparliamentary' expressions, such as interruptions, provocations and abusive language to mock, downgrade and irritate others to win debates. Rhetorical devices such as, code-switching, address and titles, parallelism, sarcasm,

euphemism, antithesis, buzzwords and exordium were employed by MPs in attempt to define situations, give recognition, produce good sounding words, create humour, create benevolence, give effect of balance, gain trust, and praise, respectively.

This study contributes to new knowledge by unraveling rhetorical strategies for parliamentary discourse especially those that are demonstrated in the Namibian parliamentary setting. It informs the followers of parliamentary proceedings of tactics used in parliament to win debates. The study also contributes to the literature on parliamentary rhetoric. In conclusion, two key recommendations arose from this study. First, further studies on parliamentary rhetoric in the Namibian National Assembly should be carried out to narrow the literature gap and enrich the body of knowledge in Parliamentary rhetoric. Second, a parliamentary communication etiquette that will guide MPs and improve their skills in effective communication and persuasion is essential.

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ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AG	Attorney General
CA	Conversational Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DA	Discourse Analysis
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
ELCIN	Evangelical Lutheran Church In Namibia
FTA	Face threatening act
HPP	Harambee Prosperity Plan
IFID	Illocutionary force indicating device
MP	Member of Parliament
NANSO	Namibian National Students Organisation
NBC	Namibian Broadcasting Corporation
NHE	National Housing Enterprise
PM	Prime Minister
SWANU	South West Africa National Union
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
UNAM	University of Namibia

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother, Meme Josephine Mtuleni, who instilled in me moral teachings and shaped me into the woman I am today.

DECLARATION

I, Justina Meluwa Latenda Amakali, hereby declare that this study is my own work and is a true reflection of my research, and that this work, or any part thereof has not been submitted for a degree at any other institution.

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Name of Student Signature Date

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Orientation of the study

Members of Parliament use spoken language in an attempt to persuade their audience. The utterances they make are known as speech acts. Typical speech acts in parliament may be of defensive, persuasive, opposing, threatening, requesting and proposing nature. According to Ilie (2006) speaking a language is performing speech acts. Speech acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises, referring and predicating are performed in accordance with certain language rules in order to be meaningful to listeners. There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that rhetoric is an effective tool for parliamentarians to persuade their audience as demonstrated in the literature review of this study. Rhetoric is essential in parliamentary discourse as it influences the procedures of the passing of Bills and political decision making, which require strong persuasive skills. Considering this essentiality, this study looks into the speech acts and their rhetorical purposes uttered by Namibian Members of Parliament.

Research shows that there are three types of speech acts, namely, locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary (Austin, 1962). From the illocutionary acts, Searle (1969) introduced five general classes of speech acts, namely: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. He emphasises that any utterance in discourse falls under these classes. These types of illocutionary speech acts tend to have rhetorical purposes depending on the contexts they are used in. In parliamentary debates, Members of Parliament apply different speech acts in order to persuade the

audience and push forward their arguments. For this reason, most of the speech acts in the aforesaid classifications are likely to occur in parliamentary discourse.

Austin's (1962) influential theory of speech acts points out that most of the utterances made by people are equal to actions. Smith (2012) claims that if the locution and illocution utterances do not match, the speaker is implying something different from what they are literally saying. She further maintains that the illocution and perlocution utterances should be ideally matched, because where they are not, the mismatch may cause misunderstanding. This theory best explains the logic of performing actions through speaking, thus its suitability for this study. The theory aims at making an allowance for the social and linguistic context of language use which was previously neglected (Austin, 1962). Considering persuasion, Aristotle's theory of rhetoric also guided this study. Three modes of persuasion, namely, ethos, logos, and pathos are highly advocated for in political speeches. This theory was crucial because debating *pro et contra* requires rhetorical strategies to win arguments and get support from the target audience. Another theory that guided this study is Burke's theory of identification. Burke (1969) believes that persuasion is identification because when an audience is persuaded by a speaker, they are likely to identify with him/her.

Mathe (2009) carried out a study on the rhetoric analysis in the making of the Namibian constitution in which he explains how rhetoric is created in the interrelationships between the various utterances and contexts of bargaining. A few Namibian politicians who were involved in the making of the Constitution in 1990 are current Members of Parliament. The latter is regarded as mere evidence that rhetoric had been used by Namibian politicians in the past. The researcher chose to

specifically concentrate on the National Assembly sessions because of its large number of Members (104), rather than the National Council.

The Namibian Parliament is the law-making body of Namibia's legislature. It was established in 1913. The Parliament consists of two chambers, the National Assembly (lower chamber) and the National Council (higher chamber). The National Assembly consists of 96 voting members, elected for a term of five years on the basis of proportional representation, and eight non-voting members appointed by the President. The official language of parliament in Namibia is English. However, Article 3 of the *Constitution of the Republic of Namibia* states that "nothing contained in Sub-Article (1) hereof shall preclude legislation by Parliament which permits the use of a language other than English for legislative, administrative and judicial purposes in regions or areas where such other language or languages are spoken by a substantial component of the population" (p. 3).

Among the parliamentarians are 59 Ministers and Deputy Ministers including the Attorney General, 19 Opposition Parties' Members and other MPs as back-benchers. The audiences of the MPs are fellow MPs, guests in the gallery, and the general public which is composite. The speeches and debates made during parliamentary sessions are influential to the audience since they generate a link between MPs and the public. The general public as an audience views or listens to the proceedings via the media. The audience is composite because some people live in urban areas and others in rural. Those who live in rural areas do not have much access to the media in order to keep up with decisions made in these proceedings. It is for this reason that these national leaders should communicate effectively and in the most persuasive manner to capture their audience's support and trust.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Since time immemorial, rhetoric has been applied in different kinds of discourses including political discourse which embraces parliamentary discourse. It is a common belief that parliamentarians should interact and communicate in the most effective ways in their debates in order to persuade their audience. Studies of Carbo (1992), Van Dijk (2004), Chivero (2012), Ilie (2015) and Palonen (2016) are good sources of parliamentary rhetoric, as they support the use of rhetoric in parliamentary debates. Previous studies on speeches of politicians including former President Robert Mugabe, former President Barack Obama, former President Hifikepunye Pohamba, former President Sam Nujoma, former U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry, and former President Nelson Mandela, among others, prove that rhetoric is a strong influential art that can be used in an attempt to influence an audience.

Despite all this evidence of the importance of using rhetoric in political discourse, it seems there is no literature that demonstrates how Namibian parliamentarians use rhetoric effectively to give their messages during parliamentary debates. For this reason, parliamentary rhetoric in Namibia is under-researched and this has created a gap in the literature.

At times, language is misinterpreted in parliament, which may be caused by different kinds of factors. Furthermore, unparliamentary language is a challenge to the addressees as it may challenge their emotions during parliamentary debates. In the process, this may result in commotions and time wasting.

The Namibian National Assembly is not in possession of a parliamentary communication etiquette which should purposively guide MPs in communicating effectively and using a variety of devices on parliamentary rhetoric. Parliamentarians

are national leaders who should use language that is acceptable to communicate effectively. It is therefore crucial for parliamentarians to acquire communication skills, specifically that of rhetoric during parliamentary sessions in order to persuade their opponents, fellow political party members and the general public. Lack of such skills may lead to the hasty use of the language. According to Ilie (2010), "parliamentarians are supposed to constantly try to improve their rhetorical skills in an attempt to find the best ways to verbalise their opinions, beliefs and convictions" (p. 334).

The present study narrows the gap in the literature on the use of rhetoric in the Namibian National Assembly and presents informed recommendations on the weaknesses and strengths identified in communication during parliamentary debates.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main purpose of this study was to analyse speech acts and their rhetorical purposes in the Namibian National Assembly. The specific objectives of the study are to:

(a) Explain speech acts with rhetorical functions in different speech contexts by Namibian MPs.

(b) Assess rhetorical strategies used in 'parliamentary procedures' of the National Assembly.

(c) Determine/adjudicate expressions that are classified as 'unparliamentary' in the National Assembly.

(d) Examine the rhetorical devices employed by MPs in achieving persuasion.

1.4 Significance of the study

So far there are no studies on Namibian parliamentary discourse on Speech acts and their rhetorical functions. Studies on rhetoric in Namibian parliamentary discourse is crucial. The Namibian parliamentary discourse deserves such attention so that the culture of persuasive speeches and writings is popularised and enhanced in Namibia.

The English language has rules of speech acts depending on the context the speaker is in. Since most of the MPs are non-native English speakers, if not all, it is necessary that they are aware of a variety of stylistic devices in order to achieve persuasion. The researcher is a non-native English speaker, but with the knowledge of speech acts and rhetoric she has, will enable her to make informed judgments and recommendations. Martinez-Flor and Uso-Juan (2010) place emphasis on the instruction of speech acts, which is crucial for alleviating potential problems in cross-cultural encounters.

This study serves as a starting point of knowledge in rhetoric in a debate culture. The study could assist in making the Members of Parliament aware of different rhetorical devices that will suit their presentations, thus improve their performances in parliamentary sessions. In the process, the study will contribute to the much-needed literature and interpretation of speech acts and rhetorical purposes related to parliamentary proceedings. The study may increase the appreciation of using acceptable speech acts and English language in the Namibian parliament. After all, "Political leaders' rhetorics are important instances of public argumentation" (Mathe, 2009, p. 6).

1.5 Limitations of the study

Hansards are edited before publication. This implies that the actual spoken form may be changed or twisted during transcription, which might have interfered with the explanations of the actual speech acts. Cross-cultural communication in parliament could have interfered with the interpretations of some speech acts. Some MPs, especially backbenchers, did not speak during parliamentary sessions. This could have interfered with the results of the study. For instance, conclusions about a certain trend or culture in communication can be drawn without including the participation of the most backbenchers who did not participate. This could lead to imprecise results of this study.

1.6 Delimitations of the study

This study focused only on the debates in the National Assembly and not in the National Council. The reason for choosing the National Assembly was based on the large number of Members, which allowed the researcher to obtain a wide range of dialogues. Furthermore, it is only in the National Assembly where motions are tabled and Appropriation Bills are presented, to mention a few, of which the parliamentary discourse is set up.

There are three types of rhetoric. These are epideictic, forensic and deliberative. Although these types of rhetoric are associated with parliamentary discourse in one way or the other, this study was conducted on the basis of deliberative rhetoric. Deliberative rhetoric is a *lose-or-win* act of convincing people, both in written and spoken form. Parliamentarians' daily business is to persuade other MPs of their beliefs and opinions during the law making process. These debates are highly confrontational and encourage an audience to dispute or accord. For this reason, the

researcher saw it fit for the National Assembly to be a good target for the analysis of deliberative rhetoric.

1.7 Definitions of terms

1.7.1 Speech acts

Speech acts are various kinds of actions that people perform through speaking. The verbs that are used by speakers usually determine the performance. In other words, these verbs are called performative verbs. According to Austin (1962), speech acts are classified into three types, locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts.

1.7.2 Rhetoric

According to Aristotle, as cited in Kangira and Mungenga (2012), "rhetoric is the faculty of discovering in any particular case all of the available means of persuasion" (p. 110). In simple terms, rhetoric is the art of persuading an audience by means of speaking or writing. Most politicians have used rhetoric to win arguments in debates and votes in campaigns. Since MPs debate *pro et contra*, the use of deliberative rhetoric skills is essential.

1.8 Organisation of the study

This study is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction and background of the study. It introduces the general topic and provides the background. The problem statement and objectives of the study are specified in this chapter. The chapter also highlights the significance, limitations and delimitations of the study. The key words of the study, speech acts and rhetoric are defined.

Chapter 2 focuses on the literature review and theoretical frameworks that the researcher used in reviewing information related to the study. The chapter discusses how speech acts are used in different contexts. Further, it describes the kinds of

mode of rhetoric. The chapter also gives a review of parliamentary proceedings in other parts of the world. The chapter ends with an explanation on how the three theoretical frameworks contribute to this study.

In chapter 3 the researcher explains the research methods that were used in conducting this study. The procedure of the data collection is narrated in this chapter. The chapter further shows the sampling method and how the data was analysed.

Chapter 4 is based on the first part of the data analysis. In this chapter, speech acts used by MPs are identified and interpreted by means of their rhetorical purposes. The researcher defined each type of speech acts and presented examples of speech acts for each type from MPs' versions. The chapter comprises five sections based on Searle's five categories of speech acts.

Chapter 5 is the second part of the data analysis. The chapter presents how deliberative rhetoric plays a role in parliamentary procedures including the tabling of motions, the Appropriation Amendment Bill, Committee stage and Question time. It also includes a presentation of the debates *pro et contra*.

Chapter 6 focuses on unparliamentary language. The chapter forms the third part of the data analysis. The chapter reveals how some MPs use expressions that are regarded as unparliamentary. Further, interpretations of how these expressions are used as persuasive strategies are given.

Chapter 7 presents the last part of the data analysis. The chapter is an interpretation of the rhetorical devices that were used by MPs to persuade their audience. Nine rhetorical devices are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 8 gives a synopsis of the major findings of the study. In this chapter, conclusions and two main recommendations are presented with regards to the complete study.

1.9 Summary

This chapter was an introduction to the study. It aimed at presenting the overall background of the study. The chapter highlighted the need for this study to be conducted. It also described the structure of the Namibian National Assembly. A presentation of the study's objectives, statement of the problem, and significance of the study limitations were given. Finally, the chapter outlined the organisation of the whole study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1 Introduction

Several studies related to parliamentary discourse have been conducted worldwide, such as Ilie (2015); Palonen (2016); Treimane (2011); Van Dijk (2004) and Vukovic (2014). However, research on parliamentary discourse has not been conducted in the Namibian context. Although parliaments throughout the world may be administered differently, they comprise several commonalities. While some call parliament the House of Commons as in the United Kingdom, others refer to it as the House of Assembly. Many African countries have adopted English or French policies in their parliaments, while others have accepted to use indigenous languages in addition to that of the colonial one (Dzahene-Quarshire, 2011). Furthermore, those countries which adopted colonial languages as the medium of communication have done so because of the multilingual circumstances in their countries (Dzahene-Quarshire, 2011).

A variety of speech acts for rhetorical purposes is used in parliamentary debates in order to persuade the audience. Members of Parliament often use articulate speech in order to be clear and easy to understand. As mentioned in Chapter one, speech acts in parliament may include defensive statements, questions, responses, directives and remarks, amongst others. The literature review of this study includes the speech acts in parliamentary discourse, contexts of parliamentary discourse, unparliamentary language expressed in parliament, linguistic influences on parliamentary discourse, Austin's speech act theory, Aristotle's theory of rhetoric and Burke's identification theory.

This chapter reviews the existing knowledge with regards to speech acts with rhetorical purposes. The chapter reveals how this study feeds into existing knowledge so that it can fill the gap in the literature.

2.2 Austin's types of speech acts

Generally, everything that people utter is a speech act. However, what was said, how it was said and the context in which it was said makes one speech act distinct from another. Austin (1962) introduced three types of speech acts, namely: locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act. Baicchi (2009) emphasises Austin's viewpoint that when we utter something, we perform these three acts simultaneously. The notion of Austin's (1962) speech act theory was an inclusion of the social and linguistic contexts of language use, which was neglected in earlier syntax and semantic linguistic and philosophical studies. His attempt was to close the gap between philosophical and sociological approaches. According to Baicchi (2009), "this theory accounts for an act that a speaker performs when pronouncing an utterance, which, thus serves a function in communication" (p. 212). Scholars such as Shams and Afghari (2011) claim, "the theory of speech acts is a theory about what people set out to accomplish when they choose to speak" (p. 279). Austin's classic speech act theory (1962) serves as a guiding framework for this study.

Austin (1962) claims that people's utterances are equal to actions. When an authorised person says *I hereby declare my love to you*, the utterance brings a new social or psychological reality. Huang (2012) defines the term *illocutionary force,* first introduced by Austin, as "the effect a speech act is intended to have on a speaker." In other words, Strawson (2008) reasons that Austin calls the illocutionary force of an utterance, its meaning. Arguments on the speech act theory regarding the illocutionary forces emerged after the theory's initiation. According to Burkhardt

(1990), questions arose whether illocutionary forces exist or not, and some even wished for this speech act to be dismissed. Burkhardt (1990) further states that "it cannot seriously be denied that linguistic utterances create social facts, relations and commitments and, therefore, bring forth actions (which one may choose to call illocution)" (p. 92). In Strawson's (2008) view, the meaning of speech acts somewhat represents some limitation on its force and sometimes when a direct performative speech such as *I beg you* is used, the meaning may exhaust its force. According to Strawson (2008), "there may sometimes be no more to say about the illocutionary force of an utterance than we already know if we know what locutionary act has been performed" (p. 338). In other words, when a direct performative verb is used, the illocutionary force becomes correctly understood as the locutionary act.

According to Agbedo (2008), it is apparent that every utterance is a speech act of which verbs classified as performatives and constatives have major roles to play. The parliamentary discourse which is a communication platform for members of parliament involves different kinds of performatives and constatives such as warning, requesting, apologising, and declaring in addition to statements, comments and remarks. Therefore, the viewpoint of performatives and constatives is crucial for this study. Austin (1962) asserts that language is used to achieve goals which are certain speech acts and are different from other acts like drinking or thinking. He further elucidates that speech acts can be 'direct' or 'indirect'. Lycan (2000) observes that there is no ethical difference between performative speech acts and regular declaratives, rather, all speech acts have illocutionary forces and propositional contents.

While Ilie (2010) asserts that any utterance qualifies to be a locutionary act, Austin (1962) draws the distinction between the three acts as follows: locutionary act is the

act of uttering something, illocutionary act is the intended meaning in what was uttered, and perlocutionary act is the act of doing something by being prompted by the illocutionary act. Despite the distinction in these three types of speech acts, Ilie (2010) clarifies that "it is impossible to separate them in reality, since all speech act events consist of varying sorts of combinations of these three categories" (p. 339). Ilie (2010) believes that the perlocutionary act is expected to have an effect on the feelings, thoughts or actions of the interlocutor or listener; "rhetorically speaking, it seeks to change minds" (p. 339). According to Balzacq (2005), "it is important to note that those illocutionary and perlocutionary acts diverge in the direction and the nature of consequences they initiate" (p. 175). In the diagram below, assume that person A talks to person B before going out of the house. The diagram shows how the three acts occur.

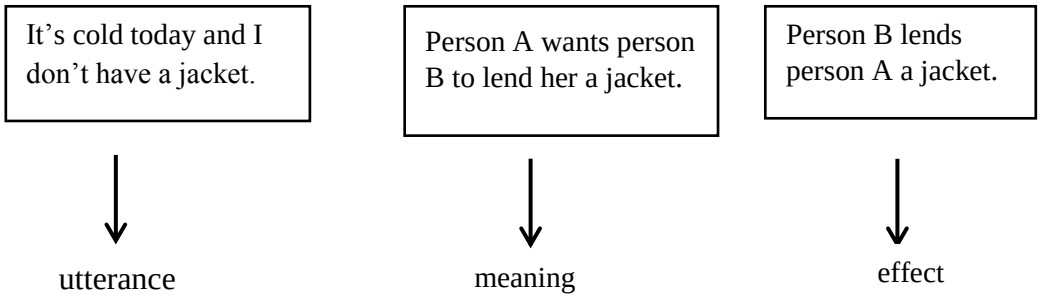

Figure 1. Sequence of three types of speech acts

The diagram shows that all these acts can be performed from the utterance. This is how the flow of a felicitous speech act should be. However, when the intended meaning of the utterance is not comprehended, the perlocutionary act may not be as effective as the speaker (person A) wanted it to be. According to Ilie (2010), "the analysis of utterances functioning as speech acts does not amount to simply

examining the issuing of an utterance in a speech situation, but the performance of a speech act" (p. 337).

Searle, Kiefer and Bierwisch (1980) claim there is a distinction between direct speech acts and indirect speech acts. The speaker says what he means in the direct speech and in the indirect speech acts, he means something more than what he says. For instance, a student asks her classmate, *Can I use your bicycle* which is a direct speech act of asking if she can use her a bicycle or not, and also an indirect speech act of requesting her to use her bicycle. Likewise, Chen (2006) clarifies that direct speech acts occur when the speaker says a sentence and means precisely and literally what she says. He further explains that if there is no direct link between a structure and a form, such a speech act is regarded as indirect. For example, *doesn't it feel good to finish first your studies?* as a rhetorical question, which might be indirectly telling a person to finish his studies first.

Richards and Schmidt (2013) concur with the previously mentioned authors that an illocutionary act may be uttered indirectly; for instance, *I am sick* can be a propositional meaning (what the utterance says about the speaker), but it can also be a request for medication. Therefore, illocutionary acts may carry a propositional meaning and an indirect performative act which in this case is requesting medication. Richards and Schmidt (2013) further remark that using indirect speech acts is regarded as a polite way of performing various kinds of speech acts.

According to Ilie (2010), speech acts should be analysed at a micro- and macro-level since there is a close relationship between the two levels of analysis. Further, performing a speech act at the micro-level in an institutional setting such as the parliament involves the use of ritualised forms of address. Bierwisch (1980)

maintains that speech acts have propositional content in common, while the way in which they differ is called *illocutionary force*. According to Chen (2006), direct speech acts are performed in two ways, namely: using the typical association between sentence forms and speech acts and using certain types of verbs to perform certain kinds of speech acts. For example, in (A) *If you dare disobey me, I will fire you;* and (B) *I warn you, if you do it again, I will fire you.* These two speech acts imply a warning, but the first one does not directly state that the speaker is giving a warning, while the second one directly stated that the speaker is warning someone.

2.3 Searle's categories of speech acts

Through different speech acts, some politicians apply rhetoric in oblivion. As speech acts are categorised, each one has a different performative purpose. Jarraya (2013) points out that "the use of different verbs, especially performatives, is cleverly deployed in political discourse" (p. 10). Nabea (2010) believes that these speech acts may overlap in utterances, by means of having two or more illocutionary forces in one locutionary act. This is caused by the fact that one locutionary act may have two possible intended meanings. Nabea (2010) emphasises the roles of five categories of speech acts as developed by Searle (1969). Several scholars have explained these categories. These include assertives (to say how things are), directives (to try to get other people to do things), commissives (to commit the speaker to doing something), expressives (to express feelings and attitudes) and declaratives (to change the world by saying so). Although these are existing categories, they should be clearly understood in order to interpret them based on Namibian parliamentary discourse.

2.3.1 Assertives

Nabea (2010) defines an Assertive as a speech act which represents how things are done or how they are in the world. This speech act compels a speaker to the

acceptance of the proposition. Assertives can be either true or false. They may be statements, descriptions, categorisations, explanations and clarifications. According to Bjorgvinsson (2008), "despite truth conditions, assertive speech acts do not depend on the sincerity of the speaker as it is the belief of the hearer that is the marker of whether the act is taken as true or false regardless of actual truth" (p. 15). Members of Parliament use assertives to state how things are in their societies and the entire world.

Examples

Poverty is one of the challenges that our society faces.

Namibia is in an economic crisis.

She is stressed by the many tasks she has to carry out.

There is a fifty-fifty representation in our parliament.

2.3.2 Directives

This speech act tries to get the listener to do things. According to Nabea (2010), unlike assertives, directives are not true or false, but they are either followed or not followed. In other words, Bjorgvinsson (2011) states that directives are not necessarily true or false, but require the listener to either obey or disobey, comply with, deny, and so on. Directives may be commands, orders, demands, requests, pledges, prayers, pleads, or suggestions. Chelaru-Murarus (2012) contrasts the directive speech act of advising and the directive speech act of command. She claims that, "the directive speech act of advising expresses a presumed asymmetry in ethos between speaker and addressee, and the directive speech act of command or

interdiction emphasizes the asymmetry in power between speaker and addressee" (p. 162).

Examples

Let us keep order in the House.

May you open the meeting with a prayer?

I insist you all take your seats, please.

Keep quiet.

2.3.3 Commissives

This kind of speech act commits the speaker to doing something. Commissives show the intention of the speaker. They refer to giving promises, vows, pledges, guarantees and oaths. Bjorvinsson (2008) reasons that a commissive is not dependent on truth conditions because they are neither true nor false, but they are kept, broken or executed. Politicians including parliamentarians use commissives to promise their audience of good deeds and hope for the future. Members of Parliament also use expressives when they give vows and oaths to take up responsibilities of being national leaders.

Examples:

I promise to be a good leader.

I pledge N$ 500 as my donation to the orphan's fund.

Our Ministry will render its services to you.

We are going to take serious measures.

I swear that I shall abide to the laws of this country.

2.3.4 Expressives

Nabea (2010) defines expressive speech acts as feelings and attitudes toward a particular proposition. This may include congratulating, apologising, arguing, condoling and thanking. Bjorvinsson (2008) explains that "expressives are subject to abuse if uttered insincerely" (p. 16). Members of Parliament use expressives when they apologise to one another after exchanging unparliamentary expressions. They also use expressives when they give opinions and views on certain issues under discussion.

Examples:

I think we need to try to come up with a new programme.

In my opinion, that is a good idea.

I am not comfortable with the way things are done here.

We apologise for the inconvenience we may have caused.

I do not agree with you Honourable!

I am sorry for coming late.

Please receive my heartfelt condolences.

2.3.5 Declaratives

According to Nabea (2010), this type of speech act aims at changing the world by saying so. Some researchers believe that this is the most interesting type of speech acts. Most declaratives are uttered by people with some kind of authority and power that they are entrusted with. If these declaratives are uttered by people without

authority, then they are regarded meaningless. For instance, if an ordinary person says to two people, "I pronounce you husband and wife," while he does not possess any authority to say so, then it will not make any sense to the world. Bjorgvinsson (2008) claims that "in virtue of having successfully declared something, then one has created said state of affairs" (p. 16). He further confirms that "in essence, a declaration uttered under all proper conditions creates a state of affairs in the world that did not exist before and thus it is the declarative aspect of illocutionary utterances that allow for such things as marriage to be a formal declaration of wedlock" (p. 17).

Members of Parliament commonly use these speech acts when announcing appointments, adjourning the sessions, and making a motion. Sometimes declaratives are uttered directly with verbs such as pronounce, announce, declare, swear, bless, bid or dismiss. Declaratives are used daily in parliamentary sessions, and the kinds of performative verbs used are somehow repetitive due to the nature of the discourse. While performative verbs in the former are acceptable in parliamentary sessions, some declarative words ought to be uttered by specific people, based on the rules and regulations such as a pastor, judge, police officer, University Chancellor, Speaker or Deputy Speaker, or MPs.

Examples:

As the Secretary General of SWAPO, I now declare the congress officially open.

As a called and ordained Minister of the church of Christ, and by his authority, I therefore declare to you the entire forgiveness of all sins…..

By the power vested in me as the Minister of Works and Transport, I now declare this road officially open.

All undergraduate degrees have now been conferred.

This august House is adjourned until next week Tuesday.

I rise to nominate….

In her views on speech acts, Langton (1993) relates the illocutionary act to the other two acts, locution and perlocution. According to Langton (1993), the illocutionary act can be "a use of the locution to perform an action" (p. 300). The purpose of performing an illocution is quite important in defining the kind of illocution performed (Langton, 1993). People's intention in speaking may not always correspond to what they say. In other words, sometimes what we utter will not be received by the listener or audience with the same intentions we have. This is because the purpose of performing an illocution is not always the *felicity* (the successfulness of the speech act) which is needed, argues Langton (1993). There is an argument on the subordination of an illocutionary act. In her research in *Speech Acts and Unspeakable Acts,* Langton (1993) is affirmative in this argument. This is how she illustrates the subordination of an illocutionary act with the following utterance:

> "Blacks are not permitted to vote." Imagine that it is uttered by a legislator in Pretoria in the context of enacting legislation that underpins apartheid. It is a locutionary act: by 'Blacks' it refers to blacks. It is a perlocutionary act: it will have the effect, among others, that blacks stay away from polling booths. But it is, first and foremost, an illocutionary act: it makes it the case that blacks are not permitted

> to vote. It plausibly subordinates blacks. So does this utterance: "Whites only". It too is a locutionary act: by 'Whites' it refers to whites. It has some important perlocutionary effects: it keeps blacks away from white areas, ensures that only whites go there, and perpetuates racism. It is a perlocutionary act of subordination. But it is also an illocutionary act: it orders blacks away, welcomes whites, permits whites to act in a discriminatory way towards blacks. It subordinates blacks. (Langton, 1993, p. 302-303).

Illocutionary acts that rank, legitimate, or deprive people of powers are not acts of subordination, but speech acts of apartheid are an act of subordination. She clarifies that the speech acts of apartheid "unfairly rank blacks as having inferior worth; legitimate discriminatory behaviour on the part of whites; and they unjustly deprive them of some important powers" (p. 304).

Austin (1962) introduced a category of illocutions, and are categorised as *verdictive*. Such illocutions encompass the authoritative delivery of finding some matters of fact or value (Langton, 1993). These may be actions of ranking, valuing and placing. For instance, this happens when one parliamentarian is speaking, and others are interrupting, giving orders such as *sit down, explain, clarify and elaborate.* They express their opinions as to how they see the world, but given that they are not authorised to do so, their utterances make no difference and have no impact on this parliamentarian. However, should the Speaker of the parliament utter the same, he/she gives the verdict and it sounds serious to the same parliamentarian. For this reason, "the authoritative role of the speaker imbues the utterance with a force that would be absent were it made by someone who did not occupy that role" (Langton, 1993, p. 304). In support of the argument, Storey (2014) agrees with the notion that

speech acts can cause subordination. She emphasises the importance of the authority of the speaker showing that it is not just the content which is important.

2.4 Felicity conditions

Agbedo (2008) states that within the illocutionary act are *Felicity conditions* introduced by Austin. Felicity simply refers to the successfulness of the speech act. The speech act is regarded successful if its intention or goal has been reached. This involves the perlocutionary effect, as to whether the listener has reacted according to the demand of the speech act or not.

According to Baicchi (2009), in order for the speech act to be a success, it has to fulfil some appropriateness conditions or felicity's conditions. This is relevant to the interactions in parliament when members of parliament react to certain speech acts such as requests, apologies and suggestions. Ilie (2010) stresses that, "felicity is Austin's term for statements that successfully enact what they say" (p. 336). Further, a performative utterance is neither true nor false, but may be regarded as 'felicitous' or 'infelicitous.' (Austin 1962). Likewise, Agbedo (2008) asserts that an illocutionary act is regarded as felicitous or infelicitous, depending on how much the act meets the felicity conditions. In his study on "Speech acts analysis of political discourse in the Nigerian print media", Agbedo (2008) explores both Austin's Felicity conditions and Grice's Cooperative Principles. In order for an illocutionary act to be felicitous (successful) it has to meet these conditions. Agbedo (2008) lists Austin's felicity conditions as sincerity condition, preparatory condition, executive condition, and fulfilment condition while Grice's principles are based on the four maxims of quantity (informativeness), quality (truthfulness), manner (explicitness) and relevance. He concludes that abuse of any of the maxims would result in conversational implicature. With regards to appropriateness conditions, Baicchi

(2009) agrees with the former, as he explains that the locutionary act is successful if words are produced accurately; illocution is successful if it meets its realisation, and perlocution is effective when the end result is desired by the speaker. According to Storey (2014), it is crucial to recognise that felicity conditions do not always need to be formal: "the felicity conditions of non-ceremonial speech acts, such as warning, protesting and requesting are not laid down by law and are therefore much more difficult to determine" (p. 23).

Two types of felicity conditions which visibly display a strong role of rhetoric are specifically pointed out. These are sincerity condition and fulfilment condition. Agbedo (2008) recommends that the first condition considers the sincerity of a speaker in accordance with a specific illocutionary act. He claims that once a speaker utters a promise and fulfils it, the speech act is regarded as sincere, thus felicitous, and will be considered infelicitous on the contrary. This shows how successful the speaker is in persuading his/her audience. In addition, "fulfilment condition seeks to determine the perlocutionary effect of the speech act on the participants" (Agbedo, 2008. p.165). Agbedo (2008) argues that if the speech act achieved the desired effect, then its illocutionary act is regarded as successful (felicitous).

Likewise, Storey (2014) emphasises that it is important to note that the tone and body language of the speaker plays a major role in speech actions. She argues that both the intended illocutionary force and the uptake of the listener can be affected by the tone and body language. For instance, if a person says something in an ironic manner, it simply implies that her illocutionary action is to mock. Conversely, if the speech act was a sincere one, but the hearer takes it as sarcasm, the illocutionary force is likely to fail. Moffett (2014) states that, "we use tone to try to make our audience feel a certain way" (p. 38). In other words, when we create tone, we use words and

presentation to indicate if we are serious or not, or whether our purposes are playful or casual (Moffet 2014).

2.5 Relationship between speech acts and contexts

Research demonstrates a link between speech acts and the contexts in which they are uttered. Van Dijk (1977) believes that "before language users are able to match incoming information against the more general linguistic and other knowledge in memory, they must analyse the context with respect to which a certain speech act is performed" (p. 217). Sbisa (2002) insists that the circumstance of the speech act contributes to what kind of speech act it will be: for instance, "whether it is a genuine social action and in what sense" (p. 421). She further supports the idea that the conception of context allows people to label speech acts as context-changing social actions. In addition, if people want to understand a meaning of a word, they have to enumerate all the situations in which the word occurs. Milkov (2003) also focuses on the imagination of strange situations, for example, people should imagine strange situations in which the word might be present (Milkov, 2003).

Van Dijk (2004) discusses Systemic-Functional Linguistics as an approach in linguistics that usually invokes the whole idea of context. He argues that this theory is necessary because, without it, much of the essence of the Systemic Functional approach to language will lack a strong foundation. In her views, Ilie (2015) claims that among other forms, "another form of oral communication recurrent in political discourse is speech acts in which communicative intentions are linguistically encoded in context (illocutionary force), with a view of achieving a specific political goal (perlocutionary effect)" (p. 1168). Van Dijk's (2004) theory of context declares context should be defined as a mental representation, or model, constructed by the speaker about the situation, and not necessarily be defined as the social situation in

which discourse takes place. He further argues that "much of the genre theory of parliamentary debates should be formulated in *tercos* of properties of their context" (p. 339). This simply means that the theory of parliamentary debates should be explained clearly with the fact that the participants in these debates are members of parliament, that these debates are carried out in a political institution of parliament, and that these members of parliament are doing politics and legislation (Van Dijk, 2004). According to Van Dijk (2004), contexts seem to have social and political dimensions of great importance; that is "members of parliament share much of their knowledge and beliefs about the context they construct and also know how other members of parliament define the current situation" (p. 349).

According to Oyeleye and Ayodele (2012), a speech act that comprises interrogative structure may be used to command or instruct; express a wish or perform different functions, when it is used in a suitable context. It is clear that in order to comprehend the purpose of an utterance and distinguish it from other possible purposes, one should understand its context. While Van Dijk (1977) supports the context analysis of which the speech act was performed, he feels that the analysis of content on its own is not enough to give a clear understanding of utterances.

According to Sbisa (2002), it is arguable whether or not the contextual requirements for successfulness or felicity of speech acts are fulfilled by the situation, or is believed to be fulfilled. In short, the speech act becomes a success when its intention is recognised by the listener. Sbisa (2002) claims that, "the positive evaluation of a speech act's felicity is the default option and involves the successful performance of the purported illocutionary act" (p. 423). On the other hand, infelicities consequently differ on the speech act, depending on the rule violated. In other words, Sbisa (2002) contends that the context of a speech act should be pre-settled before the

performance of that speech act. Sbisa's work on felicity of speech acts has relevance to any discourse study including parliamentary discourse. Since parliamentarians present their views and arguments in different ways, obviously, some of their rhetorical intentions will be successful, whilst others not.

In his research on the *Pragmatics prototypical categories of rhetorical questions*, Chen (2006) mentions that "indirect assertives and directives performed by rhetorical questions have the same illocutionary forces with the corresponding direct speech acts" (p. 611). On the one hand, Chen (2006) establishes that indirect assertives and directives take the weakest illocutionary forces because of their dependency on contexts and require inferential effort in order for the listener to comprehend the speaker's intention. On the other hand, he considers that direct assertives and directives contain the strongest illocutionary forces because they require little effort for the listener to comprehend the speaker's intention.

According to Sbisa (2002), context is a matter of what the interlocutors are doing or attempting to do. Sbisa (2002) also explains that "an objective, limited context is what is needed for situating speech acts and evaluating them as situated" (p. 434). Further, contexts continuously change not only because of non-verbal actions changing the circumstances but also because speech acts produce changes in the conventional features of the context (Sbisa 2002).

2.6 Deliberative rhetoric in parliamentary discourse

As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, this study focused on the rhetoric used by MPs in the Namibian Parliament. The main analysis is on speech acts of these parliamentarians. Thus, a thorough review of parliamentary discourse in other parts of the world is needed for this study. To begin with, recent deliberative rhetoric in

parliament has become an interesting field of study. Ilie (2006, para. 16) defines parliamentary discourse as "a discourse in which institutional work, political meaning, negotiation and power management are being articulated and publicly displayed." Ilie (2013) points out that "the adversarial nature of parliamentary dialogue and the confrontational style of interpersonal deliberation are constitutive features of parliaments as norm-regulated and convention-based institutions" (p. 501). Nevertheless, sometimes these norms are strategically used in order to accomplish political goals. In addition, Ilie (2002) states that political institutions such as parliaments have gained a high structural complexity due to increasing norms and procedural standards, patterns of interaction and decision-making routines. Ilie (2006) confirms that the most popular globally parliamentary system is the Westminster system, named after Westminster Palace, the meeting place of Britain's parliament. She further states that Britain and most of the Commonwealth countries use the Westminster system. Namibia, being a part of the Commonwealth nations, adopted this system.

According to Ionescu-Ruxandoiu (2012), parliamentary discourse is being researched by historians, political scientists and linguists from different perspectives, with specific aims and methodological approaches. She insists that linguists take into consideration some extra-discursive parameters, but their purpose is to describe and examine parliamentary speeches as a form of talk, by recognising its particular structural features and strategies. Ionescu-Ruxandoiu (2012) highlights that, "the linguists' growing interest in the study of parliamentary discourse is closely connected with the development of pragmatics and discourse analysis, domains that are by definition open to interdisciplinarity" (p. 3).

In the same way, parliamentary discourse is a category of multiparty confrontational political discourses and an expanding field, according to Ilie (2015). Also, Bayley (2004) claims that parliamentary talk may take place in different institutional contexts, "like in a full sitting in the chamber (which may be adversarial), in committees (where it may be cooperative), and informally in the corridors (where it may be based on threats and promises)" (p. 1). According to Ilie (2010), "parliamentarians are supposed to constantly try to improve their rhetorical skills in an attempt to find the best ways to verbalise their opinions, beliefs and convictions" (p. 334). Amidst all the roles that parliamentarians perform in their sessions, the concept of speech acts of rhetoric cannot be separated from these roles. Members of Parliament have a variety of roles to play through their speeches made before parliament, roles such as: "to allow government ministers to present and defend new legislation; allow opposition MPs to debate the merits of such legislation; and allow any member to raise questions about the current functioning of government" (Bright, 2012, p.1).

According to Treimane (2011), different sources define parliamentary discourse differently. Bayley (2004) defines parliamentary discourse as "a sub-genre of political language and represents its most formal and institutionalised variety" (p. 1). Ilie (2009) claims that parliamentary discourse is "a norm-regulated interaction among politically elected representatives for deliberation and decision-making purposes in specific settings and which displays a number of particular communication patterns" (p. 61). Further, parliamentary talk happens in contexts which influence the nature of parliamentary discourse (Rasiah, 2010). Added to this, Van Dijk (2004) explains parliamentary discourse is mostly defined by its contextual properties- where it takes place, what it is about and who the participants are,

therefore the approach to its analysis needs to be contextual. Based on these definitions, Tremaine (2011) points out three characteristics of parliamentary discourse: It is the most formal and institutionalised variety of political discourse; it displays fixed, recurrent communication patterns which both shape and restrict the mode of communication; and it requires a contextual approach of analysis.

Two levels of discourse organisation play a major role in parliamentary discourse study, namely: macro-structural level and micro-structural level. According to Van Dijk (2000), parliamentary debates have many structures at different levels. Van Dijk adds that such properties are intonation, word order, clause structure, sentence meanings, presuppositions, local coherence, global topics, lexical style, metaphors, overall organization, speech acts, turn allocation and interactional strategies. Van Dijk (2004) also reasons that through talking, using speech acts or other discursive acts, members of parliament are also normally involved in considerable political acts. Despite the purposes of these speech acts in parliament, Ilie (2010 b) establishes that parliamentary discourse is shaped by institution-based rhetorical devices through the participants' alteration and re-alteration to preceding speakers and discourses, to their own prior speeches, to the audience's cognitive, pre-knowledge and expectations. For instance, rhetorical questions can be one of the rhetorical devices based on parliamentary proceedings during Question Time.

According to Ilie (2010), the constructing and understanding of statements are accustomed by what the speakers assume and assert about others' mental representations of cognitive frames, political commitments, social visions and professional/personal life experiences. This is where the influences of parliamentarians' additional or outside roles, positions and power are concerned. This is an abuse of power and dominance among members of parliament. They take

advantage of their positions in order to influence the entire audience. On the contrary, taking advantage of their positions might be an effective way of MPs to appeal to their audience ethos during debates.

From a rhetorical perspective, "parliamentary discourse belongs to the *deliberative genre* of political rhetoric, which is defined as an oratorical discourse targeting an audience that is asked to make a decision by evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of a future course of action" (Ilie, 2010, p. 5). Further, parliamentary discourse is used as a tool for reasoning on possible alternatives and solutions; and for jointly reaching common ground. In other words, Ilie (2010) asserts that a good knowledge of the relationship between parliamentary procedures, rhetorical conducts and political discourse styles will result in an understanding of how parliamentarians interact and effect on their work as civil servants. This implies that in order for one to gain a thorough insight into the ways in which members of parliament work and serve, they need to know the relationship between the three aspects. During parliamentary sessions, members of parliament argue, agree to disagree, propose and sometimes engage in a heated debate. After a thorough scrutiny of the discussion, the final decisions are made by the house in order to pass appropriate bills. Ilie (2010) identifies three primary goals of parliamentary proceedings: to negotiate political solutions, to reach agreements and to make decisions. It is on this platform that parliamentarians are required to use their utmost skills and strategies to persuade their audience.

From a pragma-rhetorical perspective, Ionescu-Ruxandoiu (2012) considers the connection between these two disciplines (pragmatics and rhetoric). The connection is authenticated by the resemblances of their viewpoint in approaching the speaker's intention to produce a certain effect on the listener. Previously it was believed that

the art of persuasion (rhetoric) was restricted to certain types of discourses, mainly public speaking; however, modern theories delineate rhetoric as "situated discourse", whereas any form of human discourse is rhetorical as being produced in a certain situation (Ionescu-Ruxandoiu, 2012).

Ionescu-Ruxandoiu (2012) indicates some obvious similarities between pragmatics and modern rhetoric as follows:

> They both use the concept of 'situation': communicative situation and rhetorical situation. Communicative situation includes linguistic, sociological, cognitive and psychological components, while the rhetorical situation is viewed as the source and ground of rhetorical activity.
>
> In pragmatics, discursive genres are important. These are forms of talk reflecting frames, schemes and scripts which are functional by members of a given community; in this case, parliamentary discourse is part of the genre of political discourse. While three basic rhetorical genres include: deliberative, forensic and epideictic, parliamentary discourse belongs to the deliberative genre.
>
> There is a correspondence between pragmatic and rhetorical structural categories. Pragmatics differentiates between speaker-oriented, hearer-oriented, and neutral utterances. These are related with three main discourse component recognised by rhetoric, namely: ethos (connected with self-image), pathos (connected with the receivers' emotional reaction), and logos (connected with ideas and their logical concatenation) (p. 11).

In her views, Ionescu-Ruxandoiu (2012) explains pragma-rhetoric as, "a possible form of approaching discourse within the framework of the generally acknowledged functional paradigm" (p.11).

Tremaine (2011) claims parliamentary discourse displays specific lexico-grammatical features that taken out of the text still make it possible to reconstruct certain elements of the context of the situation. Such expressions may be: *the honourable, I move to,* or *order!* In addition, in order to find the most typical lexico-grammatical patterns that oversee the parliamentary debate, one has to study samples of parliamentary text, which are written transcripts of the debate. These transcripts are essential for evidence of the most typical lexico-grammatical strategies used by the speakers in a particular context (Tremaine, 2011).

One important aspect of parliamentary discourse is Question Time. This is the time allocated for parliamentarians to give notice of the questions that they will be asking for specific dates. Like other parts of the world, in Namibia's parliamentary Question Time, questions are mostly asked by members of parliament directed to ministers. According to Rasiah (2010), parliamentary Question Time is the most obvious way of holding the Executive Government responsible for its actions. Although Question Time is intended for fair questioning, speech acts of challenges, mockery and antagonism occur from those who pose questions. In her study on parliamentary question time, Rasiah (2010) claims that "most questions asked by opposition members of parliament are likely to contain a built-in hostility which leads to evasion" (p. 666). Regarding parliamentary Question Time, evasion is likely to occur in responses rather than questions. Usually, there are different reasons why people would not want to answer certain questions. Rasiah (2010) observes that there are influences that can determine the questions, and consequently the kinds and nature of

responses given. For example, hostile opposition questions are the most evaded questions because they are likely to be closed yes/no questions containing negative assumptions. This is one factor that leads parliamentarians to answer questions indirectly or completely evade. Rasiah (2010) discovered that there are four levels of evasive responses that occur in parliamentary discourse, namely, full evasion, substantial evasion, medium level of evasion and subtle evasion.

2.7 The need to engage rhetorical expressions in parliamentary interactions

This section is significant in the analysis of the needs of rhetorical skills in the Namibian National Assembly. When preparing their speeches, MPs hope to persuade their audience by expressing a variety of information. However, without the skill of persuasion, one is unlikely to reach the intended goal of a speech. Therefore, it is crucial for MPs to be acquainted with such skills. Scholars in the field of speech acts believe that speaking is acting; therefore, parliamentarians should act in order to persuade political opponents and the entire audience. According to Ilie (2010), parliamentarians may be aware that they cannot really hope to persuade their opponents toward their ideas and beliefs, but rather engage in a theatre-like dialogic game between adversarial positions by way of competing and overcoming.

Rhetoric can be categorised depending on the issues at hand in the society. For example, in his study on the "Analysis on hate language in political discourse used in Zimbabwe", Makamani (2010) discusses five categories of rhetoric namely: land rhetoric, anti-west rhetoric, white farmer rhetoric, anti-colonial rhetoric, and sovereign rhetoric. He explains that all these kinds of rhetoric were used by the former Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe to remind people of their past sufferings and challenges in order to lure the Zimbabwean electorate. Makamani

(2010) further clarifies that these kinds of rhetoric were used by means of "evasive linguistic expressions such as imagistic metaphors meant to manage face in the light of a serious challenge that ZANU PF faced from the MDC" (p. 22). He reasons that political leaders use anti-colonial rhetoric as a scapegoat to conceal their governance mistakes which their subordinates heavily paid for. Since parliamentary discourse is a part of political discourse, anti-colonial rhetoric is likely to play a major role especially from the ruling party members of parliament towards the opposition, fellow MPs and the general public. Another issue that politicians can base their persuasion on is that of demise. The audience is being reminded of how a certain group of people perished in masses (genocide) or suffered as a result of their anti-colonial actions. The categorisation of rhetoric based on the issues at hand is applicable in the Namibian parliamentary debates since MPs deal with national issues and concerns regularly. These issues are tackled by all political parties in parliament, therefore, they all have an equal opportunity to use these kinds of rhetoric categories.

In addition, in Kangira's (2010) analysis of Mugabe's Speeches at funerals, he discusses the rhetorical devices intended to persuade his audience and the electorate to sympathise both with the bereaved families and him, and his party, ZANU (PF). Kangira (2010) observes that Mugabe goes back to the history of the liberation struggle in his oratories in order to remind the audience of the colonial era and the heroic acts of the deceased. This is typical in parliamentary discourse, especially in countries which suffered at the helm of other countries' colonial system.

In another setting, the former president of the Republic of China, Chen Shui-bian delivered his inaugural speech not only to publicize information, but mainly to reconstitute the people in Taiwan, to sustain his national principles, to set an agenda

to shape national policies of administration and other plans for his country (Cheng, 2006). In order to set this agenda, "he used dignified language to link the past to the present and heighten ritual experiences" (Cheng, 2006, p. 586). Moreover, Cheng (2006) claims that people usually understand rhetoric as simple words which put emphasis on form rather than content. Each word has two sides, the inner side (content) and the outer one (form); the content of a word represents its core meaning, while its structure portrays the many sides of the truth described. Cheng (2006) clarifies that "the rhetorical device of ambiguity is always used by politicians as a means of persuasion" (p.587).

Speech acts based on forms of address and reference occur at micro-level, whereby they cause changes at the macro-level in parliamentary debates (Ilie, 2013). Van Dijk (2000) argues that parliamentary debates not only symbolise meaning but are also forms which are socially and politically interactive. Van Dijk (2000) therefore stresses that speech acts in parliament may directly cause racism as a social act.

With regards to parliamentary proceedings, parliamentary interaction involves giving notices, question time and giving feedback. Ilie (2010) explains that "Question Time is a specific session devoted to questioning the foremost representatives of the Government, namely the Prime Minister and government ministers, by their fellow members of parliament" (p. 338). Members of parliament are held liable for their political intents, statements and actions by fellow members of parliament. In addition, Question Time sessions display exchanges of challenging, accusatory, defensive and ironical remarks between opposition parliamentarians and the government parliamentarians, as well as friendly and cooperative questions from the ruling party parliamentarians (Illie, 2010). According to Ilie's (2010) research, "an examination of the speech acts performed during Question Time can provide

important insights into the confrontational nature of the relationships between opposition members of parliament and government members of parliament, as well as of their multifunctional and shifting rhetorical strategies" (p. 333).

Questions may be regarded as speech acts with persuasive effect, whether they are direct or indirect, or rhetorical questions. Ilie (2015) argues that due to the different nature of questions, their definitions and categorisations still cause disagreements. She identifies three main categories of questions: yes/no questions; wh-questions; and alternative questions. Ilie (2015) further draws a distinction between direct and indirect questions. Direct questions are carried by an independent interrogative sentence, while indirect questions are carried by dependent interrogative clauses acting as a complement of a verb.

Ilie (2015) discloses two kinds of questions which originate from a pragmatic perspective, namely: standard and nonstandard questions. Both standard and nonstandard questions are used as argument-eliciting devices in institutional settings such as parliament. One of the most crucial categories of nonstandard questions is the rhetorical question. Ilie (1994) defines a rhetorical question as "a question used as a challenging statement to convey the addresser's commitment to its implicit answer in order to induce the addressee's mental recognition of its obviousness and the acceptance, verbalised or perlocutionary effect of a statement" (p.128). Since rhetorical questions arise in different discourse genres and have multiple context-based functions, it is evident that they ought to be heard as questions and understood as statements (Ilie, 2015). These indirect statements are considered as persuasive statements because they do not necessarily seek answers. Ilie (2015) concludes that in parliamentary debates, speech act sequences allow interlocutors to negotiate members of parliaments' roles and power positions. When rhetorical questions are

used as arguments, they are likely to include many forms of argumentations which characterise three categories of arguments, namely: reasoning arguments, appeals to emotions, and mixed arguments (Ilie, 2015). Regarding questions in debates, Vliegenhart and Walgrave (2010) note that opposition parliamentarians tend to follow mass media coverage and find specific issues to discuss in parliament. In many cases this coverage allows the opposition MPs to attack the government action or the lack of it.

Some scholars indicate that tag questions are related to persuasion. A tag question is a statement that ends with a question. Once a speaker uses a tag question, they obviously want the listener to agree with them. The speaker usually aims to convince the listener that they know what they are saying is right or is the truth. If the statement clause is positive, then the question will be in a negative form, for example, *these documents are not clear, are they?* After justification with some evidence and facts, the speaker would use this tag question to try to persuade the listener that the documents are not clear, hence expect the listener to say: *no, they are not*. According to Blankenship and Craig (2007), there is an argument whether tag questions are persuasive or not. They claim that some studies suggest that people who use tag questions are alleged as powerless and not assertive, while some suggest that question tags are used by powerful people to control the recipient of the message or to bring about information.

Although research has not proven much on credibility in the persuasive effectiveness of tag questions, Blankenship and Craig (2007) observed that listeners pay attention to linguistic cues produced by the speaker. For instance, the speech rate may be perceived differently by the audience. Miller, Maruyama, Beaber and Valone claim that "those with a fast speech rate are perceived as more credible, knowledgeable,

and trustworthy than those with a slow speech rate which often leads to the message being more persuasive" as cited in (Blankenship & Craig, 2007, p. 112). Given that the credibility of the speaker plays a role in persuasion, tag questions posed by low credible persons may lead to negative perceptions and decreased persuasion (Blankenship & Craig, 2007). Blankenship and Craig also believe that, "a source lacking in credibility using tag questions should be less persuasive than one not using tag questions" (p. 113). In their research on *Linguistic power and persuasion*, Holtgraves and Lasky (1999) observed audiences listening to a persuasive message conveyed in both powerless and powerful styles. The group that listened to the powerless version perceived the speaker and the argument negatively and were not interested in the message proposal than the audience who listened to the same message in a powerful version. In institutions like parliaments, tag questions are more likely to occur in a form of rhetorical questions where the speech act does not necessarily require a direct answer, but rather stimulates the audience to think twice. Speech acts with tag questions in parliamentary discourse tend to cause interruption because other MPs give their voices without waiting for their turns.

On the contrary, other researchers such as Hosman and Siltanen (2011) assert that the absence of discourse markers like tag questions and hedges symbolise power and give positive evaluative results. Unlike intensifiers that indicate powerfulness, hedges show powerlessness. According to Holtgraves and Lasky (1999), the absence of these features is referred to as powerful language. Many scholars believe that speakers who use a powerless style of language are likely to be perceived as not assertive, competent, credible, authoritative, and consequently evaluated as less persuasive than those who use a powerful style. Likewise, Holtgraves and Lasky (1999) reveal that several studies have shown women use a less powerful style of

language than men. They further concluded that linguistic power affects persuasion facilitated by the speaker's perception and message arguments.

2.8 Persuasive strategies

This section will provide insight into the different persuasive strategies that MPs from different parts of the world use in their parliamentary debates. These strategies will be used for comparison purposes and analysis in the Namibian Parliament. Several studies demonstrate how different kinds of persuasive strategies are used. Therefore, in this section, I will discuss several persuasive strategies and how they function as stipulated by various authors. Persuasive strategies are applied in parliamentary discourse by parliamentarians in order to convince others. According to Archakis and Tsakona (2010), "persuasion is considered to be one of the most important goals if not the most important one, members of parliament have to attain" (p. 913). Johnstone (1989) explains that, "persuasive strategies are the range of options from which a speaker selects in deciding on an appropriate tactic or combination of tactics for persuasion in a given situation" (p. 913). Further, people have access to a range of communicative strategies, and it is up to them to choose which ones to apply depending on the necessity of persuasion (Johnstone, 1989).

A number of persuasive strategies based on both Aristotle's theory and Burke's theory suit the context of parliamentary discourse. Below are some rhetorical devices that are suitable for parliamentary discourse which are useful for this study.

2.8.1 Antithesis

Among other rhetorical devices, Mbenzi and Kangira (2015) talk about the rhetorical devices of antithesis. This device is used in order to contrast or give the opposite of something. The device tends to convince the audience to realise the difference between the two sides and make decisions on what is right and what is wrong. The

opinions of the audience are likely to be similar with those of the speaker because of the way s/he phrases the utterance. Usually, members of parliament may use this kind of device as a means of clarifying points. Similar to the device of antithesis is the rhetorical scheme of contrast of which "two positions are compared or contrasted within one sentence" (Lagerwerf, Boeynaems, Van Egmond-Brussee & Burgers, 2015, p. 278).

2.8.2 Inclusive words

Second, the use of the first person in plural *we* is likely to portray unity and a sense of togetherness as it touches the audience's emotions. This rhetorical device is associated with the pathos of the audience. In their study on "Bishop Dumeni's four funeral speeches", Mbenzi and Kangira (2015, p. 135) state that "Bishop Dumeni shifted from the first person singular to the first person plural *we* to demonstrate the collective desire and wishes of all the Namibians namely, the desire for peace." Likewise, Van Dijk (2004) explains that "it is well known that *we* is one of the most political of all pronouns, and variously reflects the identification or representation of the speaker as speaking for her or his party, as an MP speaking for all MPs" (p. 360). Silvestre-Lopez (2004) also agrees that purposive use of pronouns such as *we*, *us,* and *our,* are among the rhetoric devices commonly used in political discourse.

2.8.3 Reference

Third, reference is a crucial aspect of rhetoric studies and it is regarded as a rhetorical device. Reference becomes relevant when the speaker refers the state of affairs to the audience's beliefs and principles. Mbenzi and Kangira (2015) remark that, "by using the Biblical references, Bishop Dumeni showed his ethos and logos as someone with experience in religious activities" (p. 136). This is relevant because Bishop Dumeni was speaking at a funeral of a member of the Evangelical Lutheran

Church in Namibia (ELCIN). This church believes and follows the Bible and its teachings. Therefore, having knowledge that the Bishop is experienced in religious activities, the audience would easily agree with what he said. Similarly, politicians who constitute the parliament tend to refer the topic of debate to documents such as the country's constitution, political parties' constitutions, manifestos and any other legal documents that they believe other members of parliament and the general public are in agreement with and comprehend.

2.8.4 Metaphors

Metaphors are common in everyday speech including debates. Therefore, metaphors play a significant role in deliberative rhetoric. Richards and Schmidt (2013) clarify that while a simile shows that two things are alike *The man is as strong as a lion*, a metaphor indicates that these two things are equivalent; *The man is a lion*. Moreover, Richard and Schmidt (2013) emphasise that "metaphors are important means by which words carry both semantic and cultural meanings, and each language has its own metaphors that have accumulated over time and that must be learned by second and foreign language learners" (p. 362). According to Johnstone (1989), the language of presentational persuasion is shown by its rhythmic, paratactic flow. Furthermore, Johnstone (1989) emphasises that presentational persuasion has its underlying metaphor of persuasion based on the idea that being persuaded is being moved by a rhythmic flow of words, similarly in poetry. Examples of rhetorical deixes and visual metaphors may be: *here, now, this, behold, look, see,* respectively. With regards to conceptual correlates, Johnstone (1989) states that it is people and not necessarily ideas that are accountable for persuasion. The individual's choice of words, phrases and rhythms are important. The last persuasive strategy is analogical persuasion. Johnstone (1989) clarifies that "analogical rhetoric persuades by teaching, reminding

its audience of time-tested values by the indirect mode of storytelling" (p. 149). This kind of persuasion deals with narrating, and thus comparing the past with current affairs.

Kampka (2013) claims that a metaphor as a rhetorical device is used by politicians when defining a situation. Likewise, Santibanez (2009) concurs with Kampka by stating that "metaphorical expressions are useful devices to catch the attention of the audience, to describe a political situation, to attack the opponent and to clarify and evade an issue" (p. 974). Regarding his study on "Metaphors in the Chilean parliament", difficult issues are addressed with metaphorical strategies (Santibanez 2009). Metaphors have multiple functions in political discourse as follows: they simplify the abstract and complex issues in order to make them comprehensible to the public; they help in formulating an expression worth quoting; and they give humorous effects (Kampka, 2013). Besides humorous effects of metaphors, Kangira, Mashiri and Gambahaya (2007) argue that metaphors are used to replace direct words which have a negative connotation such as disrespect, offense, or taboo by certain cultural groups.

Kampka (2013) highlights three important concepts that perform a role in the persuasion exercise of politicians, namely: rhetorical situation, the definition of the situation, and persuasive definition. Rhetorical situation refers to "the context in which a given utterance is presented and received"; the definition of situation refers to "the negotiation of mutually accepted meanings important for both parties in the communication situation"; and lastly persuasive definition is where the focus is on the emotional effect that the word gives (Kampka, 2013, p. 101). Politicians tend not to use metaphors to the full persuasive potential; although they are used sparingly, politicians are unaware of the persuasive potential of metaphors. This chapter will

elaborate further on how metaphors are used as rhetoric in both political and parliamentary discourses.

Vukovic (2014) asserts that strong epistemic modality allows parliamentarians and other politicians to express a degree of commitment to the truth of what they say in their discourses. This implies that strong epistemic modality can be a persuasive strategy to convince the audience and win parliamentary debates. Nevertheless, strong epistemic modality plays a major role but has not been studied broadly in political discourse. Vukovic (2014) further claims that this tends not to be the case with hedges which are almost equivalent to epistemic modality. Simply put, epistemic modality is based on how certain and truthful a speaker is in the utterance.

According to Ilie (2003), the rhetorical comments that occur in parliamentary debates are referred to as *parliamentary parentheticals.* Ilie explains that "such parentheticals represent an apparent disruption in that they mark a rhetorical shift from one topic to another, or an extension/narrowing down of the focus/scope of a topic" (p. 255). Some parentheticals are independent sentences placed in between other utterances and some subordinate clauses placed inside another sentence. Ilie (2003) elaborates on the three main ways of identifying parentheticals as rhetorical strategies below.

Parentheticals are easily recognisable because they mark a coherence break, namely, they interrupt the normal sequence of words in the sentence in which they occur. Second, especially in parliamentary interventions, parentheticals can be rhetorically identified due to the fact that they mark level shifts between a speaker's varying voices. Third, parentheticals can also be identified due to the fact that they signal shifts in focus between co-existing levels of interpersonal interaction with multiple audiences (Ilie, 2003, p. 255).

2.8.5 Rhetorical humour

Phillips-Anderson (2007) defines rhetorical humour as "a linguistic act on the part of a speaker that carries with it the intended effect of producing a state of amusement or mirth in the auditor for the purpose of bringing about a change in attitude or behalf" (p. 1). In a parliament setting, most MPs attempt to express themselves eloquently so that the message they give is understood. Therefore, individuals have their ways of persuading an audience. For instance, on the one hand, if one has a way of attacking then in most cases s/he is likely to use strong verbs, adjectives or any part of speech as a way of winning debates. On the other hand, a member of parliament who is used to praising others in order to convince them of his/her convictions may use strong words to do so. Another MP may have a sense of humour, thus uses it in order to convince the audience. An Oshiwambo idiom (a local language in Namibia) says *sha yolwa oshoopala*, meaning 'people often laugh at something as an indication of consent or allowance'. They usually get carried away by jokes and statements that make them laugh. In such cases, the audience tends not to criticise, but to give consent to or accept a suggestion. On the contrary, Phillips-Anderson (2007) believes that laughter is not always a result of humour.

Laughter and humour originate in multifaceted social interactions and can have an important impact (Hutchinson, 2006). Although parliamentarians may not be aware of the kind of rhetoric they use, humour can be regarded as a good use of rhetoric as long as they reach their targets. This implies that good mastery of rhetoric need not only to be learnt in a formal setting but can be adopted via speeches in debates such as parliamentary debates.

2.8.6 Repetition

Speakers repeat words to emphasize or to show how important they are. There are two different types of repetition, simple repetition and complex repetition. Simple repetition is the use of the same words in the same sentence or the consequence sentence. Complex repetition is the use of the same lexemes but in a different category for example in youth. In persuasive speeches, repetition is used to make an idea clearer. Parallelism can be related to repetition as the speaker utters words that have the same rhythm. Richards and Schmidt (2013) define parallel construction as "a sentence containing words, phrases, clauses or structures which are repeated" (p. 419). Parallelism can be used to give a good sound to one's speech as they utter words of the same category repeatedly in order to attract his or her listeners.

2.9 The effects that rhetorical speech acts have on parliamentary debates

There are several ways in which speech acts uttered in parliament can affect the entire discourse, depending on the contexts in which these acts are expressed. It is crucial to note that these influences are mostly related to persuasive strategies. They aim at winning debates and specifically convincing the audience in parliament. However, in oblivion, parliamentarians may use speech acts which may negatively affect their persuasion attempts. As mentioned earlier, Hosman and Siltanen (2011) argue that linguistic markers such as hedges and tag questions are better not said as they devalue the effectiveness of persuasion. Nevertheless, researchers are still ambivalent about this observation. Blankenship and Craig (2007) insist that high credibility speakers using these markers tend to be more persuasive than low credibility speakers. Accordingly, their opinion is that the level of persuasion depends on who is speaking.

Van Dijk (1996) states that "much modern power in democratic societies is persuasive and manipulative rather than coercive" (p. 85). Van Dijk (1996) perceives the whole issue of political discourse as being influential rather than threatening. Generally, some of these speech acts may be instigated by parliamentarians' roles, positions, and the power they possess. Ilie (2010) reasons that, "to a large extent, the members of parliament's interaction in parliament are a competition for power and leadership roles, but also for fame and popularity" (p. 338). Below are a few influences that speech acts may have on parliamentary discourse.

2.9.1 Language and power

Research has shown that parliamentarians often use speech acts which are influenced by their roles, positions and power. Since some parliamentarians have other roles and positions other than being parliamentarians, they possess power and dominance based on the authority and roles they play in society. For this reason, some MPs are likely to use language to influence and control others. According to Langton (1993), "the ability to perform speech acts of certain kinds can be a mark of political power" (p. 298). Further, powerful people are actually able to do more, say more and dominate in speech more than powerless people (Langton, 1993). Despite the fact that some members of parliament are more dominant than others, Rai (2011) believes that each Member of Parliament formally has an equal legitimate power, because they are elected by citizens in free and fair elections.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an analysis that is concerned with the abuse of power and dominance. Wodak (2001) simply states that CDA focuses more on the relationship between language and power. Likewise, Van Dijk (1996) explains one of the important functions of CDA is establishing a connection between discourse and social power. This kind of analysis reveals how abuse of power is legislated and

reproduced by the text and talk of the dominating groups. Van Dijk (2003) describes Critical Discourse Analysis as, "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 352).

Finburgh (2004) states that according to Austin's speech act theory, "words exercise power unilaterally: the speaker transmits an intention to the interlocutor via an utterance" (p. 113). Some parliamentarians have roles that accord more dominance or power than others. Some members of parliament take advantage of such circumstances and use them in persuading their audience. For example, in her article titled "Identity co-construction in parliamentary discourse practices", Ilie (2010) argues that MPs should perform roles and show aspects of their identities. She further states, "MPs are expected to perform in a double capacity, as institutional representatives, on the one hand, and as private persons on the other, while carrying out the institutional commitments" (p. 11).

Fairclough (2013) establishes three basic properties of CDA: relational, dialectical, and transdisciplinary. CDA is relational because it focuses on social relations such as the relations between people who talk, write, and communicate with one another (Fairclough, 2013).

2.9.2 Questions

Abuse of power may be observed in parliament when those who possess more power than others ask questions. These may be rhetorical questions or ordinary questions. According to Chen (2006), an important factor that should be well thought-out when using rhetorical questions is "the relative power or status of the speaker over the hearer" (p. 612). In the case of an institution such as parliament, this implies that those with power or higher status than others are likely to use rhetorical questions by

way of commanding, suggesting, ordering or even threatening. In addition, Chen (2006) points out that a rhetorical question is accurately used as a proposal and requested by a speaker of higher status. The communication may break down if the speaker who poses the rhetorical question does not hold the status or power to say so. Because analysis of such relations goes across boundaries between disciplines including linguistics, politics or sociology, Fairclough (2013) regards CDA as a transdisciplinary form of analysis.

2.9.3 Verbal interruptions

Another aspect that should not be left out is a verbal interruption in parliament. An interruption may be a result of showing power and dominance over other parliamentarians. These kinds of interruptions may block the achievement of persuasion if unparliamentary language is used. The emotions of the audience are driven by the way the rhetor speaks. In her study on Mexican parliamentary discourse, Carbo (1992) mentions interruptions have two functions, namely: to legitimate the varied ideology of the Mexican regime in a strongly presidential system where one party has controlled power and to allow and contain genuine disaffection. According to Carbo (1992), instances of simultaneous speech may be regarded as interruptions, depending on where the simultaneous speech starts, one can determine whether they are facing an intentional interruption or not. Furthermore, regarding arrangement, interruptions are formed by similar constructional units in the rest of the speech-event: a single word, phrases or clauses. She asserts that these short units used as interruptions are a result of brevity and that there is no chance for an acceptable access to speech turn (Carbo, 1992).

Repetition is one of the interruptions when the second speaker (interrupter) repeats significant words or phrases used by the current speaker, in order to show irony or

polemical or use rhetorical slots (Carbo, 1992). Questions may be a common type of interruption such as rhetorical questions (questions that unnecessarily require answers). Carbo (1992) considers that, “short, comprehensible and ironical questions that defy, mock, object to or contradict the current speaker’s main argument or proposition, seem to serve well the type of rapid discussion that is present in Mexican debates sessions” (p. 34). Although the interrupters’ rhetorical questions go unanswered by the current speaker, their goals have been achieved (Carbo, 1992).

2.9.4 Access to public discourse

According to Van Dijk (1996), "power does not only involve the abuse of power but also may affect people's minds" (p. 85). In order for certain parliamentarians to have power over others, they must have access to superior discourse. In his research on “Discourse, power and access”, Van Dijk (1992) found that dominant groups or institutions have special access to, and control over public discourse and communication, hence they may influence the structures of text and talk of their discourse (in this case, parliamentary discourse). Consequently, the knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies of the audience are likely to be affected indirectly in the interest of the dominant group (Van Dijk, 1996).

Moreover, access to public discourse has patterns and strategies based on social domains, institutions, professions, situations and genres (Van Dijk, 1996). Like many other countries, the Namibian Parliament consists of the Prime Minister, ministers and their deputies and other parliamentarians who are the backbenchers. Such Ministers and their Deputies have access to cabinet meetings which backbenchers do not have. Van Dijk (1996) argues that in daily interactions there may be culturally patterns of access to power based on age, gender, class, education or any strategy that define dominance and discrimination. He illustrates the likelihood of women having

less access than men, blacks less than whites, and young people less than adults. As mentioned earlier, this is nothing than using the roles, positions and power that one upholds in order to be influential and persuasive specifically in parliamentary discourse. He believes that more access regarding participant roles means more social power. Parliamentarians will always take advantage of the roles they perform and positions they hold to achieve their speech goals. The power possessed by politicians is likely to allow them to use a variety of speech acts by means of commanding, demanding, proposing, giving directives, making strong remarks and asking questions. One main element of the discursive reproduction concerning power and dominance is "the very access to discourse and communicative events" (Van Dijk, 1996, p. 85).

2.9.5 Subordinating and silencing speech acts

Langton (1993) discusses the 'subordinating and silencing speech acts' as she reasons that powerful people have the ability to silence the powerless' speech acts. This is done by stopping the person from speaking i.e. the speaker in parliament has the power to stop any member from speaking, depending on the reason he/she has in mind. In this case, the Speaker uses their power as a National Assembly Speaker who facilitates and gives turns to parliamentarians to speak. Whether the silencing benefits the ruling party or not, the voice and intentions of the powerless may be demeaned or may not be heard at all. Langton (1993) further indicates that other ways of silencing the powerless are by gagging them, lurking them and convicting them to solitary confinement. On the contrary, Langton explains that there is a more effective and polite way of silencing, "let them say whatever they like to whomever they like, but stop that speech from counting as an action it was intended for" (p. 299).

2.9.6 Master suppression techniques

According to Ilie (2013), Norwegian social psychologist Berit As observed verbal and non-verbal behaviour of politicians in different institutional contexts, whereby she noticed master suppression techniques. She defines master suppression techniques as "strategies of social manipulation through which a person or a dominant group consciously or unconsciously exercises power to maintain their position in an established or unexposed hierarchy" (as cited in Ilie, 2013, p. 508). Ilie goes further to say "master suppression technique is a tool a person uses to exercise power over someone else" (2013, p. 508). Often when speech acts uttered via these techniques in parliament, parliamentarians may not be aware of the effects that these techniques have on their audience. This may interfere with the illocutionary force within their speech acts and devalue their desired persuasive attempts. As experienced and observed these kinds of techniques during her reign as a female party leader, according to Ilie (2013). These techniques that cause individuals to exert control and power over others can be used not only by men over women but by women over men as well. According to Ilie (2013), As' theory makes it easy to understand what happens when individuals realise that they are not paid attention to, when they are looked down on, disregarded or ignored. Earlier in the chapter, I pointed out that parliaments around the world may have slight differences, but there may be several commonalities. These techniques have a tendency of occurring in most parliaments. In her observations, Berit As established five master suppression techniques as discussed by Ilie (2013) as follows: Ignoring/making invisible, Ridiculing, Withholding information, Double binding and Blaming and shaming.

Having discussed the types of master suppression techniques, it is quite clear that historically, men overrule women in the sense that they are the ones who mostly play

the role of the subject applying these techniques. Nevertheless, in her study on "Gendering Confrontational Rhetoric: Discursive Disorder in the British and Swedish Parliaments", Ilie (2013) commends women in parliament by stating that "it is both enlightening and heartening to see women MPs acting purposefully to challenge the taken-for-granted male aggressive practices in parliaments" (p. 510).

2.10 Cross-cultural interaction

Often it can be difficult for English non-native listeners to make meaning out of and make use of appropriate language when they have different cultural backgrounds. This could be the result of having different first languages, different ways of expressing oneself and other aspects related to culture. According to Blum-Kulka (1980), the difficulties that second language speakers encounter in acquiring communicative competence might be caused by differences between languages and cultures in various aspects of speech-act realisation. Blum-Kulka further points out that "speech acts patterns that are perfectly acceptable in one culture might be often considered offensive in another, and vice versa" (p. 8).

Blum-Kulka (1980) states that although two languages have the same range of linguistic patterns for any speech act, the conventions of directness for this pattern may differ from culture to culture. In his study on "Speech act performance", Blum-Kulka (1980) exemplifies that Hebrew rules of politeness require a degree of directness which can be considered rude when transferred to American English. Moon (2001) explains that non-native speakers are unlikely to know all factors governing the appropriateness of speech acts in a target language and community. Cross-cultural interaction is the interaction of people from different cultural backgrounds. Ad-Darraji, Foo, Ismail and Abdulah (2012) state that "the speech acts of any language provide its speakers with culture-specific categories of verbal

interaction" (p. 1). Ad-Darraji et al further claim that culture is communication, and communication is culture because it affects daily social practices and discourse. In addition, Baicchi (2009) highlights the importance of knowledge culture by stating that, since speech acts are the tools that allow people to interact on a daily basis, uttering a speech act does not require only knowledge of the language but as well as its appropriate use in a certain culture.

Huangfu (2012) emphasises the significance of non-native speakers to know how to use speech acts in their target language correctly. This is of great importance to those who use such a language as the medium of communication and as an official language. Blum-Kulka (1980) clarifies that, "the transference of rules and expectations from one culture to another can create confusion, embarrassment and misunderstanding" (p. 7). Since some speech acts are situation dependent such as the speech act of complaining, the speaker should acquire sociocultural competence of language use and linguistic competence in order to use the speech act correctly. Further, the speech act of complaining is a face-threatening act when the sociocultural rule of speaking is violated. For this reason, there is a great need for sociocultural knowledge of a language (Moon, 2002). When the sociocultural rule is violated, "this can lead to a breakdown in communication and in the relationship with the other participants" (Moon, 2002, para. 1). From observations, Moon (2002) notes that non-native speakers tend to fail in communicating successfully in a target language. In addition, "cultural factors play an important role in the development of diverse ways of talking and communicating" (Shams & Afghari, 2011, p. 1).

In Namibia, like in other countries that have multilingual societies, the parliament comprises members from different cultural backgrounds. In some parts of Africa like Tanzania where people use both English and Kiswahili in parliament, most of the

members are acquainted with the Kiswahili culture, therefore parliamentarians tend to understand each other's expression (both direct and indirect). In her research on Speech act study, Moon (2002) expresses the failures of non-native speakers in speech acts of complaints. Complaints, in particular, are not only caused by their grammatical and linguistic limitations, but mainly by the limitation of sociopragmatic knowledge.

According to Fahey (2005), speech acts are universal, but research indicates that they can manifest in different ways across languages and cultures. Furthermore, Fahey (2005) claims that the cross-cultural difference in language use reveals broader socio-cultural differences that feature language in use internationally and this is where inter-cultural misunderstanding originates. Similarly, the concern of universality is significant in the studies of the context of speech acts. Research has shown that second language speakers tend to fail to communicate efficiently (commit pragmatic failure), despite their good command of grammar and lexicon of the target language. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) believe that these pragmatic failures are related to cross-linguistic differences in speech act realisation rules.

In her research, "Speech acts as intercultural danger zones", Fahey (2005) asserts that "apology is a frequently used speech act which serves different purposes ranging from maintaining polite rituals that could vary from one society to the other, to the acknowledgment of serious offences." (para. 7). The apology becomes significant in spoken and written interactions and in effect to ascertain what conditions to be applied for the adequate performance of an apology. Generally, if an apology is made as an indirect speech act, people who have different cultures, norms and values may not realise such and understand its intention. That is why Fahey (2005) notes that it is of great importance to pay attention to the context in which the apology was uttered,

in order to get a clear understanding. Speech acts of apology play a major role in parliamentary debates. MPs usually apologise to other MPs, the Speaker, or the general public. Sometimes the Speaker may request MPs to apologise for unparliamentary remarks they have made.

Blum-Kulka and Oshtain (1984) differentiate speech acts of apologising from those of requesting. They clarify that apologies are simply post-event acts, while requests are usually pre-event acts; "requests are made in an attempt to cause an event or change one and apologies signal the fact that a certain type of event has already taken place" (p. 206). According to Fahey (2005), there are linguistic strategies for expressing apologies. As research shows, some speech acts of apologising are formal while others are informal. An institution like parliament is expected to use formal speech acts because of the nature of its discussions and discourse. Blum-Kulka and Oshtain (1984) point out that apologies may cause loss of face for the speaker and support for the listener, however, requests bring loss of face to both the speaker and listener.

In their paper "Effects of Culture and Gender in comprehension of Speech Acts of Indirect Request", Shams and Afghari (2011) indicate that culture has an important effect on the interpretation of indirect request of speech acts, and that gender does not necessarily affect the ability to understand indirect speech acts. As mentioned previously, speech acts are divided into two parts, direct and indirect, and many scholars indicate that indirect speech acts are more likely to be polite than the direct ones. In support of the latter, Shams and Afghari (2011) affirm that, "there are many utterances with the purpose of affecting the hearer in one way or another: some convey the information directly; others are more careful or polite, and they use indirectness to transmit the message" (p. 280). According to Shams and Afghari

(2011), indirectness is broadly used as a conversational strategy. Moreover, it is likely to be an effective persuasive strategy in institutions like parliaments during their debates. Politeness enables the audience to sympathise with the speaker, in this manner they are convinced of their convictions.

Huangfu (2012) defines direct and indirect speech acts as follows: "a direct speech act refers to an utterance whose meaning can be understood through linguistic forms, while indirect strategies are used to show an appropriate level of politeness" (p. 25). Huangfu maintains that in communication, people anticipate to assist one another to maintain face, and not face-saving defences, as requests are regarded as *Face-threatening acts (FTA).* Geis (1995) observed that when an interlocutor, especially a friend rejects a request, it threatens the requester's positive face. Furthermore, when the interlocutor criticises the other, it threatens that person's positive face. Brown and Levinson as cited in (Geis, 1995) refer these acts as face-threatening-acts. Referring to Corneliu Vadim Tudor's parliamentary speeches, Chelaru-Muraru (2012) states that "the speaker launches violent FTAs on his opponents and enjoys exhibiting his verbal power and aggressiveness by means of directive and commissive speech acts of command, interdiction or threat, as well as by irony, insults….." (p. 167). According to Geis (1995), "rejecting a request by a friend threatens the requester's positive face. And criticising someone threatens that person's positive face." (p. 98)

In Blum-Kulka's project "Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Patterns", nine requests strategies were categorised from the most direct to the least as follows: "the most direct were mood derivable, performatives, obligation statements and want statements; conventional indirect strategies include suggestive formula and query

preparatory" (Huangfu, 2012, p. 25), while nonconventional indirect strategies include strong and mild hints.

In other views, speech acts of thanking or expressing appreciation may present a denotation differently in a cross-cultural parliamentary discourse. Thanking among MPs during parliamentary proceedings often occur. For instance, MPs thank the Speaker for the chance of speaking or the Speaker thanks the MPs for carrying out committee related tasks. Regarding their research on perceptions of the speech act of thanking, Al-Khawaldeh and Zegarac (2013) express, "Jordanian participants emphasised the powerful impact that expressing or failing to do so has on establishing and keeping good relations with others" (p. 234). Al-Khawaldeh and Zegarac state that "the Jordanians value showing care for others' feelings because behaving politely is very crucial for establishing, maintaining and improving social relationships" (p. 234). Others argue that thanking should not be regarded as face-threatening and further some believe that thanking is a requirement by God, while others feel it is desirable both by the thanker and the thankee (Al-Khawaldeh & Zegarac, 2013).

2.11 Unparliamentary language and language irregularities

This section helped the researcher understand how unparliamentary language and language irregularities occur in parliament and how they are different from one another. The major distinction between unparliamentary language and language irregularities is that unparliamentary language is inappropriate and includes offensive remarks; while language irregularities have to do with violating the language grammar rules. Unparliamentary language is any language that MPs use which is not appropriate and is against the standing rules and order during parliamentary proceedings. Palonen (2016) defines the term unparliamentary as "violations of the

tacit practices and conventions of respect for other members and the parliament itself" (p. 21). Ilie (2004) concurs with Palonen by stating that "abusive and insulting behaviour is generally perceived as a deviation from the commonly assumed rationality of public debate" (p. 46). This behaviour challenges the accuracy of ethos, pathos and logos of the addressee. In fact, rudeness is associated with the deviation from or a violation of rules and maxims of cooperative communication (Ilie, 2004). Ilie (2004) defines parliamentary insults as, "offensive rhetorical acts performed in a highly competitive institutional setting" (p. 53). In her paper "Insulting as (un)parliamentary practice in the British and Swedish parliaments", Ilie (2004) assumes that what is regarded as unparliamentary uses of language form occurrences of ritualised confrontational interaction based on an institution. She further explains that "parliamentary insults are deliberately offensive rhetorical acts performed in a competitive institutional setting" (p. 81).

Like other rhetorical strategies, the insult initiator tries to attack his/her opponent by insulting them. According to Ilie (2004), rhetorically constructed parliamentary insults are usually meant to minimise cognitive differences within the speaker's own political party; and vice versa between the speaker's party and his/her opponent's party. Although insults are seen as having a detrimental effect on members of parliament, insults fulfil two rhetorical functions, namely: *movere* and *delectare* (Ilie, 2004). Movere is used in order to move or engage the audience's emotions and delectare is used to please and entertain the audience. The type and functions of insults and the feedbacks they get vary in different cultures and institutional settings. Ilie (2004) contrasts the British rhetorical tradition, which accepts ridiculing and mocking serious topics, with the Swedish traditional rhetoric that requires serious talk i.e. political discussion to be kept apart from joking.

According to Silvestre-Lopez (2004), accurate use of language is an important factor in attaining personal and public goals in all aspects of our daily interaction. However, the misuse of accurate linguistic resources becomes important to the professionals involved in the field of politics. Silvestre-Lopez, therefore, stresses that "language is a powerful instrument for those interested in controlling people's ideas" (p. 2). All languages have rules that speakers are required to follow or abide to carry out successful communication in both formal and non-formal settings. Failing to understand these rules may lead to unsuccessful communication. Morphology and syntax are what govern a language's rules. In normal communication, people tend to deviate from these rules whether conscious or unconscious, which results in language irregularities. Language irregularities occur when a person deviates from the correct grammatical rule of a language (both in written and spoken form). Often this happens to speakers of another language.

Milkov (2003) validates Austin's theory of types of speech acts, in particular, language irregularities arise because of confusing the speech-acts' types. Further, "these confusions arise when mixing up the type of the ontological situation which the speech acts describe, as well as the type of the symbols which designate them" (Milkov, 2003, p. 170). In his views, Hirsch (2012) discusses, "language deviations that arise from irregularities of the speech acts are more difficult to define, such as distorted or drawled vowels due to a particularly emotional component or words being de-familiarised by sloppy speaking e.g. *sumtames* instead of *sometimes*" (p. 124).

The knowledge of words (lexicon) says a lot about the speaker of a language. According to Ballmer and Brennenstuhl (2013), "the lexicon of a language tells something about what is linguistically relevant for the speakers of that language, i.e.

the verbs denoting speech acts, speech activities, or various aspects of linguistic behaviour and many of its aspects" (p. 3). Seemingly, language irregularities affect the discourse especially among non-native speakers of the language used. Having said that, English is used as a second language by most non-native speakers and is not a native language in Namibia. Therefore, the language may not be used accurately in terms of syntax and other linguistic features.

2.12 Theoretical frameworks

This study is driven by three theories, namely: Austin's speech act theory, Aristotle's theory of rhetoric and Burke's theory of identification. As longstanding theories, they are useful for this study because of their relevance to the speech acts and rhetorical devices used in parliamentary discourse. In this study, these theories are interrelated because they are based on communication that aims to persuade. For this reason, the theories are suitable for this study. The theories mark the ancient development of rhetoric; they helped the researcher get an insight of the origins of speech acts in relation to rhetoric.

2.12. 1 Austin's Speech Act Theory

Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) established that a speech act is equal to a communicative action. This theory generally explains the logic of performing actions through speaking. According to Yoshitake (2004), a performing action simply means that "a statement not only describes a situation or states some facts, but also performs a certain kind of action by itself" (p. 28). Yoshitake (2004) demonstrates with the sentence *you have a wonderful smile*, which can have multiple functions depending on the given contexts such as praise or irony. According to Austin's theory, this utterance is more than just a plain description and statement, but "it does things on its own" (p. 28). Searle, Kiefer and Bierwisch (1980) assert that the theory of speech

acts assumes that the minimum unit of human communication is not just a sentence, but the performance of certain types of acts. The speech act theory identifies three types of speech acts: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocution. This theory best suits this study on the basis that parliamentary discourse is constituted by oral debates which comprise different kinds of utterances. According to Bach (1998), the main role for the theory of speech acts is to account for how speakers can do well in what they do despite the various ways in which linguistic sense underdetermines use. He further states that "as an act of communication, a speech act succeeds if the audience identifies, in accordance with the speaker's intention, the attitude being expressed." The types of speech acts serve as a guide in identifying the actual purposes and meaning of utterances of members of parliament during parliamentary sessions.

Several authors agree that speech acts function in different ways, but mainly aims at persuading the listener or audience (Ilie, 2010; Shams & Afghari, 2011; Huangfu, 2012; Fahey, 2005; Agbedo, 2008). However, there have been critiques against the idea of speech acts. Sanders (1976) explains Edward Shirley's argument on speech acts. He states that Shirley's concern is "with rules which specify the properties of the utterances relevant to the performance of a given illocutionary act" (p. 112). Speech acts are those of requesting, asking questions, making statements, thanking, threatening, proposing, giving orders and making promises. Further, parliamentary discourse cannot be excluded from such contexts because this discourse is made up of various speech forms as members orally debate in order to win arguments and convince their audience. Regardless of their English linguistic competence, members of parliament are expected to ask one another questions, give notices, propose and amend bills, request, apologise and congratulate. Within this study, Austin's theory of speech act enables the researcher to categorise the speech acts uttered by members

of parliament and explain their functions and impacts on the audience. The audience of the parliamentarians is other members, visitors to the parliament, members of the media and the general public who may be viewing via television.

Austin (1962) divides speech acts into two parts, Constatives and Performative. Hayat, Akhter and Iqbal (2015) explain these as follows: “a constative describes and states the situations whereas a performative is a speech act which indicates that the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action” (p. 359). Agbedo (2008) describes every utterance or sentence is a speech act whereby performative verbs and constative verbs play important roles. Like other researchers, he reveals that every utterance has a different kind of illocutionary force. This notion helps the researcher in analysing the illocutionary force and their effects on the interlocutors.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, speech acts and rhetorical practices are uttered in parliament in different forms. All these forms of speech acts are guided by certain linguistic rules in order to have explicit meanings. Upon the development of the five classifications of illocutionary speech acts, Searle (1969) emphasises that anything that is spoken falls under these classifications. These classifications are directives, commissives, expressives, declaratives and assertives. The study will use these classifications to describe the contexts in which speech acts are made by members of parliament. Searle (1990) reveals that Austin initially came up with the five classifications of speech acts, thereafter; he felt that these classifications should be taken up for discussions and revised because he felt they were too broad. It was on this platform that Searle decided to develop them. According to Searle (1979), Austin presumed that a classification of different verbs is more or less the same as a classification of kinds of illocutionary acts. However, Searle (1979) does not agree

with this notion because "some verbs mark the manner in which an illocutionary act is performed" (p. 9).

It is worth mentioning that “the rules that govern the pragmatic performance of speech acts can range from linguistic context bound rules to context-free rules or to any combination of both” (Blum-Kulka, 1980, p. 5). For instance, the utterance *I’m tired* can be said with different purposes, depending on the context which may indicate that you want to rest or to give an excuse not to do something. To understand the intended purpose of an utterance in context, the speaker must be attentive of the interplay between pragmatic and linguistic rules (Blum-Kulka, 1980).

2.12.2 Aristotle’s Theory of Rhetoric

Aristotle’s theory of rhetoric is based on three appeals of persuasion namely: ethos (character), pathos (emotions), and logos (reasoning). Researchers believe that Aristotle’s theory of rhetoric is seen as the ability of learning all the available techniques of persuasion**.** Therefore, rhetoric is nothing than an art of influencing one’s belief. Aristotle believed no matter what the circumstance may be, persuasion takes place through these three appeals. All speech acts that convey persuasion to convince the listeners are rhetorical speech acts. Jarraya (2013) claims that these three persuasive strategies are aimed at convincing the addressee with the goal of manipulating their beliefs. In order to analyse the rhetorical strategies that determine parliamentary metadiscourse, it is crucial to differentiate these three appeals both theoretically and practically (Ilie, 2002). However, Ilie argues that it is not easy to set them apart in the analysis. Below is a diagram indicating what each appeal comprises:

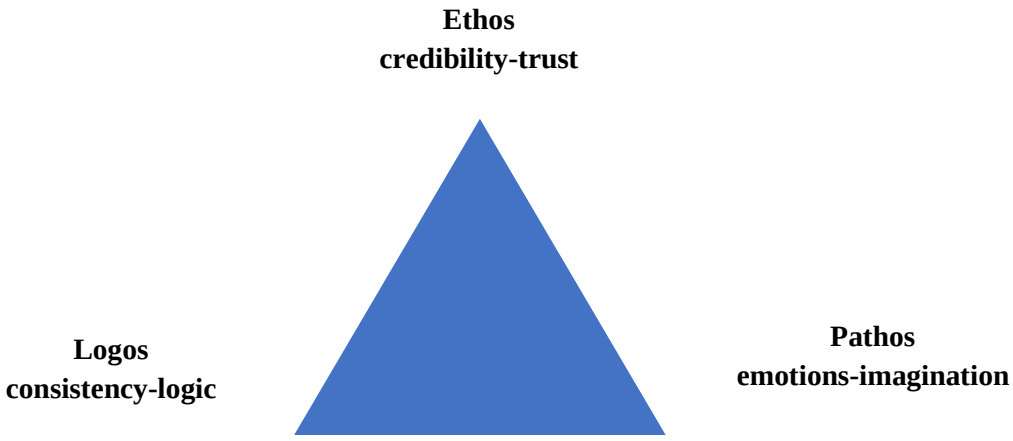

Figure 2. Aristotle's three appeals of rhetoric

2.12.2.1 Logo

Since human beliefs are connected to each other, the more reliable the link between beliefs, the higher the degree of conviction (Jarraya, 2013). According to Jarraya (2013), "showing people that newly proposed beliefs are highly consistent with their established beliefs in terms of cause/effect, goal/means, space or time, can trigger their logical analysis and make their argumentation coherent in their minds" (p. 13). Likewise, Dlugan (2010) justifies that logos is a synonym of a logical argument, therefore, in order for one to apply this strategy, three concerns should be considered. These concerns are whether the message is clear; whether it is factual; and whether it will bring about the desired outcome (Dlugan, 2010). In political discourse, this is imperative especially when politicians or parliamentarians, in particular, give their manifestos.

2.12.2.2 Ethos

Ethos is concerned with credibility and reliability. The word 'Ethos' is a Greek word meaning 'character'. This strategy is convincing when the addressee feels the source or the speaker is trustworthy and that whatever they are saying may not affect them

negatively. In her study, Jarraya (2013) asserts that, “a high level of transparency and an intention to show the truth are required if the source is not to be accused of misleading” (p. 14). In addition, there are many ways of building credibility. In order to appeal for ethos, one should ask himself whether he is respected by the audience; whether the audience perceives him as a good character; whether he is trusted by the audience; and whether the audience believes in the content knowledge of the speech (Dlugan, 2010).

2.12.2.3 Pathos

This strategy is concerned mainly with emotions. The emotions of the speaker may be guided by pleasant or unpleasant feelings, in order for their goals to be achieved. Pathos is triggered whenever these emotions are invoked and the addressee is likely to achieve the goals in question. Pathos is the quality of persuasion which interests the emotions of the audience. The following aspects should be considered: arousal of any kind of emotions such as love, sympathy or fear; the evocation of compassionate or envious images; and evocation of hate or contempt (Dlugan, 2010).

According to Ilie (2002), in order to study the rhetorical strategies that motivate parliamentary metadiscourse; “it is necessary to distinguish theoretically and practically three major components of a rhetorically tailored message, logos, ethos and pathos” (p. 80). However, she suggests that it might be difficult to separate these components.

Moffett (2014) describes, “rhetoric as a combination of language and argument used to persuade or move an audience” (p 42). Furthermore, the speaker is responsible for sharing their viewpoints with the audience, and use language and imagery to persuade the audience to adapt to the position. According to Ilie (2002), some rhetorical strategies in parliamentary discourse occur at metadiscourse level, which

does not have different fragments of units and patterns, but only includes interlocutors' cognitive and inter-communicative acts.

In his article "Ethos, Pathos, and Logos: 3 pillars of public speaking", Dlugan (2010) points out that Aristotle claimed that logos is the most important appeal amongst all three. He believed that it should be the only persuasive appeal needed. On the contrary, according to Crockroft (2004), it is ethos which is the most powerful appeal because ethos shows values expressed by the persuader and the audience, and it is used to establish a relationship with the audience. In my point of view, I concur with Aristotle's claim, since logos requires thorough reasoning which includes evidence, statistics and empirical research results. Nevertheless, research shows that all three appeals of persuasion work effectively.

To expand on the categorisation of persuasive strategies, Johnstone (1989) explains three persuasive strategies namely: quasi-logical, presentational, and analogical. Johnstone (1989) discusses these strategies based on two correlates, linguistic correlates (the kinds of syntactical and lexical choices made) and conceptual correlates (the kinds of beliefs on how persuasion works). Johnstone (1989) defines quasi-logic argumentation as an "informal, non-demonstrative reasoning that takes its effectiveness from its similarity to formal, demonstrative logic" (p. 145). Regarding linguistic correlates, when using the structure and the vocabulary of formal logic, the speaker creates the rhetorical impression that the arguments are indisputable. Johnstone (1989) further highlights the aim of quasi-logical persuasion as to convince and make it seem impossible for an audience to dispute the argument. Some examples of logical connectives are: thus, hence, therefore, etc. Furthermore, Johnstone (1989) points out that in terms of conceptual correlates, "quasi-logical persuasion is based on the notion that the key to the persuasiveness of an argument is

the ideas that are expressed", it does not really matter who said it or what language was used, if a statement is a fact it is just a fact (p. 150). What is more, institutions make decisions and the structure is important.

Since parliamentary discourse is all about communication between members of parliament from different political parties, rhetoric plays a major role in their interactions. Chelaru-Murarus (2012) explains that the *grandiloquent discourse* that appeals to feelings rather than logos is linked with the unchanging rhetoric of nationalism, but concurrently represents an ideal verbal vehicle for a preoccupied speaker with egotism. This pathos-based kind of discourse resorts excessively to strong devices such as rhetorical questions, anaphora and hyperbolic design of the figure of speech, in order to capture the attention of the audience (Chelaru-Murarus, 2012).

2.12.3 Burke's Theory of Identification

Kenneth Burke, a rhetoric theorist, insists that persuasion is Identification. He relates rhetoric with identification because once the audience is persuaded they tend to believe that they identify with the speaker. Burke (1969) claims that although *A* and *B* are not the same, as long as their interests are the same then A is identified with B. In order for parliamentarians to persuade their audience, they should create that identification between themselves and their audience. According to Jackson (2013), "identification is the feeling of relating to a person, issue or organisation" (p. 6). Jackson (2013) also mentions that "Identification can result from empathy, sense of community or feeling of responsibility created by rhetoric" (p. 6). In clarifying his theory, Burke (1969) exemplifies that although subject A and subject B have the same interests, they are still unique individuals. In the case of MPs, it means that

they might be representing different political parties, but they have common goals in parliament.

Members of Parliament attempt to identify with their audience when speaking by using different kinds of rhetorical strategies to influence their emotions. However, the moment the audience believes the speaker, they tend to identify with him/her. For instance, when addressing national issues, an MP may use words such as *we, our nation, together, us*. The audience tends to believe that they are all together with the speaker. Burke (1969) advocates that instead of division, identification brings unity among individuals or groups of people.

2.13 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate the literature regarding speech acts and the rhetorical purposes within parliamentary discourse. The review of literature helped the author to gain an understanding on different aspects of the speech act theory and the theory of rhetoric from several researchers' perspectives. Few studies have been conducted on Namibian parliamentary discourse. Although the researcher could not gather additional information on Namibian parliamentary discourse, the literature on parliamentary discourse which follows the Westminster system provided some information. This review also provided a clear image of how parliamentary discourse is managed regarding unparliamentary language.

Several studies have been conducted on speech acts since its theory's initiation in 1962 by John Austin. Three types of speech acts are predominantly discussed by authors, namely: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. Although his theory is quite clear and meaningful, there have been critiques by some scholars

regarding the rules that stipulate the properties of the utterances related to the performance of a certain illocutionary act.

A number of rhetoricians explain how language is the key driver of rhetoric based on three appeals, namely: logos, pathos, and ethos. Different kinds of rhetoric devices are applied in various contexts such as in a political context, educational context, religious context, etc. Parliamentary discourse falls under political discourse, thus, rhetoric plays a major role in parliamentary debates. Along with this, it is worth mentioning that while rhetoric is an effective tool for persuasion (although it does not always carry the truth) it may have negative effects on the listeners. The listeners may make wrong decisions based on what they hear. This is the case in many politicians' speeches as their discourse is full of campaign promises and attempts to win arguments. Literature shows that developments have been made from these theories in the past years. For instance, the five categories of speech act namely: expressives, commissives, assertives, declaratives and directives were expanded by Searle (1969) from Austin's theory of speech acts. Three theories guided this study, Austin's speech act theory, Aristotle's theory of rhetoric and Burke's theory of identification.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design and methodology used for this study. A qualitative research method was used in this study. The researcher chose this method because critical information conveyed through language in a natural setting can be revealed and analysed through qualitative research. The chapter is divided into sub-sections that explain the methods used, the instruments for data collection and the procedure. The population and samples that formed this study are included in this discussion. The data analysis and research ethics are also described in this section. As stated in the previous chapters, this research aims at analysing the use of rhetoric from a linguistic perspective in the Namibian parliamentary discourse.

The concern that motivated this study is how Namibian MPs apply rhetorical skills in their debates during parliamentary proceedings. The study sought to discover which strategies were used. It is against this background that the researcher investigated the speeches of MPs through debates in order to discover parliamentary rhetoric.

3.2 Research design

According to Cresswell (2014), "qualitative research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meanings individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (p. 4). The researcher employed a qualitative method for this study to get an insight of the rhetoric used in parliamentary debates. The research design that was used to interpret the data was Discourse Analysis (DA). Discourse Analysis approach was suitable for this study because it seeks factors arising from the meaning of speech acts. Discourse Analysis is "the study of language in use, it considers how

both spoken and written language enacts social and cultural perspectives and identities (Gee, 2014, p. 8). This design was used to unfold hidden meanings within speech acts uttered by MPs for persuasive purposes, such as those of rhetorical devices. The study examined speech acts of Members of Parliament during parliamentary proceedings, thus, it was interpreted verbatim. Gonzalez-Lloret (2010) highlights that Conversation Analysis is a useful contribution to the study of speech acts. It will enable the researcher to comprehend linguistic interaction entirely. Mbenzi (2014) states that qualitative research design enables the researcher to analyse the variables in their setting.

Fraenkel and Wallen (2009) claim that qualitative research requires researchers to find out how things occur. In this study, the researcher observed how MPs interact with each other, how questions were posed to one another, how MPs made meaning out of direct and indirect language and their interpretations to figurative expressions.

The researcher used the documentation technique by analysing texts in the Hansard. The Hansard is a published document of all the recorded parliamentary debates. The triangulation method was also employed in this study to ensure that the results are valid. This implies that different strategies of collecting the same data as the one in the Hansard were applied.

3.3 Sample

A purposive sampling technique was used in this study. This technique was used in order for the researcher to get the desired data. It has been demonstrated that with pre-knowledge about the population and the purpose of the study, researchers use personal judgment to choose a sample (Frankel & Wallen, 2009). From March 2015 – March 2016, thirteen volumes were issued. The sample comprised ten parts taken

from ten volumes of the Hansard that had debates related to topics that might lead to specific speech acts. For instance, issues pertaining to land, poverty, unemployment and corruption were among the heated debates that portrayed required rhetorical expressions such as aggressive speech, blame, praise, attack, amongst others. For this reason, the researcher used a portion of each volume by choosing the desired debate or session. The researcher chose to conduct this study for a period of one year only so she could focus on a limited number of debates from the Hansard. According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2009), the population of interest is often large, diverse and represents a large geographical area, which can be time-consuming and costly.

Considering this point, the researcher is a regular viewer and follower of the National Assembly proceedings via the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) television and is a linguist by profession. She was familiar with the kind of speech acts that politicians are likely to utter in their circumstances. The background knowledge that a researcher has with regards to the population can help to sample purposively.

3.4 Research instruments

3.4.1 Hansard (as a source of information)

The key instrument for capturing data for this study was the researcher. This follows Creswell's (2014) statement that although researchers may use an instrument for collecting data, they are the ones who gather the information. Further, "qualitative researchers collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behaviour, or interviewing participants" (Creswell, p. 185). Cresswell further argues that qualitative researchers do not have a tendency of depending on questionnaires or instruments developed by other researchers (Cresswell, 2014). The Hansard was used as a source of data (documentation). The researcher used additional strategies to validate the same data from the Hansard as mentioned earlier in this section. This

document includes all the conversations that took place in parliamentary proceedings from the opening prayer to the adjournment. The instrument was fit to capture all the debates, although there is some editing in it. The Hansard is written verbatim (word for word) and in the order which the dialogue occurred. This was convenient to analyse the desired speech acts and interpret the rhetorical effect thereof.

The Hansard also indicates interventions and interjections which are quite common in parliamentary debates and are worth interpreting for some aspects of this study. Additionally, the laughter expressions are indicated in brackets after the spoken statements or questions. This made the Hansard a useful source of collecting the desired data.

3.4.2 Triangulation: Observation and audio-recordings

As stated in the previous section there are other strategies to validate the data collected, therefore, the researcher used observation and audio-recordings. Observations were made in order to confirm some facial expressions and gestures that MPs made in daily interactions such as losing face, saving face, shaking hands, and smiling. These are expressions that could not be captured in the Hansard, yet are expressed concurrently with the speech acts in the Hansard. Similarly, the audio-recordings were useful in identifying the kinds of tones and audial expressions used so that the researcher could clarify her observation. For instance, laughter and discourse markers, such as *mhhh! Ah!* could be captured with the audio-recorder.

3.5 Procedures

The researcher deliberately chose the period 2015-2016 because it marked a notable political era with new MPs in parliament. This era is significant in the Namibian history as a new President, Dr. Hage Geingob, took over from the former President Hifikepunye Pohamba. Several MPs were appointed to the august House. The

parliament has a satisfactory addition of young people compared to previous years, in which most of the MPs were elders. During the period of March 2015 to March 2016, the researcher attended parliamentary sessions at least once a week to observe parliamentarians' interactions. The sessions were held from March to July and stopped for a break and resumed again around October to November. These sessions were held each Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday.

The first day the researcher attended parliamentary session was her first day in parliament. She had to be directed exactly where to sit by a police officer. She was shown the way into the gallery where she sat for her observations. In the gallery, she felt nervous to be in the same building as Ministers, Deputy Ministers and all parliamentarians. At the same time, the researcher had a feeling that she could relate with them, especially those she knew personally.

Considering that her mission in these sessions was to observe MPs' interactions, she took note of everything that she could see, hear and even feel. For example, she noted the MPs from the ruling party, South West Africa People Organisation (SWAPO), and the ones from Opposition parties were shaking hands and laughing with each other and were not necessarily enemies as she had previously thought. It took the researcher months to get used to the vibes of the parliamentary environment. Observation was the only tool she could use at the time and the audio recordings from the television, due to the delayed publication of the Hansard.

During observations, she had a heading on which she would concentrate on a specific day and only took notes regarding that subheading. The rest of the days that she did not attend the sessions, she recorded the debates with an audio-recorder from her television. The dates that she recorded were indicated in the files when she

transferred the recordings to the computer so that she could match them with the dates in the Hansard.

When the first Hansard volume was published, the researcher started by looking for the debates she was interested in, with the help of the observation notes and the audio recordings. Despite this lengthy volume, she skimmed through it and decided on which part she should consider as her sample. The Parliament Library Assistant provided assistance by making copies of the debates she wanted. This happened every time a new volume was released until she acquired all the sample debates from all ten volumes.

The researcher also used the audio-recorder to capture the debates from the TV to supplement the data from the texts. She was able to listen to some speech acts in order to interpret tones of MPs and also to ensure that she grasped the primary speeches before they were edited. The information in the audio-recorder is raw data as it is not edited in any way.

Although the Hansard was mostly used to obtain data from, because of the many volumes there were, it was difficult to choose and read these volumes. This made the pace of reading slow, hence, there was a need to use multiple methods. The combination of raw data and processed data necessitated triangulation.

3.6 Data analysis

After collecting sufficient data, the researcher analysed them in order to give a thorough interpretation. Three main theories guided this study, namely, Austin's speech act theory, Aristotle's theory of rhetoric and Burke's theory of identification. These three theories related to the types of speech acts, three modes of persuasion and identification between the rhetor and the audience, respectively.

The Discourse Analysis approach was used to analyse how the speech acts of MPs were rhetorical. According to Starks and Trinidad (2007), "discourse analysis examines how language is used to accomplish personal, social and political projects" (p. 1372). Considering that parliamentary debates are conducted via verbal communication, DA was a suitable approach to analysing the data. The data collected were arranged under four main headings, namely: speech acts, deliberative rhetoric, unparliamentary language and stylistic devices. These four aspects were the main driver of this study. The analysis of all the data was mostly presented in a narrative form.

3.6.1 Speech acts categorisation

The researcher identified speech acts of MPs and placed them under five categories of speech acts in the following manner:

Category	**Identification and explanation of speech acts**
Assertives	Speech acts that MPs used to make assertions or claims. Explanation how they were used to persuade.
Directives	Speech acts that MPs used to make requests, give directives, command or inform. Explanation how they were used to persuade.
Commissives	Speech acts that MPs used to commit to future actions. Explanation how they were used to persuade.
Declaratives	Speech acts that MPs used to declare in order to change circumstances. Explanation how they were used to persuade.

Expressives	Speech acts that MPs used to express their feelings. Explanation how they were used to persuade.

Table 1 *Arrangement and presentation of the categories of speech acts.*

As shown in table 1, the categories of these speech acts were derived from Searle's categories of speech acts. The speech acts identified from the Hansard were explained how they were used as performative acts and how they were used to persuade an audience. The explanation on persuasion was presented based on emotions that were likely to be evoked by MPs, the logical reasoning that MPs provided and the character they attempted to display to gain trust from their audience. Austin's speech act theory, which claims that speaking is acting, was useful for this interpretation because the speech acts uttered by MPs were performative acts. These speech acts were brief and did not contain paragraphs, thus the researcher numbered them to be easily recognised.

3.6.2 Deliberative rhetoric

In addition to categorising speech acts, dialogues of debates *pro et contra* were examined. The concept of deliberative rhetoric was interpreted by means of the themes of debates and parliamentary procedures of the Namibian National Assembly. The procedures are Tabling a motion, Amendment Bill, Committee stage and Question time. Under each item, dialogues were shown and Aristotle's theory of rhetoric and Burke's theory of identification were used to establish relevant speech acts of MPs based on pathos, logos and ethos; and those with the purpose of identifying with the audience.

From the Hansard's volumes, rhetorical questions of MPs were identified and categorised into eight styles of rhetorical questions that befit them. These styles

portray ways of asking rhetorical questions for different reasons. These styles are audience engagement, question and answers, question to question, stimulating emotions, stressing on previous statements, misdirection, credibility and series of questions.

The names of MPs were inserted after their utterances in brackets. In some cases, dialogue-like excerpts were used so that the researcher would be able to interpret the statement or question with the response. This was useful to clarify the reaction of the target audience. It also helped the researcher in determining how the speaker was likely to have reached his or her persuasive goals. For the above-mentioned reasons, the researcher found it unnecessary to number each version as they were lengthy.

Two tables of debates were used to show a distinction between those that supported a motion on Old Age Homes in Namibia and those that disputed it. In the tables, the rhetorical effects for each opinion raised were indicated by means of *pathos*, *logos* and *ethos*.

3.6.3 Unparliamentary expressions

Unparliamentary expressions were identified and explained how they were used by MPs for persuasion purposes and how they might have affected other MPs and the entire audience. In this section, most of the expressions of MPs were presented in a dialogue fashion and their names appeared at the beginning of the utterances. This was necessary for the responses to be shown to clarify the emotions that the MPs showed. These expressions were arranged in four stages of using unparliamentary language, namely, abusive language and insults, impoliteness, provocation and interruptions. The researcher successfully identified speech acts from the Hansard and placed them under these stages and explained the aim of the rhetors with reference to Ilie's (2004) and Palonen's (2014) work on unparliamentary language.

3.6.4 Rhetorical devices

While some rhetorical devices used by MPs were interpreted in a dialogue fashion, other rhetorical devices were presented and explained as statements that comprised persuasion. Eight types of rhetorical devices were identified from the MPs debates. These devices are code-switching, address and titles, parallel structure, sarcasm, euphemism, antithesis, buzzwords and exordium. Examples of speech acts on each type of rhetorical device were provided from the Hansard and a discussion was provided as to how they are used as persuasive strategies. With reference to the literature, the researcher indicated which devices are pertinent to parliamentary rhetoric.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Although the Hansard and the live parliamentary debates are displayed and allowed for public access, a written permission to conduct this study was given to the researcher from the Namibian Parliament. The identities of all MPs and their speeches were treated with respect. The researcher has avoided favouritism or siding with any MP's view or political opinion. The data that consist of the speech acts that the researcher used has not been adjusted or twisted in any way; instead, they were used exactly as they were documented in the Hansard and uttered via the recordings. All the interpretations used for the speech acts and their rhetorical purposes of Members of Parliament are based on observations, post literature and authentic circumstances. The researcher ensured that all sources that were used in this study were used accurately and with no pretence.

3. 8 Summary

This chapter described the research methods used in this study. This study used a qualitative research method as well as Discourse Analysis. Discourse analysis was

used to analyse language use, especially spoken language. These methods were used to analyse parliamentary debates with a focus on rhetorical speech acts. The Hansard was used a source of data while reading, observations and audio recordings were used to collect and validate data.

CHAPTER 4

SPEECH ACTS AS USED IN THE NAMIBIAN PARLIAMENT

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses speech acts and interprets how they are used in different ways aiming at persuading an audience. The aim of this chapter is to explain the types of speech acts with rhetorical functions in a variety of parliamentary contexts such as swearing in, announcing, declaring, nominating, and congratulating.

Parliamentary discourse is formed by different speeches via debating, proposing, amending, and passing of bills which are carried out by Members of Parliament (MPs). While they present their speeches through debates, MPs are not aware that most of the speech acts they use are either locutionary, illocutionary or perlocutionary acts. During parliamentary debates, Members of Parliament express themselves through different kinds of speech acts to persuade other members of parliament and the public to concur with their opinions and beliefs. It is, therefore, crucial to use good skills of rhetoric in their command of language in achieving this goal. According to Habinek (2005), "even the rise of specialized speech-writers at Athens, or the reliance on well-connected patrons at Rome is indicative of the importance of rhetorical speech and of the need to master it, either directly or indirectly" (p. 4).

Langton (1993) asserts that the capability of performing various speech acts can be a sign of political power. Langton (1993) further states that powerful people are able to do and say more and be more dominant in speech than others. Finburgh (2004) states that according to Austin's speech act theory, "words exercise power unilaterally: the speaker transmits an intention to the interlocutor via an utterance" (p. 113).

Politicians take advantage of their speeches to persuade the public. Given this circumstance, politicians consciously or unconsciously use a variety of rhetorical strategies in their speeches. The latter alludes to Akinwotu's (2013) statement that, "usually, politicians seek to mold public perception of themselves and their programmes, and elicit support through their political speeches and campaign activities, symbolic appeals and various rhetorical strategies" (p. 45). According to Ilie (2010), MPs compete for power and leadership roles, as well as fame and popularity during parliamentary proceedings. In her article titled "Identity co-construction in parliamentary discourse practices", Ilie (2010) suggests that MPs should perform roles and show aspects of their identities. She further comments that "MPs are expected to perform in a double capacity, as institutional representatives, on the one hand, and as private persons on the other, while carrying out the institutional commitments" (p. 11).

The primary audience of MPs is fellow MPs. Other audiences are the visitors to the gallery and the general public which listens and watches via the media. However, some members of the public do not have access to television, which broadcasts live parliamentary proceedings. In such a case, the MPs' voices may not fully reach the intended audience. The majority of people (electorate) in Namibia live in remote areas whereby it can be difficult for most of them to view or listen to these deliberative decisions made by the government via media. It is for this reason that the audience is composite and fractured. According to the Namibia Statistics Agency (NSA), the latest census which was carried out in 2011 shows that 43% of the people live in urban areas, while 57% live in remote areas. It is difficult for parliamentary discourse to address all types of audiences. MPs attempt to clearly and tactfully convey their messages in a persuasive manner in order for their perlocutionary act to

be effective. Akinwotu (2013) points out that how the electorate interprets the message and intentions of the politicians and respond accordingly depends on how effective politicians are in arranging the linguistic facilities accessible to them.

It is important to note that although it is not always clear what the intentions of the speech acts are in this study, the researcher infers the literal meaning of the MPs based on the interpretation in literature. For this reason, the researcher used hedges in the study. Furthermore, the meaning of the MPs' utterances might be comprehended differently by the audience. The illocutionary forces of these utterances are central to rhetoric.

4.2 Categories of speech acts

According to Ilie (2010), parliamentary speaking is also acting. Ilie (2010) claims that "parliamentary discourse is used as a tool for jointly reasoning about possible alternatives, for negotiating future solutions, and for jointly acting to reach commonly agreed goals" (p. 336). The notion of performing actions through speech is reinforced by Austin's Speech Act Theory. The following categorisations of speech acts that will be explained from the Namibian parliamentary discourse are based on Searle's Theory of speech acts. These categories are Assertives, Directives, Commissives, Declaratives, and Expressives.

The speech acts used in this chapter were adapted from the Hansard of the Namibian National Assembly proceedings and audio recordings. Some utterances were taken from a conference paper that the researcher has written. The speech acts under these categories are illocutionary acts which convey messages to the listener. The illocutionary act has an intended purpose which the speaker would like the listener to respond to accordingly. It is for this reason that MPs are cautious when making their

statements during parliamentary sessions. Austin's Speech Act Theory has relevance in this regard. Akwinotu (2013) asserts that “politicians articulate a lot of intentions in their speeches: they inform, inspire, assure, accuse, promise, direct, suggest, incite, apologize, disagree, criticize, etc.” (p.). The latter is common in MPs’ speeches during parliamentary proceedings.

Searle’s classification of speech acts was adopted for analysing the MPs speeches. It was found that these categories can be used to persuade an audience in different ways. Research shows that speech acts are either direct or indirect. Taufik (2014) affirms the latter by illustrating the directness of some speech acts like commands, demands, or requests, which are directives. Taufik, therefore, concludes that directives can be categorised as ‘authentic-directives'. In the following interpretations, MPs' utterances under five categories of speech acts are documented on how they are used as tools of persuasion. The interpretations show how these speech acts categories are significantly persuasive and part of deliberative speech in decision-making in the legislature. This is relevant to Aristotle's Theory of Rhetoric.

4.2.1 Assertives

Assertives are the most common illocutionary acts used by people in different discourses and in daily interactions because they simply state how things are in the world. However, these utterances may be true or false. An assertive is a statement that the speaker believes to be true. In other words, it can be regarded as a claim. According to Akinwotu (2013), “assertives commit speakers to the truth of some proposition e.g. dictating, claiming, reporting, announcing, etcetera.” (p. 45). Searle (1967) claims that there are two directions of fit, word-to-world fit and world-to-word fit. Assertives are in the direction of word-to-world fit. Platts as cited in (Humberstone, 1992) points out that “beliefs aim at being true, and their being true is

their fitting the world; falsity is a decisive failing in a belief, and false beliefs should be discarded; beliefs should be changed to fit with the world, not vice versa" (p. 59). According to Searle (1967), the first direction of fit implies that the illocutionary act gets the words to match the world; and the second implies that the illocutionary act gets the world to match the words. A well-known illustration of the difference between these two directions of fit is the one by Miss Anscombe as illustrated in Searle's (1967) work. She gave an example of a man who went to a shop with a list given to him by his wife. On the list were the words *beans, butter, bacon*, and *bread*. Meanwhile, as he shopped, putting the groceries in his cart, a detective followed him writing down each item he put in his cart. Upon finishing shopping, the shopper and the detective had the same lists, but with different functions. On the one hand, the purpose of the shopper's list was to speak in order to get the world to match the words and, he had to make an action fit the list. On the other hand, the purpose of the detective's list was to make the words match the world and therefore, he had to make the list fit the actions of the shopper.

Assertives may be an attempt to persuade the listeners and capture their attention. For this reason, assertives are likely to be used often in parliamentary debates since one does not always need evidence in order to make it persuasive. Assertives can be made persuasive by way of anecdotes, statistics, proof, metaphors and supporting sentences.

The following assertive is a claim that Simataa made.

1. *The issue of crime is a very serious consideration for us the House of Parliament. If we look into our previous Financial Year Budget, much of the*

money that was budgeted for various Ministries was returned to the Treasury unused. **[Simataa]**

Because Hon. Simataa believed that it is true, he supported his claim in the second sentence by referring other MPs to the Financial Year Budget, to capture their attention and so to believe the claim.

It is believed that giving accurate figures creates an impression of truth. Tulloh, Napthine and Beardwood (2010) claim that "numbers and scientific findings appear factual" (p. 181). Although assertives may be true or false, a well-presented statement with statistics can capture the audience's attention and draw them to gain the speaker's credibility. Here are some examples of figures given:

2. *This year 14 698 jobseekers and 1405 designated employers have registered on NIES and the Employment Services Bureau have placed 2672 jobseekers in jobs.* **[Nghimtina, 2015]**
3. *Telecom is in dire straits because of N$500 000 000.00 that was invested in Angola, South Africa and now it borrows money from NPTH to sustain itself.* **[Venaani, 23 April 2015, p. 225]**

In statements where the speaker used figures, the statement sounded objective rather than subjective. This develops a feeling of trust among the audience in the speaker as they are provided with accurate figures and not some estimations.

Exaggeration can be used to persuade an audience by making something to appear more important than it really is. There is a sense of exaggeration in the following statement:

4. *This airport is huge- even airbuses can land there; there is a long runway and it is well situated, but that airport is rotting away*. **[Iivula-Ithana, 29 April 2015, p. 120]**

The Ruacana airport is small in size and is an air strip. To say airbuses can land at such a small airport (Ruacana) is regarded as an exaggeration. The speaker seemingly wanted to recommend an upgrade of this airport, thus gave this remark. This statement has an illocutionary force of alerting the audience to the possible expansion of the airport, but a perlocutionary effect of persuading them to give consent on its upgrade. Exaggeration or overstatement is said to attract the audience's attention because of the extreme claim that it has (Tulloh et al, 2010).

Tulloh et al. (2010) claim that generalisation can be used as a persuasive technique. They define generalisation as "a sweeping statement that suggests what is true is true for most or all" (p. 181). The next assertive has the word *always* which carries generalization.

5. *Taxis are always involved in car accidents. There is always a taxi involved; even if it is an accident where a driver drives through a wall, there is always a taxi involved.* **[Dienda, 29 April 2015, p. 123]**

The word *always* might have been used to show that there is a frequency of car accidents. For this reason, the speaker created an impression which made it seem as if there are always accidents involving taxis. The force within the speech act is direct and obvious, however, the perlocutionary effect or persuasive effect is somewhat hidden. The speaker's action was to assert. While this may be true or false, the speaker says it as a claim, or rather something that she believes is true. The Namibian media had been reporting incidents of car accidents involving private vehicles in

which taxis are not involved. These accidents could have involved trucks, pedestrians and even animals.

Similarly, Nekundi asserted by supporting his reason for car accidents as follows:

6. *People drive as they wish; people overtake where they must not overtake while others drive through red lights. All these matters boil down to human behavior.* **[Nekundi, 29 April 2015, p. 125]**

The persuasive emphasis was that he was not hesitant when he made his statement as he wanted to show the audience that he was sure of what he was talking about.

Generally, an anecdote is a story or experience that one shares. Research shows that an anecdote is used by politicians in their speeches. In statement 7, Tweya indicates that he had experienced the situation he just commented on, as follows:

7. *It appears that we have Namibians on paper who in reality are not Namibians because they do not act like Namibians. I have experienced this……* **[Tweya, 29 April 2015, p. 129]**

Tweya tried to capture the attention of the audience by showing that this is something that he had witnessed and is worth believing. This corresponds with an explanation by Tulloh et al. (2010), on how an anecdote persuades an audience, that it "gives a human angle, by making the issue relevant or real" (p. 180).

In political dissensus, it is common to use several assertions supported by facts, descriptions, examples and scenarios. This could be an attempt for the speaker to allow his or her audience to view the topic discussed from different perspectives, thereafter, they consent or dissent. The next statement, 8, was given by Hon. Venaani.

8. *The other very fundamental issue, Madam Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, is the lack of asymmetrical bilateral relations with foreign powers. We need to do more to create a win/win situation with global players. For example, many countries around the world are anti-China, but China is an important global player that we cannot ignore. We need to engage with China and we need to trade with China, but if you look at the whole of the Sino-Africa relation, China is the biggest benefactor from African resources at this point in time. The whole of Africa has not re-strategised itself to create a win/win solution and we are part of that failure. I like what the Chinese have done in Husab Mine- one of the biggest investments that they have brought to this country. However, we should also forge ahead with value addition to make sure that global players also play by our rules, because it is our resources that are taken away from our shoes and making these countries very rich. China is an important player, but we must redirect.* (intervention) **[Venaani, 6 May 2015, p. 100]**

After making an assertive statement *the other very fundamental issue, Madam Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, is the lack of asymmetrical bilateral relations with foreign powers*, Venaani provided examples and mentioned a few relevant circumstances. It can be concluded that the latter was mentioned to add more value to his assertion, thus persuade his audience of his claim. First, he illustrated the need to engage and trade with the Chinese rather than ignoring them, despite many parts of the world being anti-China. He further used a word that shows its highest degree, *biggest*, in order to show the significance of the investment. Second, he pointed out one problem involving Namibia. He directly used a negative word, *failure*. Research shows that using negative words may show how extreme and

serious something is and in most cases, using direct speech helps the audience understand the intention of the speaker. The word *failure* is regarded as emotive language. Emotive language uses words with positive or negative connotations to influence the audience's response (Tulloh et al, 2010). Sometimes when MPs want to create a heated debate with their opponent, they use emotive language in order to inflame the debate with emotive enthusiasm. In another attempt to capture his audience's consent towards his assertion was the use of metaphors. Venaani said "*we should also forge ahead with value addition to make sure that global players, also play by our rules…."* He metaphorised, *global traders* with *players* in a game who should adhere to the regulations of the game controlled by Namibia (owners of the resources) which is making them rich. All the sentences that followed this assertive are supporting sentences, as they give value to the claim. A common practice in persuasion is offering supporting ideas or sentences after an assertion. This can be alluded to 'Appeal to fear and insecurity' which was explained by Tulloh et al. (2010) as a persuasive technique that "arouses fear and anxiety by suggesting that harmful or unpleasant effects will follow" (p. 180). Tulloh et al. clarify that this technique persuades the audience by reducing the threat to themselves or the general public by following the speaker's suggestion or advice. In this case, the audience is likely to be persuaded by Venaani because of the recommendations and supporting sentences he provided.

On the contrary, some assertives do not need supporting sentences as they speak for themselves. Let us take an example of another assertive by Mushelenga in statement 9 in his last sentence:

9. *Now when you bring a four-year-old report, what have you been doing for all those years? Because these companies have auditing firms, they have a*

company secretary, so what is so difficult to produce an Annual Report on time? An annual report is a very important document that informs the shareholders about the operations of the company, the running of the company and the financial position of the company. **[Mushelenga, 16 June 2015, p. 78]**

Given that the function of the document was included in Mushelenga's statement, it was clear and it is up to the listener to make sense out of this function. Most of the assertions that do not have supporting sentences appear to be of common knowledge to the public.

The use of negative words may show how critical a topic or an issue can be and using adjectives with a negative connotation may appeal to the pathos of the audience. Richards and Schmidt (2013) define adjectives as "words that describe the thing, quality, state or action which a noun refers to" (p. 12). Research indicates words with negative connotations are persuasive. Negative words can evoke emotions among the audience. In the following statements 10 and 11, the words *deploring* and *poor* are used as *extreme words* associated with negativity.

10. *The current Old Age Homes in the formerly disadvantaged communities are in a deploring state.* **[//Gowases, 30 June 2015, p. 279]**
11. *Many people who use public transport have no other options, they have to make use of it. It is not a matter of a choice. The poor maintenance of our taxi is also a concern.* **[Dienda, 29 April 2015, p. 123]**

According to Krok (2016), persuasion comes in two ways, positive and negative. The first intent of persuasion refers to "interventions in such areas of human life as health, education, marketing, social advertisements, and so on" (Krok, 2016, p. 2).

Krok further argues that while the first persuasion attempts to follow ethical rules and respects human values, the second persuasion is based on psychological manipulation, brainwashing and propaganda. “Persuasion in these contexts can violate human freedom and views by presenting information that is not always true, or by using means that distort the recipients’ thinking” (Krok, 2016, p. 2). The use of extreme or strong words can influence the audience’s thinking.

Most MPs easily use assertives because they may be true or false. In parliamentary debates, asserting seems not to be difficult because the speaker says what she or he believes is true, whether it is felicitous or infelicitious. However, this does not prohibit other members from criticising one’s belief. As Palonen (2016) states that “the ideal orator is an artist; the ideal debater is a politician” (p. 13). Politicians would attempt to use any communicative skill that will enable them to become good debaters. On the contrary, while some assertives may be chaotic and cause interruptions during debates, they do not create a new circumstance or status, as in declaratives; or require people to commit to tasks as in commissives. It can be concluded that making assertives is a common practice in parliament.

Another reason why assertives are used as effective tools of getting the audience’s attention is because MPs tend to use exaggerations, over-generalisations, and strong or extreme words as rhetorical tools to convict their audience of their beliefs. These tools could, for instance, include the usage of words which are sensitive, emotional, offensive or humorous. Using these words may create tension, fear, anxiety, excitement, anger, joy, amusement, trust, satisfaction, admiration or embarrassment. Assertives have a word-to-world direction of fit. The speaker makes a statement to fit the world.

4. 2.2 Directives

Directive speech acts may be commands, interdictions, threats, irony or insults. According to Akinwotu (2013), directives count as attempts to bring about effect through the action of the listener, such as requesting, ordering, demanding or begging. Directives can be given directly or indirectly. The researcher found that in the Namibian parliament, the speaker plays a major role in giving directives. This includes putting the house in order by requesting, giving turns, warning and adjourning. When MPs give directives, they attempt to give them in a manner which they desire the perlocutionary act to be carried out as intended. Where a directive speech act is given by a person with authority (power), the addressee tends to act accordingly. For instance, the language of the Speaker of parliament has a strong influence because of the power vested in him/her.

While a statement can act as a directive, it can also be regarded as a commissive. The illocutionary force of a speech can be misinterpreted by the audience. This is because one statement can carry both the request and the warning illocutionary force, but the intention of the speaker was probably to request and not to warn or vice-versa. The warning may be added to frighten or alarm the audience, thus to react in favour of the speaker.

According to Searle (1967), directives are in the world-to-word direction of fit. If for instance Mr. X is commanding, requesting, or directing Mr. Y to do something, then Mr. X wants Mr. Y to adjust to what the world is like or to bring about a situation. In this case, the world is being made in order to match the words.

4. 2. 2. 1 Requesting and ordering

Requests are capable of threatening the freedom of action of the audience (Richard & Schmidt, 2013). There are words that incite emotions, which might be direct and

sensitive. They are used when the speaker wants the audience to act accordingly towards the locution. These kinds of words can be described as *influential words*. Thus, they may be threatening to the listener. In other words, they are *powerful words*. For instance, the directive in 12 is a plea by Gowases to upgrade Old Age Homes. She used the word *dump* to show that if senior citizens are put in Old Age Homes which are in a deplorable state, then it is the same as dumping elderly people. The word *dump* is one of the many words that can be sensitive in the ears of the audience. While she pleas with the audience, Gowases might have used the word *dump* deliberately to appeal to the pathos of the audience since it can be emotional.

12. *We should not dump our Senior Citizens, rather give them the opportunity where they would be given professional care and stay in a healthy environment.* **[Gowases, 30 June 2015, p. 279]**

The word *dump* is associated with many bad things especially *refuse*, hence its negative connotation. For instance, it can be perceived as a refuse dumping area which stinks and possesses bacteria. It can also be associated with baby dumping, the act of throwing away unwanted new born babies. All these things portray negativity. Gowases intended to appeal to the pathos of the audience by making this request using the word *dump*.

While it is acceptable to make requests indirectly, it is also recommended to do so politely. Being polite when making requests may also persuade the audience to respond positively. The following requests were used with direct and polite words such as *request*, *would like, may,* and *please*.

13. *Mine is just a word of advice, or perhaps a request. Is it possible for the Ministry to arrange a workshop on Diplomatic Etiquette for Members of*

Parliament, especially those who joined us recently? **[Ekandjo, 6 May 2015, p. 104]**

Ekandjo used the word *request*, which in its general meaning means to ask for something politely. It shows that whatever he wants to be done is not being forced but is being asked humbly. Politeness is associated with appealing to the pathos of the audience. Statements 14 and 15 were also discovered as polite requests.

14. *I would like to support your refurbishment, but I am requesting you to put particular emphasis on our United Nations Centre because that is where the world meets Namibia. With these remarks, I wholeheartedly support your Vote. Thank you very much.* **[Venaani, 6 May 2015, p. 102]**
15. *Honourable Members, I would like to advise the new Members that during Committee Stage general discussion is not allowed, you have to be specific even if you did not have a chance to talk during the second reading.* **[Speaker, 22 April 2015, p. 41]**

In statement 14, Venaani used the words *would like* and *requesting*. Again, these are words of humbling oneself when asking for something to be done. Likewise, the words *may* in 16 and *please* 17 are used when one speaks in a polite tone.

16. *I am extremely sorry. May I ask the Honourable Member just a small question?* **[Tweya, 29 April 2015, p. 137]**
17. *Please tone down.* **[MP]**

The next directive literally speaks to one person but conveys two different messages directed to two people.

18. *Sorry, do not disturb a person please so that he will control himself to remain within the discussion of the Vote.* **[Speaker, 23 April 2015, p. 224]**

The Speaker indirectly tells the Member speaking to control himself to remain within the discussion of the Vote and not to go out of topic. The words *do not disturb* have an illocutionary force of giving an order. On the other hand, he ordered the MP not to disturb the speaker. On a different note, but with regards to this statement (18), Strawson (2008) states that "a man who issues an order typically intends his utterance to secure a certain response, that he intends this intention to be recognized, and its recognition to be a reason for the response…" (page number?) The word *sorry* is a polite word, therefore, the speaker used it hoping that whoever disturbed the person would stop. The speaker could have used other means of giving a directive for instance *stop disturbing the person, will you*? But instead opted to start with the word *sorry*. Considering that the Speaker has the power to maintain order in the House, his directive statement became felicitious because of the power he possess.

This study also found that Namibian MPs also make direct requests. In most cases, they use the word *request*. Research shows that using the word *request* shows formality and politeness. Clark and Schunk (1980) reason that a polite request can bring about a polite response. Perhaps this might be one reason why MPs used the word *request*. If this is regarded as polite, then it is reasonable to persuade the listener to react in favour of the speaker. Ashequl and Riloff (2011) state that many directives are uttered as questions but they do not necessarily end in question marks; and some that end in question marks are rhetorical in nature as they do not require an answer. Other direct requests took the word *appeal* as follows:

19. *Therefore, my appeal to the Honourable Minister of Finance is that when he responds, he can perhaps shed some light to elucidate, because I understand that the Budget that was just tabled now, is a knee-jerk reaction and the regurgitation of that which is pasted on the Worldwide Web by newspaper journalists are sometimes self-inspired.* **[Shanghala, 3 November 2015, p. 141]**
20. *I further want to appeal to the Shebeen Association to inform their Members to abide by the liquor Act and stick to the specified business hours, as NAMPOL and the City Police will make sure that the Shebeens close at the specified time as per their licences.* **[Namoloh, 29 October 2015, p. 15]**
21. *My appeal is, if the Germans consider that we have a special relationship with them, they should help us reach the level of an advanced society and advanced country.* **[Mbumba, 6 May 2015, p. 107]**

In statements 19, 20 and 21, MPs used the word *appeal*. This word sounds forceful than the word request. It shows that the speaker makes a serious and urgent request. Because it is forceful, it is used to draw the attention of the audience and prompt the target audience to act accordingly.

Clark and Schunk (1980) established linguistic devices that could reduce or eliminate the threat to the responder upon being requested indirectly. Clark and Schunk (1980) illustrate these linguistic devices as requesting permission e.g. *may I ask you…..*, imposition e.g. *would you mind….*, ability e.g. *can you tell me….,* memory e.g. *have I already asked you....*, commitment e.g. *will you tell me…..*, and obligation e.g. *shouldn't you tell me…..*

The following requests are permission:

22. *Thank you, Honourable Speaker, I wish to ask the Honourable Member a question, if she allows me.* **[Muharukua]**
23. *Allow me to firstly, with respect, allay the concerns of the Member – the words that were uttered on the attitude of speaking and walking away.* **[Muharukua, 3 November 2015, p. 125]**
24. *In that case, can you allow us to deliver the services that are needed for your uncles and brothers and I will in due course.* **[Shanghala, 3 November 2015, p. 138]**
25. *May I ask Honourable Mushelenga to take the Floor please?* **[Speaker]**

The permission statements 22, 23, 24 and 25 have words that indicate that the person requesting asked for permission before posing the question. Words such as *allow me, may I ask* and *if she allows me* were used to seek permission. Although this does not guarantee an opportunity to persuade the audience, it is an effective way of capturing the attention of the target audience as permission is granted. According to Clark and Schunk (1980), asking and granting of permission makes the request particularly polite.

The following request is an imposition:

26. *Honourable Member, would you like to speak on a Point of Order?* **[Speaker]**

Statement 26 can give an impression that the person making the request is not necessarily asking for permission, but is imposing on his target.

The next two requests are ability requests:

27. *Honourable Mushelenga, can you just educate us about the legal term fiduciary responsibility, so that we all understand that?* **[Bezuidenhout, 16 June 2015, p. 76]**
28. *Can we not do something urgently on the road to reduce the speed Limit.* **[Smit, 29 April 2015, p. 132]**

Although the word *can* in 27 and 28 literally asks if someone has the ability to *educate* and *do something*, these MPs did not use it to ask about abilities, but they are indirect words used to order or request someone or something to be done.

4. 2. 2. 2 Invitations

Another way of using directives can be done through inviting. For instance, when using the phrase *call upon*, the speaker asks for the presence of. This phrase sounds formal and is common in parliament. On a regular basis in parliamentary proceedings, it is used to direct someone to announce an adjournment, to get other MPs or the public to carry out an action as shown below:

29. *Can I call upon the Right Honourable Prime Minister to adjourn the House!* **[Speaker]**
30. *I would also like to call upon the community out there, those who by default or by will, assist criminals or hide them in their houses, to desist from doing so.* **[Namoloh, 29 October 2015, p. 15]**
31. *I hereby have the distinct honour and privilege to call on Honourable Professor Peter Katjavivi to come forward so that the outgoing Speaker can give him the tokens of authority for your new position and then you can take the Chair as the Speaker of Sixth National Assembly of the Republic of Namibia.* **[Secretary, 20 March 2015, p. 15]**

The three previous statements, 29, 30 and 31 have the phrase *call upon*. They were all used in a formal and polite tone. This first sentence is stated below (Polite requests tend to get polite responses). Normally human beings' ways of responding are triggered by the way the request or question was posed. For instance, a rude request is likely to get a rude response because of the attitude shown by the person making a request. Clark and Schunk (1980) claim that the person's choice of responding depends on "how conventional the form of the request is, how transparent what is being asked is, whether special markers like *please* are present… (p. 138)"

In some cases, the directive is given with the illocutionary force of warning the audience, as in 31. While this speech act carries a warning force, its perlocutionary act is to get the Namibian people not to move around with weapons. Therefore, in this directive, Namoloh directed the people to act accordingly and at the same time warned them of the consequences if his intended plea was not met.

32. *I also want to call upon all Namibians not to move around with any type of weapon, as the Police will be conducting vehicles and body searches and anyone found with weapons and/or drugs will be dealt with in accordance with the law.* **[Namoloh, 29 October 2015, p. 15]**

In order for the speaker to achieve a positive perlocutionary act, she or he has to give a directive tactfully so that the audience reacts accordingly to the illocutionary act. This implies that MPs have to use persuasive strategies when they make requests, order or command. This can be done directly or indirectly.

It was discovered that when giving directives, MPs used words such as *I request, I beg of you,* or *I would like you to.* The Speaker used directives when giving the MPs their turn to speak. He also used directives as requests and orders for MPs to adhere

to the rules and regulations of parliamentary procedures; and to apologise to other MPs or withdraw statements when necessary. Clark and Schunk (1980) claim that polite requests tend to bring about polite responses. This is why some MPs made requests in a humble manner in order for the audience to respond politely and positively. Clark and Schunk (1980) state that “the more literal meaning of a request implies personal benefits for the listener, within reason, the more polite is the request” (p. 111).

4. 2.3 Commissives

Like other speech acts, commissives are illocutionary acts. As the speaker speaks, she or he performs an action by way of conveying a message to the listener. Akinwotu (2013) states that “commissives commit speakers to some future action e.g. promising, offering, swearing, etc. to do something” (p. 45). In making commissive statements, the speaker performs an action. Commissives also have the world-to-word direction of fit. When a person commits him/herself to some future action, they change the world by taking an obligation. As mentioned earlier, in parliamentary debates, warnings may occur by means of commissive speech acts. The commissive act is usually uttered when the speaker promises or commits to an action. The speaker promises to take action if a certain action or incidence happens or does not happen. According to Nuccetelli and Seay (2008), "sentence-size expressions that contain performative verbs such as promise, pronounce, apologize, request, adjourn, and the like are explicit performatives since one can perform certain acts simply by uttering them in the proper context" (p. 312).

4. 2. 3. 1 Promising

Richard and Schmidt (2013) claim that “promises threaten the freedom of action of the speaker” (p. 214). This implies that when the speaker makes a promise he or she

commits to an action that they must follow, therefore, the freedom of the action is limited. Following are some statements that MPs made by committing to future actions. Some may sound like threats in their utterances, but they are promises although the word *promise* is not always used.

The following commissive speech acts showed the actions the MPs were going to commit to and how cautious they were.

33. *This year I'm not going to take any nonsense of intervening in my speech*. **[Sioka, 2016]**
34. *The Ministry and I will deal very harshly with corrupt local authority councillors. I will show no mercy in this regard and I mean my word*. **[Shaningwa, 2015]**

Promises in 33 and 34 might have been a way of warning other MPs and scaring away the councillors to put an end to corrupt actions or not to attempt to engage in any corruptive acts. Mentioning that she's *not going to take any nonsense* sounded very serious when Sioka intended to warn those who intervene when other MPs were speaking. Shaningwa said that *she will deal very harshly with councillors* as a way of scaring them away. While this might be a way of strengthening one's statement, some people in the audience might have felt that it was a threat.

In 35, the MP was cautious by saying *I promise to do my best* so that her statement did not sound too hasty.

35. *I must tell you, as much as that Security Council Resolution is talking about women and peace, it is now broadly used as a tool to advocate peace. As a Government, we have decided last year 2014 that every time we go to the*

General Assembly we are going to have a side event dedicated to that Resolution. **[Nandi-Ndaitwah, 6 May 2015, p. 109]**

In his statement 36, Kaapala mentioned of giving back to the people who voted them into parliament. Promises are made to give the target audience hope for the future. He also stated that he will try his best to give back to his political party. This means that he wanted his contribution in parliament to be in favour of the people of his party. This was a supportive statement within a commissive. Promises made by politicians tend to be in favour of their audience as they give them hope for the future, hence render their support.

36. *Honourable Deputy Speaker, I feel honoured to have been chosen, with my Comrade Salmon Fleermuys, to be that voice, and I promise to do my best to give back to the people who voted for us into this Parliament.* **[Kaapala, 15 April 2015, p. 264]**
37. *I promise to be a concernative president and hold town hall meetings. I'm very proud that we have consulted all fourteen regions of Namibia and engaged communities in approximately 93 hours of dialogue.* **[Geingob, 2015]**

Commissives are recognised by words like *going to* and *will*. The words *will* and *going to* showed some kind of assurance and the speaker in 38 used them as she intended to assure by giving a promise.

38. *You must be knowledgeable about every sector in Namibia when you are outside. We are, therefore, going to deal with that.* **[Nandi-Ndaitwah, 6 May 2015, p. 116]**

The newly nominated Speaker of the National Assembly assured the audience of what, they as Members of the Namibian Parliament, will commit themselves to do. He used the word *we* to include all members.

39. *We will do the very best to honour our country and keep the Namibian flag flying high with pride.* **[Speaker, 20 March 2015, p. 23]**

The word *we* indicates togetherness. It also denotes inclusivity. The sense of togetherness created an impression on the audience especially the public, that the Speaker as the Head of parliament speaks on behalf of the whole House and that they will work as a team. This impression was not only intended to attract the public but fellow MPs, so that they are enticed and motivated to do so.

Making promises can be complicated because the person who makes a promise might fulfil it or might fail to do so. This can have future implications for politicians with regards to their audience. This fact can be alluded to Kangira's (2007) study on the rhetoric that Dr. Gideon Gono, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, used in his Monetary Policy Review Statement, 'Sunrise of Currency Reform' to convince people that once the three zeros were removed from the currency, all economic crisis would be alleviated. The conclusion that was made in this study was that "for all intents and purposes, the metaphorical sun did not rise for Zimbabweans, more than a year after the issue of the Monetary Statement" (Kangira, 2007, p. 24). This means that even after some time, the economic crisis was not a thing of a past as the rhetoric insinuated. This might have affected the ethos of the Governor as his commitment to his audience was not fulfilled. It is therefore crucial for MPs to be cautious when making commissive statements.

On the contrary, an audience tends to be persuaded by the people they trust, and whom they think are reliable. Given that, a promise made by such an MP may awaken positive feelings among his/her audience, and therefore persuade them.

4. 2. 3. 2 Swearing

Other commissive statements in parliament were made when using the word, *swear,* to show that the speaker promises to commit to a responsibility that they are entrusted with. The following commissives were spoken at the oath/affirmation by new Members of Parliament to indicate that they will commit to given responsibilities. The first statement was uttered by all MPs, repeated after His Lordship Chief Justice Shivute:

40. *I, ..., do hereby swearing/solemnly affirm that I will be faithful to the Republic of Namibia and its people and I solemnly promise to uphold and defend the Constitution and Laws of the Republic of Namibia to the best of my ability. So, help me God.* **[All MPs, 20 March 2015, p. 10]**

This swearing of oath statement is universal. The oath is taken by all parliamentarians that use the Westminster system. The oath was uttered with strong phrases such as *solemnly promise* and *so help me God.* To directly use the word *promise* can be quite influential in the audience, especially in speeches where politicians attempt to persuade their audiences by giving promises to satisfy the audience's needs. When the oath is taken, the circumstance of those who took it usually changes.

In paragraph 41, at the end, Venaani made a general exclamation by code-switching, to put emphasis on the statement he made in order to be believed by his audience.

41. *Whereas we want to see the country accelerate our SME Sector, we are cutting the Budget again with N$ 58 million – money that is supposed to kick-start our SME Sector for us to be able to address the question of foreign reserves by manufacturing more and thus exporting more, we are instead cutting the Budget. The appropriated amount is a minus.* (Interjection) *Ae, Mukuru wejuru, Mbara yo uyere! (Oh God of Heaven, King of light)*

    [Venaani, 3 November 2015, p. 115]

This kind of swearing does not necessarily commit the speaker to any future action, but it is used to show seriousness in what he said. It can be concluded that it is an exhortation.

4. 2.4 Declaratives

Declaratives are statements that change the state of the world when uttered. This includes changing the status of a person or a circumstance. Declaratives are used when accepting, conferring, blessing, dismissing, adjourning, declaring, pronouncing, nominating, and announcing. According to Levinson (1985), "declaratives effect immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs and tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions" (p. 240).

Research shows that for a declarative speech act to be meaningful, it should be uttered by a person with the authority to declare and is entitled to do so. Levinson (1985) concurs that a performative utterance is felicitous, or appropriate when it is uttered at the right time by someone who has the authority to do so. The audience is likely to be persuaded by this act since the person who carried it out is entrusted with such an act. For instance, when a chairman says *I declare this meeting official open* to people in a meeting, it will be meaningful and genuine because of the authority that the chairman holds to open the meeting. On the contrary, if the same chairman

shows up and says, *you are under arrest; you have the right to remain silent; anything you say will be used against you in a court of law* to a person who committed a crime, it will not be meaningful or truthful, given that he does not have the authority to carry out that performative act. Levinson (1985) further states that when such statements are uttered without institutional arrangements, they are simply null and void. According to Austin's theory of speech acts, these statements are *infelicitous.* The theory also claims that declaratives are not only used to say things but also to actively do things (Levinson, 1985). Language is used to show power when declaring. Mayr (2008) claims that "institutions' power and politics are frequently exercised through the discourse of their members" (p. 1).

Following are some declaratives which are relevant to parliamentary proceedings.

4. 2. 4. 1 Nominating

On 20 March 2015, prior to 25th Independence Day of the Republic of Namibia, the newly elected MPs were sworn in as MPs. In the next affirmation event 42, the Right Honourable Prime Minister Dr. Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila nominated Professor Peter Katjavivi for the position of Speaker of the August house.

42. *Having said that, I have the honour to nominate, for the position of Speaker of this august House, someone who is an experienced Leader, a seasoned Politician and Diplomat, a distinguished Scholar and someone with impeccable National Liberation Struggle credentials and that person is Ambassador Professor Peter Hishitevi Katjavivi. I so move.* (applause) **[Kuugongelwa-Amadhila, 20 March 2015, p. 14]**

Kuugongelwa-Amadhila's declarative statement included words of praises. This is known as a ceremonial speech or epideictic. Ceremonial speeches are often made, for

the speaker to give a positive image of the person she or he is referring to. According to research, epideictic statements are persuasive. Palonen (2016) claims that "in parliament, there are also epideictic aspects in rituals and ceremonies as well as acclamation aspects that insist on the need for unity" (p. 20). In statement 42 phrases such as, *experienced Leader, seasoned Politician, distinguished Scholar* and *impeccable National Liberation Struggle credentials,* were words that gave praise to the newly nominated Speaker. In the same manner, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of International Relations and Cooperation nominated Loide Kasingo for the position of the Deputy Speaker in 43.

43. *Honourable Speaker, I am standing to nominate for the position of Deputy Speaker, a person who is well known to us all, a Unionist, Political Practitioner for many years, with extensive experience on Parliamentary activities, particularly in the last Parliament in which she has served on different Committees both at home and internationally, particularly when it comes to the African Parliament. I am nominating, for the consideration by this House, Honourable Loide Kasingo to be the Deputy Speaker of the Sixth National Assembly of the Namibian Parliament. I so Move, Comrade Speaker.* **[Nandi-Ndaitwah, 20 March 2015, p. 17]**

In this case, instead of the Nandi-Ndaitwah using ethos for her own image, she used it by describing a fellow MP. This was a ceremonial statement as the nominator intended to give a positive image of the nominee. This could have shaped an impression on the audience that the nominated person was a suitable candidate for that position. Members of Parliament nominated other MPs for positions, therefore, when nominations were made, they were regarded valid.

4. 2. 4. 2 Declaring

Declarative statements are regarded as meaningful because they are uttered by people with the authority to carry out certain actions. In the National Assembly, the Speaker has the authority to ask if there is any objection, and if there isn't, he declares that it was agreed to. Furthermore, he declares the election of Chairpersons and Members of Parliamentary Standing Committees. Given that the Speaker has the authority to carry out these tasks, it is likely that the audience shows consent on the action because of the trust they have in him. Statements 44 to 46 illustrate the authority of the Speaker.

44. *Any objection? Agreed to*. **[Speaker, 7 May 2015, p. 264]**
45. *I now declare these Honourable Members as duly elected Chairpersons, Deputy Chairpersons and Members of the relevant Parliamentary Standing Committees, International Parliamentary Bodies and Organisations.* **[Speaker, 30 June 2015, p. 275]**
46. *I have the greatest pleasure to declare Honourable Loide Kasingo as the Deputy Speaker of this House. Congratulations.* Applause **[Speaker, 20 March 2015, p. 18]**

Aristotle established that ethos has to do with the person's character. If the audience believes that the Speaker has a good sense of character, they are likely to have trust and faith in him, thus agree with these declarations. Palonen (2014) claims that it is the responsibility of the Speaker to maintain the order of the debates. Furthermore, May as cited in Palonen, (2014) states that "it is the Speaker's duty to watch the members as they rise to speak and, from his position in the house, he is better able to distinguish those who have priority than the house itself, and the decisions should be left with him" (p. 138). In addition, the Secretary of the National Assembly used a

declarative statement to declare the status of newly elected Members of the Sixth National Assembly in 47, as this is his role and he is entitled to do so. His illocutionary act which is a performative act was to declare.

47. *It is my honest and sincere pleasure to declare you all, duly elected Members of the Sixth National Assembly. Congratulations.* **[Secretary, 20 March 2015, p. 13]**

The outgoing Speaker passed on the Authority Sword to the newly elected Speaker. He uttered a declarative speech act 48 which changed the state of the world immediately.

48. *Now here I pass on to my worthy successor this hallowed instrument of authority and power as the third Speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of Namibia. My respect, best wishes and God's speed.* (applause and ululation) *I think we have met before* (laughter). **[Gurirab, 20 March 2015, p. 15]**

After the declaration was made, the circumstance changed when the perlocutionary act took place (receiving the sword). Katjavivi became the third Speaker of the National Assembly when he received the sword. Declaratives are somewhat persuasive because of the way they are formalised and the authority that the declarer possesses. On a different note 49, the Minister of Finance declared the submission of the Appropriation Bill at the end of his speech.

49. *It is now my distinguished honour to submit for your favourable consideration the Appropriation Bill (B.5 – 2015), and the 2015/2016 –*

2017/2018 Medium Term Expenditure Frame. Thank you. **[Schlettwein, 31 March 2015, p. 60]**

This declaration was made to formalise and re-state that he is submitting. In his declarative statement, he used words like *favourable consideration* which carries a positive connotation, which is somewhat a motivation towards the acceptance of the Budget for the Finance Ministry. The researcher found that declarative speech acts changed the status of people or circumstances.

4. 2. 4. 3 Announcing

Some announcements are made in parliament procedurally. These are tabling a motion, adjourning the House, calling for a point of order and informing the MPs to take their seats. Procedurally, the Speaker of the National Assembly has the responsibility to recognise MPs and give them turns to speak by recognising them. He usually asks the Prime Minister (PM) to adjourn the parliamentary session. By this, the PM announces that the session was adjourned and nothing else can be decided until the next meeting. The message is quite clear and no one can partake in the debate immediately after that. When announcements are made by MPs with the authority, then these announcements are said to be felicitious, which the audience tends to concur with. Below are some announcements that were made by MPs who have authority to do so:

50. *Honourable Deputy Speaker, I lay upon the Table, the Annual Report of the Social Security Commission for the year 2012/2013. I so move, Honourable Deputy Speaker.* ***[2015]***
51. *I recognise the Minister of Justice, Dr Kawana.* **[Speaker]**

The house is formally adjourned in the following manner:

52. *Honourable Speaker, I propose that the House is adjourned until next week Wednesday, at 14:30.* **[PM, 31 March 2015, p.61]**

The Prime Minister not only utters that the House is adjourned but performs an action by saying so. The illocutionary force in this speech act is clearly to adjourn. Announcements made by the Secretary were considered valid. Since most of the announcements made by the Speaker, Prime Minister and the Secretary are fundamental to parliamentary rules and orders, the speech acts of announcing do not require additional wording to persuade the audience. Announcements are formally and politely presented. Examples of some common announcements in parliament are presented in 53 to 55.

53. *Please be seated. Having been duly elected and given the tools of trade, I now hand over to your new Speaker to preside over the election of the Deputy Speaker* (applause). Mr. Speaker. **[Secretary, 20 March 2015, p. 16]**
54. *The House is called to order. I now call for nominations for the position of the Deputy Speaker.* **[Speaker, 20 March 2015, p. 16]**
55. *A point of order from your friend.* **[Speaker]**

4. 2. 5 Expressives

Akinwotu (2013) states that "expressives are the expressions of some psychological state e.g. thanking, apologizing, congratulating" (p. 45). Expressives were used in parliamentary proceedings by means of expressing one's feelings toward other MPs and the general public as an audience. Expressives were mostly used when MPs gave their opinions on a tabled motion, supporting a bill, showing approval or disapproval, suggesting, congratulating, apologising, complaining, criticising, etc. They do not have direction of fit. According to Searle (1976), "in performing an expressive, the

speaker is neither trying to get the world to match the words nor the words to match the world, rather the truth of the expressed proposition is presupposed" (p. 12).

4. 2. 5. 1 Praising

Taufik (2014) states that persuasion can be made by expressing praises, namely, thank-giving and admiring expressions. In 56 the MP used the word *congratulate*, which is a performative verb. Kasingo code switched to her vernacular language to show praises.

56. *First of all, I have to congratulate you for being elected as the Speaker of the National Assembly and I am proud to work under you. Let me start off with a saying in one of the vernaculars that's says- waapandula noyaka, means that if you do not appreciate the efforts of others then you are doomed.* **[Kasingo, 20 March 2015, p. 21]**

Code-switching is believed to be persuasive. According to Chen (1996), code-switching has a great relation with the communicative intentions of speakers.

Expressive speech acts that indicate praises bring a sense of unity among parliamentarians in their discussions, especially when discussing sensitive and crucial issues. The word *welcome* in 57 is a noun. However, by using it, the speaker performed an action.

57. *We warmly extend welcome to all of you.* **[Speaker]**

The words *gratitude* in 58, *profound thanks* 59 and *appreciate* 60 indicate praises as MPs are practically thanking.

58. *I would like to extend my gratitude to some of our journalists who are patronage enough, who are doing a great job.* **[Tweya]**

59. *Honourable Members, I wish to express and register my profound thanks and appreciation for the honour that the Members have bestowed upon me as a new Speaker of this august House.* **[Speaker, 20 March 2015, p. 18]**
60. *I would really want to appreciate Honourable Mushelenga's contextualisation of the subject matter on the floor.* **[Nekundi, 30 June 2015, p. 283]**
61. *I want to thank all the Honourable Members for supporting these efforts and I hope that you will be able to avail yourselves when you are requested to do so.* **[Namoloh, 29 October 2015, p. 26]**
62. *I would like to use this opportunity to congratulate the people of Namibia for the excellent manner in which they participated in these meetings.* **[Geingob, 2016]**

4. 2. 5. 2 Supporting

In parliament, MPs support one another by supporting Votes, giving consent to suggestions, and to the amendment of bills. Below is an expression by Hon. Kawana.

63. *I rise to support Vote 01 and maybe to answer, on behalf of my colleague, some of the issues raised by the Leader of the opposition, although I prefer the terminology Leader of the Minority Party because Opposition is even opposing positive things. You oppose issues of national interest, but if you are minority party there are certain issues of national interest where we meet each other*. **[Kawana, 22 April 2015, p. 61]**

Kawana gave his expression on Vote 01 in 63 by supporting it. However, he seemingly wants to discourage the Leader of the Opposition party from opposing issues. He, therefore, used the words Minority Party. He felt that the words Minority Party will enable the Opposition members to drift away from opposing issues which

are of national interest. In addition, the other statements 64, 65 and 66 have words that showed support, for example, the words *support, agree* and *concur* were directly used.

64. *I rise to support the excellent work being done by our Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of International Relations and Cooperation. She is a silent worker and a distinguished person. We are so proud that she has been given that assignment, yet again.* **[Swartbooi, 6 May 2015, p. 103]**
65. *Honourable Minister Kawana, I agree with you that what happened in Libya is very unfortunate and it has almost destabilised the whole region and all of us are feeling it.* **[Nandi-Ndaitwah, 6 May 2015, p. 108]**
66. *I also concur with the former speakers by saying that State-Owned Enterprises have a very significant role to play in our economy.* **[Kavekotora, 16 June 2015, p. 82]**

Seconding a nomination is also an expressive statement that an MP makes to support the nomination as shown in 67. After the nomination, the Deputy Minister of Health and Social Services seconded the nomination. Although this could be an expressive speech act, her nomination statement was given in a declarative manner as she used the word *hereby*. Kavetuna formalised the statement by using the word *hereby* as seen below.

67. *I Juliet Kavetuna, hereby second the nomination of Professor Peter Katjavivi as the Speaker of the National Assembly. (applause)* **[Kavetuna, 20 March 2015, p. 14]**

While Kavetuna announced that she supported the nomination, not only that she said it, but she performed the action of seconding by doing so. Levinson (1985) states that

"only the performative usage can co-occur with the adverb *hereby"* (p. 232). In the paragraph below, Venaani used intense words in his expression, *wholeheartedly* and *critical* 68 to show the significance of the status quo.

68. *I want to address the Budget of New Era and I want to wholeheartedly put it on record that if there is one Government mouthpiece that has improved in quality and informative news, is it New Era. They must be credited. I support their Vote because fifteen years ago, New Era was a SWAPO Broadcasting mouthpiece, but nowadays New Era has become critical of Government and critical of all Sectors of our society***. [Venaani, 23 April 2015, p. 222]**

4. 2. 5. 3 Proposing and Suggesting

Using words that explain the action in the speech act helps the audience to comprehend clearly the illocutionary act. In statements 69 to 72, MPs used words including *suggestion, propose, of the opinion,* and *recommendation* to draw the attention of the audience. These were direct words and speakers were cautious when using them in order to make it clear to the audience that they were proposals or suggestions and not facts.

69. *I think as a suggestion, it is high time that Namibia invest in technology that ensures that it keeps the would-be criminals in check after due legal process has followed and the Court has accordingly issued the relevant order.* **[Muharukua, 29 October 2015, p. 19]**
70. *Honourable Minister, I would, therefore, like to propose that we should perhaps monitor the trucks by putting, setting up some time limit, especially at night.* **[Kafula, 29 April 2015, p. 140]**
71. *Honourable Minister, I am of the opinion that the allocation to Agriculture in the future should be considered favourably if we would like to move closer to*

our objective of inclusivity, reduction of poverty and income inequalities. **[Mbai, 6 May 2015, p. 120]**

72. *Secondly, in Programme 01 that is on Regional and Bilateral Affairs Department in Africa, especially in Southern Africa here, I want to make a recommendation or suggestion. Currently, we are doing very well as far as peace and security of our sub-region is concerned. However, we are just a small part of the continent and a small part internationally, but we need to do it with political determination and a political will in order to safeguard the peace prevailing on our sub-continent.* **[Mwaningange, 6 May 2015, p. 97]**

4. 2. 5. 4 Disapproving, criticising and complaining

Richard and Schmidt (2013) state that, "complaints are threatening to the good image of the hearer" (p. 214). This implies that the face-threatening act, in this case, places the speaker in a good position with a good image. A complaint also incites the pathos of the audience when it is made in a polite manner. In the following paragraph 73, Mutorwa's statement is in disagreement with the statement in a document. He expressed his difference of opinion by first giving consent on the essence of the sentence, although he does not agree.

73. *On page six, paragraph three is a sentence almost towards the bottom of that paragraph, that particular sentence starts with 'the minimum guarantee which applies to all parliaments is non-accountability; Under this guarantee, parliamentarians in their exercise of their functions may say what they please without the risk of sanctions other than that of being disavowed by the electorate which may eventually not renew their mandates'. Now, I understand the essence of the sentence, but I don't agree fully.* **[Mutorwa, 2015]**

Giving consent first and giving a difference of opinion afterwards can be one way of persuading the listeners. This can be the case as Venaani in 74 showed the essence of the opponent's or fellow MPs' points of view.

74. *I do not disagree very much with you, but I do not wholeheartedly espouse the opposition because we are doing nothing. We are just giving cattle, building corrugate iron shacks and we are doing PR to address marginalization.* **[Venaani, 22 April 2015, p. 48]**

Similarly, !Auxab showed his satisfaction on the budget presentation, however, he was still worried as it is evident in 75.

75. *Honourable Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members, I am quite content with the Budget as presented. However, I am a bit apprehensive about the deficit that we are facing, the amount of N$8.64 as opposed to the N$7.62 billion of last year, 2014, is quite worrisome to me and I shall most certainly appreciate it if the good Honourable Minister can assure us that this is not going to worsen our indebtedness be it from the domestic or foreign sources*. **[!Auxab, 2015]**

To make a complaint sound serious, in 76 Shanghala used the word *extremely* to describe the degree of difficulty he experienced. The use of the word *extremely* was likely to be used to tell the audience that his complaint is serious.

76. *I find it extremely difficult, Mr Speaker, particularly when Honourable Dienda is on the Floor to understand some of the words she is enunciating.* **[Shanghala, 3 November 2015, p. 133]**

On a different note, the use of anti-words may enable the audience to identify the illocutionary force within the statement. The speaker may use direct words to show disagreement so that the audience does not misinterpret the idea. In statement 77, Dienda was completely against the operations at Namibia Airports Company and she uttered it directly. This is a direct speech act.

77. *I am against Namibia Airports Company; the same people do the evaluation, they do the recommendations and they also approve. They are, therefore, the players and the referee at the same time.* **[Dienda, 16 June 2015, p. 75]**

Despite using the word *against*, Dienda added a metaphor to her statement by mentioning that the people are the players and referees at the same time, which refers to the same people having all the roles instead of dividing them among themselves. The metaphor was used to create an image that was more engaging so that the audience would imagine Dienda's complaint differently; and perhaps in a more practical manner, the roles of the referees and the players.

4. 2. 5. 5 Apologising

In parliament, apologising occurs mostly when an MP wants to interrupt another MP while speaking, or to apologise for not carrying out a certain action. The reason for giving an apology is because the speaker feels they have wronged or haven't carried out a task they were supposed to. Therefore, once a person apologises, the act may threaten his or her image. Richards and Schmidt (2013) claim that, "apologies are potentially threatening to the good image of the speaker" (p. 214). Some MPs may apologise for arriving late to the session. According to Murphy (2015), a speech-act of apology can be uttered when using performative verbs such as sorry, excuse, apologise, forgive, regret and pardon, which are classified as Illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs) by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain. Nuccetelli and Seay (2008)

describe that the speech act 'I apologise for doing x' will count as an apology when the speaker has wronged someone, but the same utterance would not be an apology towards somebody who had not wronged. Nuccetelli and Seay therefore, claim that such an act is not false but unhappy.

In apologies 78 to 80, a propositional content for a felicitous apology is shown. Murphy (2015) explains that this kind of apology is carried out before the action is committed. The MPs apologised before asking a question or making a comment. They apologised for interrupting the person who was currently speaking.

78. *I am extremely sorry to interrupt you, my Brother and Comrade. Does it also occur to you that if you connect those roads to the district roads it will also shorten the distance?* **[Tweya, 29 April 2015, p. 138]**
79. *I am sorry to intervene, but I want to remind the Honourable Member that resources are allocated by Parliament through the Appropriation Bill and that is how we deal with priorities.* **[Schlettwein, 29 October 2015]**
80. *I am sorry to interrupt my colleague. On account of time, I do not want to take part in the normal discussion, but may I give him information regarding……* **[Kawana]**

In 81 and 82, the MPs apologised for an act that has been done already before making the apology. These kinds of apologies are described as a Sincerity condition of a speech act, whereby the speaker regrets the act or the consequence (Murphy, 2015). Searle (1976) claims that according to the syntax of English, the paradigm-expressive verbs in a performative action cannot take *that* clause, but needs a gerundive nominalisation transformation. Therefore, one cannot say *I apologise that I* …. as in 80, but rather say *I apologise for*….. as in 81.

81. *I want to apologise that I do not have the responses right here.* **[Hanse-Himarwa, 29 October 2015, p. 33]**
82. *Thank you very much, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. I apologise for coming in late.* **[Mbumba, 6 May 2015, p. 107]**

Expressives are easily recognised by their performative verbs. Among all the speech act categories, expressives use direct performative verbs. It was revealed that expressives for apologising, complaining, proposing or suggesting are made in a polite manner as politeness plays an important role in parliamentary discourse. In summary, although the use of all five categories were present, some were not necessarily used to persuade, but to perform their illocutionary performances.

4. 3 Summary

This chapter was an analysis of speech acts based on five categories and an interpretation of how they play a rhetorical role in the parliamentary proceedings of Namibia. Members of Parliament used speech acts with rhetorical purposes in order to achieve their goals. The categories were Assertives, Commissives, Expressives, Directives and Declaratives. They are derived from Searle's theory of speech acts. Searle's theory of speech acts claims that there are five kinds of ways of speaking, and each kind is a performative act. Whilst these speech acts are just utterances, they enable the speaker to carry out an action. The researcher explained how these speech acts were used by MPs to persuade their audience with reference to literature.

CHAPTER 5

DELIBERATIVE RHETORIC

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of deliberative rhetoric in The Namibian National Assembly. Aristotle divided rhetoric into three genres, namely: deliberative, epideictic and judicial. The chapter predominantly analyses deliberative rhetoric with the focus on parliamentary agenda items. In terms of parliamentary discourse, deliberative rhetoric is regarded as a speech given by Members of Parliament trying to persuade their audience through debates in a fair play manner. The rhetoric used is considered to be deliberative, since after the persuasive speech, the audience is expected either to take or not to take an action. According to Aristotle's theory, deliberative rhetoric deals with the things to come (future), whereas, forensic rhetoric deals with the past (history). In other words, "the deliberative rhetoric involved the question of self-interest and future benefits, and sought to argue with the hope of persuading or dissuading, how present actions of a group or political body would affect the future" (Rock, 2012, p. 46).

The Westminster Parliament, which the Namibian Parliament was adapted from, has a long history, which assisted the researcher when conducting this study. It is likely that all parliaments that were adapted from the Westminster system have common procedures. In his work on *The Politics of Parliamentary Procedure*, Palonen (2014) claims that the "rhetorical culture is still preserved in the procedural rules and conventions of the British parliament at Westminster" (p. 11). Research shows that the parliamentary procedure makes parliamentary debate an institutionalised activity (Palonen, 2016).

In one of his conference papers, Palonen (2016) mentioned that the following parliamentary procedure-based moves are rhetorical. They are: moving a question to the agenda, speaking to the motion, amending, adjourning, replying, and interjecting, amongst others.

In line with Palonen's view, my content analysis is directed at the procedural items in the Namibian parliamentary agenda, namely, question time, amendment bill, appropriation bill, tabling motions, debates, and committee stage. The analysis specifically points out the rhetoric used by MPs in various items within the agenda and the influences in that regard. In other words, this chapter aims at assessing how rhetoric is influenced by the parliamentary procedure of the National Assembly. It should be noted that the aforesaid items are not the only items that are in the parliamentary procedure, but the researcher chose the ones with speech acts relevant to this study.

5.2 Tabling a motion

A motion means "a notice or request for business to be brought before the Assembly for consideration" (Standing rules and order and Internal arrangement, 2015, p. 10). Palonen (2012) describes a motion as the easiest concept in the Westminster vocabulary. In addition, "to move, includes both the setting of a motion on to the parliamentary agenda and proposing to do something with a motion in the debate" (Palonen, 2012, p. 126). When an MP proposes, it is regarded as moving, thus they use the phrase *I so move.* According to the *Standing rules and order and Internal arrangement* (2015) for the Namibian National Assembly, most of the motions require notices. This means that the notice should be given well in advance before the debate.

The researcher observed that MPs use rhetoric when tabling a motion in order to influence the thinking of their audience vis-à-vis their proposal. This observation corresponds with Palonen's (2012) analysis on parliamentarism when he states that "to move is an endeavour to persuade an audience to accept a motion, including affecting or moving others to alter their stand or argument in debate, even enabling them the crossing of the floor" (p. 127). In parliament, a motion is the main driver of a debate. Without a motion, a debate would not take place.

According to Professor of rhetoric James de Mille, (as cited in Palonen, 2012), "the aim of parliamentary debate is to investigate the subject from many points of view which are presented from two sides, in no other way can a subject be so exhaustively considered" (p. 136). Although some assume that debating is a natural skill, Mack (2001) insists that "those who went to university, as a large proportion of MPs did, studied Cicero's speeches and Aristotle's logic, composed declamations, and took part in disputations" (p. 23). According to Mack (2001), most of the features of parliamentary speeches can be associated with rhetorical training. He, therefore, identifies two types of parliamentary interventions: the long formal speech which is often given by a government speaker at a formal occasion and the shorter argumentative intervention when replying to a proposal or to a previous speaker. These interventions can be carried out by Ministers during Ministerial statements and by MPs asking interrogative questions and making comments, respectively.

The political divide in the following debate has nothing to do with ruling vs opposition divide since either side is supported by MPs from the ruling party and those of the Opposition. The tables in this section show opposing opinions on the motion of Old Age Homes in Namibia. This issue was debated *pro et contra*.

5.2.1 Consent on debate on Old Age Homes in Namibia

The table below shows the statements that the MPs used in order to support their line of argument, an indication of the appeals they used in their oratories and the keyword/phrase that signifies each appeal.

Statements in support of Old Age Homes in Namibia	**Appeal**	**Keyword/phrase**
I regard Old Age Homes as a blessing and a much needed must, to honour and appreciate the contribution made by our senior citizen. **[//Gowases, 30 June 2015, p. 280]**	Pathos	blessing
We can make jokes here, but most of us who are making jokes here, drive passed them day in and day out, but do not even take note of them, because we do not care. We only express our care here in the Parliament building when we talk too much. **[Fleermuys, 30 June 2015, P. 287]**	Pathos	Drive passed them
You may have had 20 grandchildren yesterday, today you may have five and tomorrow you only have one. All these mean that as I grow older, I may not be in the same position my grandmother was or my own mother is now. The conditions will change. **[Namoloh, 30 June 2015, p. 292]**	Logos	The conditions will change
99% of these people live close to the shebeens and when they get paid, the money that they receive stop to exist the moment they get it because they already have personal accounts at the shebeens where they buy some foodstuff, alcoholic liquor, etcetera. **[Fleermuys, 30 June 2015, p. 286]**	Logos	99% of these people

The latest available statistics from Namibia Statistics Agency predicted that by the year 2031, the number of Namibians above the age of 55 will increase from 124,334 to 369.121. **[Van Den Heever, 30 June 2015, p. 276]**	Logos	Statistics from NSA

Table 2 *Consent on debate on Old Age Homes in Namibia*

Members of parliament who supported the motion of Old age homes debated by using linguistic devices to persuade the audience of their beliefs and opinions. The rhetoric used was observed in the words the MPs used. They used fashionable syntax to make appeals to their audience. //Gowases used the word *blessing,* which is believed to have a positive connotation. Thus, she used it to appeal to the ethos of the audience.

In the context used by Fleermuys, the phrase *drive passed them* implied that some MPs pass by senior citizens without paying attention and not caring about them. She argued that Old age homes would be a better option for the elders to be in good care. Fleermuys went to an extent of shaming others by mentioning that they talk excessively in parliament, without noticing these elderly people. For this reason, she appealed to the pathos of her audience.

Namoloh used the phrase *the conditions will change* to indicate that as time goes by the future generations might just be in need of these homes. He appealed to the logos of his audience by giving a reasonable example of how circumstances change from generation to generation.

Although 99% might not be an accurate figure, but rather a generalisation, it shows that there is a misuse of funds by the elderly citizens. Fleermuys reasoned that living

near shebeens cause the elderly people to overspend their money, thus, living in Old Age Homes would be a better option.

Van Den Heever appealed to logos of other MPs when she gave figures that were taken from the Namibia Statistic Agency (NSA). Considering that this is a reliable agency in Namibia that provides results from research, Fleermuys used this information to persuade the audience about the necessity of Old Age Homes.

5.2.2 Dissent on debate on Old Age Homes in Namibia

The table shows the opinions of the MPs who debated against the motion as they feel the construction of Old Age Homes is not a necessity in Namibia.

Statements against Old Age Homes in Namibia	**Appeal**	**Keyword/phrase**
In my culture – traditionally, the youngest man in the family does not leave the homestead of his parents. The idea is that, as your parents get older and older, you having grown up and got married, there would at least be some sort of taking care. **[Mushelenga, 30 June 2015, p. 280]**	Ethos	In my culture
I can assure you these elderly people, even if they stay in these Old Age Homes, they will be thinking of their grandchildren. In my language, they say – the older one prefers to take care of the grandchild than one's own child. **[Mushelenga, 30 June 2015, p. 281]**	Ethos	In my language

We should also create a culture of caring because one should really be ashamed when your parents are taken to an Old Age Home while you can take care of them…. There is also an element of abuse. **[Mushelenga, 30 June 2015, p. 282]**	Pathos	Element of abuse
If we take them to Old Age Homes, there will be no way we can share social evenings with them and the reason you see them having their grandchildren around them is because they want to impart what they have onto the new generation. **[Kapofi, 30 June 2015, p. 298]**	Logos	They want to impart what they have
The attitude of those who are working there is termed to be very abusive to the elderly. I then ask myself, what exactly do we want Old Age Homes for? Is it for our elders to be abused? **[Shapwa,30 June 2015, p. 299]**	Pathos	Very abusive
Being a student of Sociology, other studies also indicate that the Old Age Homes are not necessarily the pleasant places for elderly people, both physically and psychologically… **[Mushelenga, 30 June 2015, p. 281]**	Ethos	Being a student of Sociology

Table 3 *Dissent on debate on Old Age Homes in Namibia*

Mushelenga used ethos to convince the audience of his credibility as a cultured person when he used the phrase *in my culture* and *in my language*. In order to discourage the House on old age homes, he contrasted the norms in his culture (Oshiwambo culture) with the custom of moving the elders to old age homes. He also

discouraged them by indicating how taking parents to old age homes is opposed to his culture. Those with the same culture and language were likely to identify with him.

Nekundi, another parliamentarian who was not in support of elderly people being taken to old age homes, used the word *abuse* to evoke negative feelings in his audience. *Abuse* is a strong word in the sense that it has a negative connotation and it is commonly used when referring to human exploitation. The use of this word might have an exaggeration behind it. He indicated that those who take their parents to old age homes should be ashamed. For this reason, he wanted the audience to see them as abusers.

Similarly, Kapofi seems to appeal to the audience's logos when he used the phrase *impart what they have*. Generally, the young ones learn morals and values from their elders. He, therefore, reasoned that if the elders are taken away from their families, there will be no other way of imparting this knowledge to their grandchildren. In an African setting, children used to sit with their parents or grandparents in the evening around a fire in order to be taught moral values, norms and good habits. It is at this place where riddles and proverbs are exchanged in a way of games, but the aim is to teach the youth cultural values. It is for this reason that Kapofi put emphasis on the imparting of knowledge from the elders at their homes.

With the same wording as Nekundi, Shapwa used the word *abuse*. She felt that these old people will be abused by those who work at the old age homes. She intended to invoke feelings of sympathy towards the elderly citizens. She, therefore, appealed to the pathos of other MPs.

Mushelenga mentioned negative findings of studies conducted on old age homes. Although Mushelenga did not show evidence, he wanted to create an impression that old age homes are not the best options for elders. The studies that he referred to found that old age homes are not safe places for elderly people, physically or psychologically. Those who saw Mushelenga as a credible person were likely to believe him.

This section revealed that parliamentarians were able to argue via three modes of persuasion, logos, pathos and ethos as proposed by Aristotle. This shows that the use of the three modes of persuasion is present in the Namibian parliamentary discourse. Those who supported a given motion were able to use their ethos and logos or appealed to the pathos of their audience. Similarly, those who were against a particular motion also used those modes. This political dissensus is instigated by the fact that the parliament comprises MPs from different political parties with different goals and visions. Furthermore, it can be concluded that the motions that the parliamentarians put on the table for discussion in a fair play manner can either create unity within the august House or division. It is therefore concluded that the parliamentary procedure is capable of promoting rhetoric in parliamentary discourse.

5.3 Amendment Bill

Amending a bill is among the items in the parliamentary procedure. According to Palonen (2012), amending is a part of the Westminster system and has been used for making changes on the existing motions instead of setting opposing motions. The *Namibian National Assembly Standing rules and order and internal arrangement* (2015) document states that amendment means "a proposal to change any matter or issue before the House, and includes new drafts or proposals on existing laws" (p. 9). Therefore, if a member should rise to propose, he/she should directly use the action

words that precisely means to propose and not those that express loose opinions, unless giving support to a proposal.

Amendment may be treated as a debate, as MPs may not agree on the proposed amendment. Palonen (2014) reasons that an amendment is made by an MP "to make the motion more acceptable to him or herself or to others or to provoke division among the original supporters of the motion with or without the expectation of changing the majority" (p. 165). It is clear now that when amending a bill, the debate is not likely to be *pro et contra* the original motion, it is rather a comparison of the strengths and weaknesses of the original motion and the amendments to it.

It is important to note that this section contains both expressions of opinions and proposals of an amendment. The Bill to be amended is based on the Principle act of a specific act, for example, the Local Authority Amendment Bill is based on the Local Authority Principle Act.

5.3.1 Local Authority Amendment Bill

On the 13 October 2015, the Secretary of the Parliament announced the resumption of the Debate on Second Reading – Local Authority Amendment Bill [B.12-2015]. When amending a bill, parliamentarians advocate for the changes that they propose. Nevertheless, they wisely choose words that strengthen their arguments or weaken others' arguments. The following dialogue was a proposal for an amendment whereby some MPs did not agree with one another on the amendment.

83. *Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker for giving me the opportunity to add my voice to the Local Authorities Amendment Bill. Honourable Speaker, allow me to now go to the main Bill. On page 6, sub-section (k) where there is mention vulnerable persons, there are two key issues that are not clear to*

me: an orphan who has lost one or both parents; Deals with persons living with disabilities. There are people living with disabilities who can afford municipal services. I am again of the opinion that this should equally be curtailed. [**Nekundi, 13 October 2015, p. 238]**

84. *Point of Order* **[Speaker]**
85. *On the issue of disabilities, I just want to say that if the Bill is mentioning that, it is correct because the disability cost of one person is worth the cost of 20 people. Therefore, if that exemption is given to people who are even working, it is just correct. In terms of the terminology for people living with disabilities, if it is written like that in the bill, I suggest that it be corrected because it should be people or persons with disabilities and not people or persons living with disabilities. Thank you.* **[Manombe-Ncube, 13 October 2015, p. 241]**
86. *Thank you for that very Point of Order. Honourable Member, I think you have taken note of that. Can you please continue?* **[Speaker, 13 October 2015, p. 241]**
87. *Yes, I have taken note, but I disagree.* [**Nekundi, 13 October 2015, p. 242]**

Nekundi felt that those with disabilities and are working should pay municipal bills. However, Manombe-Ncube the Deputy Minister of Disability Affairs who deals with people with disabilities disagreed with Nekundi and suggested that people with disabilities should be exempted from paying municipal Bills and it should be left like that. Although the Speaker in 86 seemed to have given Manombe-Ncube a green light by asking if Nekundi took note of what Manombe-Ncube clarified on regarding the Bill on people with disabilities, Nekundi still differed with the statement.

Hanse-Himarwa's contribution towards the amendment was initially presented by means of pointing out the obvious consequences of having teachers who are councillors at the same time. As the Minister of Basic Education and Culture, this was a clear indication that she was not in support of teachers being councillors concurrently, thus she wanted some amendments to be made.

88. *Will the Honourable Member agree with me that teachers who are Councillors are spending a lot of time outside the classroom doing duties at the Local Authorities Councils and by so doing, negatively impacting the quality of the outcome on the side of education? What is the take of the Honourable Member on the issue of teachers being involved as Local Authority Councillors and at the larger extent of being office bearers, that is being a Mayor or a Management Committee Member which demands more responsibilities and more time from them, seeing the education challenge that we are faced with in this country and seeing the quality outcomes we are driving towards in Namibia? Thank you.* **[Hanse-Himarwa, 13 October 2015, p. 257]**

In the following statement 89, Hinda gave her support to the previous speakers before she gave her presentation**:**

89. *Thank you very much Honourable Speaker. I cannot agree with you more that there is more to discuss and interrogate. However, my contribution is more on the aspect of restrictions on the sale of immovable properties. When you try to make restrictions, it is certainly because you have certain objectives but if all types of legal persons are not covered then you do not have sufficient provisions to achieve what you want to achieve. Honourable Speaker, what I*

am saying is that for example, when immovable properties are registered as Close Corporations, then I am not sure if it is sufficiently covered in terms of the restrictions. I, therefore, thought I would just want to raise that question to see if the intention of the Act is to allow people from the upper-income bracket and those who are learned enough to get away with it under the Close Corporations. Thank you. **[Hinda, 13 October 2015, p. 264]**

Hinda's contribution was given in a questioning manner. Having some doubts about the aspect of restrictions on the sale of immovable properties, Hinda sought for clarification in her statement. This was not necessarily an amendment, but just a clarification being sought.

An excerpt from Shiweda's version 90 of the Local Authority Amendment shows how she expressed her doubts on the proposed Provision. She used a variety of strategies to influence her audience. In her version, she encapsulates how the proposed Provision would not be an ideal one.

90. *Honourable Speaker, notwithstanding the above, I hold reservations in respect of a few proposed sections in the bill namely: Section 33(a) – Designation of Zones in Local Authorities for the purpose of reservation for acquiring immovable properties. This section of the bill seeks to provide for a designation of certain areas as zones reserved for Namibian citizens for the purpose of acquiring immovable properties in accordance with levels or categories of income. In all honesty and sincerity, the foregoing has the potential of taking us back to historical legacies of reserved zones along which the colonial doctrine was effectively implemented against our people. I*

am sure that no Namibian would like to be reminded of this (sic) *historical accounts for they bring back horrible memories.*

Honourable Speaker, not only is the proposed Provision of Section 33(a) Subsection 3 socially terrifying, it is equally infringing on the Provisions on the Provisions of the Namibian Constitution in terms of Article 10 which guarantees the equality of freedom from discrimination through the prohibition of any discrimination on the ground of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed, social or economic status. **[Shiweda, 13 October 2015, p. 245]**

Although she stated that no Namibian wants to be reminded of the horrible memories from the past, Shiweda invoked feelings among the audience by talking about it. She appealed to the pathos of the audience especially when she included herself in her version by using *together words* such as *Namibian citizens*, *us* and *our people*, to demonstrate unity and togetherness in her speech. In his article "The Sun That Never Rose", Kangira (2007) observed that *together words* were used in a speech to portray a sense of common ownership of the issue at hand. Again, Shiweda used strong words such as *horrible* and *terrifying*, to put emphasis on her argument. Such words were used to create fear, demoralisation and give a negative impression to the proposed amendment. Other words used by Shiweda were *honesty* and *sincerity*. These words were used with the intention of strengthening her argument and thereby detach any doubt.

As mentioned earlier in this section, amendments did not necessarily create a debate *pro et contra* but rather brought in a discussion on the weaknesses and strengths on several aspects in the Local Authorities Act. In their amendment discussion, the MPs

were able to tackle via discussions, the aspects that needed more attention than others, hence proposals for amendments were made. The Minister of Urban and Rural Development who is responsible for Local Authorities rounded up with remarks on the Local Authorities Amendment as follows in 91:

91. *Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, I have listened very attentively to the debate and contributions of the Honourable Members and it was very overwhelming…..Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, I think we have really engaged the Amendment Bill of the Local Authorities and there were many positive suggestions that were contributed and brought to the fore. Now that I have listened attentively, I think it is just proper that we perfect our document and our Bill that should guide our actions at the end of the day, I, therefore, Honourable Speaker request your indulgence and that of the Honourable House that through you Honourable Speaker, this House permits me to make thorough refinements as proposed by the House….* **[Shaningwa, 13 October 2015, p. 265]**

Shaningwa rounded up the Local Authorities Amendment Bill by stating that many positive suggestions were made. This shows that despite a few disagreements, most of the contributions made by the MPs were positive suggestions towards the amendment. This confirms the view that the debate was not so much *pro et contra*. Shaningwa gave her fellow MPs hope for the future when she said *I think it is just proper that we perfect our document and Bill that should guide our actions at the end of the day*. It seems that she wanted to create an impression towards her audience that the suggestions they made in an attempt to amend will be used to perfect the document and Bill.

5.3.2 Appropriation Amendment Bill

On the 3rd of November 2015, the Appropriation Amendment Bill was tabled for support and approval. An Appropriation Bill is a bill granting authority to spend public money or to incur expenses for the needs of the state. It is presented by the Minister of Finance. This Bill is very important as it affects all the Ministries. Unlike other Amendment Bills, the debate on the Appropriation Amendment Bill causes commotion and it is very much *pro et contra*. During the discussions on the Appropriation Amendment Bill, Members of Parliament are expected to comment, criticise or support this Bill. After the Minister of Finance finished the Second Reading of the Appropriation Bill, debates in statements 92 to 95 took place.

92. *Honourable Speaker, before we start the debate, permit me to address the key issues that were raised by the Minister of Finance in the Additional Budget – whether he calls it Additional Budget or readjustment – it is additional. In a legal context, it is additional because of the fact that you are appropriating money from one area to another area and it is a Bill before the House; therefore, it is an Additional Budget. You can call it by any other name, but it is an Additional Budget.* (Interjection) **[Venaani, 03 November 2015, p. 107]**

After Venaani's introduction and clarity on the Additional budget, an interruption occurred among the audience. Such reaction can be associated with either the approval or disapproval of what was stated.

93. *Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, let us put the records straight. Honourable Venaani, the Leader of the Opposition Party tried to confuse the nation. I hope the young DTA lawyer will convey this to him as well, but we need to inform the Nation correctly. Secondly, this is not an Additional Budget as the Leader of the*

Official Opposition was trying to be clever, it is a Midyear Review, six years, halfway before the end of the Financial Year. **[Tweya, 03 November 2015, p. 116]**

In an attempt to correct Venaani on the term Additional budget, Tweya wanted to show the audience that Venaani is misleading them by shaming him. He used the phrase, *Venaani tried to confuse the nation.* This statement can be associated with the *face-threatening act (FTA).* According to Levinson (1985), FTA can threaten the face of the speaker or the hearer. In this case, the FTA may challenge the hearer's face as it can lead to embarrassment.

In the following paragraphs 94, Kavetora showed criticism in some of the points presented by the Minister:

> 94. *I listened carefully to the Honourable Minister of Finance and I was also trying to look at the extent and economic environment that we are facing. The Minister was very specific in highlighting the economic factors that we are facing currently. There is an economic slowdown; there is a widening deficit; there is a decline in domestic revenue; there is a negative trade balance; there is a reduced SACU revenue, and that is basically the external environment in which we are doing the Midterm Review if we will.*
>
> *One would have expected that under those circumstances, obviously, the logical thing to do is to try to curb expenditures and not necessarily keep the expenditure the same while your revenue base is declining based on macroeconomics reality.*
>
> *Having said that, I must also acknowledge the fact that this document is relatively something that one has to study. One cannot just jump to a*

conclusion, I think we will make a mistake by doing that. **[Kavekotora, 3 November 2015, p. 128]**

In his presentation, before giving his opinion and critique, Kavekotora initially restated the economic factors that Namibia is faced with as the Minister alluded to. Restating facts or opinions that were raised earlier helps the listeners to relate to the speaker's point. Kavekotora displayed a good tactic of arguing. The use of cohesion enables listeners to link ideas, thus follow the development of ideas thoroughly. Thereafter, he presented his opposing views towards the Minister's presentation by motivating what was the best option to be taken. Kavekotora created an impression that there was a gap that was not filled. This can give a negative image of the Minister towards the audience. Kavekotora, then, gave his opinion that curbing expenditures in the circumstance mentioned was the right choice. He further pushed his criticism to an extent of saying if hasty conclusions are drawn without a study being made, they will be making a mistake.

In statement 95, Dienda seemed to be concerned on the budget reduction of some ministries:

95. *I would like to take the attention of all the Honourable Members of this House to the Budget of the Ministry of Health and Social Services which would be reduced, including the Budget of the Ministry of Labour, Industrial Relations and Employment Creation and the Budget of the Ministry of Education, Training and Innovation. In my opinion Honourable Speaker, these are the most vulnerable people who would be most affected. Why am I saying this, Honourable Speaker? When we look at the Budget reduction of the Ministry of Health and Social Services, Honourable Speaker my concern is that the people*

who go to Katutura hospital are not the Members of Parliament. **[Dienda, 03 November 2015, p. 119]**

Dienda directly called on the attention of everybody in the House. She appealed to the pathos of the audience by mentioning the vulnerable people. She also evoked emotions of her fellow MPs by saying that they are not the ones who go to Katutura hospital. The reason why she mentioned Katutura hospital is because it is a state hospital where most of the people who do not have medical aid go for treatment. To say the MPs do not go to Katutura may show that they do not care so much because they are not the ones who go to that hospital. This may cause shame as she seemed to put the blame on her fellow MPs.

5.3.3 Addition, subtraction and substitute

Amendments comprise three basic operations to the original motion, namely: additions, subtractions and substitutions (Palonen, 2014). Nevertheless, in order for these three operations to be carried out successfully, MPs have to use good reasoning. For instance, if MPs want to convince the audience that certain additions to the motion are necessary, they should do so by bringing up sensible ideas towards the motion. Again, if they want to remove some details in the motion they should use strong and logical arguments to show why such details are not needed. Likewise, when MPs feel there is a need to substitute some things in the motion, they ought to use persuasive tactics to show why the substitution is necessary.

Members of Parliament gave their supposed proposals towards the Local Authority Amendment Bill as presented in 96 to 98.

96. *Comrade Minister, I am also of the opinion that the bill provides for the right to a minimum size of land for residential purposes for Namibian citizens.* **[Nekundi, 13 October 2015, p. 239]**

97. *By preventing some Namibians from buying properties in certain areas while allowing others, Article 16(1) loses its generality in terms of application. This should not be allowed through this august House. It is thus my well-considered opinion that section 33(a) in its entirety needs to be revised or to be done away with.* **[Shiweda, 13 October 2015, p. 246]**98. *I, therefore, propose that instead of allowing foreign nationals to acquire immovable properties indefinitely, they should be allowed to lease for a defined period of time.* **[Shiweda, 13 October 2015, p. 248]**

These three statements show addition, subtraction and substitution respectively. With reference to Palonen's (2014) three operations of amendments, first, Nekundi used the word *also* which implies addition. He used it to show that the amendment he is proposing to the motion is additional to the existing motion. He proposed that the bill should provide the right to Namibian citizens to own minimum size of land for residential purposes. This means that this provision was not there, hence its necessity. Second, Shiweda stated that preventing Namibians from buying properties in some places should not be allowed. This implies that it is currently allowed. She further proposed that it should be done away with. This falls in the subtraction operation. Third, Shiweda chose to use the word *instead.* This word is associated with replacement. Thus, Shiweda's statement falls under the substitute operation. She clearly wanted the action of *allowing foreign nationals acquiring immovable properties indefinitely* to be replaced by that of *leasing for a defined period of time*. Although the statements were used as a contribution to the amendment Bill, Nekundi

and Shiweda's statements appeared to be opinions rather than proposals. However, Shiweda's last statement is a clear proposal of what she suggests should be implemented.

> In terms of the amendment, the Minister of Public Enterprise, Leon Jooste, made the following substitute in 99:99. *Comrade Chairperson of the whole House Committee, in clause two, I submit the following, to substitute paragraph C with the following paragraph C by the insertion after the definition of prescribed for the following definition: public enterprise means a state-owned enterprise or state-owned company or any other entity established under any law or in terms of any other instrument on the purpose of which is to advance any interest of the public.* **[Jooste, 2015]**

Jooste clearly indicated that the amendment he submits is a substitute. He mentioned that he was replacing the existing definition with the one he gave.

5.4 Committee Stage

According to the *Standing rules and order and internal arrangement* (2015), the Bill shall stand referring to the Committee of the Whole Assembly in terms of Rule 28, unless a motion is moved to refer it to the relevant Standing committee. At this point, the Bill is considered in detail on a clause by clause basis. The Bill is analysed and discussed in detail.

On 8 May 2015, Vote 33- Poverty Eradication and Social Welfare was set for discussion. Since it was a newly established ministry, it was welcomed with overwhelming support by the MPs. However, there were several concerns that were raised and put on the table for consideration. In this discussion, some MPs made references to reliable documents, policies and historical events.

Some of the references which were made were Biblical allusions. The MPs used Biblical allusions by appealing to the ethos of the audience to show some sense of beliefs and principles, which the audience could be in support of. Using references as rhetorical devices allude to Mbenzi and Kangira's (2015) study on Bishop Dumeni's funeral speeches. Mbenzi and Kangira (2015) demonstrated that Bishop Dumeni used Biblical allusions in his funeral speeches to appeal to the ethos and pathos of his audience.

5.4.1 Biblical allusions

In 100 to 102 MPs Jagger and Ankama used Biblical allusions in their discussion on the Poverty Eradication and Social Welfare Vote, respectively.

> 100. *I simply rise to make a contribution to our Vote- Vote 33. However, I want to simply introduce my contribution with the following verse from Habakkuk, Chapter 1, verse 2, and it reads as follows, "How long, oh Lord, must I call for help but you do not listen." However, I can assure this Honourable august House and the nation that God has indeed listened to the cry of the Namibian people; hence, the placement of the Ministry of Poverty Reduction and Eradication.* **[Jagger, 8 May 2015, p. 365]**

Jagger showed her appreciation on the placement of the new Ministry by referring to the Biblical verse "Habakkuk, 1:2" about a plea to God to listen to the people's prayer. She emphasised that the nation was in dire need of such a Ministry and now that it was established, the Namibian nation's cry was heard. Since most Namibians are Christians and believe in the Bible, Jagger established a good image of herself as a credible person, thus, she appealed to the ethos of her audience.

In addition, Ankama presented his opinion by way of critiquing the notion of eating food that one has not worked for, according to programme 03, Food Bank.101.

> *On Programme 03, the Food Bank: In my opinion, if you eat food that you have not worked for, you are a thief in actual fact. (interjection) yes, because you have not worked for it. However, my hope is that not every recipient of the food from the Food Bank is handicapped. There should be an embedded Programme within, to make sure that these people also work for the food and they should realise that the food comes from somewhere. In addition, by way of conclusion, I do not think this is manna. Manna has never been received many times; in terms of the Bible it was only received once and it does not last long.* **[Ankama, 8 May 2015, p. 370]**

Ankama used the same strategy as the Biblical notion of Manna which was not received many times but only once a day. Since more than 90% of Namibians are Christians and believers of the Bible, the audience could easily understand what Ankama was referring to. Ankama also used the word *thief*, which the MPs reacted to with an interruption. He metaphorised a person who eats food without working for it was a thief. The word thief has a negative connotation, thus, the reaction from the audience.

Sioka made reference to a Biblical verse in an attempt to show dissensus on the new revival churches in Namibia.

> 102. *There's a verse I think it's Mathew if I'm not mistaken, which says, no! I have got my Bible here, I don't want to delay, which says there will be false prophets. We see them, we hear them. They will have powers even to heal, but that is not that they are my people. The only thing I would say is to ……*

committee campaigns. When the committee goes, they should address that issue. They should know about these false prophets. Anyone who was healed here? Because some members of parliament were there. **[Sioka, 24 February 2016, p. 310]**

Those who are followers and believers of the Bible are likely to agree with Sioka, hence, identify with her. Sioka attempted to create an impression that these churches are fake churches by comparing them with the fake prophets mentioned in the Biblical verse from Apostle Mathew.

Furthermore, Ya Ndakolo used a Biblical allusion in 103 to caution the audience as follows:

> 103. *Again, on security issues, even the Bible says nobody knows when the thief will break into your house. It is easy to tell us that we are peaceful now, but we do not take anything for granted. I understand you to mean that there are no threats at the moment, but nobody knows that. We are, therefore, ready to defend the people of Namibia, our interest, property, and the territorial integrity of our motherland at any time.* **[Ya Ndakolo, 05 May 2015, p. 90]**

Because the Bible is a powerful book for those who believe in its scriptures, Ya Ndakolo informed the audience that as the Ministry of Defence they are ready to defend the Namibian people. In order to show how right this is, he alluded to the Bible's scripture that talks about being ready all the time. Those who believe in the Bible were likely to identify with Ya Ndakolo.

In his State of the Nation Address, President Hage Geingob alluded to the two men in the Bible, the wise and the foolish man in 104.

104. *Honourable Speaker, Honourable Chairperson, Fellow Namibians, I am sure you are all aware of the parable of two men who built their respective houses, as narrated in Mathew 7 of the Holy Bible. One of them was foolish and built his house on sand, and the other one was wise and built his house on the rock. When the rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against the house of the wise man, it did not fall, because it had its foundation on the rock. Conversely, the house of the foolish man who built his house on sand collapsed.* **[Geingob, 21 April 2015, p. 370]**

With the Biblical parable, the President urged Namibians to build Namibia on a solid foundation politically and economically. He wanted Namibians to be like the wise man who built his house on a strong rock and not the foolish one who built his house on sand. The President mentioned the house of the foolish man that collapsed to compare it with a possible collapse of Namibia's economy if it is not built on a strong foundation.

5.4.2 Policy/document related allusions

Other references could be of documents or policies. Members of Parliament use this kind of allusion to remind the audience of what they might have forgotten. In clarity of the term *dependent*, Dienda in 105 refers the audience to the Maintenance Act of Namibia, as follows:

105. *Then my second question Honourable Minister is, how do we define the word dependent? Somebody living with disabilities is a dependent in my view. If a person is a dependent and I must take care of that person, we must bear in mind that medical care is very expensive. The Maintenance Act of this country says that your parents are your dependents, I will come to this medical care at a later time because I feel that dependents also need medical*

care and if I am in a position, through my medical scheme, I want to be able to add them as dependents. **[Dienda, 08 May 2015, p. 368]**

Dienda alluded to the Maintenance Act that clearly explains what a dependent is. She used the Act as support in order for the audience to peruse it for more clarity.

In 106 Venaani made references to a certain system used in Brazil:

106. *When you are targeting a specific group of people, let that specific group of people be identified – you earn less than this, therefore, you qualify for the Basic Income Grant. It is a debate that should never move away from your radar because there are many schools of thought, some are saying we are teaching people to be poor and so forth but if you look at how Bolsa Familia has been implemented, it has been implemented, it has been targeted at taking children to school, carry out some community service and then you get this money, and it has really pushed people out of poverty*. **[Venaani, 08 May 2015, p. 362]**

Bolsa Familia is a social welfare program of the Brazilian government, which aims at providing financial assistance to poor Brazilian families and ensures that children go to school and keep up with their vaccinations. Venaani advocates that the Basic Income Grant should be given to those who really need it. Thus, he refers the audience to this program in Brazil. The fact that this system is working well in another country, makes the audience believe that it can work well for Namibia.

5.4.3 Historical allusions

In 107, by defining what poverty is, Mbumba made reference to himself in order for the audience get a clear picture of poverty.

107. *We have to be careful of how we define poverty…… Poverty is a terrible thing and it is not permanent to any clan, one group, one tribe or one family, it covers all of us. Having been a refugee, I remember when I left Lusaka to go and study in the United States, the jacket I was wearing was too big. My group spent the whole night cutting it and sewing it for me to look good on the plane. That is poverty, but I still managed to come back and become a Member of Parliament and other things*. **[Mbumba, 08 May 2015, p. 359]**

Mbumba established a connection between his humble beginnings and the current situation he is in now, being an MP. This reference is said to be historical because it is based on past events. The allusion made was intended to make a connection between the past event and the current situation. He intended to persuade the audience, that one could be living in poverty and get rid of it by mentioning that it is not permanent to anyone. There is also an element of anti-thesis in his reference as he mentioned the state of being poor and that of an MP who does not necessarily live in poverty. The anti-thesis is intended to influence the logos of the audience by weighing the two states.

The use of referencing occurs when MPs relate to what they know best and understand well. Referencing is a good way of debating as the speakers allude to events, documents and even anecdotes of their own experiences.

5.5 Questions

Although questions are the least deliberative action, it is crucial that the researcher presents them in this chapter, for two main reasons. First, questions are allocated a slot in the parliamentary procedures. Second, the questions that were posed to Ministers during Question time become deliberative when the responses are given. A

few examples of some responses to questions are indicated. In this section, two stages of questioning in parliament are explained. These are question time and rhetorical questioning.

5.5.1 Question Time

Similar to other items, questions have a reserved time to be asked. This is known as Question Time. At this stage, MPs ask critical questions because they need answers. Members of Parliament give notices of questions as they indicate the day they will ask the questions and thereafter read out the question.

Unlike rhetorical questions which do not require answers, these questions seek answers. Therefore, MPs tend to ask in a fashionable manner with any linguistic devices they could possibly use in order to be understood and sound convincing. These devices are such as irony, metaphor, mocking, sarcasm, repetitions, jokes, simile and hyperbole. In the General Rules for Questions, the 'Standing rules and order and internal arrangement' (2015), does not state anything on the use of irony and other rhetorical tools that can be used in the questions. Therefore, the researcher believed that these tools can be admittedly used when asking questions without objections.

In most cases, after giving the Notice, MPs gave a brief background summary prior to the question. It is in these brief summaries that they use a variety of linguistic elements with a sense of rhetoric. The following questions were posed to Ministers during Question time.

Notice: *I give Notice that on Thursday, the 16th of April 2015, I shall ask the Minister of Urban and Rural Development, Honourable Sofia Shaningwa, the following questions regarding the Mass Housing*

Project. [Interjection] *muffy tuffy, it is a mess because it is in a mess! What do you not understand?* (laughter) **[Dienda, 8 April 2015]** {#108}

Question: *How many tenders have been awarded so far in all 14 regions, to whom were they awarded and what is monetary value of each?* {#109}

Response: *Honourable Dienda wanted to know how much did the Okahandja Municipality received from the Government for the Build Together Programme during the Financial year 2011/2012. I would like to respond as follows: From our records, as the Ministry responsible for the Okahandja Municipality, no funding was provided to the Okahandja Municipality by the Ministry, or the Central Government for that matter for the Build Together Programme during the Financial year 2011/2012*. **[Shaningwa, 16 April 2015, p. 317]** {#110}

After Dienda indicated in her Notice that she will be asking about the Mass Housing Project, an interruption occurred from the audience. She continued to emphasise that it is a mess. By stressing that the Mass Housing project is a mess, Dienda seemed to have made an inference. Although the word *mass* /mæs/ is pronounced differently from mess /mes/, Dienda pronounced them similarly. Her pronunciation of the word mass could be the cause of the interruption. Another reaction of the audience was laughter, which signifies a sense of humour. The reaction of the audience highlights the importance of the speaker's statements. In this example shown, humorous statements are made to invoke laughter among the audience (Bull & Feldman, 2011).

Shaningwa's response in 110 was straight forward. Her answer was that no funding was provided, thus she did not give any figures asked. Given that the questions that the MPs ask the Ministers require answers and are not rhetorical, the Ministers give direct answers. Because these questions were given as notices beforehand, the Ministers tend to give detailed answers in order to clarify issues under discussion in parliament and clear other MPs' doubts.

Notice: *Honourable Speaker, I give Notice that on the Thursday, the 16th of April 2015, I shall ask the Minister of Higher Education Training and Innovation the following questions.* **[Maamberua, 8 April 2015]** {#111}

Question: *What is the Ministry's policy regarding this UNAM policy of barring staff members from holding positions in political parties? In your view, does a public institution that behaves in this manner deserve public funding?* {#112}

Response: *With regard to the questions posed by the Honourable Member, the first question was …… The next one, questions the Ministry's Policy regarding UNAM Policy of barring staff members from holding political positions in Political Parties. The policy does not prohibit the holding of positions in Political Parties but has some limitations, including promoting party politics positions on campus and conducting party politics on campus. I think we need to differentiate that. The policy does not prohibit members from becoming members of political parties. All that is prohibited is actually to engage in*

political activities on campus. **[Kandjii-Murangi, 16 April 2015, p. 322]** {#113}

In his question, Maamberua attempted to create a negative image towards the University of Namibia (UNAM) regarding its policy of banning staff members from political parties' positions. The negative image is shown by further asking if this institution deserves public funding. He wants the audience to believe that such an institution does not deserve public funding. In her response, Kandjii-Murangi, the Minister of Higher Education clarified directly what was prohibited by this policy. The backgrounds of both speakers suit this conversation. Maamberua is a political leader of an Opposition Party South West African National Union (SWANU) who has been working at the University of Namibia (UNAM) and is probably asking on his own behalf, while Kandjii-Murangi is the Minister of Higher Education. Similar to Shaningwa's response in 110, Kandjii-Murangi gave a direct answer.

Notice: *Honourable Speaker, I give Notice that on Thursday, the 12th of November 2015, I shall ask the Honourable Minister of Education, Arts and Culture the following:*

Since it was announced by His Excellency the President of Namibia, Dr. Hage Geingob in his State of the Nation Address this year that the Secondary Schools would be free of charge, the Namibian nation is awaiting the official announcement in this regard. **[Shikongo, 04 November 2015, p. 146]** {#114}

Question: *Will the Minister please ascertain the Namibian Nation as to when this free Secondary Education will commence?* {#115}

Although he posed this question, Shikongo used inclusive words such as *the Namibian nation* to give an impression that he asked on behalf of all Namibians for the nation's interest. Given that the Namibian people have been waiting for this golden opportunity of free education, they were likely to identify with Shikongo, because of having the same question in their minds. Identifying with someone can awaken feelings of unity and a sense of togetherness among the audience. In Burke's theory of identification, Shikongo's case equates comparability. The audience tends to develop a feeling that despite their individualities, they were the same as Shikongo because of their common interest. Shikongo also appeared to be a credible person when he asked a question on behalf of the entire nation. Attempting to show credibility encourages the audience to trust a person.

The next question 116 was asked by !Auxab as follows:

Notice: *Honourable Speaker, sir, I hereby give Notice that on Wednesday, the 14th of October 2015, I shall ask the Minister of Sport, Youth and National Service, Honourable Jerry Ekandjo the following questions.* **[!Auxab, 6 October 2015, p. 76]** {#116}

Question: *The world is at the forefront of the fight to combat the impact of Global Warming and Climate Change. Apart from that, the impact of Climate Change is long term, which means that those who are young at present, their children would be affected most by the impact of Climate Change, as young people are said to be the future leaders.*

What role did the Namibian youth play in the establishment of the Organisation of African Youth Initiative on Climate Change (AYICC)? {#117}

!Auxab started his question with giving a background of the issue he asked about. He emphasised the seriousness of future impacts of climate change. This emphasis is an assumption as he used the word *would*. Emphasising a point before the question alerts the audience to pay attention. This also causes curiosity among the audience as they are yet to hear where the issue at hand will lead to. Establishing curiosity among listeners is a common way to attract listeners to one's speech or plea.

Nauyoma attached a little background to his notice 118 of asking in order to show the audience how important his question was.

Notice: *Honourable Speaker. Honourable Members, I give Notice that on Thursday, the 15th October 2015, I shall ask the Honourable Minister of Agriculture, Water and Forestry the following questions.* **[Nauyoma, 13 October 2015, p. 216]** {#118}

Question: *In the wake of the drought that is persistent in this country where water has become a very scarce resource - if we are lucky to receive rain – what plans are now in place to construct any earth dams or rehabilitate the existing ones because these dams have been of great assistance to most of us in the villages?* {#119}

Nauyoma attached one of the burning issues in the nation to his question 119. This was an attempt to appeal to the pathos of the Minister he was asking and the entire audience in order get an honest answer. Attaching serious issues to questions can also show the significance of the question. Therefore, the audience tends to believe that the question asked is valuable.

Van Den Heever intended to appeal to the pathos of the audience, not only other MPs but the entire audience of people who were viewing the proceeding at that time. She

mentioned a touching incident in121 to make the audience sympathise with her and value her opinion.

Notice: *Honourable Speaker. Honourable Members., I give Notice that on Thursday, the 15th of October 2015, I shall ask the Minister of Education, Arts and Culture, Honourable Katrina Hanse-Himarwa the following:* **[Van Den Heever, 13 October 2015, p. 217]** {#120}

Question: *The Namibian nation has been left shocked and in tears by the recent brutal killing of Jacqueline and Cecilia Kuaseua. What is for me even more disappointing is that the lives were taken by a teacher who is alleged to have previously engaged in sexual relationships with schoolgirls in the past without any tangible action taken against him.*

I will, therefore, ask the Minister: Are teachers who have previously been expelled or fired for having sex with underage schoolgirls permitted to resume work and teach at other schools again? If yes, after how many years? {#121}

Before she gave Notice of her question to the Minister of Education, Van Den Heever touched on a very sensitive incident that happened on the 9th October 2015. The incident of the double murder of two siblings by a male teacher made headlines in the media on the aforesaid date. First, she affected the emotions of the audience by reminding them of this shocking incident. Second, she wanted the Minister to consider her question as a valuable question that needed urgent attention, thus, she emphasised it with a tragic incident.

In the following notice, Muharukua is likely to have appealed to logic when he used statistics in his statement 123 before asking his question.

Notice: *Honourable Speaker. I hereby give Notice that on Thursday, the 08th of October 2015, I shall ask the Minister of Health and Social Services Dr. Bernard Haufiku the following*. **[Muharukua, 1 October 2015, p. 10]** {#122}

Question: *According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), the current literature on snake bite epidemiology highlights the inadequacy of the available data on this neglected disease. WHO estimates the global snake bite cases to be between 400,000 and 2,500,000, of which it estimates 20, 000 to 100,000 cases to be fatal cases. This highlights the unavailability of reliable records and a need to improve reporting and record keeping of venomous bites in health facilities.*

Thus, I ask: Are the polyvalent and/or monovalent snake anti-venoms that we acquire from South African Anti-Venom Producers for managing snake bites in Namibia registered and approved by the Namibian Medicines Regulatory Council? {#123}

Response: *I was hoping to have an expert in snakes (a herpetologist) in Namibia, to give a PowerPoint presentation in conjunction with somebody who has been bitten by a snake ..... The idea was not really that Honourable Muharukua's question is a mountain to climb, I just thought it could be a good opportunity for us to educate ourselves. For the time I have been here, I developed the feeling that people are fighting more than tackling issues. Perhaps I should just give a brief background to generate some controversy or some area for debate. I want to state that snakes or serpents do not attack people*

> *(interjections) You see, that is why I said it is going to be a bit controversial…. The last one I wanted to mention, well, the one I was referring to is a Zebra snake that is not in South Africa, therefore, there is no vaccine manufactured in South Africa.* **[Haufiku, 08 October 2015, p. 200]** {#124}

It has been argued that "for a contemporary educated audience, numbers speak louder than words" (Battersby, 2003, p. 1). Battersby (2003) argues that a well-presented presentation with numerical information tends to be more effective than that without numbers. This is known as the *rhetoric of numbers*. Muharukua made inferences on the information he gave by concluding that there is the unavailability of reliable records and a need for improvement. Appealing to logos can be done to show that one has prior knowledge on the issue he will ask about. Showing that the speaker has some knowledge of what he is asking may encourage the responder to take the question seriously and give an honest answer. Unlike in the previous Ministers' direct response, the Minister of Health and Social Services, Haufiku gave a short background on the history of snakes. He indicated that he would create a platform for controversy or debate, which befits this circumstance. This statement encouraged the audience to listen attentively, thus engage in the debate afterwards. Although Haufiku had an answer that there was no vaccine manufactured in South Africa, he created a *pro et contra* debate because some people thought or believed that there is. His statement, *I want to state that snakes or serpents do not attack people* caused some MPs to interrupt. This might be because of contradiction among the audience.

According to Ilie (2010), "question time becomes particularly confrontational when the question is carried out by members of the Opposition" (p. 338). This is relevant

to the Namibian Parliament when the members of the Opposition Parties have a heated debate with members of the Ruling Party, South West Africa People Organisation (SWAPO). Confrontational situations were observed when Members of different Opposition Parties would defend the same point, either they are all for or against it. It is in these circumstances that questions concerning national matters are asked. Such questions seek answers for clarification purposes. Ilie further claims that "the question-response sequences often display exchanges of challenging, accusatory, but also countering, defensive and ironical, remarks between the Opposition MPs and the Government MPs, as well as friendly and cooperative questions from MPs belonging to the Government party" (2010, p. 338).

Although the 'Standing rules and order and internal arrangements' (2015) states that the questions to be asked should be clear and brief, MPs tend to attach statements to the question, thus, it makes the question sound longer than it should be. The statements attached to these questions are meant to clarify or elaborate and are for persuasion purposes. It was discovered that it is at this point that MPs become confrontational with their opponents. The statements that were attached to the questions were statistics, or providing a historical background or narrations which influenced the thinking of the audience. All these attachments are associated with persuasion.

From the Notices that were interpreted in this section, some Notices of questions hold unnecessary information that may overpower the questions. According to the Standing rules and order and internal arrangement (2015), "a question shall not contain arguments, inferences opinions, imputations, epithets or hypothetical cases" (67). The aim of parliamentary questions has to be merely informative.

5.5.2 Rhetorical questions

As stated in the previous section, rhetorical questions do not necessarily require answers, they are rather uttered to emphasise a statement and persuade the listener. Rhetorical questions are intended to be informative rather than seeking answers. Dlugan's "How to use Rhetorical questions in your speech" (2012) indicates types of rhetorical questions. These types are audience engagement, question and answer, question to question, stimulating emotions, stressing on a previous statement, misdirection, credibility and series of questions. They are used in this section to show relevance. In his manual, Dlugan (2012) explicitly explains why certain rhetorical questions are used and how they can persuade an audience.

As in presidential campaign speeches whereby presidents use rhetoric to win their audience's votes, MPs use rhetorical questions in their debates in order to win arguments. The rhetorical questions that were used by MPs in this study were grouped in categories. The results demonstrate a distinction between the uses of rhetorical questions and the way they influence the audience's thinking. Since rhetorical questions do not require answers, no responses were expressed, therefore no responses were presented in this section.

5.5.2.1 Audience engagement

Dlugan (2012) claims that engaging an audience into thinking is the most common use of rhetorical questions. A speaker can entice the audience to participate actively in his/her speech by inviting the audience to think about his/her argument (Dlugan, 2012). The following rhetorical questions were used by MPs in order to allow the audience to contemplate their argument.

125. Why do we not name and shame them because we know them? They live in our neighbourhood, but we allow them to leave their elderly parents in a very deplorable state. **[Shapwa, 30 June 2015]**

Shapwa attempted to make the audience think of the people who leave the elderly people in a bad state by asking the audience to name and shame them. By asking them this question which does not require an answer, the audience is tempted into thinking of these people especially the ones they know.

In the next question 126, Nambahu directly asked the audience if they have thought of creating a shorter route between Okahandja and Otjiwarongo in order to create an awareness. Although Nambahu put it in a question form, he wanted the audience to start thinking about the link he was referring to.

126. Has anyone ever thought of creating a link between Okahandja and Otjiwarongo so that the time you take to travel to Windhoek is shortened? Perhaps just carry out a feasibility study. **[Nambahu, 29 April 2015, p. 135]**

The rhetorical question is similar to 127. Iivula-Ithana seemingly wanted the audience to start thinking about a route.

127. The Ruacana Airport is around 150 kilometres from Ondangwa Airport and it is very close to our border with Angola. Why do we not link it up with our route to and from Angola so that we can keep it alive? **[Iivula-Ithana, 29 April 2015, p. 121]**

5.5.2.2 Question and answer

Satisfying the audience with answers that they might be wondering about as they listen can be another way of capturing their attention. According to Dlugan (2012),

instead of waiting to address these questions after the speech, the speaker addresses them in advance by asking a rhetorical question and immediately answering it.

Below are rhetorical questions with which answers are either given immediately or are within the argument:

> *128. Have we investigated the impact of chopping down trees all over the place, including riverbeds, on the environment? If we have investigated, what does that study tells us – if we keep on chopping down trees where would we end up with Windhoek? It is so hot in Windhoek.* **[Shixwameni, 29 October 2015, p. 17]**

Shixwameni in 128 immediately gave an answer to his question. By indicating that *it is hot in Windhoek*, most of the MPs would know what he meant.

Similarly, Kavekotora in 129 gave the answer to his question so his audience would be able to follow his argument and not lose track.

> *129. I know that there are countries in this world that are very safe, how did they do it? How did they manage to become safe countries? Obviously, they have done something right, that is why they are safe at this point in time*. **[Kavekotora, 29 October 2015, p. 21]**

Another way of using rhetorical questions is by asking if a fellow MP is aware of something. In this section, the Attorney General (AG), Shanghala, asked other MPs whether they were aware of some things or not. The rhetorical impact of asking was that the audience believes the information that is provided.

130. Is the Honourable Member aware that there is a difference between a member-elect and a substantive member as is more underlined by Section 1(3) of the Electoral Act of 2014….? **[Shanghala, 13 October 2015, p. 243]**

131. Is the Member aware that with the reading of this section the point he raises may actually be resolved and not be of concern at all? **[Shanghala, 13 October 2015, p. 243]**

132. Is the Honourable Member aware that the Constitution has inbuilt discrimination? **[Shanghala, 13 October 2015, p. 247]**

Shanghala's intention was to inform, yet he put the information in a question form. The information given becomes interesting when given in a question format and it enables the listener to be active. His intention was not necessarily to get an answer from his fellow MPs, but to clear the issue under discussion by informing. From the researcher's observation, the information given by the AG is pertaining to the law and the Constitution. Considering that he is the principal legal adviser to the president and the government and he has a duty to take all steps necessary to protect the Namibian Constitution as per Article (87) of the Namibian Constitution, the audience expects him to have a wider knowledge on the Constitution, thus they are likely to believe him. The audience therefore looks upon the AG as a credible person.

5.5.2.3 Question to question

Question to question is when a question is asked with another question. This means that an MP asks a question and immediately asks a rhetorical question. Question to question is a strategy of showing how obvious something is. Dlugan (2012) states that it is a common way of answering the first question. Dlugan further claims that

this occurs when both questions have the same answer, typically yes or no. In this study, these MPs wanted to emphasise their argumentative statements by asking these rhetorical questions to their fellow MPs as follows:

> *133. Perhaps as a footnote, what usually happened is that those passengers were put in a hotel on the bill of Air Namibia while Air Namibia was already bleeding the State Coffers. Does it make sense? Are these people still capable of running our airline?* **[Tweya, 29 April 2015, p. 130]**

The answer for both Tweya's questions is *no.* Again, Sankwasa wanted to show the audience that he does not support the actions he mentioned in his questions. By the way the questions are posed, the audience is likely to figure out what Sankwasa means.

> *134. Should they be at their gates when they are sleeping? Should they accompany them to the shops? We must also be aware of the fact that these police officers operate on a shift basis and appreciate what they are doing under the difficult circumstances. Thank you*. **[Sankwasa, 29 October 2015, p. 26]**

5.5.2.4 Stimulating emotions

A good rhetor can stir an audience's emotions. Dlugan (2012) points out that rhetorical questions stir emotions by making the listeners a partner in the rhetor's emotional statements. Dlugan (2012) exemplifies that instead of saying *They've never done anything to help us*, the rhetor says *What have they ever done to help us?* The speaker appeals to the audience's pathos by asking a rhetorical question. Dlugan states that this is involving the audience by linking them to a rhetorical question. A parliamentary discourse has a variety of national concerns that are debated regularly.

Considering this, there are several issues and incidences that MPs can relate to when appealing to the audience's pathos, such as land issues, poverty, genocides, the Cassinga massacre, tribalism, racism, religion, education, crime, corruption, economic crisis, amongst others.

Below are some rhetorical questions that MPs used to evoke emotions among the audience by talking about national concerns:

> *135. However, the Government provides Social Grants and social amenities everywhere. There are so many Safety Nets that the Government has introduced. There are organisations, groups or companies that are involved in the distribution of the Grants to the elderly people. I do not know what exactly is there, apart from dishing out money to the elderly people. What else do they do to help these people?* **[Kapofi, 30 June 2015, p. 297]**

The words *dishing out* money in 135 sounded like giving out money in excess unnecessarily. The audience might feel that money is being wasted in this regard, thus they might have developed a feeling that building more Old Age Homes will not be necessary as Kapofi suggested.

Shixwameni's rhetorical question 136 informed the audience that the people who could not deliver what they were entrusted to are the same people re-awarded the same tenders. His intentions were likely to upset the audience in this regard as he wanted them to believe that there was some sense of corruption.

> *136. How do you explain these things to the people out there that the same people who messed up and could not deliver are re-awarded the same tenders to continue not delivering?* **[Shixwameni, 03 November 2015, p. 139]**

In //Gowases' question 137, she mentions a *smell of rot*, which is referred to many negative things she mentioned earlier, such as *skimmed off from their names*, *hosted in ghettos* and *victims of exploitation.* By mentioning all these, she intended to appeal to the pathos of her audience. She asked her question by way of stimulating emotion.

> *137. Their houses are skimmed off from their names. They are hosted in ghettos behind houses that once belonged to them. They became the victims of exploitation. Why should we pretend that everything is well while there is a smell of rot?* **[//Gowases, 30 June 2015, p. 279]**

Nambahu's rhetorical question in 138 blamed the listener, to stimulate feelings of guilt. Nambahu gave blame in attempt to show the audience that it is not right to give solidarity to others while ones' totem suffers.

> *138. How can you go and first express solidarity to others when your own totem is actually suffering?* **[Nambahu, 30 June 2015, p. 290]**

Likewise, Mbumba's question in 139 blamed those who have forgotten. This made those that he referred to, feel guilty of having complained.

> *139. Some of those people who are now complaining about the Civil Service are the ones who were saying I did not see somebody from my village in that top team. Have they forgotten already?* **[Mbumba, 03 November 2015, 124]**

Sioka asked the audience if there is someone who has been healed before. Her question in 140 implied that there was likely to be nobody healed by the false prophets she referred to.

140. the only thing I will say is to give awareness campaign when the committee goes they should address this issue. They should know about these false prophets. Anyone who was healed here? **[Sioka, 2015]**

5.5.2.5 Stressing on a previous statement

Putting emphasis on a previous statement by asking a rhetorical question enables the audience to contemplate the statement under discussion or debate. Dlugan (2012) suggests that these rhetorical questions tend to be factual statements and can be used as exclamation points. The following rhetorical questions present statements preceding the rhetorical questions.

141. Our communal farmers are not receiving their fair share or fair deal from the speculators; meaning that there is no win/win situation. Why can we not return to the auction system instead of one person deciding on the price of livestock? **[Witbooi, 06 May 2015, p. 121]**

Witbooi stressed the fact that farmers did not receive a fair share deal. This was an attempt to make the audience think about the auction system since it is common knowledge to most farmers that they are not receiving their fair share.

After Dienda has complained about the TransNamib company for not making money which some MPs might see as a fact, she asked when TransNamib will bring money in the country. Her question in 142 indicated that TransNamib does not bring money in the country.

142. TransNamib must become a commercial entity that makes money – not for us to bail them out every time. When will they bring money in this country? **[Dienda, 03 November 2015, p. 122]**

Considering that there are many accidents on the Namibian roads, Witbooi emphasized the use of the railway transport before he asked his rhetorical question in 143.

> *143. Considering the many incidents on our roads, our railway transport could be a safer, affordable, economical and enjoyable mode of transport in Namibia if it is fast, safe and comfortable. When will we reach that stage?* **[Witbooi, 29 April 2015, p. 122]**

This presentation differs from Dlugan's view since the statements in this study are opinions and not necessarily facts.

5.5.2.6 Misdirection

According to Dlugan (2012), using misdirection can be a good way of establishing audience surprise. Misdirection is making a statement that leads to one direction; thereafter following with a statement pulling in the opposite direction. The statements that pull in the opposite direction are likely to be uttered in a question form, which is rhetorical.

> *144. We are a secular state, that's affirmed in our constitution and there is also freedom of religion. I'm not an admirer of Bushiri and the prophets and all these kinds of things. Where do we locate ourselves being both a secular state and also advocating for the constitution freedom of religion? Why do we want to condemn other religions as being fake and other religions being right?* **[Shixwameni, 24 February 2016, p. 311]**

Shixwameni indicated in 144 that although he is not a follower of Bushiri and other prophets, he still feels it is not right to condemn other religions. As one would expect

to hear that from a person who supports prophets who are regarded as fake, he made it clear that he does not support them, hence a misdirection in his question.

Furthermore, in 145 Limbo stated that many people have lawns in their back yards. Then she took a different direction by indicating that one can't have lawns when they do not have anything to eat. She put it in a question to awaken her listeners.

> *145. It is a shame that when you look around in different yards, you only find lawn. Why should you water the lawn when you do not have food to eat? Let us start growing our own food in our backyards*. **[Limbo, 08 May 2015, p. 371]**

Most statements of misdirection turned out to include antithesis as misdirection mostly involves opposite sides. When using a misdirection statement, the speaker wants to differentiate the right from the wrong.

5.5.2.7 Credibility

Politicians usually want to be seen as credible people and create a positive image that gives an impression of reliability. When speaking, politicians want the audience to agree with them. One way of convincing the audience that one is credible is by asking a question in which the audience will agree with as illustrated in 146.

> *146. You want the President to have the Prime Minister, the Minister of Finance, the Minister responsible for External Relations, then a Secretary to Cabinet and then the government of the country, is that what you want?* **[Mbumba, 03 November 2015, p. 124]**

5.5.2.8 Series of questions

Asking several questions sequentially that have answers pointing to one direction is considered to be a persuasive technique. Dlugan (2012) claims that this technique appears to be a repetition and is usually used to stress a point.

> 147. *Comrade Nambahu, do you know that those cars that are standing under the sun for two to three years are sent to the auction for people to buy? …. how would you make money from a car that has been standing under the sun for three years? Do you expect people to buy these cars at a good price? What kind of business is this?* **[Kavekotora, 29 April 2015, p. 134]**

Kavekotora asked a series of questions to Nambahu to either prove him wrong or to open his eyes. All three questions are informative and did not need any answers from the target audience, Nambahu.

This section showed that rhetorical questions are common in parliament. Rhetorical questions are an effective tool to use in parliamentary debates. These kinds of questions are easily used because they are neither prepared nor require answers. Rhetorical questions were also asked interruptedly in between MPs' speeches. While others ignored these questions, some MPs among the audience ironically answered back. The fact that rhetorical questions can be asked in different ways, yet no answers are needed, indicates that these are tactics to build and gain trust from the audience. For this reason, there is a sense of persuasion in these questions.

5.6 Summary

This chapter presented the parliamentary arguments *pro et contra*. It analysed rhetoric through different items of the parliamentary procedure, namely: Tabling a motion, Amendment bill, Appropriation bill, Committee stage and Question Time.

Some Members of Parliament demonstrated the use of the three modes of persuasion, ethos, logos and pathos, when they debated on the Old Age Homes.

CHAPTER 6

UNPARLIAMENTARY LANGUAGE

6.1 Introduction

Like other institutions, the parliament imposes rules and regulations to be adhered to during parliamentary sessions. These rules include the support of appropriate language for use in the legislature during sessions. As it has been described in chapter two, Namibia adopted the Westminster system, which follows specific rules. In the Westminster system, the use of inappropriate words or phrases in parliament is considered *unparliamentary language*. For instance, calling a fellow Member of Parliament (MP) *a liar* is forbidden. Palonen (2016) defines the term *unparliamentary* as "violations of the tacit practices and conventions of respect for other members and the parliament itself" (p. 21). Parliamentary refers to "tacit principles of how to act in a parliamentary manner, above all, in accordance with the principle of fair play" (Palonen, 2016, p. 21). While it is a fact that some unparliamentary expressions naturally create sad feelings or hatred between the MP and an audience, this section showed that some expressions were employed to influence and persuade the audience.

The speech acts presented in this chapter were presented in a dialogue form to make it easy to follow as it has short statements, unlike in the previous chapter. To reach one of the goals of this study, the researcher identified and explained utterances which can be regarded as unparliamentary and these are abusive language and insults, impoliteness, provocation and interruptions. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to determine expressions that are considered to be unparliamentary language, their effects and how they are used for persuasive purposes.

6.2 Abusive language and insults

According to Ilie (2004), "abusive and insulting behaviour is generally perceived as a deviation from the commonly assumed rationality of public debate" (p. 46). This implies that any offensive language used in parliament is seen as a violation of the normal rules and regulations.

In this study, some MPs used expressions that were not pleasant to others. These MPs may have used these expressions to create a heated debate on certain issues, but mainly to persuade their audience of their opinions. On a rhetorical perspective, Ilie (2004) claims that "parliamentary insults can be regarded as attention-getters meant to shake up a political adversary into reacting emotionally and thus revealing less flattering aspects of his/her personality, political responsibility and moral profile" (p. 52). It is inferred that parliamentary insults serve two rhetorical functions, namely, *movere* which is to move or engage the addressee emotionally with special respect to the target of the insult, and *delectare*, to please or entertain the addressee with special respect to the audience as a whole (Ilie, 2004).

Chesterfield, as cited in Palonen (2016), advises parliamentarians to put their attention to the political aesthetics of parliamentary speaking as follows:

> Think of your words, and of their arrangement before you speak; choose the most elegant, and place them in the best order. Consult your own ear to avoid cacophony and what is near as bad, monotony. Think also of your gesture and looks, when you are speaking even upon the most trivial subjects. (Palonen, 2016, p. 42).

In the South African Parliament, some Members such as Julius Malema, the EEF leader used abusive language and insults towards President Zuma during the State of the Nation Address (SONA). Malema used expressions such as, *we should make it very clear that we do not want to debate on the SONA which was presented here by an illegitimate President*, and *Sitting in front of us here is an encouragable man rotten to the core*. The word *illegitimate* means unlawful and dishonest. Considering the office that he holds, it is disrespectful to call the president illegitimate in public. Using the word *rotten* to refer to someone is an insult. These insults and abusive language were used to shame the president in front of all MPs so that he gets a bad image and reputation. Another MP of South Africa, Gaarde asked the Speaker, *are you going to allow this thief to speak to us?* Regardless of its authenticity or inauthenticity, the statement of calling a President a thief in public is an insult. In the same manner, Gaarde wanted to create an impression before the House that President Zuma is not trustworthy and honest by calling him a thief.

The following dialogue showed that there is a derogatory word used by the Attorney General Shanghala after clarifying the meaning of the term *Additional budget*. The word *reduced* that he used, has a negative connotation and in this case, it means *little* or *limited*, which can also be regarded as sarcastic.

> **Shanghala:** *The Miriam Webster Dictionary is very clear about what additional means and I quote - "more than usual or expected." I do not see more than usual or expected in this Financial Year in the Budget Review presented here for appropriation. It is reallocation. The problem is when you have a very reduced knowledge or vocabulary, you cannot blame us who are abundantly skilled with the language to use and declare.* **[3 November 2015, p. 134]** {#148}

Speaker: *Point of Order.* {#149}

Shixwameni: *On a point of order, English is actually not our mother tongue. And for the Attorney General to come and belabour the point of the English that is spoken is completely irrelevant. It is actually insulting those ones who struggle to speak the Queen's language in this chamber.* **[3 November 2015, p. 135]** {#150}

To say someone has a reduced knowledge or vocabulary sounds offensive and shows belittlement. It implies that the target's knowledge and vocabulary are poor. This may be embarrassing to the target persons. In response, Shixwameni felt that this was an insulting comment, especially to the MPs who struggle to express themselves fluently in English. While it is a fact that many Namibians still struggle to speak English fluently, Shixwameni's observation and response to the Attorney General might be a true reflection in the eyes of some MPs and the entire audience who are not in the chamber. According to the English Language Proficiency test that was written by Namibian teachers in 2011, the results showed that 98% of the teachers could not read, write and speak English well enough (Kisting, 2011). While teachers are the ones at the helm of educating the nation, the majority of Namibians, teachers included, have a low English proficiency.

An element of antithesis exists in Shanghala's version when he contrasted the phrase *reduced knowledge or vocabulary* with *abundantly skilled*. Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) define antithesis as "a figure of speech in which irreconcilable opposites or strongly contrasting ideas are placed in sharp juxtaposition and sustained tension" (p. 25). They claim that antithesis is a rhetorical device which aims at appealing to emotions. In his statement, Shanghala mentioned two opposite

qualities, *reduced knowledge or vocabulary* versus *abundantly skilled*, so that the audience can weigh and make a judgment. When anti-thesis is used, it tends to strengthen the statement or an argument.

While Shanghala might have applied a rhetorical device to arouse a heated debate, his ethos is questionable in this regard. In some cultures, one being the Aawambo culture, it is not acceptable to make such a remark toward elders. The parliament has MPs of different age groups including that of elders. Such remarks show disrespect and may not be taken lightly by elders. Ilie (2004) says such behaviour brings questions on the addressee's ethos which is being empowered while striking a balance between the logos and pathos. It is further suggested that "as far as insults are concerned, it is not simply the occurrence of offensive language that needs to be taken into account, but also the type and intensity of the abuse, as well as the reactions triggered by the perceived or alleged offense" (Ilie, 2004, p. 46). In this case, the intensity of the abuse of language lies in the perception of the address. For instance, Shixwameni's response showed that Shanghala's statement has offended a specific group of people, those who struggled to speak English fluently. Jay as cited in Ilie (2004), reasons that "the abusive use of language emerges as a product of socio-cultural practices and beliefs, and it is likely to occur in contexts where power differences are salient, tensions are high, and the cost-benefit is appealing to the speaker" (p. 48). The statement that Shanghala made might have led the audience to associate his ethos with socio-cultural practices and beliefs.

6.3 Impoliteness

According to Graham (2016), impoliteness has negative connotations as it is regarded as inappropriate behaviour. In the following directive, the Minister of Agriculture Mutorwa responded to a fellow MP who interrupted with a question.

Mutorwa: *Go and ask your father he knows he's a farmer*. **[2015]** {#151}

By responding to the MP who asked interruptedly, the Minister of Agriculture, Water and Forestry, Mutorwa, might have intended to show him/her that what he asked is common knowledge by all who do farming, including his father. While this might sound like a general innocent statement, this may be associated with impoliteness since the speaker seems to block the question by referring him elsewhere. Furthermore, while the statement seems to be ironic and may bring laughter to the House, in some cultures, mentioning someone's father in this manner might be taken as an offence. Alternatively, other MPs or the target himself may take this as a joke. With regards to Ilie (2004) "unlike British rhetorical tradition, which allows for ridiculing and making fun of the most serious topics, Swedish traditional rhetoric requires that serious talk, such as political discussions, should preferably be kept apart from joking" (p.54). As alluded to in the literature review chapter, Blum-Kulka (1980) states that a degree of directness can be regarded polite in one culture and rude in the other. This may be caused by inter-cultural influences.

In another case, Dienda in 152 used the phrase 'shut up' to mean 'be quiet'.

Dienda: *It is my turn! Please shut up and let me finish*. **[8 March 2015, p. 70]** {#152}

The phrase *shut up* is impolite and disrespectful. It is a direct command which is given as a forceful command. Although it is direct, yet informal, the phrase does not suit this setting. It is commonly used to address children or people much younger than the person using it. It is not polite to use it either towards adults or people older than the speaker. Using this phrase belittles the audience as if the speaker has more authority than her fellow MPs.

Using words such as *liar, deceiver, teller of lies, fabricator* and *perjurer* to refer to a fellow MP is unparliamentary. In a study on Unparliamentary Language, Graham (2016) elucidates that "the core concept of lying, deception or criminal activity relates to accusations of lying, or not telling the truth and are associated to terms such as mislead, misled, dishonest and deception" (p. 79). The following conversation in 153 and 154 has an element of impoliteness as the two MPs refer to one another as liars.

> **Muharukua:** *When the Honourable Minister of Lands is saying that the Koevoet and SWATF have committed atrocities and crimes against humanity, he must also indicate that the PLAN Fighters have killed Himbas. After Himbas gave food to them, they would come to them and cut their heads off. Crime against humanity was committed on both sides of the war and it must be recognised as such. We must be truthful as Leaders.* **[5 May 2015, p. 73]** {#153}
>
> **MP:** *You are lying.* **[5 May 2015, p. 73]** {#154}

Firstly, Muharukua indirectly mentions the Minister of Lands as an untruthful Leader when he generalised by using the word *we* to say that leaders must be truthful. This can create Face threatening act on the target. By saying this, Muharukua gave a bad image to the Minister of Lands, thus he appealed to the ethos of the audience. In order to show fairness and to achieve persuasion, he used the word *we* to indicate that he as a Leader is also included in the statement he made.

Another MP interruptedly said *you are lying* when Muharukua was speaking. This was direct and impolite. It is likely that this statement was uttered by a Member of the ruling Party since Muharukua belongs to an Opposition Party, the DTA. Like the

first statement, this brings embarrassment to the target Member. Instead of using direct words that may cause embarrassment, euphemism could be used to substitute harsh words with those that are indirect in a polite manner.

6.4 Provocation

Provocation is an unfriendly behaviour that may cause anger or resentment. In this case, it can occur when an MP makes a rude remark about another MP. The following conversation in 155 and 156 was between the Speaker, Tweya and Dienda. Dienda, an Opposition party MP, who was hesitant to mention the Finance Minister Honourable Calle Schlettwein's surname was ordered by the Speaker to mention the surname and not to say *difficult surname*. The order was put in a form of a question, thus to make it polite to persuade Dienda to do so.

> **Dienda:** *Moreover, the items mentioned do not correlate with what was budgeted for in the Budget tabled by Honourable Calle difficult surname.* **[22 April 2015, p. 58]** {#155}

> **Tweya:** *Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, may I please ask the Honourable Member to behave a little bit parliamentary and call Honourable Calle Schlettwein by his name and not Calle difficult surname. Can we please respect each other?* **[22 April 2015, p. 59]** {#156}

The act of expressing dissensus may lead MPs using impolite remarks towards each other. One of the reasons for using unparliamentary language may be to persuade the audience. For instance, if a speaker wants his opponent to have a bad image in the eyes of the audience, he might use remarks with negative connotations about his opponent to win the attention of the audience. However, this does not justify the use of unparliamentary language. In as much as unparliamentary language can be used as

a powerful tool of rhetoric, it is capable of ruining the image of the rhetor. As national leaders, MPs should display a good image and should lead by example, by using appropriate language and refrain from derogatory words during the proceedings. This is crucial because their audience is not only limited to fellow MPs but it stretches to the entire Namibian nation and beyond.

> **Chairperson of the Whole House Committee:** *You listen to me; you can say Honourable Minister of Finance. Can you say that?* **[22 April 2015, p. 60]** {#157}

The Chairperson's statement in 157 has an illocutionary force of a command. The perlocutionary act of this statement is that Dienda reacts to this command. One of the roles of the Chairperson is to determine which Member may speak. He is also accountable for keeping order during debates; therefore, he is in a position to command members. Such roles may be influential to his speech acts. While it is generally unparliamentary to call fellow MPs names during sessions, the Standing rules and order of the Namibian National Assembly states that "a Member may not use offensive or unbecoming words against the Presiding Member, the Assembly or proceedings or in reference to any Member thereof" (p. 79).

Dienda continued to refuse to mention Calle's surname as shown in 158, 160 and 162:

> **Dienda:** *Honourable Minister of Finance, Honourable Calle.* **[22 April 2015, p. 60]** {#158}

> **Chairperson of the Whole House Committee:** *No, just say Honourable Minister of Finance.* **[22 April 2015, p. 60]** {#159}

> **Dienda:** *I want to be specific. Honourable Chairperson, he is the one calling me Dienda, Dienda every day. Do I complain?* **[22 April 2015, p. 60]** {#160}
>
> **Tweya:** *Please but not Calle difficult surname. He does not have another surname.* **[22 April 2015, p. 60]** {#161}
>
> **Dienda:** *Honourable Calle, I will just call you Honourable Calle. I cannot say your surname and I will not be educated by anybody else to say it. Honourable Minister Calle, thank you.* **[22 April 2015, p. 60]** {#162}

The naming *difficult surname* might have made the target Schlettwein feel offended, provoked and made fun of, as his surname was not mentioned, but substituted with funny words. The Standing Rules and Orders of the Namibian National Assembly (2017) clearly stipulates that "a member may not use offensive or unbecoming words against the Presiding Member, the Assembly or proceedings or in reference to any Member thereof" (p. 79). Although Schlettwein did not defend himself at that point in time, it can be concluded that this was unparliamentary because it tarnished his identity. The fact that the Speaker ordered Dienda not to call Schlettwein *difficult surname* showed that it was unparliamentary.

In another debate, Fleermuys statement showed as if he was provoked by Nujoma when he used the word *nonsense* referring to what he raised earlier on.

> **Nujoma:** ….. *We condemn all the Koevoet murders and all of them. We are not going to defend them in this House because they are accessories to the crime against the Namibian people and against humanity. We must not tolerate that nonsense in this House. Thank you.* **[5 May 2015, p. 69]** {#163}

Venaani: *Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, with all due respect to the emotive debate, may you ask Honourable Nujoma to withdraw saying that what the Honourable Member is saying in this House is nonsense? Yes, he said that. He must withdraw that because this is Parliament, a House of Debate, to debate about the ugly past, the truth of our past and our future.* **[5 May 2015, p. 70]** {#164}

Venaani in 163 attempted to appeal to the Speaker to ask Nujoma to withdraw his statement. Venaani's request came because of the knowledge that it is only the Speaker who can ask him to withdraw. Forensic rhetoric plays a major role in parliament. This type of rhetoric serves a purpose of accusing or defending. It is more on deliberating justice and injustice, hence the presence of a Speaker in the National Assembly. All Speakers are ceremonial and not part of a political debate. One of the responsibilities of the Speaker of the National Assembly is to enforce the rules during parliamentary sessions, including that of the use of appropriate language. However, there is little control over this, as sometimes unparliamentary words and phrases are uttered spontaneously. In such cases, the Speaker informs the MPs to withdraw these statements because their decisions contain strong forensic elements as shown in 165 to 174.

MP: *He did not say that!* **[5 May 2015, p. 70]** {#165}

Venaani: *He said that, and if he is not going to withdraw, then all of us can say things in this House. He must withdraw.* **[5 May 2015, p. 70]** {#166}

Speaker: *Can you round up. What did you say?* **[5 May 2015, p. 70]** {#167}

Nujoma: *Honourable Chairperson, I said it does not make sense.* **[5 May 2015, p. 71]** {#168}

Member: *Just withdraw.* **[5 May 2015, p. 71]** {#169}

Fleermuys: *Why did you not say that, if that is what you wanted to say? We are watching you.* **[5 May 2015, p. 71]** {#170}

Nujoma: *Nonsense means it does not make sense.* **[5 May 2015, p. 71]** {#171}

Fleermuys: *He said nonsense to me. I will also say you are talking nonsense man! If you say I am talking nonsense, then you are also talking nonsense.* **[5 May 2015, p. 71]** {#172}

Nujoma: *I withdraw it on condition that crime against humanity should not be defended in this House. Only on the understanding that crime against humanity should not be defended in this House because we have taken an oath.* **[5 May 2015, p. 71]** {#173}

Fllermuys: *Whether you like it or not, it will be talked about.* **[5 May 2015, p. 71]** {#174}

Most dictionaries indicate two meanings of the word *nonsense*. First, it means a spoken or written word without sense or meaning. Second, it means a foolish or unacceptable behaviour. It was up to the target audience to decide which one suits the context, hence he reacted to the statement. Fleermuys and other Opposition Parties' Members felt that Nujoma used an unparliamentary expression directed at Fleermuys. This could be drawn from the following reasons: Venaani, the Leader of the Official Opposition Party requested the Speaker to ask Nujoma to withdraw the statement of referring to other MPs as speaking nonsense, and Fleermuys showed that the phrase *it does not make sense* is more acceptable than the word *nonsense*.

Given the two meanings from dictionaries, the word nonsense is commonly used to mean foolish ideas or behaviour. However, when one uses the phrase *it does not make sense*, it sounds more acceptable than the latter. Also, the phrase is not usually used with a strong tone. Fleermuys hit back to Nujoma with a strong tone when he said *I will also say you are talking nonsense man*. It should be noted that the word *man*, in this case, does not refer to the English word *man*, but from the Afrikaans language. It is used when a person is angry or provoked by something, thus she or he uses it at the end or beginning of the sentence. It is also important to note that in this case, the phonetic transcription of the word *man* is /mʌn/ and not /mæn/ as it is supposed to be in English. The short vowel sound of *a* makes the tone strong and aggressive.

The word *nonsense* and others of its like are used to create a confrontational heated debate, which is the core activity in every Parliament in order to make well-informed decisions and reach a mutual understanding among all MPs. Deliberate rhetoric is successfully attained in Parliament through heated debates. Nujoma used the word *nonsense* to create a heated argument with the knowledge of its twofold meaning. Some people understood it as a provocation and some as simply meaning that one is not making sense. Fleermuys who believed that he was provoked complained and hit back to Nujoma in order to provoke him.

6.5 Interruptions

The *Standing rules and orders and internal arrangement* (2015) clearly stipulates that "no Member shall interrupt another Member whilst speaking, except: to call attention to a point of order or a question of privilege which arises from the proceedings before the National Assembly, to call attention to the absence of a quorum, to call attention to the presence of strangers or to move the closure" (p. 77).

However, some MPs interrupt others unnecessarily while speaking. Some interruptions that were observed in this study were asking rhetorical questions and making ironic comments directed at the MP speaking. These questions and comments might be taken as unpleasant comments by the MP who is speaking, thus this MP tends to hit back with an unpleasant statement.

Questions 175 and 177 were uttered by MPs as interruption while Venaani was speaking:

> **MP:** *Are you speaking to the gallery?* **[3 November 2015, p. 109]** {#175}
>
> **Venaani:** *It is my job, do not worry. You can also speak to the gallery, what is your problem?* **[3 November 2015, p. 109]** {#176}
>
> **MP:** *Are you campaigning?* **[3 November 2015, p. 113]** {#177}
>
> **Venaani:** *Who stopped you from campaigning?* **[3 November 2015, p. 113]**{#178}

Venaani responded to the MP accordingly in 176 and 178. The MP might have been joking, but the response to the interrupter did not sound polite, therefore he responded in an impolite manner by asking the other MP the same question posed to him in a provocative way.

In the following conversation, Nekundi was interrupted by a fellow MP while he was responding and asking the Minister of Works.

> **Nekundi:** *Comrade Minister, I have learned that each Sovereign State has its sovereign air space and whatever object using that space must pay a particular fee to the Sovereign State. Comrade Minister, is it true that our*

air space fee is not being collected? Or if that is not being the case then it is possibly collected by Foreign States …… Comrade Minister I am one of those people who travel extensively. **[29 April 2015, p. 125]** {#179}

MP: *Because of S&Ts!* **[29 April 2015, p. 125]** {#180}

Nekundi: *No, I do not travel for S&T purposes, if you need that, I can even give you N$10.00 now*. **[29 April 2015, p. 125]** {#181}

Nekundi responded ironically to the MP that he can give him ten dollars if he needs that money. His response is mocking as he indirectly shows his fellow MP perhaps that he is not financially broke. This can be unpleasant and may cause FTA of embarrassment to the MP who interrupted the speaker. This kind of remark can be used to reduce the target.

Sometimes the interruptions made can bring a minor debate in the House, especially if the person speaking heard what the interrupter said.

Venaani: *The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) must be addressed (interjection) No, NBC has not accessed areas such as Oranjemund and Epupa. Twenty-five years after independence that we are giving money, but you wonder how we can deny some citizens the right to information through basic services? I also want to commend the new Director General for the digitization and the modernization that he has brought in our news because there is a new element in our news, it is not at par with international News Agencies yet but it is getting there. During elections NBC must be (intervention)* **[23 April 2015, p. 223]** {#182}

MP: *It is a political statement*. **[23 April 2015, p. 223]** {#183}

Venaani: *No, it is not a political statement, it is reality, facts not fiction. Feite! NBC is one-sided.* **[23 April 2015, p. 223]** {#184}

MP: *No!* {#185}

Venaani: *Hear the minority so that the majority can have their way. Hear because one day you will also be in minority.* **[23 April 2015, p. 223]** {#186}

The interrupter is a person who spontaneously speaks although the MP given a turn to speak is speaking. Before Venaani could finish speaking in 182, another MP interrupted in 183 by insisting that his statement is political. With this remark, Venaani was tempted to respond and explain more. Some interruptions by MPs were made to create a debate. While MPs might have interrupted to start a debate, this also seems to be provocative, as the interruptions may be confrontational and shaming the MP who was busy speaking.

6.6 Summary

This chapter analysed unparliamentary language used in the Namibian Parliament. Members of Parliament used expressions which were unparliamentary. Some expressions were speech acts that created FTA, while others emotionally influenced the audience. Although the parliamentary debates were not so chaotic, there were a few instances during which MPs became unparliamentary when they drew themselves from the rules and orders of the Parliament. At times, some exchange of unparliamentary expressions sounded personal. However, the Speaker holds an important task to ensure that MPs do not drift away from the rules and procedures set for parliamentary proceedings. Overall, in most likelihood, these speech acts were used to win arguments and persuade the audience of the MPs.

CHAPTER 7

RHETORICAL DEVICES

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyse how language can be used in a variety of styles to persuade an audience. The aim of the chapter is to examine the rhetorical devices employed by MPs in achieving persuasion. Rhetorical devices are a variety of techniques that are used to make a speech or writing interesting, lively and give meaning in order to attract the audience's attention. The devices that the researcher focused on in this chapter are code-switching, address and titles, parallel structure, sarcasm, euphemism, antithesis, buzzwords and exordium.

7.2 Code-switching

Myers-Scotton (1993) defines code-switching as "the use of two or more languages in the same conversation, usually within the same conversation turn, or even within the same sentence of that turn" (p. 47). Although code-switching is not common in the Namibian parliament, a few cases of code-switching were observed. Code-switching is a useful tool for communication. Therefore, MPs tend to use it in order to achieve their persuasive goals. Two types of code-switching were observed in the Namibian Parliament, namely, Inter-Sentential and Intra-Sentential code-switching. Inter-Sentential code-switching is the alternation in a single discourse between two languages, where the switching occurs after a sentence in the first language and the next sentence starts with a new language. Intra-Sentential code-switching is the alternation in a single discourse between two languages, where the switching occurs within a sentence. Members of Parliament code-switch for different reasons. Code-switching in parliament takes place because the MP may not know the right words in English or they want to emphasise what they are saying. These switches enable the

MPs to express themselves clearly and in a rhetorical fashion, thus they reach their communicative goals. According to Chivero's (2012) study, code-switching in parliament is also used to stimulate both positive and negative emotions and to make appeals to other MPs. Examples of statements in which MPs code-switched are presented below.

> **Venaani:** *Pwilikina shiveli shange. Listen! We have a programme here which is referring to the Office of the Vice President.* **[22 April 2015, p. 56]** {#187}

Venaani codeswitched by using the Oshiwambo language phrase *pwilikina shiveli*. He wanted to draw the attention of his audience by telling them to listen. After using the word *pwilikina* (listen), he addressed them by using the word *shiveli* which means the first born in a family. In Oshiwambo, this word is used when you call or address someone by showing love and respect. Therefore, it can be concluded that Venaani's intention of using the word *shiveli* was to show respect to his audience, while at the same time drawing their attention to listen to him. Love and respect are associated with emotions, therefore, Venaani's intention was to appeal to the pathos of his audience.

Likewise, Venaani switched to Otjiherero language by using the *phrase puratena mundu wahongaze, puratena*. He wanted to draw his audience's attention by ordering them to pay attention.

> **Venaani:** *I want to ask the Minister of Presidential Affairs whether - Puratena mundu wahongaze, puratena – the office would make sure that we nip this in the bud to make sure that we remain accountable.* **[22 April 2015, p. 54]** {#188}

He addressed the audience in a singular form *mundu* meaning *a person. Mundu wahongaze* simply means my aunt's child (cousin). In the Herero culture, it is believed that all Herero people are from one maternal lineage, thus it is common for them to address an audience as family members. The phrase is used when one wants to express a sense of caring and affection to the person she or he is talking to. This could also be associated with politeness in one's speech. Again, Venaani appealed to the pathos of his audience.

In other views, it seems that sometimes when people forget or do not know the words they want to use in English, they tend to code-switch. In the following statement, Muharukua indicated why he codeswitched:

> **Muharukua:** *One such measure could be – I forgot the English words now.* **[29 October 2015, p. 19]** {#189}
>
> **MP:** *Say it in Otjihimba.* **{#**190}
>
> **Muharukua:** *Motjihimba okazuta, nambano okazuta ene kamukei. Nambano matu tjitivi nai? Let me explain …..* **[29 October 2015, p. 19]** {#191}

Before code-switching, Muharukua mentioned that he forgot the English words in 189. This showed that there was a need to code-switch to his mother tongue in order to express himself clearly.

In other cases, where the words in the intended language are not forgotten, people code-switch when they want to emphasise their points as follows:

> **Venaani:** *Local Authority is a structure of government in this country, motjitire nawo! Are you trying to say that Regional Government is not a structure in the government or what?* **[3 November 2015, p. 110]** {#192}

> **Venaani:** *You must be careful, even the mighty can fall. Tjevera muatje wa tate. It does not matter, some of you will live in the future Opposition in this country, it is a fact.* **[23 April 2015, p. 223]** {#193}

Another reason for code-switching is wanting to be precise. When a person is reporting or telling a narrative as it is, he or she is likely to use the same language which was used. This may lead the person to switch from English in which the narration is told and say other words in a different language. The following example shows a code-switch from English in which the narration is told and some insertions of Oshiwambo words:

> **Kasingo:** *I am aware that during the end of the month, Police women and men normally patrol the streets in town, however today I was walking in the CBD – Independence Avenue towards OK in town and a group of criminals were following me. I immediately identified them, as they were talking in Oshiwambo. I stood and I looked straight at one of them and the other asked in Oshiwambo owemu tala? (are you looking at her)? Not knowing that I was understanding what they were saying and I responded mwemu tala ngiini? (Looking at her, how)? Then they ran away*. **[29 October 2015, p. 22]** {#194}

The switches above were intended to make the audience relate to the narration. By using the exact words used during this incidence, Kasingo wanted her fellow MPs to have a feeling of how these criminals were communicating with one another. Further, this enhances the interest of the audience. Chivero's (2012) study on Zimbabwean parliamentary debates indicates that "codeswitching functions to

emphasize points, for conceptual reasons, to elicit emotion/make appeals or to negotiate with authority (p. 178).

> **Nekundi:** *I personally know of some people who started with a small skoroskoro truck and now have up to twenty huge trucks.* **[29 April 2015, p. 127]** {#195}

In order for Nekundi to make his point clear and induce his audience to imagine the year of the truck, he switched to the word *skorokoro* (old car). *Skoroskoro* is a word which does not really belong to a certain language and it is regarded as onomatopoeia. Onomatopoeia is a word formed from a sound associated with what it is named. The word *skoroskoro* is derived from the sound that an old car makes when it is being driven. Although it is not known from which language it is taken, it is used locally and in other parts of Southern African such as, South Africa.

In another session where Nujoma supported the Budget presented by the Minister of Finance who is a Namibian of German descent, he code-switched to German.

> **Nujoma:** *I would like to register my unconditional support for the Budget that was presented by the Minister of Finance, Honourable Calle Schlettwein (laughter) earlier in the House, Ich spreche gut Deutsch!* **[March 2016]** {#196}

The phrase *Ich spreche gut Deutsch* means *I speak good German*. No reason was established why Nujoma code-switched because the German phrase has no relevance to what he said earlier. However, it can be concluded that he code-switched to German to show his unconditional support and solidarity by using Schlettwein's first language. Research shows that code-switching can be used to re-define a situation. According to Wardhaugh (2006), "code-switching can allow a speaker to do many

things: assert power, declare solidarity, maintain a certain neutrality when both codes are used, express identity, and so on" (p. 110).

Hanse-Himarwa code-switched from English to Afrikaans at the end of her statement as indicated below in 197.

> **Hanse-Himarwa:** *It is, therefore, important that we look into the entry requirements for education so that when you fail everywhere else, you do not say laat ek maar education toe gaan because education takes anybody.* **[March 2016]** {#197}

Hanse-Himarwa made a suggestion to fellow MPs by urging them to consider the entry requirements for education. She stressed her suggestion by code-switching to Afrikaans to show the importance of the suggestion. The phrase *laat ek maar education toe gaan* means let me go for education. She likely codeswitched in order to emphasize her seriousness.

It was also discovered that idiomatic expressions and proverbs were uttered in the mother tongues of some MPs. !Auxab code-switched in 198 from English to Khoekhoegowab.

> **!Auxab:** *But the building will remain the national asset of the Nation, let us not deny the right of owning national assets to the Nation. In conclusion, Honourable Speaker, !Gáitubahe há /Khinis ge ra //gana…#Gae#guis ge !gáiba !oa ge dawa tsi tatse khao-oa tide aisa !oa /gui ni /gai.* **[9 March 2016, p. 226]** {#198}

!Gáitubahe há /Khinis ge ra //gana is a proverb in Khoekhoegowab. It means *the guinea fowl which received good rains makes noise.* He further added the phrase

…#Gae#guis ge !gáiba !oa ge dawa tsi tatse khao-oa tide aisa !oa /gui ni /gai which means *Administration has changed for the better and will never reverse, will ever become stronger.*

Proverbs and idiomatic expressions were mentioned in the speakers' mother tongues so that they do not lose their actual meanings as there might not be a direct translation to those expressions in English. Code-switching to another language evokes curiosity among the audience. They become eager to know what their fellow MP is saying in order to relate to the context of the debate. Namibian Parliamentarians do not code-switch in longer versions, but in very brief phrases or sentences.

Muharukua code-switched from English to Otjiherero as follows in 199:

> **Muharukua:** *In conclusion, Honourable Members, there is an old ovaHerero saying which says – Ondunge imue vazewanajo, yarwe isa kumbwae yoe.* **[3 March 2016, p. 78]** {#199}

Muharukua code-switched to Otjiherero so he could say the Otjiherero proverb accurately. The proverb means you might have one advice, but you get advice from others so that you have enough ideas.

Sometimes, the code-switched insertions were based on the context in which they were used. For instance, in 200 Mushelenga code-switched to Oshiwambo when he wanted to say precisely what the former Inspector of Education Namupala said when he addressed Aawambo students at a school in the Oshikoto Region.

> **Mushelenga:** *The then School Inspector who became the first Governor of the Oshikoto Region after Independence, Mr. Namupala, had a serious talk*

> *about the issue of the physically assaulted women. He told us that, when they were growing up, it was unheard of to see boys beating up girls and men beating up women. He said: aamwandje omikalo dha tya ngaaka dhokudhenga aakadhona, nomaapagani kadhi mo. Translated, this means such behaviours even among the pagan community are unheard of.* **[23 February 2016, p. 260]** {#200}

In order for Mushelenga to familiarise his audience with his statement, he said it exactly the way it was said in Oshiwambo. This implies that he wanted to be precise. Some MPs make an effort to translate the code-switched sentence or phrase into English. This is perhaps because according to the Standing Rules and Order of the Namibian National Assembly, "the Presiding Member shall authorise the use of any other language in the proceedings of the Assembly if adequate provision has been made for the translation thereof into English" (p. 81). Some MPs translated their code-switched version immediately afterwards. This makes code-switching an effective tool to be used in conversations.

7.3 Address and titles

Addressing and using titles for MPs can show power and dominance. Members of Parliament who felt like belittling others or showing how powerless others were, used titles such as *my younger brother/sister*. Others who wanted to show how powerful others were, used titles such as *my senior* or mentioned their superior positions. This notion can be regarded as a reflection of the influence that language has on power.

The title *Honourable* is the most common and acceptable title used by MPs to address each other during the National Assembly proceedings. According to Chivero

(2012), "forms of address have particular significance, reflecting and revealing the way in which interlocutors perceive and evaluate each other, as well as the relationships between them" (p. 111). It is a common practice in the Namibian Parliament for MPs to address each other with the title *Honourable* followed by the Member's surname. However, for different reasons, MPs tend to use other titles including those of authoritative positions of Members in order to achieve persuasion in their speech. These are:

> *Honourable Member/s, Honourable Speaker, Honourable Bishop, Honourable Minister/Deputy Minister of ……, Bishop Emeritus, your Grace Bishop ….., Comrade Speaker, Comrade Chairperson of the Whole House Committee and Professor, Doctor, Comrade Attorney General, Mr. Speaker, my dear, my friend, my senior, my brother, and my sister.*

Some strategies for addressing are associated with friendship and comradery while others are intended to glorify someone. People tend to feel honoured and respected when they are acknowledged in public. Sharndama and Mgebemena (2015) claim that sometimes the names of the addressees are obscured in order to give recognition to positions of authority and "thereby boost the ego of the addressee" (p. 23). It has been observed in some parliaments, for example, in Zimbabwe, that MPs make direct references by using only the first and last name of the other MP, however, this seldom occurs in the Namibian Parliament. In most cases, Namibian MPs used the title *Honourable* before either the first name or surname. Chivero (2012) claims that "direct reference is made where MPs want to reveal undesirable information, to embarrass another MP or simply to adopt a confrontational tone" (p. 139). Some titles were used to elevate and boost the authority of MPs such as *Doctor, Bishop* and *Professor,* while others are used to belittle or show less power to that MP, such as *my*

brother, *my sister* and *my friend*. In the latter, the first three titles are associated with those who are educated and powerful in the society. The use of *my senior* shows seniority in age. This could have also been used to show that some people are experienced in something while others are novice.

The word *comrade* is the second most common title used in the Namibian Parliament when MPs addressed each other. Chivero (2012) states that the word *comrade* is important in parliament because it signifies the beliefs of the two parties and their relationship. Comradery is associated with the spirit of friendship among people who spend time together. Therefore, using the word *comrade* to address each other in parliamentary sessions shows mutual trust and the addressee tends to identify with the addresser. The mutual trust and understanding, in this case, is based on the institution (Parliament) in which all these MPs serve within. Most of the SWAPO Members of Parliament were fighting alongside one another in the liberation struggle. Nevertheless, although most of the MPs of the opposition parties did not fight in the liberation struggle, they still address those on the ruling party with the word *comrade* to show that although they differ in political parties they are united as one nation. Chivero (2012) claims that "the philosophy behind the use of this term of address is communism/socialism" (p. 117).

Research shows that some addresses were used based on the seating positions in parliament. For example, Members of the Ruling Party are supposed to sit facing Members of the Opposition Parties. However, due to an increased number of Members in parliament, that seating pattern could not be maintained anymore. For this reason, some SWAPO Members, especially the back benchers, are seated on the same side as the Opposition Members. It was discovered that some Members of

Parliament addressed fellow MPs by where they sit. For example, in statement 201 Venaani used the phrase *Members of the other side* to refer to the SWAPO Members:

> **Venaani:** *If the Members of the other side of the aisle want to disturb me, I am a privileged soldier of this House to speak as long as I want. Please I am not, I will be done in a few seconds.* **[3 November 2015, p. 116]** {#201}

The use of the phrase *on other side* or *this side* evokes competition within the House as it creates adversity in parliamentary proceedings. The intended purpose of using this reference is to promote one's party's image and credibility and to lessen the credibility of the other party (Chivero, 2012). In statement 202 Venaani used the phrase *on this side* to refer to his party members.

> **Venaani:** *Thank you very much Honourable Speaker, we on this side of the aisle would want to congratulate you – this side of the aisle. (laughter)* **[20 March 2015, p. 23]** {#202}

As the President of the official opposition Party, Venaani congratulated the new Speaker for being elected. He used the words *this side of the aisle* to refer to the sitting positions of the opposition Members. He wanted to make it clear that the congratulatory remarks came from the opposition Members and to promote his party's image.

> **Venaani:** *It is alright, I will not abuse my time, I will play by the new rules, however, I have unlimited time. We on this side, believe in a very leaner and more potent...* **[2015]** {#203}

Similarly, Venaani was likely to have used the words *we on this side* in 203 to promote the credibility of his party Members. He wanted to create an impression that they are credible people so the audience could gain trust in them.

Furthermore, Ya Ndakolo referred to his colleagues by mentioning their position of seats.

> **Ya Ndakolo:** *In terms of staffing, I do not know what I have to say on that because some of my colleagues on this side who are saying that they are supporting the Vote while the others are saying that the budget allocation is too high. However, we are talking about being understaffed, how can we recruit staff members without the Budget? That is also the question. I would, however, like to caution you my Brothers and Sisters on this side (interjection) – sorry for that; in my opinion, being the Opposition does not only mean to oppose everything, because you just oppose everything, even the right things*. **[5 May 2015, p. 89]** {#204}

Ya Ndakolo was likely to have appealed to logic when he indicated that it is with a high budget that the Ministry is able to recruit staff members. He questioned this when the Opposition members said the budget is too high. He used the phrase *my colleagues on this side* in 204 to refer to his fellow Party members (SWAPO) and *the others* to refer to members of the Opposition Parties. Again, he said *my brothers and sisters on this side* to address members of the Opposition. The words brothers and sisters were used in the statement so he could lessen the credibility of his Opponent as alluded to by Chivero (2012). While the words brothers and sisters can be used to refer to indicate friendship, it is also used to show how low the person looks down on someone.

As highlighted earlier, some MPs addressed other MPs by means of acknowledging their status. In 205 Nekundi acknowledged the minister by indicating that she is a senior.

> **Nekundi:** *I have a few comments, or possibly some advice to provide to my Senior that side. As I am going to do that, I wholeheartedly support the Vote, Comrade Minister. Comrade Senior, I would like to suggest that apart from knowing the rules and Regulations for a person obtaining a licence, he or she must equally be subjected to psychometric testing in order to determine their aptitude for the usage of the road because it affects other road users.* **[2015]** {#205}

Nekundi addressed the Minister of Home Affairs by using the title Comrade Senior. This was used to show respect and has uplifted the status of the Minister. Nekundi, therefore, intended to appeal to the pathos of the Minister by showing respect.

The use of titles and addresses in parliament is a generic act in all parliaments, which in most cases contains little persuasion. However, when they are used in an unparliamentary manner, this can evoke MPs' feelings and lead to the exchange of abusive words. The use of address forms enables MPs to participate effectively in debates thus promote their image in a competitive interaction Chivero (2012).

7.4 Parallel structure

Richards and Schmidt (2013) define parallel construction as "a sentence containing words, phrases, clauses or structures which are repeated" (p. 419). According to Mbenzi's (2014) study, parallelism was employed "to draw the attention of the audience to main themes of the speech and to evoke responses in the audience and also to emphasise" (p. 126).

The statements in 206 to 208 show parallelism. Parallelism was used to emphasise the main theme and draw the audience's attention.

> **Iivula-Ithana:** *We deal with Namibians within the concept of One Namibia, One Nation and not based on ethnicity and tribal groupings.* {#206}
>
> **Kavekotora:** *The first item is Mass Housing. We must acknowledge the fact that Mass Housing is costing the Government dearly. There is no question about that. There is a question of this whole project not being properly conceived, it was not properly planned, it was not properly allocated, the beneficiaries were not properly defined…..* **[3 November 2015. P. 129]** {#207}
>
> **Shixwameni:** *Let us talk about the essence of the budget, let us talk about the issues that are contained in the budget and not come here as it is an English Grammar Language class around here.* **[3 November 2015, p. 136]** {#208]

The parallel structures which were used are *one Namibia, one nation*; *properly* and *let us talk about* respectively. They were used in different clauses right before the nouns or verbs. The first parallel structure puts emphasis on the word *one*. By saying *one Namibia one nation*, Iivula-Ithana in 206 stressed the unity among the Namibian people. This was said to evoke the audience's response by creating a feeling of togetherness.

The second parallel structure is *not properly* in 207. Kavekotora intended to show the audience that there hasn't been anything done properly on the Mass Housing project. Therefore, he emphasised the words *not properly* by inserting them in different clauses before the verbs *conceived, planned, allocated* and *defined* consecutively to

make his statement powerful. Kavekotora intended to convince the audience of his conviction and make this project sound disorganised in the ears of the audience.

The third parallel structure *is let us talk about…..* Having realised that some MPs were going out of the topic of discussion, Shixwameni redirected them by emphasising the essence and issues on the budget rather than other things. He used the words *let us* in a parallel manner in two different clauses. As he repeated this phrase, he intended to create caution among other MPs especially those who would like to participate in the discussion regarding the budget to adhere to the main topic of discussion and not drift to other issues.

In statement 209 Shixwameni used words that rhymed, *roll up* and *pull up*. These are good sounds to hear especially when they are uttered consequently. They are used to attract the audience to follow this rhyming and eventually capture what the speaker is saying as the audience is likely to admire it.

> **Shixwameni:** *Consequently, we are calling for the Ministry to roll up their sleeves, pull up their socks and make sure we work hard to make poverty history in the Land of the Brave.* **[8 May 2015, p. 364]** {#209}

Kameeta in 210 used the verbs *empower, encourage* and *inspire* with the pronoun *them* after each verb. Alternatively, he could have used the verbs and only use *them* with the last verb but opted to use the former because its repetitive fashion gave a good sound. The omission of the word *them* is called ellipsis.

> **Kameeta:** *You empower them, you encourage them and inspire them so that they can place demand on themselves and say – well, I'm now on my feet, what can I do for myself. That is what poverty eradication means.* **[8 May 2015, p. 327]** {#210}

> **Nambahu:** *In the first place, I do not know whether to call it food for thought, meat for thought or fuel for thought, but I am going to try to do whatever is going to stimulate your thinking*. **[30 June 2015, p. 289]** {#211}

Some parallelism structures are used in a humorous manner to draw the attention of the audience. The phrase *food for thought* means something that requires serious consideration. In order for Nambahu to emphasise his point that he was about to make, he used *food for thought, meat for thought or fuel for thought*. He used different items for the word *thought* to create an impression that the audience should seriously think of what he was about to say. Similarly, he emphasised his point in statement 212 by using adjectives *moral, legal, patriotic* and *right* to describe a *thing*. Nambahu could have used ellipsis here to avoid redundancy but opted to use the word *thing* after each adjective in order to give a repetitive sound to attract the audience.

> **Nambahu:** *It is just a moral thing, it is a legal thing, a patriotic thing and it is the right thing to do*. **[30 June 2015, p. 289]** {#212}

Why is parallelism a good choice for a speech? According to Dlugan (2013), parallelism gives clarity and balance to a speech. Parallelism involves repeating parts of speech, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives (Dlugan, 2013).

Parallelism is a good choice because it gives a word a strong sound; it enables the audience to follow consistently the use of - ing, -ed, - ly, - able, and – ible; it makes the speech clear and it creates a powerful rhythm (Dlugan, 2013).

Below is a table that shows each parallel structure from this section and how a speech can benefit from these structures.

Parallel structure	**Part of speech**	**Benefit**
One Namibia, *one* nation	adjective	Fine sounding words
Not properly	adverb	Consistency and emphasis on the negative connotation
Let us talk	noun	Emphasis on his plea
Roll up, pull up	Verb	Fine sounding words
You empower, *you* encourage	Pronoun and verb	Emphasis on action words
For thought	Preposition + noun	Fine sounding words

Table 4 *Parallelism*

7.5 Sarcasm

According to Richard and Schmidt (2013), sarcasm is a figure of speech whereby the meaning is opposite to what is said. A sarcastic remark appears to praise, but it actually mocks the target audience.

Sometimes an MP mentions a position to attach it to another MP's identity. This can be used to ridicule the other person or create humour in the debate. Statement 213 was made by Shanghala who was once a Namibian National Students Organisation (NANSO) member towards Shixwameni, who was its leader at the time.

> **Shanghala:** *Honourable Speaker, the problem with my former NANSO Leader is that he does not listen. I am on my way to providing responses. I know that the campaign season has started. (interjection)* **[3 November 2015, p. 140]** {#213}

Shanghala brought in Shixwameni's former position of a NANSO Leader. In his mocking statement, Shanghala tried to be respectful and praised Shixwameni by saying he was a leader, yet he shamed him by stating that he was not listening when he was responding to a question earlier.

Below is a conversation between Dienda and the Speaker in which the Speaker sarcastically says Dienda has graduated.

> **Dienda:** *I am also an orphan because I lost both my parents. I am not clear about this one, which orphans are we talking about? But then it must be said because I am an orphan and I can show proof that I have lost both my parents, they are dead, so I fall under the category of vulnerable persons.* **[March 2016]** {#214}
>
> **Speaker**: *Honourable Member, but you have graduated in terms of status, age and everything. Please continue.* **[March 2016]** {#215}
>
> **Dienda:** *Honourable Speaker, orphans do not have any age restrictions. You are either an orphan or you are not, therefore, I am one.* **[March 2016]** {#216}

While Dienda wanted to be considered as an orphan, the Speaker sarcastically referred to her in 215 as having graduated. To say someone has graduated means the person has advanced, thus no need to look at her as an orphan. The Speaker praised

Dienda by saying she graduated. However, he did not want Dienda to say she is an orphan. The Speaker's persuasive goal was to stop Dienda saying that she is an orphan.

Concerning the discussions on safety in schools, Dienda made her contribution in 217, on which Shanghala hit back with sarcasm in 218.

> **Dienda:** *Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, bullying can threaten learners' or students' physical and emotional safety, and can negatively impact their ability to learn. We have to stop it before it starts. It also affects learners' or students' sense of security. If I'm being bullied every day in the parliament, I will not feel comfortable to come to parliament the next day, if people are bullying me.* **[14 October 2015, p. 327] {**#217}
>
> **Shanghala:** *On a point of Order, Mr. Speaker may I humbly draw the attention of Honourable Dienda to a great distinction between an adult who finds himself or herself in numerical inferiority in this House as opposed to a young child who is still developing character and is being bullied? While I appreciate your precarious numerical inferiority position, I think there is a grave distinction. And while you are raising a very good point, it may be wise to reflect on the intimidation posed by your string of numerical questions every week and that, that may also have a consequence to you being bullied in this House, if at all. (laughter)* **[14 October 2015, p. 328]** {#218}

While Shanghala used antithesis by showing opposing words *adult* and *child*, he sarcastically said he appreciates Dienda's precarious numerical inferiority position. By saying he appreciates, he praised. However, by saying *precarious numerical inferiority position,* he mocked Dienda because the words have a negative

connotation and are opposed to his praise. Further, while Shanghala blamed Dienda for her own actions as being the consequences of being bullied, he claimed that Dienda was raising a good point. Although sarcasm may not be seen as an effective way of persuading because it causes embarrassment to the target, it is a useful device in argumentative conversations. This promotes a *win and lose* discourse which is exactly the purpose of parliamentary discourse. Therefore, using sarcasm as a persuasive strategy befits parliamentary discourse. Some MPs used sarcasm in their statements in a humorous manner. Creating humour during debates is business as usual in the Namibian Parliament.

7.6 Euphemism

Richard and Schmidt (2013) state that euphemism is "the use of a word which is thought to be less offensive or unpleasant than another word" (p. 205). According to Mbenzi (2014), a euphemistic expression sounds pleasant and is used to avoid unpleasant words. In addition, a euphemism is intended to make the audience feel good irrespective of the negative content of the statement. The use of a euphemism creates a feeling of benevolence and comfort as the speaker replaces the harsh word with a pleasant one.

Dysphemism is an expression with words which are harsh or offensive about something. While some MPs used dysphemism, others used a euphemism to intentionally save face, especially in the presence of the target audience. A saving face strategy is used to avoid humiliation or embarrassment. Literary, people who use a euphemism tend to drift away from the reality when they change the direct words into the indirect ones.

For example, *Sex workers* is a word used instead of *prostitutes*. The word *workers* gives a pleasant sound as it shows that the person works like other people. Although in some societies prostitution is banned and is seen as an evil act, the sound of the word *workers* makes it sound acceptable in the society.

In response to the question on whether there are any programmes in place to rehabilitate prostitutes, the Minister of Poverty Eradication and Social Welfare first used the word *prostitute* as it was used in the question, thereafter used *sex worker* as a euphemism in 219.

> **Kameeta:** *About the prostitutes, I do not know what the correct term is, some people call them sex workers. For me, with my background, a sex worker is something unheard of, I think there is better work.* **[8 May 2015, p. 376]** {#219}

After using the word *prostitutes*, Kameeta switched to the word *sex workers* to show that it is the same as *prostitute.* When a euphemism is used, the audience tends to listen attentively because the word sounds acceptable.

In another example, m*arginalised community/group* is considered a euphemism in the Namibian parliament. *Marginalised communities* are also known as *disadvantaged communities*. The word *marginalised* is more euphonious than *disadvantaged*. The word *disadvantaged* has a strong and negative connotation which cause the people to lose face. In Namibia, this word is used for the San, Ovahimba, Ovazemba and Ovatue. They are marginalised because they have been isolated from the mainstream society. For instance, the San were called Bushmen, which is a derogative word. They lived as hunter-gatherers. In statement 220, Venaani used the word *marginalised communities*:

> **Venaani:** *We allocate N$48 million to marginalised communities while we have not identified all marginalised communities in this country, for example, the Ovazemba.* **[22 April 2015, p. 44]** {#220}

Members of Parliament used this phrase when referring to the aforementioned communities as shown in the previous example. The word *marginalised* sounds pleasant to the people of these communities especially when they are addressed by Namibian leaders. According to Kleopas (2015), many people from *marginalised* communities misinterpret the term *marginalised*. He states to be called *marginalised* implies that they should just depend on the government. Thus, to them, it has a positive connotation.

In 221 the term *leader of the minority* was used as a euphemism. The word *minority* was intended to replace the common word *opposition* as in *Leader of the opposition party*.

> **Kawana:** *I rise to support Vote 01 and maybe to answer, on behalf of my colleague, some of the issues raised by the Leader of the Opposition, although I prefer the terminology Leader of the minority Party because opposition is even opposing positive things.* **[Kawana, 22 April 2015, p. 61]** {#221}

Kawana made it clear that the word *opposition* encourages the party Members to be opposed to many ideas, even to the constructive ideas. Thus, he decided to substitute it with *minority* as it is the antonym of majority. By using a euphemism, the speakers appealed to the pathos of the audience.

7.7 Antithesis

Antithesis is a contrast between two things in a balance statement. According to Mbenzi (2014), antithesis can be used in speeches to give an effect of balance. In the following statement, Iivula-Ithana used a rhetorical device of antithesis. She contrasted the concept of unity with that of ethnicity and tribal groupings.

> **Iivula-Ithana:** *The second question as I earlier stated, we deal with Namibians within the concept of One Namibia, One Nation and not based on ethnicity and tribal groupings.* **[29 October 2015, p. 29]** {#222}

In another debate, Venaani used antithesis by giving two scenarios in 223. She described people who can afford health care and those who cannot, thus they go to state hospitals such as Katutura Hospital.

> **Venaani:** *Health is a key Sector. It was an embarrassing fact to have read in the local media that because of the 40% cut, one key Department in the Ministry of Health could not serve patients in this country. I think health is a priority area in our argument, that should not be punished because some people have private healthcare and can afford to go to South Africa for medication. That is okay, but some of us go to Katutura Clinic.* **[3 November 2015, p. 113]** {#223}

Venaani's antithesis was used when he indicated that some people go to private hospitals and others go to state hospitals. He attempted to draw a line between those who are better off and those who are poor. In order to appeal to the pathos of his audience, he *said some of us* to include himself in the group of those who are poor and could not afford to pay for private hospitals.

In a debate concerning the Mass Housing project which has been carried out by the National Housing Enterprise (NHE), Shanghala in 224 used antithesis when he contrasted the people who have their own houses with those who do not. He intended to emphasise how desperate those who need houses are.

> **Shanghala:** *Now, on what you call Mess Housing, I think you say that because you know you have a roof over your head and you know you are going to your house. Those people who are looking forward to the delivery of these services do not call it Mess Housing. In fact, they are grateful that Government is doing it.* **[3 November 2015, p. 138]** {#224}

Shanghala argued that some MPs call the project Mess Housing because they have houses themselves. However, there are some citizens that do not see it as a Mess Housing project as they need houses, so they are grateful. The antithesis of this argument is intended to encourage the public to have hope towards this project. Many politicians give their audiences hope for the future by using various literary devices in their speeches and debates.

In another example, the words *back-seat* and *front-seat* in 225 showed antithesis. They were used by opposing one another to urge political agendas to be left behind (back-seat) and hard work to be implemented (front-seat).

> **Jagger:** *I am absolutely confident that if we would hold hands as Members of Parliament and push party political agendas to the back-seat and hard work to the front seat, together we will grow a country with a stronger economy and a prosperous nation.* **[2015]** {#225}

While Jagger could have only mentioned what was best for the House, hard work, she indicated the opposite and what may hinder the implementation of hard work so that the audience realised what is more important.

In 226, Kameeta gave a clear meaning of the term *poverty eradication* by using an antithesis.

> **Kameeta:** *When we talk of poverty eradication, perhaps the word itself does not explain so much, but poverty eradication is empowering people to do things for themselves and not making them slaves of charity forever.* **[8 May 2015, p. 372]** {#226}

In order to persuade the audience what poverty eradication is, he also mentioned what it is not. By doing so, he created a balance within his definition. Kameeta appealed to *logos* as he reasoned with the consequences of poverty.

Shixwameni made use of antithesis in 227 when he used the words *small fish* and *big fish.* The *small fish* and *big fish* are referred to people:

> **Shixwameni:** *Whether we like it or not, public opinion has it out there that the anti-Corruption Commission only catches the smallest fish. The bigger fish are let out.* **[11 November 2015, p. 322]** {#227}
>
> **MP**: *You are also a big fish.* **[11 November 2015, p. 322]** {#228}

Shixwameni attempted to show strength and weakness by mentioning a big fish and small fish. Although anti-thesis is a strong rhetorical device that suits parliamentary discourse, it can cause embarrassment when it is used to belittle other MPs. Antithesis is a useful rhetoric tool for parliamentary debates as it could be used to weaken opponents.

Shixwameni: *I am not a big fish, I am a small fish. However, this is not a joke……* **[11 November 2015, p. 322]** {#229}

Shixwameni made a balance between big and small. There is a use of personification in his statement since the *big fish* refers to senior positioned people in the government or wealthy people, while *small fish* to poor people or those who do not have authorities. Using personification creates an impression to the audience of seeing how small or big something is, as in this case. The audience's imagination is put in a state which stimulates their emotions.

7.8 Buzzwords/ Buzz phrases

According to Cornwall (2010), "buzzwords get the 'buzz' from being in-words, words that define what is in vogue" (p. 3). These words are in fashion because of certain things that are trending at a certain time. Concerning the lexicon of development, there are buzzwords that come in fashion and go while others continue to stay for decades and some appear for a short time, disappear and re-discovered later for new uses (Cornwall, 2010). Politicians use buzzwords to gain votes and trust from their audience. Some buzzwords become Clichés when people start using them in irrelevant circumstances or when they use them without substance.

One Namibia, one Nation is a buzz phrase. The phrase *One Namibia, one nation* has been in existence since the liberation struggle of the independence of Namibia. This phrase has been used both in and out of the country by those who were in exile. It was acquired by the ruling party SWAPO and was used to mobilise people and encourage them not to waver during the liberation struggle. When Namibia gained its independence in 1990, the SWAPO party members continued using this concept at rallies, in campaign speeches and in manifestos. The person who mobilised or gave a

campaign speech at that point in time would shout *One Namibia*, then the audience responds *One nation*. Although it gained popularity during that time, the concept is still used in relevant circumstances. However, in local interactions, people use it for persuasive purposes.

Members of Parliament used this phrase in their debates when they intended to appeal to their audience's pathos by showing a sense of togetherness among all Namibians. Some buzzwords are made memorable so that when they are used they remind the audience of past events which can evoke emotions. The pattern of shouting out this phrase as mentioned earlier does not necessarily apply in parliament, instead, it is said as a concept within a statement. The phrase is intended to give the audience a feeling of unity. The following three statements 230 to 232 used by MPs have the buzz phrase 'one Namibia, one nation'

> **Iivula-Ithana:** *The policy of this government is to promote harmonious coexistence of the various communities and enhance the oneness of the Namibian people under the One Namibia, One Nation Policy.* **[29 October 2015, p. 29]** {#230}
>
> **Muharukua:** *The arguments of One Namibia, One Nation should never, and is increasingly being used to quash constructive discussions.* **[29 October 2015, p. 32]** {#231}
>
> **//Gowases:** *Remember the pre-independence slogan, the lips of all Namibians: one Namibia, one Nation.* **[15 April 2015, p. 262]** {#232}

No Namibian should feel left out is a common phrase in Namibia. This phrase made headlines on the rise of the Namibian President, His Excellency Dr. Hage Geingob's reign in 2015. He used it first during his campaign speeches around the country.

According to Mushelenga (2017), the phrase implies that irrespective of race, political affiliation, ethnic origin, gender or creed, every Namibian will be taken care of and included in the development of Namibia.

In statement 233 Hoffmann supported her argument in the debate of Old Age Homes in Namibia by rephrasing what the Namibian President said earlier in his campaign speeches. It was also used by other MPs in 234 and 235.

> **Hoffmann:** *The main reason why I brought this up is because I want to keep what our President, Hage Geingob has said that "no Namibians should feel left out."* **[30 June 2015, p. 296]** {#233}
>
> **Kaapala:** *The budget states clearly that it is Pro-poor and every Namibian has to be included and no Namibian should be left out.* **[15 April 2015, p. 270]** {#234}
>
> **//Gowases:** *This budget says enough is enough. It says the poor have been suffering for much too long. They should not suffer any longer. Not while our national principles are Inclusion, Harambee, and No Namibian must be left out.* **[10 March 2016, p. 326]** {#235}

Many Namibians started using this phrase in their speeches including Members of Parliament, thus it is a buzz phrase. By saying *No Namibian should feel left out*, the speaker stirred feelings of belongingness and security. Such buzzwords tend to give the audience high hopes for the future.

In a study on the rhetoric of Dr. Gideon Gono, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, Kangira (2007) states that "the fine sounding words, despite their fuzziness, promised a golden future, where people's suffering will be a thing of a

past" (p. 27). Similarly, the Namibian President gave the masses hope during his campaigns. In parliament, this buzz phrase is used when MPs want to remind the audience what the president remarked. The phrase is intended to appeal to the pathos of the audience.

Namlish is also a buzzword in the Namibian context. The word *Namlish* is a local word commonly used to refer to the spoken English which has mother tongue interference based on the Namibian languages and dialects. The interference can be phonological, lexical, syntactical and that of spelling. In most cases, people use the word *Namlish* as an excuse for their English errors. The Minister of Safety and Security, Namoloh used the word *Namlish* when he responded to Shixwameni who thought he used a wrong word. In clarifying his statement, Namoloh said the following in 236.

> **Namoloh:** *Well, that is just Namlish……., perhaps it is just a matter of the English Language, Comrade Shixwameni*. **[29 October 2915, p. 26]** {#236}

In another debate, the Minister of Information and Communication Technology used the word *Namlish* in 237 to indicate that the audience might not have understood what he meant because of his *Namlish*.

> **Tweya:** *The Minister of Finance made it very clear, it is Midyear Review. Six months halfway. I know you may not understand the Namlish, but the other Namlish is middel jaar (middle year).* **[3 November 2015, p. 116]** {#237}

Below, Dienda used the word *Namlish* in 238 to refer to what she speaks.

> **Dienda:** *I am speaking Namlish. Honourable Minister, it is on Page 7 – if she or he is not able to communicate, read and write in the official language of*

Namibia, which is English. I cannot speak English, I speak Namlish. My question is, should we be focusing on prohibiting people from being Councilors due to language skills when those who have been suspended for being involved in corrupt deals (intervention) **[6 October 2015, p. 113]** {#238}

She used the word *Namlish* when she emphasised her resistance to the law that prohibits people to run as councillors due to lack of English language skills. To show that even MPs are not fluent enough, she exemplified that she, an MP does not speak English but *Namlish*.

The term *Harambee* is a Kiswahili word which literally means *all pull together*. The term is used by MPs to refer to the Harambee Plan that Dr. Hage Geingob adopted when he was inaugurated as the third democratically elected President of Namibia. According to the document of the Harambee Prosperity Plan (HPP), "the HPP is a targeted Action Plan to accelerate development in clearly defined priority areas, which lay the basis for attaining prosperity in Namibia" (p. 6). The President used the term *Harambee* when he addressed parliamentarians as follows in 239

His Excellency President: *Accountability of performance is key from the top to bottom and Harambee will only succeed if those tasks we implement are assigned key performance indicators which can be monitored and measured.* **[February, 2016]** {#239}

Again, the word *Harambee* was used by Nujoma in 240 when he reminded fellow MPs what the President said about the Harambee Policy.

Nujoma: *Let us look for better ways as to how we can utilise what we have and make sure that we benefit from the resources of this country, in that way,*

contribute to the GDP and economic wellbeing of our people, because the President is always telling us about the Harambee Policy. **[1 March 2016, p. 17]** {#240}

The word *Layman* is used by politicians in their speeches. This buzzword is common in the Namibian parliamentary discourse. The Meriam-Webster dictionary defines the word *layman* as a person who is not an expert in a particular field. Members of Parliament used this word when they gave their speeches or made statements. They used it before asking a question or giving a suggestion. This is a tactic of deliberately downgrading and humbling oneself. It is a defensive mechanism used by MPs to show fellow MPs that they are not *know-all* people, they are rather giving opinions with the little knowledge they have; thus they use the word *layman*. This buzzword can be associated with a politeness which is perceived as a positive way of persuading an audience. Nekundi and Hanse-Himarwa used the word layman in statements 241 to 244.

Nekundi: *From a layman's perspective, I was just reading everything straight forward. Thank you very much for that. It is correct.* **[2015]** {#241}

Nekundi: *Through my layman's analysis, one can conclude that most accidents occur because of carelessness.* **[29 April 2015, p. 125]** {#242}

Hanse-Himarwa: *My very layman question would be, if members of my family be it my dependents or my spouse is receiving donations of any nature, do I understand it carefully that they would be held accountable through me?* **[7 October 2015, p. 146]** {#243}

Hanse-Himarwa: *My question is perhaps a very lay question, but my family and dependants have not taken oath of any kind in this House, I am the one*

> *who has taken oath, why should my dependants and spouse be held accountable through me, for their involvement in their private activities?* **[7 October 2015, p. 147]** {#244}

Poverty reduction or *poverty eradication* can be considered as a buzzword. When making laws in parliament, buzzwords are a good choice of words for persuasion, especially towards the entire audience as a nation. They are effective words of persuasion when addressing national issues such as poverty, land and health-related problems. Kangira (2007) claims that "development discourses rely on buzzwords such as eradication of poverty, health for all, the marginalised, housing for all and economic powerhouse" (p. 27).

Kameeta used the buzzword in 245 intentionally to influence other Ministers in thinking of the actions to be taken. The phrase was intended to give the people of Namibia hope of leaving poverty soon. The phrase gained popularity in parliament when the Ministry of Poverty Eradication and Social Welfare was established in 2015.

> **Kameeta:** *When you listened to the Motivation speeches from almost all the Ministries who spoke, the words poverty reduction, poverty eradication where echoed quite often – even from the Ministry of Mines and Energy, you heard about poverty eradication.* **[8 May 2015, p. 374]** {#245}

Another buzzword that was used was *struggle kids*. The term *struggle kids* was given to the children who were born during the colonial era by parents who were fighting in the liberation struggle in exile. This buzzword became popular when these children started holding demonstrations and meetings demanding job opportunities from the government as they felt they were neglected by the ruling party SWAPO.

When addressing national issues including that of unemployment, MPs used the buzzword *struggle kids.* An example of the use of *struggle kids* is presented in 246.

> **!Auxab:** *A lean and professional Defence Force is what Namibia requires. We should as a nation guard against the current tendency of creating jobs for selected few, especially in the Defence Force as this will greatly compromise our claim of creating a professional force, here I am referring to so-called struggle kids.* **[14 April 2015, p. 203]** {#246}

Most of the buzzwords used in parliament were the ones used by the local people. They are used by other politicians who are not Members of Parliament, such as the President, Governors, and Government officials, thus they are common in Namibia.

7.9 Exordium

While an exordium might not be a rhetorical device in its nature, and just a part in a speech, the researcher saw it fit to include it in this chapter since MPs used it tactfully as a way of persuading their audience. An exordium is an introduction of a speech in which the orator attempts to capture his audience's attention. In the exordium, the orator can give a background of the subject, praise or blame (epideictic), joke or make humorous statements. Epideictic praise plays an important role in parliament. According to Skinner (1996), the purpose of the exordium is to create one's character by putting one's audience in an open frame of mind. Skinner claims that the means of creating a good ethos requires the invention of arguments. Having said that, the latter is applicable in parliamentary debates. Members of Parliament tend to appeal to the pathos of their audience in the introduction of their speeches. Before they move on to the essence of the speech, they establish a good

ethos of themselves to gain credibility with the audience. The most significant function of the exordium is to clarify the purpose of the speech (Rock, 2012).

According to Skinner (1996), classical rhetoricians focus on two different methods of creating a good ethos. The first method is "by promising our auditors to inform them of something at once novel and of public importance" (p. 129). The other method is "for the oratory directly to emphasise the probity of his own person" (Skinner, 1996, p. 130). Skinner appeals that "we must always speak in such a way as to appear calm, placating, courteous and humane" (p. 130). The exordium has the power to strengthen or weaken the audience's emotions right at the beginning of the speech.

Rock (2012) believes that exordium is not common in deliberative rhetoric because the audience is already familiar with the subject. On the contrary, the researcher disagrees because in Ministerial statements and Budgetary Votes discussion, MPs tend to give thorough exordia in order to have their Votes supported, whether the subject of the speech is already known or not. Although they might be short and unnecessarily longer speeches, the MPs versions are likely to have an exordium. Furthermore, in cases where an exordium is used by means of praising someone, this can show how powerful people are by praising them and creating good images for them. It can show the audience the position and the character of oneself. The following exordia were not so much of debates but were taken from brief speeches made by MPs. They were praises, hence, regarded as ceremonial discourse.

Dienda, for DTA (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance) Party, started her speech by honouring the African Child Day. Her exordium was as follows:

> *Thank you, Honourable Speaker. Honourable Speaker, as we are today celebrating the Day of the African child, allow me to*

> *congratulate all the children in Africa, especially the children in Namibia. This is the day that we will always remember***. [Dienda, 16 June 2015, p. 71]** {#252}

She further congratulated all the children in Africa, specifically in Namibia. She reminded her audience of this historic Day by highlighting that they will always remember it. The notion of highlighting significant historic events implies that the audience's attention is easily drawn because such events are honoured by many Namibians.

The date 20 March 2015 made highlights in Namibian history. It marked a day of celebration and jubilation. On this day, the Namibian National Assembly elevated to new and higher heights in terms of Members of Parliament. A new president and new MPs were elected in this new era. This speaks volumes to the entire political history of Namibia. Nevertheless, several MPs gave speeches in embracement of new responsibilities and positions, as well as expressing themselves with regards to the event. Below are several exordia of MPs at the swearing in of new Members of Parliament 2015-2020.

In her speech, the newly elected Prime Minister Dr. Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila congratulated all MPs for successfully making it as MPs in 2015.

> *Thank you very much Mr. Presiding Officer. Before I make the nomination, I would like to extend warm congratulations to all the newly sworn-in Members of Parliament for the honour that has been bestowed on all of us by the Namibian people to serve as Members of this august House and to carry out, on their behalf the process of law making for our country. I wish all of them wisdom, strength and*

> *courage in the discharge of this sacred National duty.* **[Kuugongelwa-Amadhila, 20 March 2015, p. 14]** {#253}

Kuugongelwa-Amadhila mostly used words that connote unity and togetherness. She used words such as *all*, *us*, *Namibian people*, *their behalf* and *our country*. Kangira and Mungenga (2012) call these words, *together words*. Using the plural form instead of the singular gives an impression of promoting unity. In this regard, she tried to boost her ethos so she could gain credibility with her audience. *Together words* are used to show that the speaker and the listeners share some commonalities (Kangira & Mungenga, 2012). Here, Burke's theory of identification can be alluded to because the speaker identified with the audience when she used *together words* in which she included herself.

Gurirab is the outgoing Speaker. He spoke to bid farewell to the MPs and the entire nation as an audience. His exordium was as follows in 254:

> *I am still the Speaker* (laughter). *I need to say one or two things and, therefore, please be seated because some of you might collapse. By a dictate history, continuity, consistency and change, here we are again pushing democracy forward, yet again. Namibia as a State started doing its own political innovations in 1990 and now 25 years onwards, we relive once again the memories and innovations from thenceforth to here today, yet again.* **[Gurirab, 20 March 2015. p. 15]** {#254}

After laughing, Gurirab started with a joke that his audience should be seated or some might collapse. Generally, laughing is associated with jokes and humour. According to Bull & Feldman (2011), "witty or amusing remarks are intended to

invite laughter from the audience" (p. 10). By using the word *collapse*, he created curiosity among the audience. This made the audience pay more attention as they did not know what he was about to say. He also used the phrase *here we are pushing democracy forward, yet again* to motivate the MPs to continue practising democracy. Gurirab took the audience back in the days when he stated that Namibia established itself in political innovations including the running of Parliament in an independent era. By mentioning that, he reminded other freedom fighters of the long and bitter fight that they had endured for Namibian independence. It is clear that he appealed to the pathos of his audience.

Katjavivi was nominated as the third Speaker of the Namibian National Assembly. On this day, he gave his acceptance speech in the august House. In his exordium in 255, he underscored on a historical anecdote about himself.

> *For now, may I proceed by making a formal Acceptance Speech or remarks? May I do so? Thank you.*
>
> *Honourable Members of Parliament, this is a big day for me personally. I cannot start making my remarks without saying something brief on the reference made to me by, let me call her the Right Honourable Prime Minister of our country, when she called upon me and presented me before you, she referred to the middle name that I hold dearly to myself, Hishitevi. That is the first name I have ever known. When I came to this world my father was informed by an old lady who emerged from a hut to announce my arrival. Totally delighted and not knowing what to say, he said – what shall I*

> *do – Hishitevi? It always touches my heart because it takes me back to my roots.* **[Katjavivi, 20 March 2015, p. 18]** {#255}

Like other exordia, Katjavivi stated the purpose of his speech which was to make a formal acceptance. He expressed how important this day was to him. Other MPs who felt the same way were likely to identify with him in this regard. This is relative to Burke's theory of identification. Katjavivi appealed to his audience's ethos when he presented his personal background as a reference in the past. He attempted to capture his audience's attention by explaining how he acquired his middle name *Hishitevi*. This is one way of celebrating one's life and it can be associated with epideictic rhetoric. Indeed, this is a ceremonial speech. Kangira and Mungenga (2012) claim that "most ceremonial speeches stress the sharing of identities and values that unite people into communities…" (p. 111).

To embellish his narration, Katjavivi indicated that he was born in a hut. This can be associated with his humble beginnings. By mentioning this, he appealed to the pathos of the audience. He established a link between his middle name and his new position in office. To capture the mind of his audience, he showed how humble he is and that he would not know what to do (as in the name's meaning, *Hishitevi*) without the support of his audience. With reference to Burke's theory, among the audience, those who were born and grew up in the same African setting as Katjavivi are comparable to him.

Kasingo was re-elected as the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly. She gave her Acceptance speech using two rhetorical devices in her exordium as follows:

> *Thank you. First of all, I have to congratulate you for being elected as the Speaker of the National Assembly and I am proud to work under*

> *you. Let me start off with a saying in one of the vernaculars that says – waa pandula no yaka, meaning that if you do not appreciate the efforts of others then you are doomed. To be re-elected for the second term in the position of Deputy Speaker of one of the most important Organs of the State – the Legislature, I have to, first of all, thank the Almighty God who coordinated the rank and file of the Members of SWAPO who voted for me and all the others en masse to ensure that we are here.* (applause) **[Kasingo, 20 March 2015, p. 21].** {#256}

First, Kasingo used an Oshiwambo proverb *waa pandula noyaka* in her exordium and she immediately gave its meaning for the non-Oshiwambo speakers to understand. Proverbs are associated with cultural ethics and values that were introduced by elders in the past as a way of passing on moral teachings to the younger generations. According to (Mack, 2001), "proverbs and moral sentences are very prominent in all types of speeches" (p. 24). Rhetorical principles are used to elaborate an individual ethos, or a persona, as a way of persuasion (Mack, 2001). Kasingo used a proverb to show how grateful and delighted she was for being re-elected as the Deputy Speaker. Given that, she attempted to establish an impression that she is a credible person with morals and values, whom the audience can count on as their new Deputy Speaker. Mbenzi (2014) states that proverbs may add to the ethos and logos of the speaker. Furthermore, "a speaker who tends to use proverbs effectively is likely to win the souls of his listeners" (Mbenzi, 2014, p. 22). However, he warns that proverbs should be used cautiously in rhetoric because if they are overused the speech becomes tasteless (Mbenzi, 2014).

Second, Kasingo code-switched to Oshiwambo. This is inter-sentential code-switching. It occurs when one clause is in one language and the other in a different

language and both are used in the same sentence. Code-switching can be used for two reasons, to borrow words from another language because there is a need to fill in the missing part of the English sentence. In this case, Kasingo needed to borrow the Oshiwambo proverb because there might not be a direct saying in English for that proverb.Further, she switched to her mother tongue to emphasise the point she was making. With regards to Bishop Dumeni's speeches at funerals, (Mbenzi, 2014) explains that "when he wanted to emphasise a point, he switched to Oshimbadja which is his mother dialect", furthermore, "he also switched to Oshimbadja when he was irritated or sad" (p. 98). This can be associated with seriousness. People tend to code-switch when they want to show how serious they are with what they want to say.

Kasingo ended her exordium with the words of praises by mentioning the *Almighty God*. Despite Namibia being a secular state, more than 90% of the population is said to be of Christian belief. Taking this into consideration, Kasingo wanted to connect with Christianity. Burke's theory claims that although individuals are different by identity, they are alike because of their similar beliefs or interests. At the end of her exordium, the audience applauded. This reaction showed that their emotions were touched. Applause can be a result of a successful persuasive strategy. Bull and Feldman (2011) claim that "tumultuous or enthusiastic applause may make a politician look like a winner, overwhelmingly popular with his audience" (p. 2).

Research indicates that "in an African context, praises play a significant role as they are performed on various occasions" (Mbenzi, 2014, p. 29). Following is a congratulatory speech by Honourable McHenry Venaani, the President of DTA (Opposition Party). Venaani's exordium is full of praises. This is known as epideictic rhetoric, as he celebrates someone's life. In his exordium, he clearly stated his two

purposes, which were: to congratulate the new Speaker of the National Assembly and to bid farewell to the out-going Speaker.

> *Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker. We, on this side of the aisle, would want to congratulate you – this side of the aisle.* (laughter) *Honourable Speaker, we want to congratulate you, for one you have the necessary prolific experience, both as a seasoned Politician and Diplomat. I view you as a great consensus builder and a person that has demonstrated an ability to work across Party lines. I want to congratulate you on your election and congratulate our country and also pass a word of congratulations to our former Veterans, seasoned Diplomat the country has ever produced Dr. Theo-Ben* (applause) *whom we have worked with – the man has made our Republic very proud when we assumed the Presidency of the IPU and the General Assembly of the United Nations. I bid good farewell to you for being a man of great standing.* **[Venaani, 20 March 2015, p. 22]** {#257}

Venaani praised the Speaker by describing him with positive characteristics. He used decorative words such as *necessary prolific experience, a seasoned politician, Diplomat, consensus builder* and *ability to work across Party lines.* The phrases *consensus builder* and *ability to work across Party lines* imply that the Speaker is capable of bringing together different political parties despite their different opinions. With this, Venaani attempted to promote unity among all MPs. This was important, especially to MPs of opposition Parties as they sometimes feel they are side lined by the ruling Party. Also, with reference to Burke's theory of identification, MPs who

see the Speaker the same way Venaani described him tend to believe that they are one and the same as Venaani, thus they identify with him.

This section revealed that MPs demonstrated creative praises at the beginning of their speeches. In their exordia, they used references, anecdotes and proverbs to capture the attention of the listeners.

7.10 Summary

This chapter analysed different rhetorical devices used by MPs. The chapter specifically focused on code-switching, address and titles, parallel structure, sarcasm, euphemism, antithesis, buzzwords, and exordium. Under each rhetorical device, tactics were explained on how MPs use devices to achieve persuasion.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This study set out to explore speech acts used by Namibian Parliamentarians and their rhetorical functions in different speech contexts. The study assessed the speech acts used with rhetorical purposes in 'parliamentary procedures' of the National Assembly and determined those expressions that are classified as 'unparliamentary' in the National Assembly. An examination of rhetorical devices employed by MPs in achieving persuasion was another focus of the study with the intention of judging whether there is a necessity for improvement in the use of rhetoric. A recap of the major findings and recommendations of the study are presented in this chapter.

8.2 A synopsis of findings

Below, the researcher presents summaries of the major findings on speech acts, deliberative rhetoric, unparliamentary expressions and rhetorical devices.

8.2.1 Speech acts as used by Members of Parliament

The findings of this study show that assertive, directive, commissive, declarative and expressive speech acts were used by MPs in the Namibian National Assembly. These correspond with Searle's categorisation of speech acts. These speech acts were intended to persuade an audience to believe the assertions, to get things done, give hope, change the statuses and circumstances, and to show solidarity. Persuasive language was used to show power in parliament.

Assertives are statements which can be true or false. This implies that they can either be opinions or facts. Generally, because people are hasty at giving opinions, assertives were common in parliament. Parliamentarians who intended to persuade

their audience used assertives with statistics and facts in order to get their audience's consent. Members of Parliament also used examples after using assertives to allow other MPs to relate to what they were talking about. The use of words that have positive and negative connotations within the assertions demonstrate that MPs emphasize their statements in order to evoke a sense of good or bad feelings in their audience.

Findings revealed that directives were used by MPs to get things done. The Speaker used directives such as asking the Prime Minister (PM) to adjourn the House, asking MPs to speak on their turns, asking MPs to withdraw unparliamentary statements, inviting and ordering MPs not to disturb others when speaking. Parliamentarians used directives toward other MPs when they asked for clarifications, ordering fellow MPs to pay attention and listen to them and ask for permission to engage in discussions. Members of Parliament also used directives toward the general public by making appeals to get things done and inviting them to do certain things in their community. In order for MPs to achieve their requests, appeals, orders and invitations, their speech acts included polite words or phrases to attract their audience. Some polite words that were used were *may you please, would you kindly, can you please, may you allow me to* and *I humbly appeal to*. These phrases are usually used in a polite manner. This study has found that this was the most common type of speech act that MPs used. Even when the Speaker had to command or request aggressive MPs to apologise or withdraw statements, he used polite phrases to get his command obeyed to. This shows that politeness is associated with rhetoric.

Despite the fact that commissives were used in MPs' speeches to give promises, they were hardly used for other purposes. Making promises was the core use of commissive speech acts. Findings of why MPs used promises revealed that they did

so to give their audience, and the general public, hope for the future. Members of Parliament used *future helping verbs* in their statements to commit to future actions. Some examples of these verbs are *will deal with, will do the very best,* and *am going to*. Furthermore, some MPs directly used the word *promise* as in *I promise to do my best* and *I promise to be a concerned…* The minor purpose of using commissives is that of swearing or taking an oath since this is only done at swearing-in ceremonies. All MPs swore by using the word *promise* when they uttered *I solemnly promise to uphold and defend the Constitution and laws*... during the swearing-in ceremony of the Sixth National Assembly. The words *so help me God* have a strong connotation and all those who believe in God could relate to and support the swearing-in.

In parliament, declaratives were used in order to nominate, declare and announce. According to literature, declaratives are common in many parliaments when declarations and announcements are made. These declarative speech acts are formal speech acts that are structured. For instance, when MPs nominated others for positions they had to say *I nominate …. for the position of …* In order for the nomination to be acceptable and convincing in the ears of the audience, the MP that is nominating decorated the statement with words of praises such as a *seasoned politician, experienced leader* and *impeccable National Liberation struggle credentials*. Similarly, when MPs made declarations, they directly used the word *declare*. Research shows that in order for a declaration to be meaningful and felicitous, it should be made by an authorised person. For instance, when the Speaker and the Secretary said *I now declare these Honourable Members as duly elected chairpersons* and *it is my pleasure to declare you all as duly elected Members of the Sixth National Assembly*, these declarations were meaningful and felicitous to the audience because the Speaker and Secretary of parliament are authorised to make

such declarations. Announcements were also made by people with authority to do so. For instance, the PM is responsible for announcing the adjournment of the sessions while the Speaker asks if there is *any objection* and announces *Agreed to*!

The findings further indicated that MPs expressed their feelings towards one another and the general public by praising, supporting, proposing, suggesting, criticising and apologising. They praised in order to encourage and motivate each other. Speech acts of supporting were used in parliament mainly to support votes, amendments and second nominations. Some MPs intentionally criticised others in order to create a bad image of them so that they could win arguments. The use of apologies is common in parliament. Members of Parliament apologised for arriving late, for intervening and interrupting and for not being able to provide the needed information. It was discovered that speech acts of apology were used by MPs in order to appeal to the pathos of the audience. They apologised to get sympathy or forgiveness from the audience. Although the five classes of speech acts were observed in parliament and were intended to persuade audiences, they might have not been seen as persuasive because of their popularity in everyday interaction.

8.2.2 Deliberative rhetoric

Members of Parliament debated *pro et contra* to win arguments. This required effective skills of rhetoric in order to get an audience convinced. Three modes of rhetoric were all applied by MPs during debates. The researcher analysed parliamentary procedures as follows, tabling a motion, amendment Bill, committee stage and Question time.

When MPs debated on a motion, they used speech acts that embraced pathos, logos and ethos in order to persuade their audience. These modes of rhetoric were used when supporting or opposing the motions. During the amendment bill sessions,

views and opinions given were not necessarily based on political parties but on individuals. This led MPs from the same party to oppose one another. Further, speech acts of shaming were used during the Amendment Bill session. Some MPs used logos to suggest and explain why the amendments should be put on hold so that a study could be conducted in order to get a thorough understanding.

One interesting finding is that during the Amendment Bill sessions, three strategies for suggesting or proposing amendments were discovered. With reference to literature, they are addition, subtraction and substitution. Members of Parliament made additional suggestions to the existing Bill, they also suggested that certain details be removed and proposing some details to be substituted. Suggestions of addition were made to show that the existing Bill is not satisfactory. Suggestions of subtraction were made to indicate that there were some unnecessary details to the Bill and suggestions of substitution were given to show that there were better options to discuss. Members could have given suggestions without these strategies. A possible explanation for why they used these strategies might be they wanted their suggestions and proposals in amending the Bill to be taken seriously. Therefore, it can be concluded that these three strategies of making suggestions and proposals for amendments were used for persuasion purposes. These results were not encouraging because amendments were not directly uttered, but just suggested. It is for this reason that it was difficult to point out speech acts that directly indicated a performative action of amending.

Another important finding was that during the Committee stage where the Bill is analysed, three kinds of allusions were made. These are Biblical allusions, policy/legal document allusions and historical allusions. Speech acts of utterances from Biblical figures were used to capture the attention of the audience. Among the

target audience, those who are Christians and believed in the Bible identified with the MP that alluded to the Bible. This finding is consistent with Burke's (1969) theory of identification which suggests that if people have the same experience or belief as someone else, then they are likely to identify with that person. Members of Parliament also alluded to existing policies and legal documents. Similarly, these allusions were made to get the audience especially those who understood and believed in these documents to believe these allusions. Historical allusions were made to refer to past events to show relevance. These allusions were used to show ethos (good/bad image) of someone and appeal to the pathos of the audience by referring to past incidences such as those enduring suffering.

The results of this study indicated that two types of questions were used by MPs, the ones that are posed during Question time and the rhetorical questions. Members of Parliament asked questions during Question time to get answers from the Ministers. On the contrary, rhetorical questions were asked during debates for many rhetorical reasons such as to mock, blame, shame, make aware, inform and alert. With reference to Dlugan's (2012) types of rhetorical questions, MPs used audience engagement, question and answer, question to question, stimulating emotions, stressing on a previous statement, misdirection, credibility and series of questions to ask rhetorical questions.

Most of the MPs who took turns in speaking were Ministers, Deputy Ministers and opposition parties' Members. Most of the backbenchers did not participate much in the debates. The silence of these MPs could have been caused by multiple factors, such as lack of interest in the topic under discussion, high level of the English Language used during discussions, and/or domination by those who participated

actively. Unfortunately, this result is difficult to interpret as no data was collected to investigate the cause of this inactive participation.

8.2.3 Unparliamentary expressions

On the issue of unparliamentary language, this study found that some MPs used speech acts which were unparliamentary, such as abusive language, impolite speech, provocations and interruptions to insult, as well as words or speech to win debates. This finding is generated by the speech acts used by MPs with derogatory words and those that have negative connotations. Another evidence that these speech acts were unparliamentary is that after they were made, the Speaker intervened by telling MPs to withdraw their statements or to respect one another. Although these speech acts were unparliamentary, MPs used them intentionally to downplay the opinions of others and persuade the listeners to support their opinions.

Some unparliamentary expressions were used by MPs to downgrade others. Words that depict accusations and rudeness such as, *you are a liar* or *you are misleading the nation* are associated with impoliteness. It can, therefore, be concluded that such expressions were made to create a bad image of other people. For this reason, the use of a euphemism could be the solution to these embarrassments and accusations in the House.

Interruptions were also present during Parliamentary debates and were determined to be unparliamentary because at times the Speaker would request the MPs interrupting to give others a chance to speak. It is very common for interruptions to occur while a MP is speaking. Such interruptions were made to mock or confuse the MP speaking. While some MPs interrupted with bad intentions, some interrupted in a humorous manner to create laughter in the House.

8.2.4 Rhetorical devices

It is somewhat surprising that although the MPs are not linguists by profession, they showed some skills with linguistic devices, specifically stylistic devices which are known as rhetorical devices. Speech acts used via these devices were intended to persuade. The rhetorical devices used were code-switching, address and titles, parallelism, sarcasm, euphemism, antithesis, buzzwords, tones and gestures, and exordium. It is important to bear in mind that these devices were uttered as illocutionary acts with perlocutionary intentions (effects).

Code-switching, which was not used by many MPs, was used to define situations or to elevate certain people who spoke the language switched to. The way MPs addressed others had a sense of persuasion, such as mentioning their professional titles, political and other positions to give recognition and gain support. Persuasive language was used to show power in parliament. The use of titles and the way MPs addressed each other showed powerfulness and powerlessness of MPs. Members of parliament that have power and more authority in government tend to speak more, do more and show dominance in discourse.

In addition, parallelism was used to produce pleasant sounding words to capture the attention of the listeners. Although this is an impressive rhetorical device because of its repetition, to persuade the audience with such speech acts depends on the creativity of the speaker. This implies that if the speaker used parallelism in a fashionable manner that created enthusiasm, then the audience is likely to show interest and pay attention.

The findings also indicated that speech acts that were sarcastic were used by MPs to embarrass others and also to create humour to get consent as suggested by the literature. While this device might cause offence and negative emotions to the target

audience when used, it is a powerful tool to those who used it as they appealed to the pathos of the audience and also can promote their ethos when they create a bad image for their opponents.

The study further revealed that MPs mainly used euphemisms to create benevolence and give a good image of themselves as they use comforting words. A euphemism is pertinent to MPs for promoting their ethos. The use of antithesis was also observed. The speech acts of antithesis were used when MPs intended to strengthen an argument by presenting opposite views or when contrasting something. Antithesis is a suitable device for parliamentary discourse as the opposing views presented are related to debating.

One interesting result from this study was that most of the buzzwords used were affiliated with politics and the liberation struggle of Namibia. Buzzwords such as *one Namibia one Nation*, *Harambee*, *poverty eradication* and *no Namibian should feel left out* were common in the House. The underlying reason is that MPs are politicians who deal with issues which are related to politics while some took part in the liberation struggle, thus they are well-acquainted with these buzzwords. This result showed that buzzwords were used to give hope to specific audiences and the entire nation. Giving hope for the future empowers the audience to gain trust in MPs, hence promote their ethos.

Members of Parliaments' speeches were interesting as they portrayed exordia with rhetoric. These exordia within their speeches included praises to create a good ethos for fellow parliamentarians. They also included their own experiences to appeal to emotions of the audience, and *together words* for the audience to identify with the MPs.

All in all, although there is a sense of rhetoric in all the devices studied in this research, the study established that parallelism, sarcasm, euphemism, antithesis and buzzwords were more suitable for a parliamentary debate context. Parallelism is effective to use when addressing a large audience such as the parliament audiences because of the good sounding words. Literature indicates that political leaders have used parallel structure in their speeches in order to capture their audiences' attention. The study also concludes that sarcasm also fits well a debating context as it is used for saving faces. Members of Parliament use sarcasm to mock, give humour and embarrass their opponents in order to defeat them in debates. While the use of euphemism may be regarded as a tactic to soften harsh words, this can be a suitable device in parliament to avoid embarrassment. The person using euphemism may be seen as creating a good image of him/herself by using soft words instead of harsh words. It was also concluded in this study that antithesis perfectly suit the context of debates as MPs may compare themselves with their fellow MPs on opposition parties. By using antithesis, an MP may create an impression that he/she is right or innocent than his opponent. Considering that this was a political discourse, audiences tend to be moved by political buzzwords. In the Namibian contexts, buzzwords that are associated with the liberation struggle or national issues tend to move audiences. For this reason, buzzwords are a useful tool in parliamentary rhetoric. An institution that debates *pro et contra* necessitates members with persuasive skills as this is a *win-or-lose* communication platform. Parliamentary discourse is also highly deliberative because the audience or addressees are expected to analyse and choose what is right from wrong.

8.3 Recommendations

Two major recommendations for this study have been established. These recommendations were drawn from the findings of the study. The researcher used references to support her recommendations.

The study suggests that there is a need for further research in the field of parliamentary discourse in order to unfold a variety of rhetorical skills that MPs possess, from a linguistic and a political point of view. Further research can be conducted using different but relevant theories in order to explore rhetoric in political discourse. This can assist in putting in place necessary communicative tools for our parliamentarians. Since parliamentary discourse is universal, it is also recommended that a comparative study of the Namibian parliamentary discourse with those of other African countries, especially the ones that share common political histories with Namibia, should be conducted. These studies are crucial because of the role that rhetoric plays in parliamentary discourse.

Although parliamentarians used a variety of rhetorical devices in their debates, only some have been established to be more effective in a debating context. It is for this reason that there is a need for a parliamentary communication etiquette for Namibian MPs in order to express themselves effectively, hence reach their persuasive goals.

The Parliamentary communication etiquette would help MPs enhance their parliamentary speaking skills and use them during parliamentary sessions, bearing in mind, the ‘parliamentary procedures’. Members of Parliament should be able to have well-organised thoughts and ideas in order to sound convincing, thus achieve their persuasive goals.

8.4 Contribution of the study

This study can contribute to the compilation of guidelines on parliamentary communication etiquette. The purpose of these guidelines is to make Members of Parliament aware of the actions that they make when they speak during parliamentary sessions and improve their communication skills. This will help them communicate purposively and effectively, which in the end will enhance their parliamentary rhetoric.

This research is a pioneering study to upcoming researchers in acquiring information related to parliamentary rhetoric. It will, therefore, contribute to the literature on parliamentary discourse in light of the lack of studies on parliamentary discourse in the Namibian context. This will enrich literature as future researchers will build on it. Finally, the study revitalises old theories and shows the link between these theories as they do not need to be looked in silos.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

ETHICAL CLEARANCE

UNAM
UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

STUDENT ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Ethical Clearance Reference Number: FHSS/56/2015 **Date: 3 September, 2015**

This Ethical Clearance Certificate is issued by the University of Namibia Research Ethics Committee (UREC) in accordance with the University of Namibia's Research Ethics Policy and Guidelines. Ethical approval is given in respect of undertakings contained in the Research Project outlined below. This Certificate is issued on the recommendations of the ethical evaluation done by the Faculty/Centre/Campus Research & Publications Committee sitting with the Postgraduate Studies Committee.

Title of Project: Speech Acts And Their Rhetorical Purposes in the Namibian Parliamentary Discourse 2015-2016

Nature/Level of Project: Doctorate

Principal Researcher: J.M.L. Amakali

Student Number: 201506452
Host Department & Faculty: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Supervisor: Prof. J. Kangira

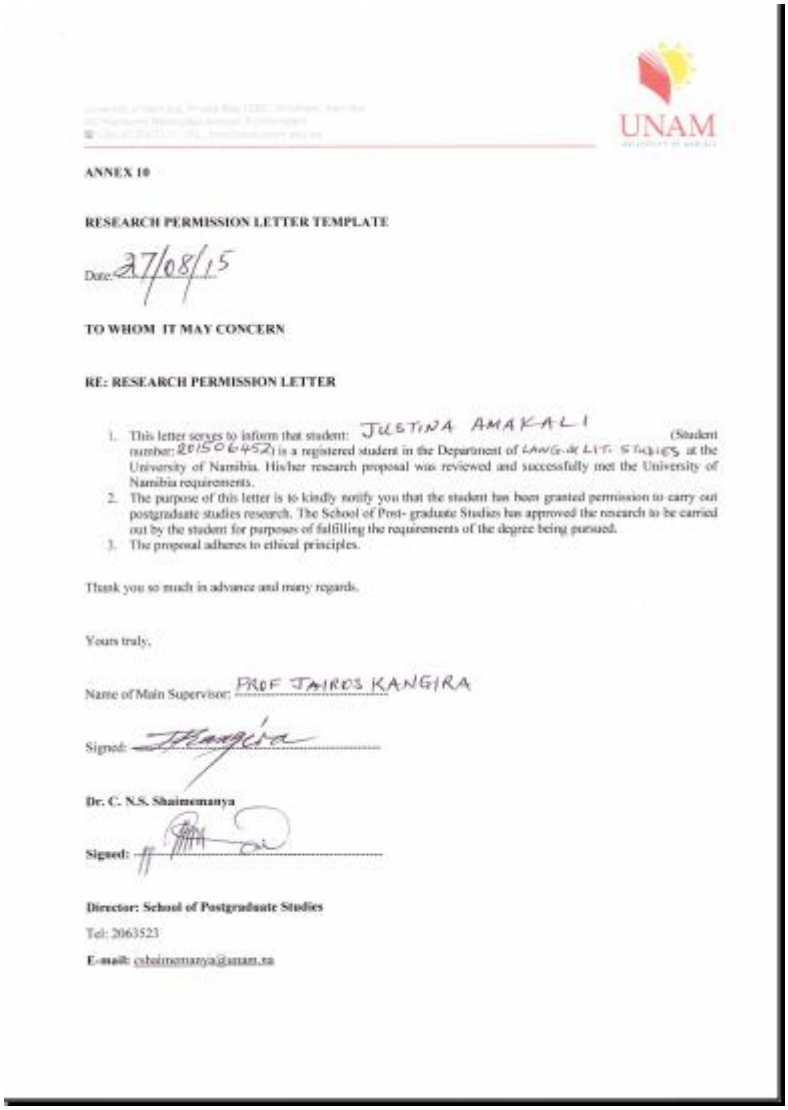
Take note of the following:
(a) Any significant changes in the conditions or undertakings outlined in the approved Proposal must be communicated to the UREC. An application to make amendments may be necessary.
(b) Any breaches of ethical undertakings or practices that have an impact on ethical conduct of the research must be reported to the UREC.
(c) The Principal Researcher must report issues of ethical compliance to the UREC (through the Chairperson of the Faculty/Centre/Campus Research & Publications Committee) at the end of the Project or as may be requested by UREC.
(d) The UREC retains the right to:
(i). withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance if any unethical practices (as outlined in the Research Ethics Policy) have been detected or suspected,
(ii). request for an ethical compliance report at any point during the course of the research.

UREC wishes you the best in your research.

Prof. Mapaure
UNAM Research Coordinator
ON BEHALF OF UREC

APPENDIX 2

RESEARCH PERMISSION LETTER



UNAM

ANNEX 10

RESEARCH PERMISSION LETTER TEMPLATE

Date: 27/08/15

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH PERMISSION LETTER

1. This letter serves to inform that student: JUSTINA AMAKALI (Student number: 201506452) is a registered student in the Department of LANG. & LIT. STUDIES at the University of Namibia. His/her research proposal was reviewed and successfully met the University of Namibia requirements.
2. The purpose of this letter is to kindly notify you that the student has been granted permission to carry out postgraduate studies research. The School of Post- graduate Studies has approved the research to be carried out by the student for purposes of fulfilling the requirements of the degree being pursued.
3. The proposal adheres to ethical principles.

Thank you so much in advance and many regards.

Yours truly,

Name of Main Supervisor: PROF JAIROS KANGIRA

Signed: .....

Dr. C. N.S. Shaimemanya

Signed: .....

Director: School of Postgraduate Studies

Tel: 2063523

E-mail: cshaimemanya@unam.na

APPENDIX 3

CONSENT LETTER

National Assembly

Private Bag 13323
Windhoek
Namibia
Republic of Namibia

Tel: (+264-61) 288 9111
Fax: (+264-61) 247 772
E-mail: parliament@parliament.gov.na

Ref:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH PERMISSION LETTER

This letter serves to allow Justina Amakali, student number 201506452 from the Department of Language Studies at the University of Namibia to conduct research on parliamentary proceedings for her postgraduate studies.
Please render her the necessary cooperation in her endeavours.

Yours sincerely

ACTING SECRETARY: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY NAMIBIA

FINDLEY HARKER
ACTING SECRETARY: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

All official correspondence must be addressed to the Secretary

APPENDIX 4

NAMES AND POSITIONS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

1. Hon. Peter Katjavivi – Speaker
2. Hon. Loide Kasingo – Deputy Speaker
3. Hon. Nangolo Mbumba – (SWAPO)
4. Hon. Laura McLeod-Katjirua – (SWAPO)
5. Hon. Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila – Prime Minister (SWAPO)
6. Hon. Netumbo Nandi Ndaitwah – Deputy Prime Minister (SWAPO)
7. Hon. Sacky Shanghala – Attorney General (SWAPO)
8. Hon. Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana – Minister of Home Affairs and immigration (SWAPO)
9. Hon. Immanuel Ngatjizeko – Minister of Industrialisation, Trade & SME development (SWAPO)
10. Hon. Frans Kapofi – Minister of Presidential Affairs (SWAPO)
11. Hon. Erikki Nghimtina – Minister of Labour, Industrial relations & Employment creation (SWAPO)
12. Hon. Jerry Ekandjo – Minister of Sport, Youth & National services (SWAPO)
13. Hon. Evelyn !Nawases-Taeyele – Chief Whip (SWAPO),
14. Hon. Utoni Nujoma – Minister of Land reform (SWAPO)
15. Hon. Charles Namoloh – Minister of Safety & Security (SWAPO)
16. Hon. Alfeus !Naurseb – Minister of Works & transport (SWAPO)
17. Hon. John Mutorwa – Minister of Agriculture, Water & Forestry (SWAPO)
18. Hon. Dr. Albert Kawana – Minister of Justice (SWAPO)

19. Hon. Tom Alweendo – Director General of National Planning Commission (SWAPO)
20. Hon. Calle Schelettwein – Minister of Finance (SWAPO)
21. Hon. Bernard Esau – Minister of Fisheries & Marine resources (SWAPO)
22. Hon. Doreen Sioka – Minister of Gender equality & Child welfare (SWAPO)
23. Hon. Frans Kapofi – Minister of Presidential Affairs (SWAPO)
24. Hon. Dr. Idah Kandjii-Murangi – Minister of Higher Education, Training & innovation (SWAPO)
25. Hon. Penda Ya Ndakolo – Minister of Defence (SWAPO)
26. Hon. Sophia Shaningwa – Minister of Urban & Rural development (SWAPO)
27. Hon. Pohamba Shifeta – Minister of Environment & Tourism (SWAPO)
28. Hon. Tjekero Tweya – Minister of Information & Communication Technology (SWAPO)
29. Hon. Obed Kandjoze – Minister of Mines & Energy (SWAPO)
30. Hon. Dr. Zephania Kameeta – Minister of Poverty eradication & Social welfare (SWAPO)
31. Hon. Dr. Bernhard Haufiku – Minister of Health & Social services (SWAPO)
32. Hon. Leon Jooste – Minister of Public enterprises (SWAPO)
33. Hon. Katrina Hanse-Himarwa – Minister of Education, Arts & Culture (SWAPO)
34. Hon. Christina //Hoebes – Deputy Minister of Prime Minister's Office (SWAPO)
35. Hon. Dr. Peya Mushelenga – Deputy Minister of International relations & Cooperations (SWAPO)

36. Hon. Anna Shiweda – Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Water & Forestry (SWAPO)
37. Hon. Theo Diergaartd – Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Water & Forestry
38. Hon. Pieter Van Der Walt – Deputy Minister of Industrialisation, Trade& SME development (SWAPO)
39. Hon. Lucia Iipumbu – Deputy Minister National Planning Commission (SWAPO)
40. Hon. Lucia Witbooi – Deputy Minister of Gender equality & Child welfare (SWAPO)
41. Hon. Natangue Iithete – Deputy Minister of Finance (SWAPO)
42. Hon. Alpheus Muheua – Deputy Minister of Industrial relations & Employment creation (SWAPO)
43. Hon. Priscilla Beukes – Deputy Minister of Poverty eradication & Social welfare (SWAPO)
44. Hon. Engel Nawatiseb – Deputy Minister of Public eterprises (SWAPO)
45. Hon. Anna Nghipondoka – Deputy Minister of Education, Arts & Culture (SWAPO)
46. Hon. Dr. Becky Ndjoze-Ojo – Deputy Minister of Higher Education and Innovation (SWAPO)
47. Hon. Dr. Chief Samuel Ankama – Deputy Minister of Fisheries & Marine resources (SWAPO)
48. Hon. Erastus Utoni – Deputy Minister of Home Affairs & Immigration (SWAPO)
49. Hon. Aino Kapewangolo – Deputy Minister of Poverty eradication & Social welfare (SWAPO)

50. Hon Kilus Nguvauva – Deputy Minister of Works & Transport (SWAPO)
51. Hon. Sankwasa James Sankwasa – Deputy Minister of Works & Transport (SWAPO)
52. Hon. Daniel Kashikola – Deputy Minister of Safety & Security (SWAPO)
53. Hon. Derek Klazen – Deputy Minister of Urban & Rural development (SWAPO)
54. Hon. Billy Mwaningange – Deputy Minister of Defence (SWAPO)
55. Hon. Hilma Nicanor – Deputy Minister of Veteran Affairs
56. Hon. Alexia Manombe-Ncube – Deputy Minister of Disability Affairs (SWAPO)
57. Hon. Ludwina Shapwa – Deputy Minister of Justice (SWAPO)
58. Hon. Bernadus Swartbooi – Deputy Minister of Land reform (SWAPO)
59. Hon. Agnes Tjongaero – Deputy Minister of Sport, Youth & National services (SWAPO)
60. Hon. Sylvia Makgone – Deputy Minister of Urban & Rural development (SWAPO)
61. Hon. Thomas Nambahu – Deputy Minister of Environment & Tourism (SWAPO)
62. Hon. Stanely Simataa – Deputy Minister Information & Communication Technology (SWAPO)
63. Hon. Juliet Kavetuna – Deputy Minister of Health & Social services (SWAPO)
64. Hon. Kornelia Shilunga – Deputy Minister of Mines & Energy (SWAPO)
65. Hon. Maureen Hinda – Deputy Minister of International relations & Cooperations (SWAPO)

66. Hon Royal Ui/o/oo - Deputy Minister of Marginalised communities (SWAPO)
67. Hon. McHenry Venaani (DTA)
68. Hon. Jennifer van den Heever (DTA)
69. Hon. Vipuakuje Muharukua (DTA)
70. Hon. Nicolaas Smit (DTA)
71. Hon. Elma Dienda (DTA)
72. Hon. Clara Gowases (RP)
73. Hon. Stephanus Bezuidenhout (RDP)
74. Hon. Mike Kavekotora (RDP)
75. Hon. Agnes Limbo (RDP)
76. Hon. Salmon Fleermuys (WRP)
77. Hon. Benson Kaapala (WRP)
78. Hon. Jan van Wyk (UPM)
79. Hon. Ignatius Shixwameni (APP)
80. Hon. Reinhold Nauyoma (APP)
81. Hon. Asser Mbai (NUDO)
82. Hon. Meundju Jahanika (NUDO)
83. Hon. Apius Auchab (UDF)
84. Hon. Victorine Shikongo (UDF)
85. Hon. Usutuaije Maamberua (SWANU)
86. Hon. Marina Kandumbu (SWAPO)
87. Hon. Gotthard Kasuto (SWAPO)
88. Hon. Bernadette Jagger (SWAPO)
89. Hon. Liina Namupala (SWAPO)

90. Hon. Priscilla Kavita (SWAPO)

91. Hon. Rebekka Ipinge-Nakale (SWAPO)

92. Hon. Levi Katoma (SWAPO)

93. Hon. Lusia Nghaamwa (SWAPO)

94. Hon. Faustina Caley (SWAPO)

95. Hon. Norah Munsu (SWAPO)

96. Hon. Loide Shinavene (SWAPO)

97. Hon. Johanna Kandjimi (SWAPO)

98. Hon. Annakletha Sikerete (SWAPO)

99. Hon. Heather Sibungo (SWAPO)

100. Hon. Ida Hoffmann (SWAPO)

101. Hon. Julius Hambyuka (SWAPO)

102. Hon. Emilia Nuyoma-Amupewa (SWAPO)

103. Hon. Agnes Kafula (SWAPO)

104. Hon. Veikko Nekundi (SWAPO)

105. Hon. Margret Mahoto (SWAPO)

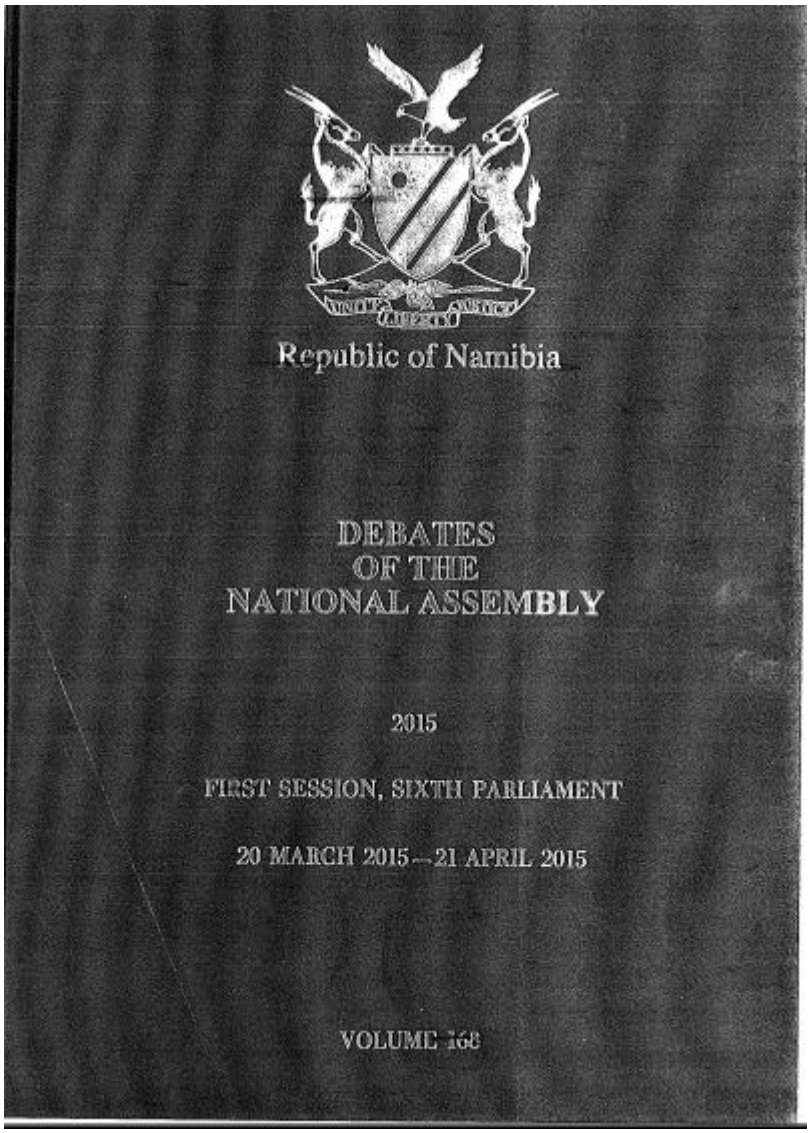
106. Hon. Petrina Haingura (SWAPO)

107. Hon. Sophia Swartz (SWAPO)

108. Hon. Sebastiaan Karupu (SWAPO)

APPENDIX 5

Debates of the National Assembly. 20 March - 21 April 2015. Vol. 168.



OATH AND/OR AFFIRMATION BY NEWLY ELECTED MEMBERS

"I, ..., do hereby swear/solemnly affirm that I will be faithful to the Republic of Namibia and its people and I solemnly promise to uphold and defend the Constitution and Laws of the Republic of Namibia to the best of my ability. (In the case of an oath:) So help me God."

DEPUTY SECRETARY: I will call the Members elect in groups of ten as stated, to form a half circle in front. We have pens on the desk to sign and hand to the Chief Justice, where-after you will make the declarations. So please go back to your seats after you have indicated. I call on Chief Samuel Ankama, Emilia Nuyoma-Amupewa, Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila, Thomas Alweendo, Apius Auxab, Priscilla Beukes, Stephanus Bezuidenhout, Faustina Caley, Clara //Gowases, Elma Dienda.

CHIEF JUSTICE SHIVUTE administers the Oath/Affirmation to the Members.

DEPUTY SECRETARY: Jerry Ekandjo, Bernhardt Esau, Salmon Fleermuys, Katrina Hanse-Himarwa, Bernard Hafiku, Ida Hoffmann, Hambyuka Hamunyera, Christine //Hoebes, Rebekka Iipinge-Nakale and Nickey Iyambo.

CHIEF JUSTICE SHIVUTE administers the Oath/Affirmation to the Members.

DEPUTY SECRETARY: Paulus Iithete, Lucia Iipumbu, Leon Jooste

Bernadette Jagger, Meundju Jahanika, Gotthard Kasuto, Obed Kandjoze, Albert Kawana, Zephania Kameeta and Leevi Katoma.

CHIEF JUSTICE SHIVUTE administers the Oath/Affirmation to the Members.

DEPUTY SECRETARY: Daniel Kashikola, Johanna Kandjimi, Aino Kapewangolo, Frans Kapofi, Derek Klazen, Priscilla Kavita, Juliet Kavetuna, Loide Kasingo, Peter Katjavivi and Sebastian Karupu.

CHIEF JUSTICE SHIVUTE administers the Oath/Affirmation to the Members.

DEPUTY SECRETARY: Agnes Kafula, Benson Kaapala, Mike Kavekotora, Laura McLeod-Katjirua, Agnes Limbo, Billy Mwaningange, Itah Kandjii-Murangi, Norah Munsu, Maureen Hinda and Sylvia Makgone.

CHIEF JUSTICE SHIVUTE administers the Oath/Affirmation to the Members.

DEPUTY SECRETARY: Peya Mushelenga, Alfeus Muheua, Usutuije Maamberua, Asser Mbai, Themostikles Murorua, Vipuakuje Muharukua, Nangolo Mbumba, John Mutorwa, Anna Nghipondoka, Lucia Nghaamwa

and Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah.

CHIEF JUSTICE SHIVUTE administers the Oath/Affirmation to the Members.

DEPUTY SECRETARY: Penda Ya Ndakolo, Alexia Manombe-Ncube, Tommy Nambahu, Liina Namupala, Charles Namoloh, Engelbrecht Nawatise, Immanuel Ngatjizeko, Erkki Nghimtina, Alfeus !Naruseb and Reinhold Nauyoma.

CHIEF JUSTICE SHIVUTE administers the Oath/Affirmation to the Members.

DEPUTY SECRETARY: Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana, Utoni Nujoma, Veikko Nekundi, Becky Ndjoze-Ojo, Annakletha Sikerete, Heather Sibungo, Loide Shinavene, Sakeus Shanghala, Kornelia Shilunga and Bernardus Swartbooi.

CHIEF JUSTICE SHIVUTE administers the Oath/Affirmation to the Members.

DEPUTY SECRETARY: James Sangwasa, Anna Shiweda, Lidwina Shapwa, Sophia Shaningwa, Ignatius Shixwameni, Nicolaas Smith, Calle Schlettwein, Stanley Simaata, Sophia Swartz, Doreen Sioka and Pohamba Shifeta.

CHIEF JUSTICE SHIVUTE administers the Oath/Affirmation to the Members.

DEPUTY SECRETARY: Torka Shikongo, Agnes Tjongarero, Evelyn !Nawases-Taeyele, Tjekero Tweya, Royal /Ui/o/oo, Erastus Uutoni, Jan Van Wyk, Jennifer Van den Heever, MacHenry Venaani, Pieter Van der Walt, Lucia Witbooi.

CHIEF JUSTICE SHIVUTE administers the Oath/Affirmation to the Members.

SECRETARY: Honourable Members, I trust that we have not missed anyone. It is my honest and sincere pleasure to declare you all, duly elected Members of the Sixth National Assembly. Congratulations. *(Applause and ululation)*

At this stage we wish to convey a sincere word of gratitude to His Lordship Chief Justice Peter Shivute who has taken time off his very busy schedule to assist us this morning and since we know that he has other pressing issues, we will release him now. Thank you very much, Your Lordship. *(Applause)*

Please be seated. At this stage, I would just like to announce that for all the duly elected Members, there will be an induction training, starting from Monday to Friday, that is, 23 to 27 March 2015, in this very Chamber and it will be appreciated if you can be here by 08:30, so that we can start at 09:00. Thank you very much.

We will now proceed to the election of the Speaker of the National Assembly and I would now like to call for nominations for the position of Speaker of the National Assembly. Honourable Kuugongelwa-Amadhila.

NOMINATION OF SPEAKER

RT HON PRIME MINISTER (DESIGNATE): Thank you very much, Mr Presiding Officer. Before I make the nomination, I would like to extend warm congratulations to all the newly sworn in Members of Parliament for the honour that has been bestowed on all of us by the Namibian people to serve as Members of this august House and to carry out, on their behalf the process of lawmaking for our country. I wish all of them wisdom, strength and courage in the discharge of this sacred National duty. Having said, that I have the honour to nominate, for the position of Speaker of this august House, someone who is an experienced Leader, a seasoned Politician and Diplomat, a distinguished Scholar and someone with impeccable National Liberation Struggle credentials and, that person is Ambassador Professor Peter Hishitevi Katjavivi. I Move so *(applause)*

SECRETARY: Who seconds the nomination?

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES (DESIGNATE): I Juliet Kavetuna, hereby second the nomination of Professor Peter Katjavivi as the Speaker of the National Assembly. *(Applause)*

SECRETARY: Thank you very much. Are there any further nominations? Is that your final answer? Thank you very much.

HON BEZUIDENHOUT: Thank you, Presiding Officer. I would like to congratulate all of us duly elected Members and I want to put it on record that I am very much in favour of our nominee to be elected as the Speaker and I wish all of us will lend him a hand to assist him going forward in managing this Chamber. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

SECRETARY: There being no further nominations, I hereby have the distinct honour and privilege to call on Honourable Professor Peter Katjavivi to come forward so that the outgoing Speaker can give him the tokens of authority for your new position and then you can take the Chair as the Speaker of the Sixth National Assembly of the Republic of Namibia. Professor Katjavivi, please come forward.

HANDING OVER OF THE TOKENS OF AUTHORITY

HON DR GURIRAB: I am still the Speaker *(laughter)*. I need to say one or two things and, therefore, please be seated because some of you might collapse.

By a dictate of history, continuity, consistency and change, here we are again pushing democracy forward, yet again. Namibia as a State started doing its own political innovations in 1990 and now 25 years onwards, we relive once again the memories and innovations from thenceforth to here today, yet again.

Now here I pass on to my worthy successor this hallowed instrument of authority and power as the third Speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of Namibia. My respect, best wishes and God's speed. *(Applause and ululation)* I think we have met before *(laughter)*. In the

office that you have now entered, you have no other protection, you would have somebody called the Sergeant at Arms but what you think he will do, unless you have this document forever next to you, will be questioned. Hold on to it, next to the Holy Bible, sleep with it.

These people that you would be looking at called Honourable Members, are sometimes not as honourable as assumed. So this is what will guide you on how to handle them - the Rules and Orders of the National Assembly. However, since they are what I said they are, do not hesitate to use them to maintain Law and Order in the House and keep them in line *(ululation)*.

I will take my walk but I will be watching you, should you need help. Once again, congratulations. I want to tell those whose act it was collectively to have elected you as next the Speaker, the best that they can be, except for myself *(laughter and ululation)*.

SECRETARY: Please be seated. Having been duly elected and given the tools of trade, I now hand over to your new Speaker to preside over the election of the Deputy Speaker *(applause)*. Mr Speaker.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. The House is called to order. I now call for nominations for the position of the Deputy Speaker. May I have the nominations please? Yes, Honourable Member, you have the Floor.

NOMINATION OF DEPUTY SPEAKER

HON DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION (DESIGNATE): Thank you, Honourable Speaker. Firstly, let me

congratulate you, Honourable Speaker on your well deserved election to serve as Speaker of our Sixth National Assembly. I believe I am speaking on behalf of all of us that we will assure you our cooperation in order to enable us execute the tasks entrusted to us by the people of the Republic of Namibia with Honour and integrity.

Let us also thank our outgoing Speaker for the manner in which he conducted the last Parliament or National Assembly and also for his words of encouragement during the handing over of power and we believe that with this tools we will be able to perform our duties.

Let me also congratulate all of us, the Honourable Members of Parliament for being elected to this position and I am sure we will serve our Nation to the best of their interests.

Honourable Speaker, I am standing to nominate for the position of Deputy Speaker, a person who is well known to us, a Unionist, Political Practitioner for many years, with extensive experienced on Parliamentary activities, particularly in the last Parliament in which she has served as the Deputy Speaker. Even before that - having served in different Committees both at home and internationally, particularly when it comes to the African Parliament. I am nominating, for the consideration by this House, Honourable Loide Kasingo to be the Deputy Speaker of the Sixth National Assembly of the Namibian Parliament. I so Move, Comrade Speaker.

HON SPEAKER: Do I have any seconder to the nomination? Yes, Honourable Mushelenga please.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION (DESIGNATE): Honourable Speaker, I rise to second the nomination for the position of Deputy Speaker, Honourable

as a new Speaker of this august House.

I wish to place on record my thanks to the incoming President, His Excellency Dr Hage Geingob for the confidence he has in me and equally thankful to the outgoing Head of State His Excellency Hifikepunye Pohamba for the support and cooperation I have enjoyed while serving in the Office of the Government Chief Whip, better known as the SWAPO Chief Whip in this House. As you know, this role entails working with all Political Parties and their Whips and I would like to sincerely thank all of them for the cooperation that they extended to me. We have developed a positive culture of respect and mutual understanding of our roles in this House and I sincerely, from the bottom of my heart, hope that this culture will continue as we preside over the Sixth Parliament.

My Colleagues in this House, Members of my Party and those in the Opposition, the English words - *thank you*, are not enough to express how I feel by entrusting me with this particular position. I am conscious, as I sit here that it is you collectively, together with the leadership of my Party, SWAPO, headed by the President Elect, that saw it fit that I assume the new role of Speaker of this House. I acknowledge with appreciation a very touchy moment in my own life and in the life of this House the handing over whereby the outgoing Speaker, Honourable Dr Theo-Ben Gurirab, an old friend, a Comrade, a Brother, has taken time to come here and see to it that we do what we witnessed a minute ago - handing me the ceremonial mace, which is one of the major symbols of authority of the Parliament. We are making history and we are setting in motion a tradition, a culture that we want to see extended from generation to generation.

The Constitution and the Standing Rules and Orders are key documents that are going to guide the work of this House as it has been done earlier. This act symbolises the bestowing of jurisdiction of the office of the Speaker and the responsibility of this position towards the people of this country. I very much appreciate this.

Honourable Colleagues, I am conscious of the fact that I am stepping into

20 March 2015 ACCEPTANCE STATEMENT
HON PROF KATJAVIVI

as a new Speaker of this august House.

I wish to place on record my thanks to the incoming President, His Excellency Dr Hage Geingob for the confidence he has in me and equally thankful to the outgoing Head of State His Excellency Hifikepunye Pohamba for the support and cooperation I have enjoyed while serving in the Office of the Government Chief Whip, better known as the SWAPO Chief Whip in this House. As you know, this role entails working with all Political Parties and their Whips and I would like to sincerely thank all of them for the cooperation that they extended to me. We have developed a positive culture of respect and mutual understanding of our roles in this House and I sincerely, from the bottom of my heart, hope that this culture will continue as we preside over the Sixth Parliament.

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The Constitution and the Standing Rules and Orders are key documents that are going to guide the work of this House as it has been done earlier. This act symbolises the bestowing of jurisdiction of the office of the Speaker and the responsibility of this position towards the people of this country. I very much appreciate this.

Honourable Colleagues, I am conscious of the fact that I am stepping into

the shoes of a Giant who has made an immense contribution to our country and he is a well known personality at home and abroad. He too succeeded other equally well versed Giant in Parliamentary Affairs, that being Honourable Dr Mose Penaani Tjitendero. Both Dr Theo Ben Gurirab and the late Dr Mose Tjitendero have been close friends and Colleagues of mine with whom I have shared a very close history of association as young man growing up together and facing many years with a spirit of determination and perseverance.

On this note I would like to especially thank my dear wife Jane up there, my children and grand children for everything they have done, particularly my dear wife who has been by my side throughout the challenges life brings. *(Applause)*

Equally, I wish to extend my appreciation to my communities back home in the village, the village of Ovitoto and the place of my birth – Okahandja, and those elders who have continuously kept faith in me and with whom I have to consult from time to time for their guidance and support in my efforts to better serve Namibia our country.

Honourable Colleague, I look forward to working with all of you in this House and I count on your support in discharging our common duties in the best interests of our Nation and the people we are here to serve. The Parliament is one of the three Organs of the State, the other two being the Executive and the Judiciary. It is indeed an honour and privilege to serve in this Honourable Arena.

May I also take this opportunity to wish the President Elect, Dr Hage Geingob full strength and wisdom as he presides over the affairs of our country. We admire his tenacity and the vision that he has expounded in the recent weeks and look forward to working with him. This is the time of excitement and hope, and in this House together with other Organs of the State we can work to implement the President's agenda. There is a great deal to be said but for now I simply wish to thank you for what you have done to me to have me sitting here in front of you and to preside over the affairs of the National Assembly.

I think that is what I wanted to say for now, from the bottom of my heart I now revert back to the presiding of the House *(applause)*.

I would like to ask the Honourable Members who nominated me and seconded me whether they would like to say a word or two before I touch on another issue before me? Is there any? Thank you.

I have received a written communication from the SWAPO Party with respect to its nomination for the position of the SWAPO Party Chief Whip in the National Assembly and the name forwarded to me is that of Honourable Evelyn !Nawases-Taeyele, an outstanding Parliamentarian, a PAN Africanist, her name has been put forward as my successor in that position. May I call upon her just to indicate her acceptance? *(Applause)*

Thank you and my warmest congratulations. If need be, I am available to share one or two things, as well as handing over a file that I have put together for the purpose of facilitating whoever comes to that office. Thank you. Honourable Deputy Speaker, you have the Floor.

HON DEPUTY SPEAKER: Thank you. First of all, I have to congratulate you for being elected as the Speaker of the National Assembly and I am proud to work under you. Let me start off with a saying in one of the vernaculars that says - *wapandula noyaka,* means that if you do not appreciate the efforts of others then you are doomed.

To be re-elected for the second term in the position of Deputy Speaker of one of the most important Organs of the State - the Legislature, I have to, first of all, thank the Almighty God who coordinated the rank and file of the Members of SWAPO who voted for me and all the others *en masse* to ensure that we are here *(applause)*

I have to thank the leadership of my Party, the SWAPO Party, the outgoing President of the Country and President of the Party, the incoming President, the Secretary-General, Deputy Secretary-General and, of

has UNAM not charged them with their regulations? Would you agree with me that this is selective morality?

6. Does the Ministry condone this UNAM policy?

7. Would the Minister tolerate that a publicly funded institutions promote one Political Party at the expense of others, using public resources?

8. Honourable Minister, do not you think that this act of UNAM gives a perception that it is being used by members of a certain Political Party as a springboard for the advancement of their political careers?

9. In your view, does a public institution that behaves in this manner deserve public funding?

I so Move, Honourable Speaker?

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. May I ask the Honourable Member at the other end, my system does not yet indicate names, however, I am giving you the Floor. Yes, you are welcome.

QUESTION 08:

HON DIENDA: I give Notice that on Thursday, the 16th of April 2015, I shall ask the Minister of Urban and Rural Development, Honourable Sofia Shaningwa, the following questions regarding the Mass Housing Project. *(Interjection) muffy tuffy,* it is a *mess* because it is in a *mess*! What do you not understand? *(Laughter)*

HON SPEAKER: Let us have order please.

I extend my sincere gratitude to the Former President, His Excellency Hifikepunye Pohamba, under whose exemplary leadership I was privileged to respectively serve as the Deputy Minister of Finance and the Minister of Trade and Industry; and especially for the quantum progress that the country has made in various facets of socio-economic development agenda during his Presidency.

Honourable Speaker, I wish to sincerely thank my predecessor, the former Minister of Finance and now the Right Honourable Prime Minister, Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila, for her great contribution to building a robust Public Finance Management System and for her effective stewardship of the Financial Sector. Indeed, I thank her for her sound guidance during the memorable months and years we worked together - as the Permanent Secretary and later as the Deputy Minister, as well as for her support during the last few days of finalising the Budget preparation.

Honourable Speaker, let me take this opportunity to congratulate you on your election as Speaker of the National Assembly. In the same vein, may I also congratulate Honourable Loide Kasingo as the Deputy Speaker of this House. I also want to congratulate all the Honourable Members of the National Assembly, new and old, for their successful elections. Under your able leadership, this House is destined to steer the legislations to provide for the bread and butter issues affecting our people and our Nation's socio-economic development agenda, including, of course the *Appropriation Bill* before us.

I recognize the Opposition Parties, especially the Official Opposition Party, and want to thank them in advance for the positive contribution in the common responsibility for advancing the socio-economic development agenda for our country.

Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, I wish to draw your attention to Article 126(1) of the Namibian Constitution, which states that - "*the Minister responsible for finance shall, at least once every year and thereafter at such interim stages as may be necessary, present estimates of revenue, expenditure and income for the prospective Financial Year*".

selective when we hail countries that supported us. It is good when we laud some countries, but it is totally unacceptable to be inconsistent, remaining mum of European countries that formed part of the eastern bloc that provided all round support to the Namibian cause during the difficult days of Cold War politics in the history of human kind. We should move a step further, else our action in terms of establishing diplomatic presence could be interpreted to be confirming that unfortunate omission. It is high time we do damage control.

Immediately coming to my mind in that region is the Czech Republic, where hundreds of Namibian children received education. In the publication by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) titled - ***OECD Economic Surveys, Czech Republic***, published in November 2011, it is stated that the Czech economy has a strong component of the Manufacturing Sector which contributes enormously to that country's economic growth, exports, investment and employment. Being a Member of the European Union (EU), the Czech economy is reported to be perfectly integrated in the regional supply chains, with the foreign direct investment (FDIs) stock well above the EU average, while capital stock is arguably on par with that of other EU Member States. Namibia's vigorous economic diplomacy towards the Czech, therefore, stands to benefit our businesspersons to tap examples of growing the Manufacture Industry, necessary for value addition on their primary products.

Romania is another country worth mentioning. This country hosted a diplomatic office for SWAPO during the Liberation Struggle. This country, too, is a Member of the EU that is in a favourable position to engage in trade and investment. In his discourse, titled – ***Romania's Recent Trends of Romania's International Trade in Goods***, published in the Centre for Economic Studies (CES) Working Paper, Vol VI, Issue 2, Andrei -Cristian Balasan surmises that Romania engrossed the technology of more advanced countries and has witnessed improvement in economic performance, resulting in export growth. Further, the Factor Development Regional Centre's publication titled - ***Trade and Investment Opportunities in Romania*** - Q1 2015 reveals that Romania has a large

scale agricultural products in the form of grapes. It was recently reported in the local daily that a Regional Councillor for the Karasburg Constituency complained about the foreign ownership of the grape crops along the Orange River. If Namibians were to take ownership and we extend the horizons of our economic diplomacy to Romania, our people could learn from the Romanian agricultural techniques of grape production, given Romania's advanced technology. This type of economic diplomacy focus fulfils the aspirations of the National Development Plan (NDP) 4, which cites agriculture as one of the four priority areas.

The importance of intensifying of diplomatic relations with the Eastern Europe region is a reality. While we may not necessarily have a permanent diplomatic establishment there, we could explore other diplomatic methods. For example, a South African scholar, Anthony Du Plessis, writes in his discourse titled - ***Foreign Policy and Diplomacy***, which is a chapter in the publication titled - ***Power, Wealth and Global Equity***, edited by Patric McGowan, Scarlet Cornelissen & Philip Nel about types and levels of diplomacy that include governmental-to-governmental personal diplomacy at various levels. Economic Ministries, in particular, are ideal partners in this venture. *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Yes, Point of Order.

HON VENAANI: Honourable Mushelenga, I have been listening to you very attentively talking about the need for us to expand to Eastern Europe and I agree with you but I seem to be missing something, are you saying that we must create these relations only with States that had political relationship some 30-40 years ago with SWAPO or are you generally talking about States that can increase economic partnerships with Namibia?

As a Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, would you argue that our economic policy is based on political ties or economic interest?

APPENDIX 6

Debates of the National Assembly. 22-23 April 2015. Vol. 169.

HOUSE ADJOURNS AT 16:09

HOUSE RESUMES AT 16:40

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Please be seated. Once more, the Whole House Committee is called to order. We now enter into Discussions of Votes 01, 02 and 30.

Honourable Members, I would like to advise the new Members that during Committee Stage general discussion is not allowed, you have to be specific even if you did not have a chance to talk during the second reading. You should say it in such a way that it is regarded as specific and detailed – not general. I advise us to set aside the congratulations and gratitude.

You may, at least, take 10 minutes and then come back again for another 10 minutes for intervention. I do not have the screen, I will rely on your lights, you must therefore not put them off.

Vote 01 – **"OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT"** put for Discussion. Any discussions? I recognise Honourable Venaani.

HON VENAANI: Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, Honourable Members, I rise to make my few contributions on the Vote of the President, given the fact that most of the time when we go to Committee Stage, we talk about specific Programmes.

Let me, firstly, start with the complex one which is the continuous general culture that we have developed in our country and many other states around us when it comes to *Programme 1 – Supervision and Support*

to continue, I have unlimited time on this. The issue of none accountability of NCIS should not – I am sure they are here and they are listening to what I am saying *(interjection)*. Please do listen. Stop your Otjimbingwe school manners.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: You have done your preamble, please proceed to your specific question.

HON VENAANI: I will go to the specific question, please do not rush me. Let me just gather my thoughts. Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, I know what I am doing please give me one moment.

I want to address myself on *Programme 2 – Marginalised Communities.* Allow me make a preface because it is an issue very close to my heart. I have a technical problem and it has to do with the mere N$48 million that we apportion to marginalised communities. It tells a story that we are not prepared, we do not know what we are doing and we are just running around trying to do something around the marginalised communities.

I want to address myself on the San Communities. Many of us are village people, we come from Okatjoruu, Okongo, Otjombinde and Katjinakatji, where we see the San communities manifesting themselves around us. Ask yourself this one question; why are the San communities still in abject poverty after 25 years of Independence? If there is an ethnic group in this country that is the lowest of the lowest. If the Indian caste system was in Namibia, the San community would be at the lowest level.

What are we doing in return? We are running around – I am very glad that the President has put the Deputy Prime Minister with a portfolio now because Deputy Prime Ministers did not have a job before. I believe that the Deputy Prime Minister should have played a role of being a senior Cabinet Minister without portfolio and a trouble-shooter but of course,

they started trouble shooting on marginalised communities. You go to the San community and build them some corrugated iron houses, these people stay there for three hours when you are there giving them the houses, then they move back to their old *(Intervention)*

HON MEMBER: Page?

HON VENAANI: Listen, I am addressing it under Programme not page. I am suggesting. I am raising the issue so that what I am suggesting will make sense. We give cattle to people and it is appreciated that Government is trying to do something, but what they are doing does not take the people out of poverty.

We have been running this Programme for the last ten years, but the people still live in abject poverty 25 years after Independence. We need to expand this Programme to address specialised training. Government should put deliberate educational facilities in place, take San children from farms, put them into schools that are 60 kilometres from nowhere, pay their clothing, give them food and make sure that they go through a formal education process for them to get out of poverty.

We allocate N$48 million to marginalised communities while we have not identified all marginalised communities in this country, for example, the Ovazemba people. *(Interjections)* They are minorities. I will tell you why they are minorities. They are marginalised *(intervention)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: I would like to remind you that you are supposed to intervene for at least 10 minutes and thereafter maybe when the Minister *(intervention)*

Americans for our products to enter their markets. If you go to Tsumkwe you will find people selling things, but these people do not know that they can proliferate these products and they can access international markets where they can generate a lot of income. Traditional marginalised communities have certain skills and we need to hone these skills to make sure that people maximise economic benefits within our country.

I am saying that N$48 million for Programme 2 is a good start but now that we have a Deputy Minister who will be tasked with minority rights, we will have to overhaul our policy to address key facet areas that will take people out of poverty. There is one thing of wasting money and not getting the results that you want while you are just throwing money at the problem. If we want to get the San community, in particular, out of poverty, the answer lies in skills development, skills training and vocational training.

These people are good hunter-gatherers by nature and lodges can use them, if they are properly trained, to help trace - especially now with this poaching problem that we are encountering in our country. We should be able to create necessary skills so that we take people out of poverty. Next year when we meet I would want to see that we are not sitting with N$48 million Budget for minority rights. It is too little. It is not targeted to address *(intervention)* Point of Order?

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Yes.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM: Honourable Venaani, I think you are making an important point, but do you not think that a proper study would probably be the answer to the first question: to evaluate the interventions and also to analyse the psychological effects of the interventions, because this community is not necessarily at a stage of development where we are? I have gone to some

of these places where I have seen that some of the kids go up to a certain level. When you place them in school they do not get the necessary support. Do you not think that it is a better approach to study and evaluate your interventions first before we even assume, because for the most part we are assuming? When I was in the Ministry of Justice, we were looking at the San law. They have laws that regulate their behaviours and how they understand things. If we do not understand these things, do you not think we will be able to still continue shooting off-target *(incomplete)*

HON VENAANI: I do not disagree very much with you, but I do not wholeheartedly espouse the opposition because we are doing nothing. We are just giving cattle, building corrugate iron shacks and we are doing PR to address marginalisation. This is just for somebody to prove that *President, I am working, now I am opening schools and I am doing this.* We are not addressing the real problem and I partly agree with you that perhaps we should re-evaluate these things. I do not want to belabour the issue of marginalised people, but it is what the Minister of Finance said when he quoted Darwin, that it is us that are going to fail these communities if we do not do anything about their plight. However, N$48 million to address their plight is nothing.

I am a person that travels and traverses this country due to my work and what I do, as well as during my election campaign. I have a farm worker, perhaps just for the interest of the House, who is probably 57 now. He asked me one day; *you people like elections, elections. Can I ask you something boss?* I said - *yes* and he said; *why is it that I have never seen a San member of the community owning hundred herds of cattle besides Royal /Ui/o/oo?* This is an informed person, very informed. He listens to the radio. He knows all of you. He has not seen you, but he knows who the Ministers are.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Is he also a San?

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: For the sake of time you can come in again as a contribution if you want to contradict this one. It can also be done. *(Interjections)* No, no! Yes, either this or that. You can stand up. He can say something and if you want to contradict, you can either raise up your hand for the Floor or you can ask for an interjection like you did. It can be done. Madam, please. *(Interjections)* Yes, I am in charge.

HON JAGGER: Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, thank you very much. When it comes to the San, Ovatue, Ovatjimba, Ovahimba, and the Hai//kom, I can assure this House today that the Government has done a lot for these communities. When it come to skills development, which starts with education, Government has made sure that all these communities are provided with education; whether it started in a tent school or in a corrugated iron roof sheet, Government has provided *(intervention)*

HON VENAANI: On a Point of Order, she is making a statement. She is not asking me a question. You can stand up and make a statement.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: That is what I was saying *(intervention)*

HON VENAANI: Please be seated.

HON MEMBER: Point of Information.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Point of Information.

RT HON PRIME MINISTER: The dispute here is not that Heads of State and Government are hosted by Government of the State that they visit. That is not the dispute. The dispute here is that he is assuming that just because there is an S & T system in the country a President would, even though he is sponsored by another Government, still claim what he is entitled to. That is the wrong assumption that he is making. He cannot prove that. It is true that there is an S & T system; it is true that one can be hosted when one is travelling, but you cannot say that just because these two exist the President is benefiting from both. That is the point I am trying to make.

HON VENAANI: As a Leader of Government and a Leader of that side you have the right to do that, and as the Leader of this side I have the right to point out a reality. Let me just refresh your memory; we had a case of corruption of one Secretary of Cabinet *(interjection)* Listen! Listen to the argument. It happened and it was mentioned in public that every time when the President goes out I must carry cash around with me through S & Ts. If we want to be consistent against corruption, Heads of State rake in internationally. There are even International Reports, Heads of State rake in millions of dollars through S & Ts while they are in office.

I want to ask the Minister of Presidential Affairs whether - *puratena mundu wa hongaze, puratena* - the office would make sure that we nip this in the bud to make sure that we remain accountable.

Lastly, we have amended our national Constitution to make a provision to have a sitting Vice President of the Republic, but the rules that govern *(interjections)* Listen! I know it is always good when you are praised when it is getting hot then *what is your point? (interjections)* Listen!

HON VENAANI: *Pulikina, shiveli shange.* Listen! We have a Programme here which is referring to the Office of the Vice President. We are saying, on this side, that just as we amended the Constitution we were supposed to have a Bill addressing the salary scale of the Vice President. At the end of the month the Vice President would be paid on an assumed and unauthorised salary scale because you are sleeping on the job. You are just congratulating now. Start doing the work. Honourable Minister of Presidential Affairs, I want you to tell this House what you are doing in that regard. Otherwise, I support the Vote. Thank you very much.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Honourable Dienda.

HON DIENDA: Thank you, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. Honourable Members, I have four questions and my first question is on Page 27 – *the Estimates of Revenue Income and Expenditure*. Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, on *Improvement of Remuneration Structures*, can the Honourable Minister please explain to me the following:

This improvement only caters for certain divisions in the Budget of the President. The divisions which are catered for by this Improvement of Remuneration Structures are: Office of the President, Administration, Former President's Office and they exclude the Cabinet Secretariat and the San Development Programme or the marginalised groups. Can you please explain why? Is it a salary increment? Is it a re-grading which is late and would come in now? I just want clarity on that.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: I recognise Honourable Venaani.

Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, my third question is; can the Honourable Minister also explain to this House the funding of the former President, His Excellency Pohamba. Where are his expenses reflected in this Budget?

On Page 32 of the *Estimates and Revenue Income and Expenditure* document – the Division for Former President's Office I could only find the following: One First Lady and one President were budgeted for - where is the other President and his wife mentioned? I cannot find it. *(Interjections)* On Page 32 here Former Founding President's Office. There are no budgetary provisions made for President Pohamba and his wife here.

Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, I further need additional information on the Budget of the Office of the Vice President and his Deputies. The manner in which other Divisions and Programmes were explained by Honourable Kapofi were very unspecific to me. Moreover, the items mentioned do not correlate with what was budgeted for in the Budget tabled by Honourable Calle *difficult surname.*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Maybe you can say Honourable Minister of Finance.

HON DIENDA: Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, can I please get clarity on these issues so that we can surely not be expected to authorise blank cheques. If there is no budgetary provision we cannot expect from this *(intervention)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Point of Order.

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY: Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, may I please ask the Honourable Member to behave a little bit Parliamentary and call Honourable Calle Schlettwein by his name and not Calle *difficult surname*. Can we please respect each other?

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Or she can say Honourable Minister of Finance.

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY: Please but not Calle *difficult surname*. He does not have another surname. Can we have respect for each other, please? Thank you, Comrade Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: I agree with that.

HON DIENDA: Honourable Chairperson, he is the one calling me Dienda, Dienda every day. Do I complain?

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Honourable Dienda I think you can *(intervention)*

HON DIENDA: Honourable Calle, I will just call you Honourable Calle.

I cannot say your surname and I will not be educated by anybody else to say it. Honourable Minister Calle, thank you.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: You listen to me; you can say Honourable Minister of Finance. Can you say that?

HON DIENDA: Honourable Minister of Finance, Honourable Calle.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: No, just say Honourable Minister of Finance.

HON DIENDA: I want to be specific.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Proceed.

HON DIENDA: Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, question Number Five is Page 27 – *Estimates of Revenue*.

Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, I have noticed there is no provision made for the next three years to buy vehicles in the Office of the President.

HON MEMBER: Why are you complaining?

HON DIENDA: I am not complaining, I am actually happy. This means that we will save money. I just hope that it will remain like this. I thank you, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: I recognise Minister of Justice, Dr Kawana.

HON MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Thank you very much, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. I rise to support Vote 01 and maybe to answer, on behalf of my Colleague, some of the issues raised by the Leader of the Opposition, although I prefer the terminology Leader of the Minority Party because Opposition is even opposing positive things. You oppose issues of national interest, but if you are a minority party there are certain issues of national interest where we meet each other. Maybe other countries use the terminology *minority party*. I hope you will not complain about that.

Now, regarding the lack of audit of the intelligence – I want to assure the Honourable Member that in Namibia it is different; those books are audited. The only difference is that they are not made public. Honourable Member, it is a pity that the former Chairperson of the Public Accounts Committee is not here. You will see in the Auditor-General's Report year in year out that, indeed, we had a proud record that the audited report of the Office of the President, or I will rather say Vote 01, has always been clean year in year out, *clean, clean, clean.*

We used to follow the letter and spirit as per the provisions authorised by this House. I want to assure the Honourable Member that we do things differently in Namibia. Those accounts are audited.

set foot in her room all those years, but now people are residents at the Nurses Home. What does it tell us? Lack of control; lack of supervision; and it is us that allow it to happen - we should just be able to exercise our responsibility and manage it. That is really the sub total of so many things that were said this evening and practically with your indulgence, Comrade is it Deputy Chairperson of the Whole House Committee now?

HON MEMBER: Chairperson.

HON MINISTER OF WORKS AND TRANSPORT: Deputy Chairperson of The Whole House Committee, so many issues were raised, but they were practically just centring around the same topics. If you allow me, I really just want to appeal to the House to grant me the money so that I can go and do what you have expressed yourselves so eloquently on and next year, God willing, take me to task. Thank you.

HON DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you, Honourable Minister for that brief response. Any objection? Agreed to.

Vote 29 – **"INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY"** put for Discussion. Any discussions? Honourable Venaani.

HON VENAANI: Information and Communication Technology is the future as we always eloquently speak about Vision 2030 – a knowledge-based society and taking the country to the moon. This is the Ministry that must take us there. I only want to raise one issue with Information

HON MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, WATER AND FORESTRY: I see the Leader of the Opposition is very active, but I just wanted to establish something. Normally, the Official Opposition is the Government and you have what is called a set of Cabinet, am I right to understand that the Leader himself is the central Minister of all the Ministries?

HON VENAANI: You are right, the job of a Leader is to lead morally, therefore, as a Leader I lead morally. Wait until you become a leader then you understand. That was just an ice-breaker. That is the purpose of filibustering, but I will not succumb to that, the head is still fresh.

I was talking about Wi-Fi access and we really need to improve on that because the other day, as a Leader, I was talking about our manifesto and many of you on the other side of the isle were saying - *he is crazy, he is saying he wants to bring solar computers to students.* It is one Programme that your Ministry should envisage to help ICT development in our schools.

I visited Rwanda a few years back and 80% of Rwandese children have access to solar laptops. They have even designed the cheapest that they are buying from Norway. If you go to Kenya, 60% of the children in Kenya are computer literate, and I think Honourable Minister of ICT should try to build synergies between Education and your Ministry because if this country is about to industrialise and to develop, the centre of industrialisation lies with your Ministry.

I want to address the Budget of New Era and I want to wholeheartedly put it on record that if there is one Government mouthpiece that has improved in quality and informative news, it is New Era. They must be credited. I support their Vote because fifteen years ago, New Era was a SWAPO Broadcasting mouthpiece, but nowadays New Era has become critical of Government and critical of all Sectors of our society. This is where we want to give money to promote our Press freedom.

The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) must be addressed *(interjection)* No, NBC has not accessed areas such as Oranjemund and Epupa. Twenty five years after Independence that we are giving money, but you wonder how we can deny some citizens the right to information through basic services? I also want to commend the new Director-General for the digitisation and the modernisation that he has brought in our news because there is a new element in our news, it is not at *par* with International News Agencies yet but it is getting there. During elections NBC must be *(intervention)*

HON MEMBER: It is a political statement.

HON VENAANI: No, it is not a political statement, it is reality, facts not fiction. *Feite!* NBC is one sided.

HON MEMBER: No!

HON VENAANI: Hear the minority so that the majority can have their way. Hear because one day you will also be in minority. I was there when Arab Moi lost power in Kenya, when the Electoral Commission announced the results, he asked his Minister; *"You mean we lost? What?"* Answer; *"Yes, we lost the elections." "How?"* I was there.

You must be careful, even the mighty can fall. *Tjevera muatje wa tate. (Interjections)* It does not matter, some of you will live in the future Opposition in this country, it is a fact. *(Interjections)* Where was Hidipo Hamutenya? You will be surprised where life can take you to, but that is not the issue *(interjections)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Honourable Member *(intervention)*

HON VENAANI: Muyongo was also with you, he started with you - so never say never, work hard so that it does not happen, but it could happen.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Sorry, do not disturb a person please so that he will control himself to remain within the discussion of the Vote.

HON VENAANI: NBC must really improve, especially when it comes to election coverage. During last year's elections, NBC said all Political Parties will get coverage. It used to give coverage at rallies but for Parties to present their Manifestos through the slots, they would go through the backdoor and say, no Cousin Nangolo Mbumba is paying for his own advertisements, therefore, all of you must pay. That is wrong in a country to ask Political actors that are acting with communities to tell them that I must go and pay for my advertisements in order for me to sell my message to the people. It was never the practise. During the last elections I was surprised to see that a Party could only get two slots.

Even during the 1994 elections we used to have 16 slots at the NBC. That needs to be improved, you cannot have democracy where you perpetually muscle the weak. Compete on a fair ground and the NBC's record on political campaigns is shameful. You cannot let democracy depend on those that are wealthy. Democracy must depend on the choices that the electorates must make, you do not need to pay, you must be able to get that service free of charge. That is the essence of democracy. Do not try to muscle me out because you have Chinese that are conglomerating N$8,000,000.00 over a weekend, therefore, you can afford to pay, and

because I do not have Chinese that are giving me N$8,000,000.00 come on *(intervention)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Please come to the point *(intervention)*

HON VENAANI: We should address this issue. NBC is improving.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: NBC?

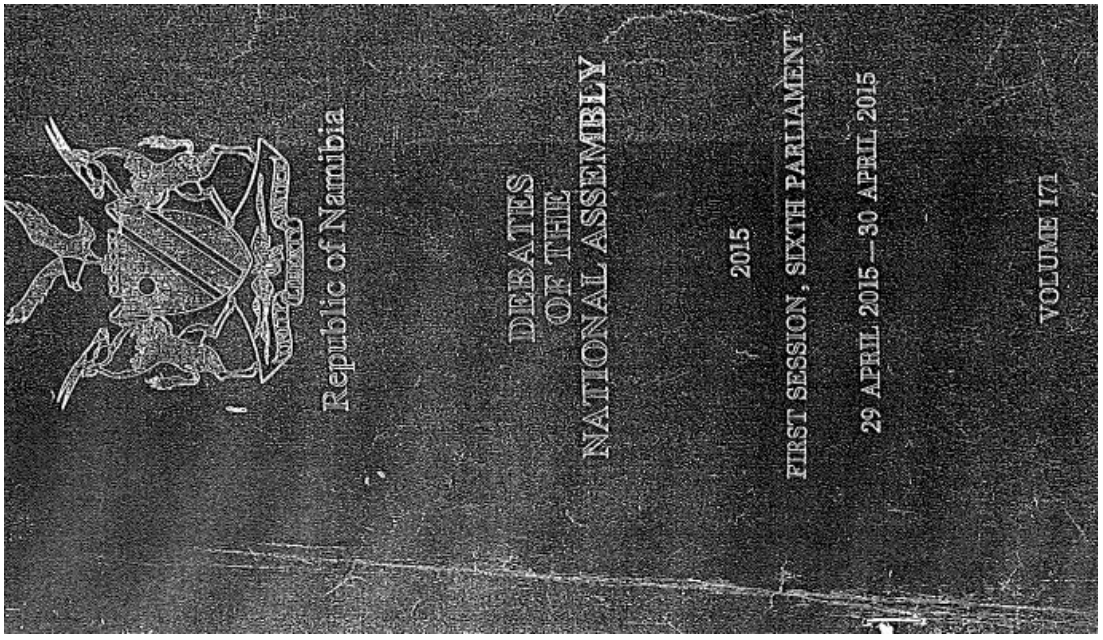
HON VENAANI: There is an improvement now compared to where the Broadcaster was before and where it is now, but we should also improve the element of fairness at the NBC.

I shall further go the last issue that I want to bring to your attention. That is the attention of the Parastatal that falls under your ambit, our former employer, you and I, Telecom Namibia. Telecom is in dire straits because of N$500,000,000.00 that was invested in Angola, South Africa and now it borrows money from NPTH to sustain itself. Can you just in one or two sentences tell us *(intervention)*

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY: After you talk for so long you are asking for one to respond in one or two sentences?

APPENDIX 7

Debates of the National Assembly. 29 – 30 April 2015. Vol. 171.



29 April 2015 COMMITTEE STAGE: DISCUSSION - VOTE 24
HON IIVULA-ITHANA

HON MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS AND IMMIGRATION: Thank you, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. I once again rise to support this Vote because all of us, one way or another, find ourselves either as passengers or drivers on the roads and I, therefore, rise to raise a few issues:

One: The concern of this Nation – what is the Honourable Minister going to do about the carnage on our roads? I know, and read somewhere in the technical document that they are envisaging to build more testing centres for vehicles and drivers, however, Comrade Minister, one thing that I think is happening apart from driving under the influence of *whatever* it is, there is a syndicate issuing driving licences to people who have not gone through proper driving lessons. That syndicate exists and unless we nip it in the bud the carnage will continue. As a driver on the road, you do not have to be told because, literally, you can see which drivers do not have proper driving licences. There are people driving in a reckless manner in all kinds of circumstances and situations. I have seen my driver leaving the road to give way to reckless drivers many a time, in order to save himself.

Comrade Minister, in some countries such drivers are penalised by withdrawing their driving licences - penalise them on the spot or by doing something drastic to them. Something drastic must be done to save lives. I have a particular interest because we issue death certificates and looking at the number of the certificates we issue on account of road accidents, it has become a concern. Honourable Minister, I think something needs to be done in that respect.

My second issue is on infrastructural maintenance. I know that your Ministry is one of the expensive Ministries and it is not easy to maintain these infrastructures. However, speaking as a lay person, I think maintenance may sometimes be cheaper than new creations. I am saying so after seeing big airports that were built properly and left to go to waste. Take the Ruacana Airport for example: This airport is huge – even airbuses can land there; there is a long runway and it is well situated, but that airport is rotting away.

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My question is *why*? This airport is strategically located; it is within the vicinity of one of our biggest green schemes, the Etunda Green Scheme and sometimes the produce from Etunda rot there because there is no transport. It can be used to carry these produce to the hubs that are being created in Windhoek and other places. The Ruacana Airport is around 150 kilometres from Oridangwa Airport and it is very close to our border with Angola. Why do we not link it up with our route to and from Angola so that we can keep it alive? Maybe Angola does not even know there is an airport there. Can we not make some plans to keep that airport alive? It is disheartening to see it just standing in the bush. Comrade Minister, I know you are new in the portfolio but I trust you have the passion, zeal and energy required for this portfolio. I wish you luck and I support the Vote. Thank you.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Honourable Witbooi.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF GENDER EQUALITY AND CHILD WELFARE: Thank you, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. I also rise to support Vote 24 that is dealing with our road infrastructure and public transport.

The Namib Naukluft Park includes Sossusvlei, the Sesriem Canyon, Tsauchab River, Naukluft Mountains, Duwiseb Castle, Sandwich Harbour, and many other lodges which are visited by tourists from around the world because of their natural beauty. The Naukluft Park and all its inhabitants and natural beauties link the park with the Atlantic Ocean, Walvis Bay, Maltahöhe, Aus, !Nami-#nus, Fish River Canyon and Ai-Ais Richtersveld Transfrontier Park.

Honourable Minister, the road network between Walvis Bay, Solitaire, Sesriem, Sossusvlei, Maltahöhe, Helmeringhausen in Bethanie, which

connects with the Maltahöhe-Mariental, Aus-Lüderitz, Aus-Keetmanshoop tarred road networks is a gravel road. From the direction of Windhoek, the road between the B1 to Klein Aub to Rietoog and Solitaire, which is gravel, is also used by tourists and Namibians to link with the attractions of the north Namib Naukluft Park.

Honourable Minister, my question now is: Can the Ministry and the Roads Authority conduct a feasibility study to assess the importance of tarring the gravel road from Walvis Bay to Solitaire, Sossusvlei, Maltahöhe to Helmeringhausen to Bethanie and the gravel road from the direction of Windhoek of the B1 road taking us to Klein Aub, Rietoog to connect with Solitaire, Sossusvlei and the rest of the Naukluft Park?

Honourable Minister, my second question: TransNamib has at numerous occasions caused inconveniences to passengers who make use of our passenger trains to the Hardap, //Karas and Erongo Regions. Inconveniences were caused either by delays or trains not departing according to schedules, breakdowns of trains and derailments. These incidences have caused our people to arrive late at their destinations, arrive late for their jobs – which could lead to disciplinary reprimands by employers, exhaustion and sometimes passengers would be stranded without food.

As a result of all these incidences, some passengers would think twice before undertaking a journey by train. In the same vein, people, young and old, including a significant percentage of the workforce in Windhoek travel from Rehoboth to Windhoek and Okahandja to Windhoek and back via roads, on a daily basis. Being aware of the housing and the land challenges the City of Windhoek is facing and will face, Rehoboth and Okahandja, including Groot Aub, are the nearest towns and village where housing and land is available.

What measures and plans, if there are any, will the Ministry and TransNamib put in place to provide a safer, faster, properly scheduled and comfortable train service? Considering the many incidents on our roads, our railway transport could be a safer, affordable, economical and

enjoyable mode of transport in Namibia if it is fast, safe and comfortable. When will we reach that stage? With that, I support your Vote, my Brother.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. I recognise Honourable Dienda.

HON DIENDA: Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, the issuing of taxi licences is being done here in Windhoek, if I am correct. There are a lot of illegal taxis found around the country and the reason is because we do not have proper control. This problem would be solved if these licences were issued in the local towns. Everybody is now using his or her own car as an illegal taxi after work and during weekends, because there is nobody that will make sure to stop these illegal taxi businesses. Honourable Minister, what is the possibility of decentralising the function of issuing taxi licenses to the Regions?

My second concern is *the state of public transport in our country*. Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, through you, we are in need of a viable and sustainable public transport network. I am saying so because our transport is currently plagued with health and safety issues. It has a track record of death and poor driving. Taxis are always involved in car accidents. There is always a taxi involved; even if it is an accident where a driver drives through a wall, there is always a taxi involved.

Many people who use public transport have no other options, they have to make use of it. It is not a matter of a choice. The poor maintenance of our taxis is also a concern. There was a concern raised here that taxi owners do not pay taxes to our Government and that is true.

I want to know from the Honourable Minister what the possibility is for

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Yes, Honourable Nekundi.

HON NEKUNDI: Thank you very much, Comrade Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. My revolutionary greetings to my Honourable Minister of Works, my Political Father.

I have a few comments, or possibly some advice to provide to my Senior that side. As I am going to do that, I wholeheartedly support the Vote, Comrade Minister.

One: Comrade Minister, as my mother has said, the road accidents have become one of the biggest concerns in our motherland. Through my layman's analysis, one can conclude that most accidents occur because of carelessness. People drive as they wish; people overtake where they must not overtake while others drive through red traffic lights. All these matters boil down to human behaviour.

Comrade Senior, I would like to suggest that apart from knowing the Rules and Regulations for a person obtaining a licence, he or she must equally be subjected to psychometric testing in order to determine their aptitude for the usage of the road because it affects other road users. Some people will overtake you when it is not safe to do so and when you hoot at them, they show you the middle finger. This is one of the behaviours that is causing our people to vanish. Comrade Minister, is it possible to consider this suggestion?

Comrade Minister, I have learned that each Sovereign State has its sovereign air space and whatever object using that space must pay a particular fee to the Sovereign State. Comrade Minister, is it true that our air space fee is not being collected? Or if that is not being the case then it is possibly collected by Foreign States, and if it is collected by Foreign States, it is an issue of capacity, 25 years after Independence? Is it not

possible for us to develop our own capacity of people with the ability to collect the air space fees?

Comrade Minister, I am one of those people who travel extensively.

HON MEMBER: Because of S & Ts!

HON NEKUNDI: No, I do not travel for S & T purposes, if you need that, I can even give you N$10.00 now. As an extensive traveller, one travels on gravel roads and on some of these roads, whether you have an off road vehicle or what are called soft cars nowadays, your car is forever shaking on the road. These roads are not properly maintained. Some roads are graded once a month while others are graded regularly, every week. How do we ensure that whoever is responsible for grading these roads does so on a regular basis? Do they consider the traffic load on those roads in order to ascertain how many times the roads have to be graded to maintain a good quality and standard?

Comrade Minister, my second last question is on taxi licences: I just learned, rightly or wrongly so, that taxi licences are equally issued to foreign nationals who come here as so-called investors just to operate taxis. I am aware that we are have a free market economy and that we are a Member of the WTO, but that does not take away the same rules of the WTO that provide for an element of protectionism, if so warranted. If that is the case, can we apply that element of protecting certain Industries that are of minimal investment values?

The last question or concern is - some people call it bail out, I call it recapitalisation; as the State, we are shareholders and as such one recapitalises your entities. Comrade Minister, the big concern, however, is where private companies are flourishing but State-Owned Enterprises are not flourishing – the case in point is TransNamib, we also have Air

Namibia and the RCC, and on the other hand, you have a lot of Chinese Companies as well as Dutch-owned Companies and South African-owned Companies constructing roads and they are progressing well while the RCC, despite having certain roads in Namibia reserved for it each year, is still going in the red.

TransNamib: Comrade Minister, you will see a lot of private-owned cars driving on the roads. I personally know of some people who started with a small *skoroskoro* truck and now have up to 20 huge trucks. That is indicative that the Industry is flourishing, yet TransNamib is not. What is the problem? Could it possibly be that our human resource competencies are not alien to the goals and application of these skills within the Industry they operate in? Is it possible that they are evaluated on a quarterly basis, if not on a regular basis, and that their remunerations are aligned with their performance?

It is high time that a company is run on sound business principles and if it does not perform, then *hallelujah* - you do not perform. Let somebody with the required capacities run the operation on behalf of the State and the public. That is all, Comrade Minister. I hope you accept my input.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. I recognise Honourable Jahanika.

HON JAHANIKA: Thank you, Comrade Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

Allow me to rise and support Vote 24. However, before I do that, I would like to propose the following to the Minister of Transport:

1. A tarred road must be constructed in the Erongo Region from Omaruru via Omatjete to Okombahe.

my view, to still use Air Namibia elsewhere apart from Ondangwa, in comparison to travelling by road. What is the rationale behind this? They are saying that they need business, and yet they are putting themselves out of business through this type of actions. What type of management is this? That is my first question.

We need Namibians who think Namibian, act Namibian and promote other Namibians to make use of Air Namibia in order for Air Namibia to make money and stay in business. As it is, it appears that we have Namibians on paper who in reality are not Namibians, because they do not act like Namibians.

I have experienced this, which is why I am asking for patriotism from the people managing Air Namibia. It does not make business sense. They must come up with a rational explanation or they must restore the situation so that Namibians can support them by using Air Namibia, especially when we travel domestically.

The second question relates to Programme 04, Comrade Minister *(intervention)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: A Point of Order from your Friend.

HON MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Point of Order, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

I am sorry to interrupt my Colleague. On account of time, I do not want to take part in the normal Discussion, but may I give him information regarding this unilateral decision of the management of Air Namibia to do away domestic flights to Rundu and Katima Mulilo from Eros Airport?

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY: Even the south.

HON MINISTER OF JUSTICE: In the past, flights started off at Hosea Kutako International Airport and landed in Rundu. Normally the passengers from here go to Rundu. Some of them go from Rundu to Katima Mulilo and then those from Katima Mulilo come back to Windhoek. At one time, the flight landed from Hosea Kutako at Rundu Airport and from Rundu Airport, just halfway near Divundu, it turned back to the International Airport, apparently because it was dark and there are no Landing Rights at Katima Mulilo Airport, as well as at Rundu Airport. The consequence was that those passengers who were going to Katima Mulilo had to be brought back against their will to Windhoek *(laughter)*. Are you aware of that? That is totally unacceptable.

The Regions there are up in arms because of this issue. The business communities are up in arms. We, the National Leaders, who are coming from that area are under pressure, and rightly so. Comrade Minister, we are going to fight this issue tooth and nail. Domestic flights must be operated from Eros Airport. That is our demand and we are not going to relent on that.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Yes, proceed.

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY: Thank you very much, Comrade Minister for that piece of information. Perhaps as a footnote, what usually happened is that those passengers were put in a hotel on the bill of Air Namibia while Air Namibia was already bleeding the State Coffers. Does it make sense? Are these people still capable of running our airline?

We need Namibians to manage our Institutions with pride and professionalism; we have too many wrong people in the right places.

My second question is, Comrade Minister - I have travelled from the !Karas Region to the coast and lately up to Zambezi. Most of our road signs can hardly be seen. Is it really too difficult to display - *Beersheba 40 kilometres or 50 kilometres*? And this is in the whole country. You can hardly see what the remaining distance to the next town is.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: He is indeed right.

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY: Is it difficult for the people maintaining these roads just to put up clear signs as opposed to waiting until the whole country does not have any sign boards and requesting a billion dollars to rewrite all the boards while they are already highly paid for non-performance. They are paying themselves double, so-called performance bonuses for not doing anything, Comrade Minister.

Can we please restore our economy? The economy is bleeding and we have these so-called Namibians that are bleeding our economy. People are looking at us, their Leaders, what are we doing with these people that are bleeding the economy right in front of our eyes, Comrade Minister? As much as I support the Vote, something drastic must be done with the people that were entrusted to manage our institutions. I rest my case.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. I recognise Honourable Smit.

HON SMIT: Thank you, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

I rise to support the Vote 24, but I want address one question on the Western Bypass to the Honourable Minister of Transport. I would like to know when something is going to be done about that death trap – the road that has become a racing track. The normal speed is 120 to 140 kilometres per hour, however, you will find people who are still overtaking each other, if you drive on that road any time of the day.

If you drive at the speed of 100 kilometres per hour, the people behind you flash their lights showing you signs because you are driving at the speed limit - pushing you off the road and cutting in front of you and there are no Traffic Police on that road. You do not see them. How many more people must be killed on that road? As recently as Monday morning, a little girl of about 10 years of age was killed there at the UNAM intersection. I passed there at 07:00 in the morning and that girl was lying on the road. The Traffic Police, wherever they were, did not even cover her body.

One and a half hours later I drove back the same way and that poor little girl was still lying there on the road – not covered. I could not believe my eyes. It is no nuclear science to know what must be done on that road. Firstly, the speed limit on that road cannot be 100 kilometres or 120 kilometres per hour – that road cannot take the volume of cars it does at that speed. It is not possible.

I would like to ask the Honourable Minister this: Can they not install traffic lights at the UNAM intersection, at the Prosperita intersection and also where you turn off into Extension 1 of Pioneers Park – where so many accidents took place already? Can we also not have more Traffic Police on the roads? From my time at the City Council, I know that that road belonged to Roads and Transport. It is not a road over which the municipality has jurisdiction. You do not see City Police or Traffic Police on that road; they are not working on that road because it is a national road. Can we not do something urgently on that road to reduce the speed

Limit. We can put traffic lights and have Traffic Police on that road? I thank you, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Honourable Minister Katrina Hanse-Himarwa, you have the Floor.

HON MINISTER OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE: Thank you, Comrade Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

I also rise to support the Bill and to commend the Government on the progress it has made lately, in terms of the national road infrastructure. I am well aware that currently, for example, the Gobabis-Aminuis road is under construction and equally the Maltahöhe -Walvis Bay road is on cards. I had the opportunity to see the Transport Master Plan, and as I studied it, I did not see any provision for the tarring of the road that leads from the Mata-Mata Tripartite Gate, which is shared between South Africa, Botswana and Namibia linking up with the TransKalahari Highway that links into the Botswana border. I want to know why it is not part of that Master Plan, or if it is, when is it planned to be tarred, because it is a very important economic road for tourism as well as trade? Thank you.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Honourable Nambahu.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM: Thank you very much, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. I also want to register my support for Vote 24 and make recommendations to my long-time Friend and Brother - my Senior Minister, on a few issues.

Pothole repairs: I do not know whether that can be called work. I can assure you that if you give me that tender with a pick, a handle and a traditional basket without any car, I would do a better job than those guys that are repairing the potholes on our roads - without any engineer, just with old ladies from my village, I can do a better job. The road between Karibib and Omaruru, for instance, I honestly do not know who does that kind of repair. I support Honourable Kawana because if the maintenance defaulters have to have their pictures put in the papers, why do we not put the pictures of the Managing Directors of these people responsible for repairing potholes so that each and everyone knows exactly who it is that does such a bad job. I honestly want something to be done.

It is a shameful problem for us to think that tourists have reach the Namibian roads from other African countries with a sigh of relief that they have reached a country with good road infrastructure, only to come across the work done by these colleagues; they are simply not doing our reputation any good.

Property care: I do not know what the Government cars have done to Government to be punished by standing under the sun for the whole year. That is a punishment. I must be told what crime they have committed. Generally you would not want your car to stand under the sun, even just for two hours but at Government Garage in Ondangwa, a poor car is left standing there for all year long – 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. Why? Honestly, I want something to happen in that regard.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Point of Order from your Friend.

HON KAVEKOTORA: Comrade Nambahu, do you know that those cars that are standing under the sun for two to three years are sent to the auction for people to buy?

I do not know whether you are aware of this, but how would you make money from a car that has been standing under the sun for three years? Do you expect people to buy these cars at a good price. What kind of business is that? That is, if you are not aware of that.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM: I am very much aware of it. I am a frequent visitor of places like these and that is why I have noticed it. I thought it was just in passing, but if something can be done, like what we have done here at our parking, I think it would be a good thing.

Furthermore, I want to join those who are talking about the road signs. I also think that there is vandalism taking place; for example, at one time I was travelling to Keetmanshoop and on a board indicating that there are 100 kilometres remaining before Keetmanshoop, they removed the two zeros and only the number *one* was showing. People who have not visited Namibia before would be thinking that they are about to reach, while in actual fact there are still 100 kilometres ahead. Something should be done to curb this vandalism.

Comrade Minister, now that I am in Tourism, perhaps we will have to work together to come up with good regulations that will enable us to have proper signs, and thus market our country in a better way to attract more tourists.

Train Services: I join those who are talking about this. However, I always had a problem – the railway line that was designed in the north was actually meant for the train to take the main traffic off the road, but it is not doing that. According to my small analysis, one of the reasons is that when coming from Ondangwa to Windhoek, you have to make a turn at Karibib. Has anyone ever thought of creating a link between Okahandja and Otjiwarongo so that the time that you take to travel to Windhoek by train is shortened? Perhaps just carry out a feasibility study.

Programme is to develop and maintain roads in the country which include the construction of new roads and the upgrade of gravel roads to bitumen standards, as well as the maintenance of existing roads to provide for the connectivity of rural communities to district roads.

I wanted to bring under the attention of the Honourable Minister that despite the tremendous achievements our Government made in this economic area of constructing roads in this country, there are some communities that have only witnessed the ground-breaking ceremonies and the inaugurations of the completed roads in other parts of this country, but in some of those Constituencies there is no single gravel road that has been constructed to connect the people in the most rural areas to district roads. I can give an example of the Kapako Constituency in Kavango West; to date there is no gravel road constructed there since Independence. The same applies to Ndiyona Constituency; in Ndiyona Constituency, we have economic areas such as Khaudum and Sikerete National Parks, as well as the George Mukoya and Muduva Nyangana Conservancies that were mentioned. We encourage our fellow countrymen and women to visit those places but the question is, how do they access these places because *(intervention)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Point of Order from this side.

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY: I am extremely sorry. May I ask the Honourable Member just a small question?

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Do you accept the question?

HON KARUPU: Yes, I accept the question.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Yes.

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY: I am extremely sorry to interrupt you my Brother and Comrade. Does it also occur to you that if you connect those roads to the district roads it will also shorten the distance? If we improve the road to Tsumkwe, since it is to date in a very bad shape, it is going take you lesser time to get to your farm, to Ndiyona or even to Khaudum, instead of going all the way to Rundu and then travel another 200 kilometres.

Did you look into that aspect because this is also one road that could be shortened in terms of travelling distances for tourists who come from Omaheke, Gam and all those areas? Thank you.

HON KARUPU: Thank you. You have touched a part of my statement that I was about to deal with because if you use the roads from Okatere or from Ndiyona, you will be linked to Tsumkwe.

Honourable Minister, there are many communities who are carrying out agricultural and economic activities, residing between Tsumkwe and Ndiyona. There are even permanent Government infrastructures such as schools and clinics, but there are no road access to those infrastructures. I am talking about gravel roads. There is not a single one.

I want to bring this to the attention of the Honourable Minister of Works and Transport that when prioritising the areas for constructing new roads, those areas should also be taken into consideration. That is my concern and I support the Vote. Thank you.

HON KAFULA: Thank you, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. I rise to support Vote 24, hence I would also like to contribute, however, I will not touch some of the issues that have already been addressed by the Honourable Members.

I would like to touch on the issue of road accidents. It is a serious concern and almost every week, if not every second day, we are losing precious lives of our countrymen and women, and what hurts the most is when we lose our small children.

Unfortunately, this is due to our attitude or behaviour on the road; we are careless and do not respect other road users. That respect should start with us, we should be able to respect others.

Most of these accidents are caused by trucks, mainly at night or sometimes during the day, because these truck drivers drive very long distances and they try to drive at night in order to reach the next destination in the morning as their masters expect them to deliver the goods that they are transporting from one point to the other.

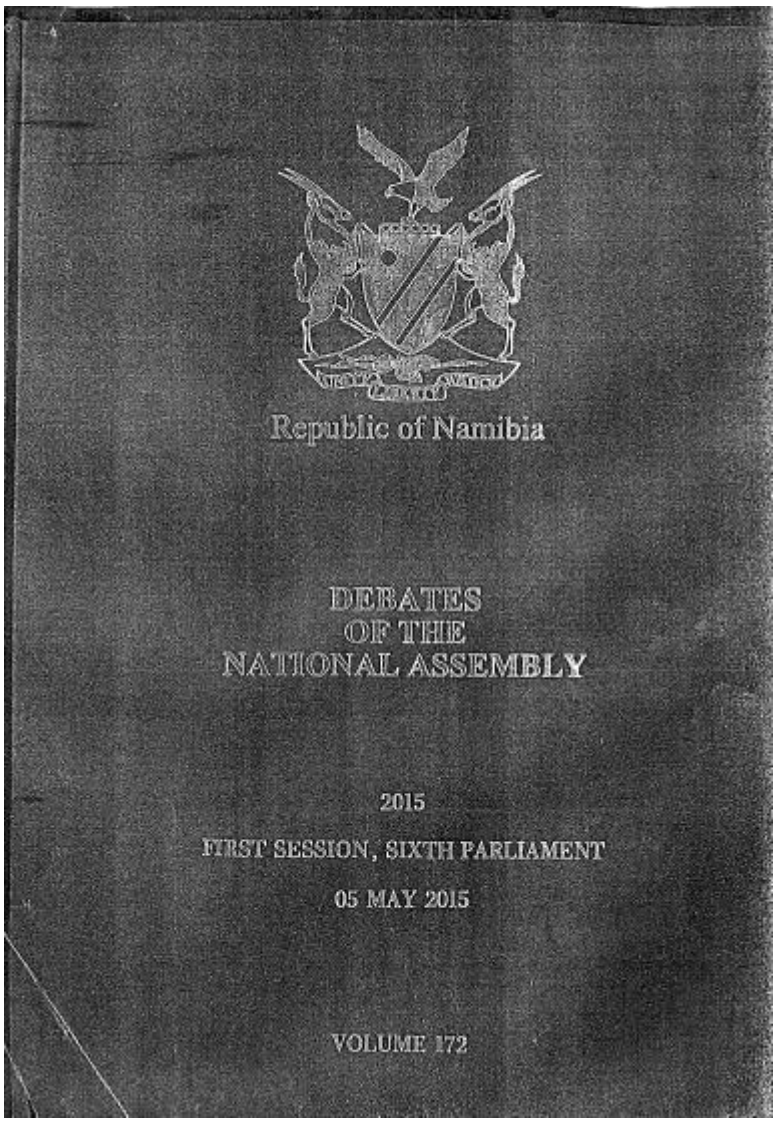
Honourable Minister, I would, therefore, like to propose that we should perhaps monitor the trucks by putting setting up some time limit, especially at night. We could, for instance say that not trucks should be allowed to move after 18:00 in the evening until the next morning. As we have had the opportunity to travel to places like Germany, we came to learn that they have a timeframe of 18:00 until 06:00. All the trucks should be parked between the prescribed timeframe and they devices in place to monitor those trucks that are moving during the restricted time.

I have a feeling that if we try to follow that route, it may assist us with curbing the accidents that are happening on our roads. Otherwise, I support the Vote, Honourable Minister. Thank you.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Finally, Honourable Minister of Home Affairs and Immigration.

APPENDIX 8

Debates of the National Assembly. 05 May 2015. Vol. 172.



have done honourable work for Namibia and that is exactly what is being referred to in this booklet. I am not abusing what has been mentioned in here because this country does belong to each and every one of us.

Whether you like it or not, we are Namibians. We are not here to hike on anyone's back. I fail to accept this kind of behaviour while all the people in this House say we have reconciled. Let us, therefore remain at reconcialiation.

Honourable Minister of Defence, my people fail to accept the issue of the Military Base, which is located close to where my people in Keetmanshoop, Tseiblaagte live. My people want to know why that Base was placed there. Is there perhaps any threat? *(Intervention)*

HON MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: I would like to provide information.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Point of Order, Information.

HON MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, we have taken an oath in this Honourable House that we will defend the Constitution and the Laws of the Republic of Namibia. We have done that. All of us have done that. However, we are not going to defend an *evil Apartheid system* that has maimed and killed our people. We condemn all the Koevoet murders, and all of them; we are not going to defend them in this House because they are accessories to the crime against the Namibian people and against humanity. We must not tolerate that nonsense in this House. Thank you.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Honourable Member, can you round up now? Could you please stand up and round up or are you through?

HON FLEERMUYS: *(Interjection)* Oh, yes, Honourable Minister, thank you. Chairlady, I just wanted to ask from the Minister *(intervention)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Point of Order.

HON VENAANI: Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, with all due respect to the emotive Debate, may you ask Honourable Nujoma to withdraw saying that, what the Honourable Member is saying in this House is nonsense? *(interjection)* Yes, he said that. He must withdraw that because this is Parliament, a House of Debate, to debate about the ugly past, the truth of our past and our future. It is within the realm of any Member of Parliament to raise any issue.

HON MEMBER: He did not say that!

HON VENAANI: He said that, and if he is not going to withdraw, then all of us can say things in this House. He must withdraw.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Can you round up please? What did you say?

HON MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: Honourable Chairperson, I said it does not make sense.

HON MEMBER: Just withdraw!

HON FLEERMUYS: Why did you not say that, if that is what you wanted to say? We are watching you.

HON MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: Nonsense means it does not make sense.

HON FLEERMUYS: He said nonsense to me. I will also say you are talking nonsense man! If you say I am talking nonsense, then you are also talking nonsense.

HON MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: I withdraw it on condition that crime against humanity should not be defended in this House. Only on the understanding that crime against humanity should not be defended in this House because we have taken an oath.

HON FLEERMUYS: Whether you like or not, it will be talked about.

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am giving you the Floor. Point of Order. Can you sit down please?

HON MUHARUKUA: On a Point of Information or perhaps a Point of Order, I suppose, when we Debate in this House, we are debating the history. I am fortunate or unfortunate enough, not to have lived to even recognise or remember such history. We must be truthful and we must be objective in telling the history.

When the Honourable Minister of Lands is saying that the Koevoet and SWAFT have committed atrocities and crimes against humanity, he must also indicate that the PLAN Fighters have killed Himbas. After Himbas gave food to them, they would come to them and cut their heads off. Crime against humanity was committed on both sides of the war and it must be recognised as such. We must be truthful as Leaders.

HON MEMBER: You are lying!

HON MUHARUKUA: It is the truth.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Sorry, Honourable Fleermuys, can you round up? I am no more going to give anyone the Floor. Can you round up your points.

HON FLEERMUYS: Thank you, Honourable Chairperson.

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we decline to be convinced on that. You can be a good advisor, but do not attempt to advise on security with the knowledge that you only obtained from the street. It does not work that way.

Another thing again my Dear Brothers and Sisters, Honourable Members, when we are talking about colonialism, saying that - *this tribe suffered more than the other,* etcetera - we are not for that my Dear Brothers and Sisters. We are only here to discuss how to develop our motherland, Namibia, that is all. Neither the Ministry of Defence, nor the Namibian Defence Force can take that responsibility to say that - *because Maherero, Iipumbu ya Tshilongo and who, did this and that, they must be recognised.* That is not the responsibility of our Ministry. Maybe this must have been mentioned at a wrong platform. *(interjection)* I said maybe my Dear Colleagues.

In terms of *staffing* - I do not know what I I have to say on that, because some of my Colleagues on this side who are saying that they are supporting the Vote while the others are saying that the budget allocation is too high. However, we are talking about being understaffed - how can we recruit staff members without the Budget? That is also a question. I would, however, like to caution you my Brothers and Sisters on this side *(interjection)* - sorry for that; that in my opinion, being the Opposition does not only mean to oppose everything, because you just oppose everything, even the right things. You said that one of the good days, you will lead this country, and that is maybe after 200,000 years - are you going to do that? *(Intervention)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Proceed. The Honourable Minister is busy responding to the questions.

HON MINISTER OF DEFENCE: Come back to me my Brother and we will discuss more.

Again, on security issues --even the Bible says - *nobody knows when the thief will break into your house.* It is easy to tell us that we are peaceful now, but we do not take anything for granted. I understand you to mean that there are no threats at the moment, but nobody knows that. We are, therefore, ready to defend the people of Namibia, our interest, property, and the territorial integrity of our motherland at any time.

Comrade Nuyoma, thank you very much for supporting the Vote.

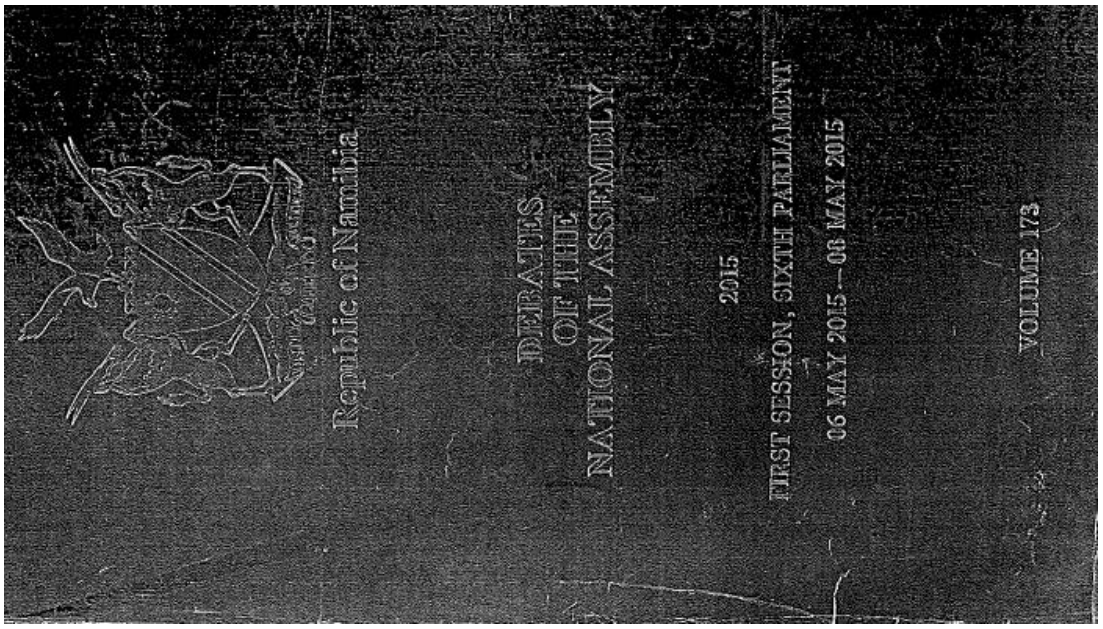
Other Colleagues or Honourable Members were just expressing themselves on SWAFT and Koevoet. It does not work that way my Brothers and Sisters - we are all here as Namibian people, that is all. All we need is only to work together and to develop our motherland, Namibia. Comrade Nujoma, was also trying to clarify that here. I know it is very important to also mention the others, however, let me stop here. We will mislead the young ones in our Republic of Namibia by saying that some people were forced to join a, b or c Force. We know the history and we know each other. We know that people joined voluntarily. Maybe you, yourself was forced to join c or d Force; in that case, nobody can dispute that, but what we know is that people joined voluntarily. Therefore, we said that – *even though you joined c and d Force, we became brothers and sisters of this land.* What will happen when we start mentioning other's names? We may start a war that will start from this House and spread all over the country. Therefore, we need to be careful my Dear Brothers and Sisters. That is what may happen.

We know exactly that all of us here in this House took a very important oath to defend the Namibian Constitution and said - *so help me God.* Whom are you saying – *so help me God* to, if you are trying to open old wounds again? It is very important to talk about our history wherever we are, but not in this House at this specific time and platform now. Otherwise, it will only invite unnecessary arguments that will lead to other things, which we are not here for.

Comrade Ithete, what can I say to you, but just to thank you my Brother?

APPENDIX 9

Debates of the National Assembly. 06 - 08 May 2015. Vol. 173.



Cooperation Ministry. I would, especially, like to underline two issues under Programmes 01 and 02.

Firstly, may I congratulate the work well-done and still being done by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with regard to improving the working conditions and the political diplomatic working cooperation environment where our Namibian Diplomats we operating. I noted that the Programme of renovating and acquiring properties for our Embassies and High Commissions is really being looked at. This means that there is a realisation that wherever you have an Embassy, it is a Namibia Territory which is being seen in those friendly countries where we are operating. This is all being done by the Ministry and I want to thank you for that.

Secondly, in Programme 01 that is on Regional and Bilateral Affairs Department in Africa, especially in Southern Africa here, I want to make a recommendation or suggestion. Currently, we are doing very well as far as peace and security of our sub region is concerned. However, we are just a small part of the continent and a small part internationally, but we need to do it with political determination and a political will in order to safeguard the peace prevailing on our sub continent.

The African Union and SADC is being rewarded for such matters, especially its leadership. Therefore, we should redouble our efforts at foreign relations and cooperation. The world is full of unwanted wars that are extended and does not respect the International Law; it does not respect the United Nations. The Charter of United Nations is completely being violated by some big countries, economically and militarily, which is excised on these unwanted wars. You hear about air strikes in countries whereby the citizens of those countries, mainly women and children, are suffering because of those air strikes in the rest of the world. Therefore, Namibia, as a Member of the United Nations and as a Member of the African Union, needs to do what is expected from us in order to make sure that peace, security and tranquillity is upheld on this continent.

With these few words, Comrade Minister, I would like to wholeheartedly support this Vote and its Programmes. I would also like to request that the

maximise some of the products that we have in our country in order to benefit from the BRICS arrangement.

The other very fundamental issue, Madam Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, is the lack of asymmetrical bilateral relations with foreign powers. We need to do more to create a win/win situation with global players. For example, many countries around the world are anti-China, but China is an important global player that we cannot ignore. We need to engage with China and we need to trade with China, but if you look at the whole of the Sino-Africa relation, China is the biggest benefactor from African resources at this point in time. The whole of Africa has not re-strategised itself to create a win/win solution and we are part of that failure. I like what the Chinese have done in the Husab Mine – one of the biggest investments that they have brought to this country. However, we should also forge ahead with value addition to make sure that global players also play by our rules, because it is our resources that are taken away from our shores and making these countries very rich. China is an important player, but we must redirect *(intervention)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: One minute.

HON VENAANI: We must redirect our efforts to make sure that we maximise benefits. We are signing joint commissions of cooperation; Madam Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic, every time that you are travelling with the President, we hear that you have signed a joint commission with this country on energy, on this and that and the other. One wants to ask a fundamental question; how do we keep track of all these commissions to make sure that all of them are relevant and that we keep what we sign and continue with the arrangements we foster with these countries?

In Foreign Affairs, you see countries signing commissions but after a few months people forget about those commissions and when the President or the Prime Minister visits that country then people would talk about, *"No, we in fact signed these but we have not brought it into effect."* How do we make sure that all the joint commissions that we have signed so far are effected in the international community?

There are two last issues that I want to raise *(intervention)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Very quickly?

HON VENAANI: Yes. I want to appreciate our country's broadening up of our space by being represented through 30 Chanceries and Embassies around the globe. It is commendable, but we should also move towards the Arab countries, the emerging powers, Saudi Arabia, Dubai, The Emirates – we must start moving towards that direction because our representation is only ending up in Egypt. Eastern Europe is also very important, so in the future, we must look at expanding into these areas so that we also maximise our economic benefits from those countries.

Lastly, I have a question that I want to pose to you. We are spending money on refurbishing and buying Chanceries and Embassies across the globe, as well as residences for Ambassadors; the question that I want to ask is, does the Ministry of International Cooperation do a yearly property evaluation audit, because we must have accrued a lot of money from all these Embassies that we have bought over the years? What is the current value of that, seeing that our expansion nearly reached N$1,000,000,000 that we have invested over a number of years since this country's Independence? Are those property audits being done?

Lastly, the last time I visited the UN Embassy was probably two or three years ago. It needs a shakeup because the UN Embassy that we have, our representatives *(intervention)*

HON DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION: Do you mean our Mission?

HON VENAANI: Yes, our Mission at the UN. The last time that I was there *(intervention)*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Yes, proceed.

HON VENAANI: *(Interjection)* You are a teacher – whether it is our Namibian Embassy at the United Nations, I am saying the same thing. It needs a shakeup, if you want to sell this country, because our country has a story to tell to the world. There is a story to tell in Africa, so our representation at the biggest multilateral centre of the world must also carry the weight of who Namibia is. I would support your refurbishment, but I am requesting you to put particular emphasis on our United Nations Centre because that is where the world meets Namibia. With these remarks, I wholeheartedly support your Vote. Thank you very much.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: I recognise Honourable Swartbooi.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: Thank you, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

I rise to support the excellent work being done by our Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of International Relations and Cooperation. She is a silent worker and a distinguished person. We are so proud that she has been given that assignment, yet again.

I have a few questions, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. One: When, precisely, will we be able to resolve the Orange River border issue with South Africa? It is disturbing that South Africa is allowed to continue to claim the Orange River in its entirety. Of course, we derive benefits from it and so on but borders are matters of international recognition and sovereignty issues.

Secondly, Honourable Minister, one often wonders the extent to which International Relations, Industrialisation and Investment Policies are connected. One finds a dysfunction in terms of the extent to which our colleagues at Embassies have not been able to internalise Industrial Policy and all the related economic policies in order for them to do a good job in terms of marketing the country. It would be important. I foresee that strategies such as the *Growth at Home*, for instance, is part of a closer debate and discussion with regard to the coordination between this Ministry and that of Trade and Industry. I think it is important because if you do not have diplomats and people that are able to competently articulate the issues of investment for your country, we will face situations where fly-by-night investors often come to Regional and Local Authorities and claim to be genuine investors who obtain land and then run away. We have had similar experiences. That connection is sometimes very loose in terms of policy coordination.

Thirdly, the extent to which we relate to our major friends who call themselves *all weather friends*, rich friends that we have as a country, good as it is, one wonders the extent to which we are able to sufficiently tap from their advances in terms of technology, education and skills development. I have always wondered, with our good friend in the East,

why we are unable to get stronger training on International Relations and Diplomacy, for instance to ensure that our policy is clear. We have heard the President saying that we are a friend to all and an enemy to none. Well, that should bring some dividends I think.

Lastly, we have received some complaints from Namibians who are based at organisations like the United Nations who find that their Government is probably not sufficiently fighting for their advancement. They said to some of us that other African countries fight for their citizens to go up the United Nations System that strengthen and uplift them to senior positions in order to make an impact for some; rightfully or wrongfully, they find that that kind of support is not always forthcoming. Whilst supporting the Honourable Minister's submission, I am raising those issues. I so do. Thank you.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Honourable Minister Jerry Ekandjo.

HON MINISTER OF SPORT, YOUTH AND NATIONAL SERVICE: Thank you, Comrade Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

Mine is just a word of advice, or perhaps a request. Is it possible for the Ministry to arrange a workshop on Diplomatic Etiquette for Members of Parliament, especially those who joined us recently? I am asking this because in the early 90s such workshops were organised by Ambassador Debra.

Today the Speaker has announced various Committee Members and these Members will definitely travel around the world. As you travel you may find that cultures differ in the different countries. In Vietnam, especially in Asia, you do not hug people, for instance, and Namibians like to hug.

HON MBUMBA: Thank you very much, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. I apologise for coming in late.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: No, it is okay.

HON MBUMBA: I am rising to support the Vote for International Relations and Cooperation.

I want to emphasise that we have friends worldwide. It is good but I think our friends have been underestimating the level where we are now. They are eager to give you your primary education, your primary health, but we must also consider that we have to move to a different level. We have to move ahead. We have friends like the Germans, Russians, Chinese, Japanese and the Americans, and it is good that they are helping to ensure that everybody has a chance to go to school and have access to good health, but I think the time has come for us to move on.

We have places like Swakopmund, why can we not attract reputable Research Institutions and Reputable Universities to these places? There are American Universities in Asian and Arab countries. We have the facilities; we have funds, good weather and we have land, but we cannot just consider this issue of the goat today, the sheep and the cow tomorrow. We know the world of the cow better than the Europeans. It is really time that we attract research in terms of science because the future belongs to those who understand science, those whose economies are based not only on basic Industries, but on advanced Industries.

My appeal is, if the Germans consider that we have a special relationship with them, they should help us reach the level of an advanced society and advanced country. Once again, I give my full support to the Vote.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: In the absence of further contributions, I give the Floor to the Honourable Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of International Relations and Cooperation to respond.

HON DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION: Thank you, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. I would like to thank all the Honourable Members who spoke and those who have not spoken for your support. I must say, generally, there has been a positive response to this Vote, which we highly appreciate.

The first concern which was raised by ***Honourable Comrade Kawana,*** is the concern that I started with when I motivated my Vote. I said it very clearly that we are debating this Budget against the background of that unfortunate situation where young people of Africa are moving outside the Continent in the hope of finding better living conditions.

It is a very disturbing thing, and I even recall the last statement our former President, President Pohamba has made at the African Union. In the second last paragraph of his statement, he said that he was so saddened that young African people continue to risk their lives while Africa is endowed with all its resources. He appealed to his Colleagues that something be done, for that situation to be brought to an end. That is why when the African Union Peace and Security Council met in their last Session on Friday, they had taken a decision that instead of allowing this issue of migration of young people to Europe to be dealt with at a political level, it be recognised as a security issue. The African Union Peace and Security Council has thus decided to find time to deliberate on this subject matter.

Honourable Minister Kawana, I agree with you that what happened in Libya is very unfortunate and it has almost destabilised the whole region and all of us are feeling it. That is a good lesson. I recall that when we

went to the Africa/United States Summit, one of the African Leaders has alluded to this because he and others were in Libya trying to normalise the situation when those planes flew over. He said he was almost caught in fire and the AU had sent those Presidents there to work with the Libyan people to avoid the situation from getting out of hand, however the fly-over then took place and what we are witnessing now is an unfortunate situation.

On the issue of us focusing on peace as a country, this is what we are focusing on. Peace and Security from the word go remain our priority up to now. You recall in 2000 when Namibia was in the Security Council and underlined the importance of peace, the discussion on *Women and Peace* was initiated. What followed is the adoption of the Security Council Resolution 1325. I must tell you, as much as that Security Council Resolution is talking about women and peace, it is now broadly used as a tool to advocate peace. As a Government, we have decided last year (2014) that every time we go to the General Assembly we are going to have a side event dedicated to that Resolution. We had it last year and it was very successful - it was very popular and this year, many countries are registering their intention to partner with Namibia.

We are doing this to achieve two things: One is to advocate for the importance of peace and stability, and the other one is to answer the questions that were raised by ***Honourable Venaani*** because the attention is directed towards us -- everybody wants to be a panellist. Last year we had to send them away and this year they are applying very early because they see what we are doing.

Honourable Shixwameni, thank you very much, I will pass the message to our officials in our Missions abroad and I will encourage them to remain professional and to move with time. Thank you very much for that. You requested for us to look at their living allowances, I know this had been discussed. Last year, I mentioned in my Statement that we had our Head of Mission Conference where it was also raised but Comrade, I have to tell you that our Diplomats are not worse off in comparison to others. I informed our Heads of Mission that, "*Yes, we are going to be*

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Any objection? Agreed to.

Vote 20 – **"AGRICULTURE, WATER AND FORESTRY"** put for Discussions. Any discussion? I recognise Honourable Mbai.

HON MBAI: Thank you very much, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

Honourable Members, I rise again to contribute very briefly to the Vote under discussion.

First of all, let me congratulate the Honourable Minister of Agriculture, Water and Forestry, Honourable Mutorwa, for a job well done with regard to your Budget Motivation Statement. Furthermore, your overall ministerial performance during the Financial Year 2013/2014 was quite excellent. Honourable Minister, during the Financial Year 2014/2015, we approved a total Budget of N$2,618,452,000.00. One would like to know what are the determining factors that the Ministry's allocation for 2015/2016 reflects a reduction and not listed under the Votes that recorded increments against the fact that Agriculture is the backbone of our economy and more than 70% of our population depend from agriculture for their livelihood?

Honourable Minister, I am of the opinion that the allocation to Agriculture in the future should be considered favourably if we would like to move closer to our objective of inclusivity, reduction of poverty and income inequalities.

Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, Honourable Minister, in your Technical Paper on Page 11, on the issue of the Construction of Veterinary Clinics and Accommodation, Item 3.4.2.1 on your major achievements for 2014/2015: A total of five modern State Veterinary Offices at Outapi, Epukiro, Okakarara, Omuthiya and Eenhana

were completed and inaugurated for operation. However, some, if not all, are not yet fully met, more especially the services of a permanent Veterinary and staff are urgently needed. With those few remarks, I support the allocation for 2015/2016 and I thank you.

HON CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Honourable Witbooi.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF GENDER EQUALITY AND CHILD WELFARE: Thank you, Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

I also rise to support the Vote and to congratulate the Minister and his team for a job well done. Wherever you go you can see the green colour.

Honourable Minister, I have two questions and my first question is on the livestock speculators in the communal areas. Our communal farmers are not receiving their fair share or fair deal from the speculators; meaning that there is no win/win situation. Why can we not return to the auction system instead of one person deciding on the price of livestock?

Honourable Minister, I want you to take note and work on it. The speculators are robbing our farmers in the communal areas, especially in the Gibeon area. Comrade Minister, our farmers are suffering. All of us cannot be resettled and some people will never be resettled, unless the Ministry of Land Reform introduces a Turnaround Strategy with immediate effect. We can also not all be commercial farmers.

Comrade Minister, when I am talking about this point my heart is sore. I am not resettled and I am not a commercial farmer, but I have experience in farming. I know that salt in the kitchen is first-hand medicine and I know how to assist when there is a problem with birth. I also know that when the dogs are barking in the middle of the night from the side of the

Honourable Kashikola, I think you rose to affirm Honourable Mwaningange's view on the fact that we are doing well with regard to the training of our youth at Vocational Training Centres, but the challenge is that there are many roaming the streets with no jobs. This is a major concern for the Ministry, the country and the Government, to have people who can manufacture corrugated irons sheets but when they finish, they do not have any means of ensuring that they either create jobs for themselves or for others. With the Vocational Training Education, I fell the position of the Ministry is that prior to completion of their training, it is important that they are introduced to financial institutions for possible funding. It is also important that proposals are developed at that level – that is, at the very final stage of their training to ensure that at least those proposals that are worth pursuing are channelled to the right funding agencies like the DBN, for example. I think I have actually come to the end of my Response.

HON DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you, Honourable Minister. I put Vote 32. Any objection? Agreed to.

Vote 33 – **"POVERTY ERADICATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE,"** put for Discussion. Any discussion? Honourable Mbumba.

HON MBUMBA: Thank you very much, Honourable Deputy Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

I am rising to support the Vote of all of us, the Vote of everybody, that was nicely and properly presented by the Honourable Bishop, Dr Zephania Kameeta, Member of Parliament. I have looked through Your Honour's Speech and at every page there is reference made to poverty reduction.

On Page 1, poverty reduction is referred to twice. On Page 3, poverty reduction is referred to perhaps four or five times – and so are the other pages. My remarks will concentrate on poverty. Poverty comes in many forms. Naturally, the worst one is when you do not have food to eat. Also, when you have no place to stay and above all, when you sometimes have nothing to cover yourself with.

I would like to use an example of something I learned as a child a long time ago. Two neighbours who grew up together got married to their respective partners but one of them managed to teach *a, b, c* at a primary school, and because she was teaching she was somehow earning some money and she could buy herself a dress or two. There was a festivity in the Neighbourhood, so the one who did not have a job did not have clothes, she went to the neighbour and asked - *May I put on your dress when I am going to the wedding of my relatives?* Well, in those days people used to exchange clothes, so the neighbours exchanged clothes and you know what happens at wedding; you dance, you sing and, of course, the clothes are not clean when they are returned. This lady said - *You poor people do not know how to behave, look at my dress, it is now dirty!* Honourable Members, do you remember the beads made from ostrich shells for decorations? Knowing the tradition better, the other one said - *Your mother once came to my mother and borrowed ostrich beads.*

We, therefore, have to be very careful of how we define poverty. Of course, the one having acquired the status of a teacher - the one having modern clothes, broke down because she never remembered or never knew that her mother was poorer than her peer's mother. Poverty is a terrible thing and it is not permanent to any clan, one group, one tribe or one family, it covers all of us.

Having been a refugee, I remember when I left Lusaka to go and study in the United States. The jacket I was wearing was too big. My group spent the whole night cutting it and sewing it for me to look good in the plane. That is poverty, but I still managed to come back and become a Member of Parliament and other things. I also remember that long time ago in the 80s, I met him, he was not a Bishop then, he was just Right Reverend Dr

agencies do not just do things on their own without zeroing in with your office, especially when it comes to *Poverty Reduction Programmes* or *Programmes Aimed at Alleviating Poverty.*

The second issue that is very fundamental, and that I think your Ministry should look at is: You are saying here that you are going to consult the country, but I firmly believe that we cannot make a meaningful impact on reducing and pushing back the frontiers of poverty, if we do not have a strategic policy framework on how we want to do it. Perhaps the dialogue that you are going to have will culminate in one sort of a policy document position that would be able to guide us on what we want to achieve on poverty. You are very passionate; and so am I, about the Basic Income Grant and it is an issue that needs an in-depth debate in our society because the Brazilians, to those who are familiar, have managed to take millions of their people out of poverty in a very short period of time. The Basic Income Grant that we are propagating should also be based on targeting poverty stricken citizens because there was a big debate, even in my own Party on how we would want to have the Basic Income Grant for any person. I mean if you give Honourable Mutorwa and myself a N$100.00 a day, it is good money but we do not actually need that because we are not poor. Therefore, when we are targeting some of these policies, we should make sure that they are really meant for those that need to be taken out of poverty and not to have a *carte blanche* policy because when we were writing our Manifesto, this debate was quite robust in the Party to say - *everybody must share in the Basic Income Grant* and I said, *No, if you want to make a carte blanche policy then you are not targeting poverty*.

When you are targeting a specific group of people, let that specific group of people be identified – *you earn less than this, therefore, you qualify for the Basic Income Grant.* It is a debate that should never move away from your radar because there are many schools of thought, some are saying we are teaching people to be poor and so forth but if you look at how *Bolsa Familia* has been implemented, it has been targeted at taking children to school, carry out some community service and then you get this money, and it has really pushed people out of poverty. Therefore, to say that

international citizens would want to have a particular blanket that looks so original and so African, and it can become a big trademark. Therefore, *microcredit* is very important if we want to address poverty. Those are my few remarks on poverty.

Then the other one is on the regional variation; to look at making sure that attention is given to those Regions that are behind. For example, there is this big debate amongst many Regions, people say - *everything goes to the North*, but go to Ohangwena and see poverty – daring poverty and underdevelopment in many areas. Therefore, we must also try to make concerted efforts to ensure that those Regions that are behind are brought at par with the others. I, however, support your Ministry and I shall come for coffee to have an in-depth discussion and share my ideas on how we could push back those frontiers of poverty. With these few remarks, I support your Vote.

HON DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Honourable Shixwameni.

HON SHIXWAMENI: Thank you. I also rise to express my full and unqualified support for the people's Vote. As Honourable Mbumba clearly illustrated, it is very important that all of us actually throw our weights behind the Poverty Ministry.

Poverty Eradication and just, wealth redistribution has actually been our clarion call and our passion, hence, we do not have any qualms about supporting this particular Vote because it is the Vote that will bring the dignity and humanity of our people back to their faces. Consequently, we are calling for the Ministry to roll up their sleeves, pull up their socks and make sure that we work hard to make poverty history in the Land of the Brave. Otherwise, Bishop and your team, I wish you all the best. Thank you.

HON DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Honourable Shixwameni reminded me to return to our time of three minutes. I went back to five minutes but when you took the Floor, you reminded me about the three minutes allocation that we agreed upon. I now have Honourable Jagger. Three minutes please, not five.

HON JAGGER: I thought it is five minute. Thank you, Honourable Deputy Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

I simply rise to make a contribution to our Vote – Vote 33. However, I want to introduce my contribution with the following verse from Habakkuk, Chapter 1, verse 2, and it reads as follows, *"How long, oh Lord, must I call for help but you do not listen."* However, I can assure this Honourable august House and the Nation that God has indeed listened to the cry of the Namibian people; hence, the placement of the Ministry of Poverty Reduction and Eradication.

Honourable Deputy Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, the Government of the Republic of Namibia has introduced so many Programmes to relieve the pressing needs of the citizenry of this country. We all know the various Programmes – the Drought Relief, the OVC Grants, the Old Age Pension Fund, the Funeral Benefits of our Pensioners, etcetera.

My contribution is on the food bank on Page 9 of the Budget Speech. I am really happy with all that has been presented to us. The introduction, the implementation and the coordination, but my concern is really as to how the Ministry will make sure that the beneficiaries of the food bank benefits 100%, especially when it comes to the foodstuff that will be provided through the food bank.

HON DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Honourable Dienda.

HON DIENDA: Thank you, Honourable Deputy Chairperson. I think I must run fast now because of the time.

Honourable Minister, I would like to congratulate the Government for the N$1,000.00 raise in the Old Age Pension Fund, which is indeed a constitutional obligation. However, I would like to conduct research to establish whether the cash payment model is the most efficient and beneficial manner in fulfilling the Government social responsibilities. Honourable Minister, I would really opt for fully paid Old Age Homes for the most vulnerable pensioners and I will bring in a full Motion in this regard. I just want to hear what your take is because we heard stories that our pensioners are spending all their money on alcohol and cannot even afford to pay rent and so on. That is why I am asking this question.

Then my second question Honourable Minister is, how do we define the word dependant? Somebody living with disabilities is a dependant in my view. If a person is a dependant and I must take care of that person, we must bear in mind that medical care is very expensive. The *Maintenance Act* of this country says that your parents are your dependants, I will come back to this medical care at a later time because I feel that dependants also need medical care and if I am in a position, through my medical scheme, I want to be able to add them as dependants. Can we, therefore, conduct some research to establish who can be regarded as a dependant and who cannot?

Honourable Minister, my next question is; for people living with disabilities, is there also something in the pipeline for them in terms of the funeral benefits?

Question 04: Honourable Minister, on your Programme on *Poverty Alleviation* - do we have any Programmes in place for rehabilitating

Prostitutes, seeing that people become prostitutes not because they want to but because of poverty; do we have any rehabilitation Programmes in place?

HON MEMBER: It is business!

HON DIENDA: It may be business for some but for others not. Honourable Shixwameni, do not make me wonder why you are saying that.

The last point, Honourable Minister, is: I really appreciate the idea of you proposing a national dialogue on this because I feel that the people of Namibia need to be part and parcel of this dialogue, however, I also want to say that we should not raise expectations that we cannot keep at the end of the day and that is why I agree with my President that only the people who are really in need must be catered for. Thank you very much and I support your Vote my Bishop.

HON DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Honourable Chief Ankama?

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF FISHERIES AND MARINE RESOURCES: Thank you, Deputy Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

Honourable Minister, Bishop Emeritus, I support your Vote; however, I have some few things to say:

1) On Programme 02, Page 5 - *Provision of Social Assistance to the Most Vulnerable*: I believe that research has been conducted to this effect and that research still has to be carried out to make sure that they indeed received and utilised these funds for the intended purposes.

   The other thing is on education; I would say, perhaps there might be an embedded Educational Programme to talk to these people about the reason why they are getting this money and what is expected of them to use the money for. Of course, it is not an easy thing, it requires a lot of commitment as well as a lot of interaction between the recipients and those who are responsible for these funds.

2) On Programme 03, the *Food Bank*: In my opinion, if you eat food that you have not worked for, you are a thief in actual fact. *(interjection)* yes, because you have not worked for it. However, my hope is that not every recipient of the food from the food bank is handicapped. There should be an embedded Programme within, to make sure that these people also work for the food and they should realise that the food comes from somewhere.

In addition, by way of conclusion, I do not think this is manna. Manna has never been received many times; in terms of the Bible it was only received once and it does not last long. One cannot have it overnight. The food is supplied from somewhere else, therefore, the suppliers should be identified to ensure that quality food is supplied. It is thus, very important to know about the suppliers. Thank you.

HON DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: The time is up. Your three minutes have lapsed. Thank you. Honourable Limbo.

HON LIMBO: Thank you, Honourable Deputy Chairperson of the Whole House Committee *(intervention)*.

HON DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE WGHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: You are the last one on this Vote.

HON LIMBO: Thank you, I will be brief. Honourable Minister, as it was said earlier by my Colleagues, women and the youth are the most affected people in our society. The experience from public hearings in different Regions has taught me that if one calls up a meetings, in some areas, 99% of the attendees would be men, leaving the most affected people behind. I would, therefore, like to appeal that if need be, some meetings should be arranged where only women are invited so that they can express themselves and come up with different Programmes where they make a meaningful contribution to the development of this country. The same applies to the youth.

The other thing Honourable Minister: I think that the time has come for this country to command all of us to go and till the land. We have land. I remember that it was always a slogan in Zambia, even us who were refugees in Nyango Camps were reminded to grow our own vegetables and maize. Let us, therefore, make sure that each and every Namibian is given that task. It is a shame that when you look around in different yards, you only find lawn. Why should you water lawn when you do not have food to eat? Let us start growing our own food in our backyards.

Lastly, I am told that in Zimbabwe they have even gone to an extent of turning some of their swimming pools into fish ponds and because they are getting food, they are also selling – so why should you have the luxury when you or your neighbour is starving? Let us try to look for different

ways of producing organic local foods. With that, I support your Vote. Thank you very much.

HON DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE WHOLE HOUSE COMMITTEE: Thank you. Now the Honourable Minister for the response.

HON MINISTER OF POVERTY ERADICATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE: Comrade Deputy Chairperson of the Whole House Committee, thank you so much for facilitating this important Debate. Everybody who stood up supported this Vote. I think this is a very good beginning and it is very encouraging.

The first person who took the Floor; ***Honourable Mumba*** supported the Vote. Thank you for remembering so well what I nearly forgot; the past. I also thank you for your contribution on the question of poverty and your definition of it. When we talk of poverty eradication, perhaps the word itself does not explain so much, but poverty eradication is empowering people to do things for themselves and not making them slaves of charity forever. You empower them, you encourage and inspire them so that they can place demand on themselves and say - *Well, I am now on my feet, what can I do for myself?* That is what poverty eradication means. You encourage people to regain their lost dignity and to do things for themselves and not just say - *I will feed you forever so you do not need to do anything.* That is not poverty eradication, that is something else. However, thank you so much for reminding us of this very important issue.

Honourable Venaani, thank you very much for your support and declaring yourself a supporter of this Ministry; we appreciate it. At the moment, we are living in poverty, we do not have offices, so I cannot invite you for tea, but hopefully, perhaps by next week we will be able to receive you; and not only you, but other Honourable Members as well. The question of coordination is very important and that is why I have said

be very welcome to come and say - *I have thought about this. Can we try that?* We will be very open and I hope that the staff compliment at that time will then be in place so that we would not only be talking but also implementing and strategising on what will be coming out of those discussions.

Honourable Shixwameni, yes, you spoke with so much emotion and I think this is one of the Ministries that really needs that emotional support. Thank you very much and please feel free to contact my staff, the Acting Permanent Secretary and the people with whom I am working, with suggestions. We shall appreciate all the ideas that you have.

Then the fourth question or comments came from ***Honourable Jagger.*** Yes, we have a God who listens and I think the establishment of this Ministry is one of those answers. However, this Ministry is not going to work in isolation. When you listened to the Motivation Speeches from almost all the Ministers who spoke, the words *poverty reduction, poverty eradication* where echoed quite often – even from the Ministry of Mines and Energy, you heard about *poverty eradication.* We are the main drivers of this particular issue, however, all the Ministries are involved on the question of poverty eradication.

On the Food Bank: We are in the process of researching and looking at what is happening. We will not be doing this alone, but with the United Nations Food Programme. I met their Representatives two days ago and had discussions with her on what can be done. The Right Honourable Prime Minister invited us on Monday at 11:00, so we are in a process of learning and are listening to what can be done. Things are already happening and this idea was already there. As I mentioned in my Motivation Presentation, the Office of the former Deputy Prime Minister already had this discussion. We are in a process of learning to see how this can be done in such a way that those who really need this food do receive it. Here, I believe that we need to talk to School Education Directors, School Principals, the Police, Traditional Leaders, Church Leaders and all others who interact with people. Those who work with animals, we will leave them to the Ministry of Agriculture, but at least we

Being a Minister now, I have not stopped preaching, I will continue preaching about the misuse of alcohol, drugs and all those things, especially for people of my age. Drinking in front of their children, grandchildren and great grandchildren is a scandal, particularly when using money that you did not work for. It is also not right to talk of pension, it is not really a pension but a grant and it should be used responsibly. Of course, we will not go to the extent of following people around, they must have their dignity, but where we see that there is a misuse of this money and this person does, as a result not benefit from this money, we will intervene and see that it is used correctly. This will not only be applicable to Senior Citizens but to People Living with Disabilities as well.

There was a question of funeral assistance for People Living with Disabilities. This is already being done. Those who have not used it are perhaps not aware of it, therefore, it means that we should advertise to make it known. However, this funeral assistance is not only for the Senior Citizens, but also for People Living with Disabilities, I just want to reassure you here.

About the prostitutes: I do not know what the correct term is, some people call them sex workers. For me, with my background, a sex worker is something unheard of, I think there is better work *(interjection)*

HON MEMBER: They need to be rehabilitated.

HON MINISTER OF POVERTY ERADICATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE: Rehabilitation, yes. I do not know, but a person who has done immense work in this respect is Father Herman Klein-Hitpass. I do not know whether he is still alive, but he has done a lot of work among these people, really trying to rehabilitate and assist them. We will be in close contact with these kinds of people as Father Herman and see how we

APPENDIX 10

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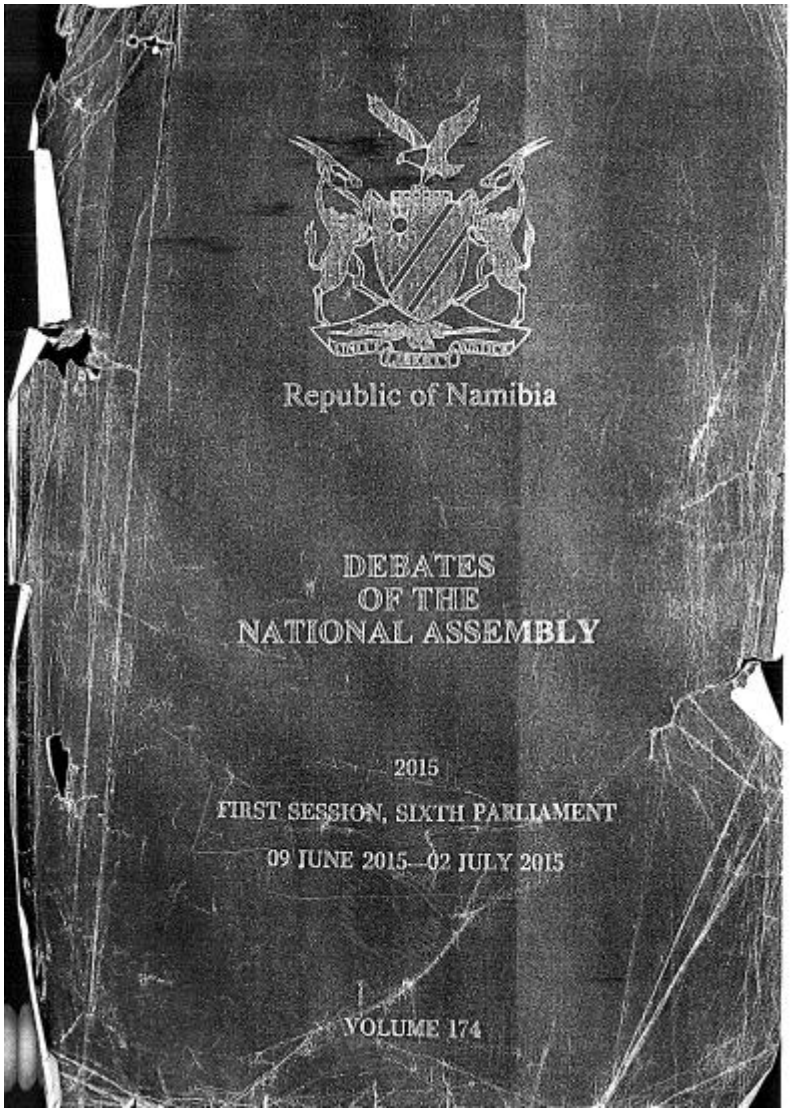

comprehensive responses and I suppose it is sufficient, we leave it at that. However, I just wanted to draw attention to your plea with regards to the danger that our people face when it comes to cancer, and the danger represented by that disease. Periodical check up is necessary and I think you made a special plea for that, and I know the Honourable Minister of Health and Social Services has also taken note of that plea. It is something that we constantly need to remind ourselves and the rest of the country. Thank you very much we move on.

The Secretary will read the Order of the Day.

RESUMPTION OF DEBATE ON SECOND READING – PUBLIC ENTERPRISES GOVERNANCE AMENDMENT BILL [B.6 – 2015]

SECRETARY: Resumption of Debate on Second Reading – *Public Enterprises Amendment Bill.*

HON SPEAKER: When the Debate was adjourned on Wednesday, the 10th of June 2015,the question before the Assembly was a Motion by the Honourable Minister of Public Enterprises that the Bill be read a Second Time. Honourable Dienda adjourned the Debate and I would now like to call on her to have the Floor.

HON DIENDA: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. Honourable Speaker, as we are today celebrating the Day of the African Child, allow me to congratulate all the children in Africa, especially the children in Namibia. This is the day that we will always remember.

After Paulus Noah, the Director of the ACC investigated this matter, and I will even tell you that there is a Committee called Special Investigations, he followed it up and referred it to the Prosecutor-General a year ago. This letter was signed on the 9th of June 2014, and up to today there is no feedback regarding this case. The Law, in Part V, Section 29 states that that special investigators must be appointed to follow up issues like this'. If the Law is so clear, why can we not implement the Law which is on the Table?

Honourable Speaker, my third concern is about the *Performance Agreements of Managements or Staff of State-Owned Enterprises*, which will now be *Public Enterprises*. Let me read Section 21 for you – *"The board of a State-owned Enterprise must require the Chief Executive Officer, and such other Senior Management Staff to enter into performance agreements with the board, with due regard to any directives laid down by the Council under Section 4."*

Honourable Speaker, the reason why I am bringing these things up is because it seems that our CEOs, our Managers at these State-Owned Enterprises are being promoted for non-performance. We are reading it in all the newspapers about how things are going and how there is no money available and that we must bail them out every time, but yet there is nothing said about how far was the implementation of this agreement is. What was it called, *(interjection)*

HON MEMBER: And bonuses!

HON DIENDA: Yes, I will even come to bonuses. There is no mention about how they perform, who did the performance appraisal and how it was carried, nothing about it.

bringing to the Table as part of his presentation. As you continue, I just want you to mention that you get the balance right. Thank you.

HON DIENDA: Yes. These are things that are happening. It is mainly, only a name change of some titles that is brought about, but the Law will remain the same. It means that we will still remain with the same problem. My concern is whether the Minister will give attention to these problems that are currently there. Thank you, Honourable Speaker.

Honourable Speaker, Part VI - *Restructuring of State-Owned Enterprises.* In most of our cases restructuring is only meant for the low-income people. When they table these documents you will see that the people who are affected are the cleaners, the drivers and the messengers, but not the managers. In fact, what they are doing is that they are promoting the managers with a higher salary, a thirteenth cheque and even a performance bonus. I do not know where the performance is, but this is what they call restructure - getting rid of the low-income people and giving themselves a better salary.

Honourable Speaker, my last point is on the Tender Board and the Board of Directors. I am against Namibia Airports Company; the same people do the evaluation, they do the recommendations and they also approve. They are, therefore, the players and the referee at the same time. Can we really continue to allow things like this to happen? Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker, that is all Honourable Minister.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. We will come back to dealing with the questions. May I ask Honourable Mushelenga to take the Floor please?

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION: Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker. Honourable Members, I will be very brief.

First, let me thank the Honourable Minister for bringing the Amendments to the *State-Owned Enterprises Governance Act*.

Honourable Speaker, I would want to address the issue of governance in general. Honourable Minister, I think the Ministry should seriously take the issue of sufficient training for board members seriously. Ideally, board members are supposed to be experts:

1. In the field or the company in which they serve.
2. In issues of governance and compliance in general.

I do not know how many of our companies take their board members for training or whether the State-Owned Enterprise Governors Council was doing that, in order for them to appreciate their fiduciary responsibilities; because they appear to be misunderstanding these fiduciary responsibilities. This is perhaps because the cheque and the payments that goes to board members come from the companies of which they are board members. *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Point of Order. Honourable Member, would you like to speak on a Point of Order?

HON BEZUIDENHOUT: I want to ask the Honourable Member a question for clarity. Honourable Mushelenga, can you just educate us about the legal term fiduciary responsibility, so that we all understand that?

Then again, there is the issue of Annual Reports. Honourable Minister, in this august House, I have seen Reports as old as four years being tabled and you ask yourself, for what? We are supposed to receive these Reports, discuss and address issues. If there are issues that need to be rectified they need to be debated here and the public needs to know.

Now when you bring a four-year old Report, what have you been doing for all those years, because these companies have auditing firms, they have a company secretary so what is so difficult to produce an Annual Report on time? An Annual Report is a very important document that informs the shareholders about the operations of the company, the running of the company and the financial position of the company. If you bring the Report after four years here when things have been overtaken by events, it will not really help the shareholders to be properly informed and take their necessary corrective measures.

With these words, Honourable Speaker, I would like to support the Bill. Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. I am not sure whether you have taken note of the fact that, we normally go for tea around this time and I am hearing the Honourable Members whispering to me - *tea, tea.* I have not heard anybody talking about coffee.

I will be guided by the House; I think the majority of you would like to continue, however, if there are people who would like to have a cup of tea, they can walk quietly, enjoy themselves and come back, so that we can continue. That is what I am hearing, I am not deciding on my own. May I now ask the Minister of Finance?

HON MINISTER OF FINANCE: Thank you, Comrade Speaker. I also rise to support the Bill and I am doing that knowing that this Bill is

to get the headache of trying to raise money to rescue this and the other SOE. That is my small contribution. Thank you, Comrade Speaker.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Honourable Kavekotora please.

HON KAVEKOTORA: Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker. I also stand up to support the Bill.

I also concur with the former speakers by saying that State-Owned Enterprises have a very significant role to play in our economy. However, I just want to make a few comments on the commercial State-Owned Enterprises.

I think many people who venture into establishment of businesses know that when you start a business, you also have to accept the fact that the probability of failure is also there. It does, therefore, not mean that the establishment of a business will only relate to success. To the Honourable Minister, I think this is an opportune time for Namibia and the Minister to really interrogate the financial viability of some of the commercial entities; because it has been said that so many Turnaround Strategies have practically resulted to nothing. After one Turnaround Strategy there is another Turnaround Strategy, and there is no improvement whatsoever.

I, therefore, think the need to interrogate the financial viability and the economic feasibility of some of the State-Owned Enterprises is the right thing to do, especially at a point where changes have been effected, we will be saving the State some resources that could be applied to some other things; because some of these State-Owned Enterprises are completing with the Private Sector and their failure to do so is just a clear indication that they are not performing according to the market

am enjoying that. I can show some of the seasoned Members of Parliament that they missed something in the Bill and that deals with the name of the legislation.

Honourable Venaani, you have also raised that. It deals with the name of the *Amendment Bill* and not the change of name of the enabling legislation. However, you will see that under Section 12 of this Bill and it deals with the substitution for Section 50 of the following Section, and that is a Short Title - ***The Commencement of the Enabling Legislation,*** which we also changed to *State-Owned Enterprises Governance Act* of 2006. Both those are aligned - that is on Page 5, Honourable Venaani. I think we have covered that.

Then there are items raised by ***Honourable Sankwasa*** that were also raised by ***Honourable Schlettwein*** today. They deal with the appointment issues under Section 7 and Section 9 of the Act, on Page 3 and 4. On those, I can allay your concerns and put you at ease after the Attorney-General and I have discussed that with the Right Honourable Prime Minister, and we will table an Amendment to that particular Section during the Committee State, so we will deal with that.

Honourable Venaani, again, you have raised that there is consistency in the declaration of dividends from commercial entities and again we share your concern. There must be a dividend policy for each of the commercial entities separately and that is one of the measures that will be implemented.

Another overarching issue that I have not dealt with is the Turnaround Strategies. Someone said to me that - *if you have so many turnarounds you become dizzy after a while.* Attempting a turnaround brings you to a circle, and it gets you to the same point you started at. I can thus share with this House that the Government will be dealing with Turnaround Strategies in a completely different manner. You know a Turnaround Strategy is not about money, many of these entities think that they merely need money to change the destiny of the entity, but sadly, money is most

Standing Committee on Human Resources and Community Development
Honourable Clara //Gowases's name has been withdrawn from this Committee.

Standing Committee on Gender Equality, Social Development and Family Affairs

Honourable Petrina Haingura.

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)

Honourable Petrina Haingura.

I now declare these Honourable Members as duly elected Chairpersons, Deputy Chairpersons and/or Members of the relevant Parliamentary Standing Committees, International Parliamentary Bodies and Organisations. We are moving on.

The Secretary will now read the Order of the Day.

RESUMPTION OF DEBATE ON OLD AGE HOMES IN NAMIBIA

SECRETARY: Resumption of Debate on Old Age Homes in Namibia.

HON SPEAKER: When the Debate was adjourned on Thursday, the 25th of June 2015, the question before the Assembly was a Motion by Honourable Dienda. Honourable Van Den Heever adjourned the Debate and I now give her the Floor.

HON VAN DEN HEEVER: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. Honourable Members, I would like to start with a quote from the former Vice President of the USA, Hubert Humphrey, who said – *"the moral test of Government is how that Government treats those who are in the dawn of life, the children; those who are in the twilight of light, the elderly; and those who are in the shadows of life, the sick, the needy and the handicapped."*

The most vulnerable people in society are often unable to attend to their own needs and this is when and where Government intervention is needed. The latest available statistics from Namibia Statistics Agency predicted that by the year 2031, the number of Namibians above the age of 55 will increase from 124.334 to 369.121. This is a significant number of elderly people and if we fail to start planning for how to address the need now, any intervention in later years may come too late.

Honourable Speaker, the first concern that I am have is the lack of specialised training programmes, be it at UNAM, Polytechnic, the University of Science and Technology or other Vocational Training Centres that are specifically geared toward geriatric care or the care of elderly people. Whilst nursing programmes are available in abundance, there is an absence of specific programmes, which specifically focus on training caregivers for elderly people. We are thus faced with a situation where one of the most vulnerable groups in the society is basically left to anyone who is desperately looking for a job. The consequence is that the people who work at old age homes around the country, are often not passionate about their work and are bad tempered towards the elderly people as their only interest in the work is the salary that they receive at the end of the month. This could explain why so many elderly people complain of abuse and ill-treatment in Old Age Homes.

The second concern that I want to highlight is the Government's general approach to Old Age Homes. In some towns in Namibia, the only available Old Age Homes are run by private companies which charge the residents extremely high fees, meaning that they often have to spend their entire monthly pension on paying for boarding, leaving them with little to

nothing for other basic needs such as, toiletries, medication etcetera.

With the situation where Old Age Homes have become a moneymaking scheme for the Private Sector, and with the few available State run and State funded Old Age Homes that are full, with long waiting lists, leads one to wonder exactly how high on the priority list the care of the elderly have been placed on the Government's agenda. Yes, the pension increments were necessarily welcome and duly applauded by our Party, but over and beyond that, there need to be a serious rethinking of the general approach and policy on Old Age Homes, for example, Honourable Speaker, I recently attended a workshop by the Ombudsman last week, where the National Human Rights Action Plan 2015-2019 was launched. They came up with specific objectives and key interventions such as to look into the assessment and improvement of social housing solutions undertaken by the Local Authorities and Regional Councils and it seems that it is definitely a need that we should categorise Social Housing and also look into the definition of it. I went as far as looking into the UN Rapporteur, but could see a clear definition for it.

I would like to thank the Deputy Minister or Urban and rural Development, Honourable Sylvia Makgone who defined Social Housing to us this morning and that it is a new concept for certain Local Authorities when it comes to Old Age Homes. I would like to thank her for that, but it leads to encouraging us to look into the advocacy and strengthening of Social Housing. It is often said - *that failing to plan is planning to fail*. We cannot afford to fail the people to whom we owe our Independence.

Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, for those reasons, I support the Motion tabled by Honourable Dienda and recommend that the concerns that I have raised, as well as recommendation in her Motivation Speech be referred to the Committee on Gender Equality, Social Development and Family Affairs for investigation and recommendation. I thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you, Honourable Clara //Gowases.

HON //GOWASES: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. Honourable Members, I rise to support the Motion tabled by Honourable Dienda for the following reasons:

It was a properly researched Motion where all aspects concerning the dilemma of the old age persons in Namibia were identified and highlighted. Aspects of social and health status of our Senior Citizens were clearly spelt out. Old Age Homes are meant to be a blessing and a sign of appreciation for the labour they toiled into the economy of our country.

Let us take it from an angle of highlighting the topic by taking examples: According to Potgieter – ***Behuising vir Bejaardes-***

- It is a home away from home;
- It is manned by professional staff and consists of consulting rooms manned 24 hours by medical doctors who properly take care of the inhabitants;
- Nurses that are professionally trained to cater for the physical, mental and health care of the inhabitants;
- With patience care and consoling professionalism, these Senior Citizens are treated with social and sports clubs they belong to;
- Their hobbies and Church Services are catered for;
- Flower gardens and afternoon organised walking trips they participate in for fresh air - even those using wheelchairs.

Now let us face the reality of reckoning of our elders in our community.

The only day our elders receive an excellent treatment at the hands of a close family is on the payday of their pensions. Only about 20% of our communities' Senior Citizens are taken care of properly by their next of kin. 80% are neglected with dirt, hunger as well as their physical and mental wellbeing.

Their houses are skimmed off from their names. They are hosted in ghettos behind the houses that once belonged to them. They became the victims of exploitation. Why should we pretend that everything is well while there is a smell of rot.

Our Senior Citizens sacrificed their livelihood to build this beautiful infrastructure we inherited today. The current Old Age Homes in the formerly disadvantaged communities are in a deploring state. Hence, I appeal to the Ministry of Health to revisit these Institutions and upgrade them. Not all children are kind-hearted towards the Senior Citizens and will take tender care of them, hence the idea of Old Age Homes. We should not dump our Senior Citizens, rather give them the opportunity where they would be given professional care and stay in a healthy environment. Let us move forward and think outside the box.

We cannot afford today, but once we become Senior Citizens, do we want to be a burden to our kids or minded citizens who think outside the box in comparison to a conservative mindset, where our kids will squeeze out the lump sum of our pension and dump us in the backyard, while we can live a decent life in Old Age Homes and die a dignified death at the end. Hence, the Government can subsidise the formally disadvantaged citizens, if they opt to live in Old Age Homes.

Paramount Institute is a good example where an Old Age Home is combined with a state-of-the-art Medical Facility. Let us value our lives and have a positive outlook on issues. We must move on and enjoy the fruits of our Independence.

Based on the above arguments, I regard Old Age Homes as a blessing and as a much needed must, to honour and appreciate the contribution made

by our Senior Citizens. I support the Motion and I thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Honourable Mushelenga please.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION'S: Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker. I also rise to make a contribution to the Motion on the elderly, introduced by Honourable Dienda.

Firstly, looking at this Motion, we need a holistic approach and we need to have many considerations.

Taking care of the elderly should not be seen to be a task of the Government alone. In my culture – traditionally, the youngest man in the family does not leave the homestead of his parents. The idea is that, as your parents gets older and older, you having grown up and got married, there would at least be some sort of taking care. Of course, things have changed, because not so many people are staying in the rural areas. Many people have moved to the cities. Some opt to get their elderly family member to come and live-in with them, in order to take care of them, while others prefer to take them to the Old Age Homes. Now the question of nursing the old age in the Old Age Homes should also be understood in the context of the *general taking care*.

We have hospitals where patients are generally not taken care of by negligent hospital workers, both in the Private and Public Sector, not only in the Public Sector, some people think when we talk of negligence it is only in the Public Sector. When one goes to private hospitals, you find that workers get dismissed time and again for failing negligently to attend to their patients.

Let us not be naive to think that, if we take our elderly to the Old Age Homes, we have solved the problems. Let us not think that those who are taking care and nursing these old aged people in these homes will automatically do wonders as if they were angels. I think it should be optional whilst they have a choice. There are really elderly members of our society who do not have the next of kin to take care of them. In that case, that is where we talk of Old Age Homes and the responsibility of the Government, according to the *Old Age Act* to subsidise these homes so that these elderly people can be taken care of, but then we should not be encouraging even those that can be taken care of to be moving to Old Age Homes. Being a student of sociology, other studies also indicates that the Old Age Homes are not necessarily the pleasant places for elderly people, both physically and psychologically - very boring, isolated, you only associate with those that you find there, you are cut off from your family, and so forth. Let us not forget about that.

Let us also think of programmes where the elderly would be supported while under the care of those that are comfortable with, to be taken care of, usually their family members. The Church to which I belong, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN), has a Diaconia Programme of taking care of the elderly people, of course, while living with their family members. Perhaps it is those programmes by Churches and NGOs that need to be supported so that they can also do more to take care of the elderly people while under the care of their beloved ones.

There is an issue of the meagre resources of the old aged being shared, because people dump their children with the elderly. The nature of elderly people is such - do not think if you take them away to the Old Age Homes, you have solved the problem of children being dumped here and there. I can assure you these elderly people, even if they stay in this Old Age Homes, they will be thinking of their grandchildren. In my language they say – the older one prefers to take care of the grandchild than one's own child.

We should then also address this issue of irresponsible fathers and mothers, dumping children with their parents, your parents have taken

care of you, again you are bringing your offsprings to your parents as if it is their side of responsibility. That is also the issue that should be addressed on its own because people are just loitering here around, having dumped their children with the elderly – now we come to the Motion - as a result, the meagre resources that these elderly people are receiving is now shared by a lot of family members.

However, as I said, it differs from one culture to the other. For those who are comfortable to stay at Old Age Homes, we should look at the improvement of conditions - there are some facilities there, but at least we should make sure that they live comfortably there. However, for those whose death will be sped up by taking them there, we should not try to do that. It is true, in some cultures, if you just take these people away from their comfort zones and they do not like where you take them, you will speed up their death.

We should also create a culture of caring because one should really be ashamed when your parents are taken to an Old Age Home while you can take care of them. You should be ashamed of that because they should only be taken there when there are no other options left. There is also an element of abuse. Since there was mention made of Paramount Hospital here, many years ago, I read about families in South Africa who had a habit of always taking their elderly members of the families to hospitals while they are not sick, by collaborating with some corrupt doctors, during the December Festive Season when they travel out. It was in the press. The Medical Aid would be paying for their accommodation in hospitals and cover doctors' bill while the person is not sick in the meantime - it is just that people have nowhere else to leave them.

We must also be careful that the same tactic is not used for the Old Age Homes. Just because people know that the Government will subsidise these facilities and so on, now even those who are capable of taking care of the elderly will just go and dump them – using the Old Age Home as a dumping ground. With these few words, Honourable Speaker, I put my case to rest.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Honourable Jagger please.

HON MEMBER: Please give the elderly the chance first.

HON JAGGER: I will allow Honourable Nekundi to take the Floor first *(laughter)*

HON SPEAKER: Well, I think there is an agreement between Honourable Jagger and Honourable Nekundi. Honourable Nekundi, you have the Floor.

HON NEKUNDI: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. There is nothing wrong to be associated with a mother and I am very happy for that.

Honourable Speaker, I rise to contribute to the Motion on the Floor and before I start, I would really want to appreciate Honourable Mushelenga's contextualisation of the subject matter on the Floor. This is the actual context in which this matter should be perceived.

Having said that, Honourable Speaker, it must be understood that the Government of the Republic of Namibia - indeed under the leadership of the SWAPO Party, is a caring Institution.

What happened a few months ago, is reminiscence that for many years, our Government has been taking care of our elderly. It has been a trend to this day. Early this year, the same responsible Government of ours, had increased the Pension Grant of our elderly with over 66%. This is indicative of the caring nature of our Government. It is an assurance that

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. Honourable Van Wyk.

HON VAN WYK: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. Honourable Members, I rise to support the Motion. Honourable Members, I yesterday, had an opportunity to visit, perhaps one of the better Old Age Homes in the country. I was sort of surprised to find that some of the Old Age Homes in our country are managed by volunteers. These volunteers in turn appoint other volunteers to do the work. I would like to add to what was said by Honourable Van Den Heever, regarding the treatment that our elderly gets at some of the Old Age Homes.

Yes, the workers at the Old Age Homes are underpaid, they receive a salary as little as N$400.00 per month. If one receives N$400 per month as a salary and you have a house to look after, you will not always concentrate and give your best to the task at hand. However, another concerning issue is that these people are not even registered with the Social Security Commission to sort of help them when a problem arises.

Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, another point is that the elderly in these Old Age Homes do not have access to management to complain or to bring problems to the fore and this also results in frustration, which, of course, causes people to leave the Old Age Homes to live on the streets, at the end of the day. Some Old Age Homes receive donations and there are no measures in place to account for all those donations so received.

Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, I would say that we recognise the efforts of the Government to attend to our elderly, however, we as the children the elderly also have a responsibility. Together, we should sit and work out something. We can as well initiate that, as it seems, it has become a habit of us always sitting and waiting for Government to do something before we start doing something ourselves.

I would like to request that, the time has come for Government to take the

lead as was said by the Honourable Member here, and work towards a future for our elderly. With those few remarks, I support the Motion.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Honourable Fleermuys.

HON FLEERMUYS: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. I also rise to support the Bill *(sic) (Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: The Motion!

HON FLEERMUYS: The Motion, Yes *(laughter)* What I have to contribute to this Motion is that I know where I am coming from - where I live, I do stay with old aged people who receive monthly payments from the State and most of them even do not have children. Of course, there is no one else to take care of them where they are staying *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: What about you? You are staying with them.

HON FLEERMUYS: And, of course, if anybody wants to know who they are, you can come with me and I will go and show you, because I come from Goreangab Dam and it is the same issue around Katutura. 99% of these people live close to *Shebeen* and when they get paid, the money that they receive stop to exist the moment they get it because they already have personal accounts at the *Shebeen* where they buy some

foodstuff, alcoholic liquor, etcetera.

There is, therefore, a the Government has already done its part, of course. *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: And of course?

HON FLEERMUYS: It is sad, of course, but I believe that if someone is a Leader, he cannot stand far from the people and say - *I already helped you, I gave you that money.* when the money is finished, these people will, of course, start drinking again at the very *Shebeen,* all of a sudden, they do not have anything to eat, but to drink *tombo,* etcetera. *(Interjections)* We can make jokes here, but most of us who are making jokes here, drive passed them day in and day out, but do not even take note of them, because we do not care. We only express our care here in the Parliament Building when we talk too much. I support this Bill *(sic) (Interjections)*

HON SPEAKER: Order, order! Please give him a chance,.

HON FLEERMUYS: Of course, I know why you are teasing me, but if something is itching, then take care of it. The General is the one who is always loving and instigates others to make jokes of serious issues. I bless the General with that

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HON MEMBER: I know why you are blessing him!

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM: The system is one. I hope you can hear me, Honourable Deputy Minister. Thank you very much, Comrade Speaker.

Honourable Members, I also want to add my voice to this topic. Unfortunately, I did not have the benefit of hearing what the Motivation was, but I think it would be in the context of it contribution to the public discourse and to see what the best options are that we can take to addressing this issue. In the first place - I do not know whether to call it food for thought, meat for thought or fuel for thought, but I am going to try to do whatever is going to stimulate your thinking.

Just yesterday, Comrade President was informing us that he has signed into a Law, the *Child Protection Act.* Can we not think of something similar where we can also come up with something like an Adult Protection Legislation?

HON MEMBER: Old age!

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM: Old Age or call it what you may, but there must be one that one should have obligations, so that not all the Cannons and *Katyushas* face the Government, but those who are offsprings of these people should equally be placed under obligations to take care of those who brought them on earth. It is just a moral thing, it is a legal thing, a patriotic thing and it is the right thing to do. In as much as we protect those that are actually in a vulnerable position, the elderly should also be considered to fall in that category. *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Yes. Is that the Point of Order?

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF FISHERIES AND MARINE RESOURCES: Yes, it is a Point of Order. Honourable Speaker, I just want to ask my Learned Colleague a question - a tiny-winy one.

Let me give you a scenario that happened in real life. This young fellow was with his grandpa in the house and the grandpa was smoking from a pipe and because this young fellow was taught at school about the apparent serious dangers of tobacco. He snatched the pipe from his grandpa, broke it and threw it away. Would you refer to this as abusing the elderly or what would you call this?

HON SPEAKER: Thank you.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM: But you just said that the young fellow was taught at school that tobacco is such a bad thing - I always ask why we do not come up with an Adult Abuse Rule in this House – if a person is telling us as if it was someone who just smoked recently, can we not say that that is adult abuse?

Anyway, let me go back to the topic. When it comes to this obligation, now that we are really crafting the Namibian identify and we are approaching this issues like the totems. Can we also not oblige those who belong to totems or have totems to take care of those who belong to the same totem and not just to say - I am a *what* or *what*, but yet they are neglecting the ones falling under their totems. How can you go and first express solidarity to others when your own totem is actually suffering? I would want us to start something in that direction and come up with something.

Home Design and Work - if you take a person who was living alone in a home in the rural area or in a home of a certain design and you take him elsewhere, you have taken that person to a house, but not a home. Can we

design these houses to probably also be homes and perhaps also construct them in those areas, and not just in towns and big cities, because when you listen to the context of the contributions, one deduce that it is mainly pointing to the big cities. If we are talking about unity in diversity, we should probably also design these houses in accordance and with a popularity that reflects that unity in diversity. If I am a Himba, just for argument sake, and you put me in three storey house up – it does not in any way resemble where I was living, unless you want to accelerate my death.

Let us put these kinds of things into context and conduct research and come up with something that is actually peculiar, taking the lifestyle or the way our people live into account and build these Old Age Homes in those areas where these people come from, instead of building them in towns, place that obligation under the State and wash our hands without us placing any obligations on those that are actual offsprings of these elderly people. I would not support something of that nature, but if it is a discourse that is taking all these things into account, I will definitely support that kind of a Debate. I rest my case. I thank you very much.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. For the record, that was Honourable Nambahu, I want to make sure that it is recorded accordingly. I call upon Honourable Charles Namoloh.

HON MINISTER OF SAFETY AND SECURITY: Thank you very much, Comrade Speaker. While I would like to make a contribution to this Motion, I also want to assure Honourable Fleermuys that the time of fearing me is over, it is now time for reconciliation. You do not need to fear me anymore. Just be at ease. *(Laughter)*

Comrade Speaker, I think we need to understand the concept of why people came up with Old Age Homes - under what circumstances and why

We all came from villages. Windhoek was also a village, but those people came from Europe and started Old Age Homes because of the social conditions that have changed and I do not think we are an exception. It will also come to us. With these few words, I want to support this Motion. I thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. We move on to the next Honourable Ida Hoffmann.

HON HOFFMANN: Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker and the Honourable Members in the House. I hope that you are going to listen to me carefully.

I stand to raise my voice on this Motion on Old Age Homes and I think most of the people who were speaking here have left one important part out. I believe that some of us or most of us, if not all of us, are involved in community activities, in political activities and we are involved in Church activities - we have to ask ourselves where each one of us' place is in all these activities. Being a politician, I am very much involved in community activities.

I do not want to talk about something that I have read in the newspaper or that I have heard people say. I want to talk about my own experience within my community. I have two aged people whom I take care of: One since 1996 and the other, since 2000. One has only one daughter whose name is *Liefde* – Love while the other does not have children. One morning as I was taking care of them, I thought to myself that - I believe what I am doing for these two people is more than what their own families do for them because they do have families who surround them, but they are not there for them.

I was one morning, thinking over this as I use to run around looking after

into the other Regions to find out yet - I am only talking about Windhoek where there are no places to take handicapped old aged persons.

This for me, is a very important part and the highlight of this Motion. We have to investigate look into this, and if what Ida has said is true, how can we help the handicapped members of our Senior Citizens who are in need – those who do not have children and those who have a family that do not want to take care of them? The main reason why I brought this up is because I want to keep what our President, Hage Geingob has said alive that – "*no Namibian should feel left out.*"

We must, therefore, search deeper into ourselves to find answers that will ensure that - *no Namibian one will be left out.* I support the Motion and I thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. Honourable Kasingo.

HON DEPUTY SPEAKER: I just want to postpone the Debate until tomorrow, but I can see that there are other Colleagues who want to take the Floor.

HON SPEAKER: Can I then first exhaust my list and then come back to you? Thank you for your understanding. Honourable Kapofi please.

HON MINISTER OF PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS: Comrade Speaker, the Motion is very emotional and it is real.

We have problems with our elderly people all over the country and I think

the Mover of the Motion wants this House to discuss how best we can attend to the need of our elderly people. Yes, perhaps building more Old Age Homes, which is not going to be an easy solution as of now - I do not think that is realistic because looking at the size of our population, the population size of the elderly people and the geographical size of our country, it is very difficult for Government to do that.

However, the Government provides Social Grants and social amenities everywhere. There are so many Safety Nets that the Government has introduced. There are organisations, groups or companies that are involved with the distribution of the Grants to the elderly people. I do not know what exactly is there, apart from dishing out money to the elderly people. What else do they do to help these people? I think we need to expand the activities of these companies and other groups like - NGOs, Churches, etcetera, because service can be provided to people where they are.

It is basically not good for us to approve them because we cannot afford to do it, but it is maybe practical for us to provide the service where these people are. When the elderly are taken to the pay points at end of every month, almost everyone is there; from those who are selling alcohol and food to those who are just there to transport the elderly people with their 50 kg bags of maize meal to their villages. We could, for instance, expand and say - *yes, you have a contract to distribute or pay out the elderly people's pension, but we want you to do more,* they are in a position to do so because they know where these people are. If not, then we as a Government should, through the Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Services or Poverty Eradication, create a possibility for volunteers to go around Constituencies, villages and wherever to help us identify our elderly people who need help. We can do that. If we are able to give them money, we can equally make sure that the money they get is used in the best possible way and is not being dished around.

As we continue to debate, I think we should perhaps look at the

practicality of this. As Honourable Namoloh has said, the idea of Old Age

Homes will be a good consideration over a long-term period because we will all get old and may not have people who are going to look after us, but the programmes that we are initiating to help the elderly people must look at ways and means to help them where they currently are and there are people of goodwill.

There are quite a lot of people who are willing to get involved, for example, it was mentioned here that there are people who are already looking after these people in Old Age Homes, people who are nursing them at the cost of N$400.00. If in a Constituency, we look at youngsters and say - how many old aged people are here who cannot look after themselves and then we engage other social partners. I think we would be able to address the problem better than just thinking of uprooting them and bring them to the Old Age Homes.

For now, we cherish and value the contributions made by elderly people, our parents, because they are the custodians of our cultures and the values of some of our traditions are imbedded in these people. If we take them to Old Age Homes, there will be no way we can share social evenings with them and the reason you see them having their grandchildren around them is because they want to impart what they have onto the new generation. It is, therefore not so easy to say - *let us take them to Old Age Homes,* because we need them right where they are, and we should support them there. Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Honourable Shapwa.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. Honourable Members, I also want to contribute to this very important discussion on the Old Age Homes. I may, however sound a little different.

I know we want to call upon the Government to take responsibility over its citizens, however, from the discussions here I also heard that the Old Age Homes are being manned by volunteers. The attitude of those who are working there is termed to be very abusive to the elderly. I then ask myself, what exactly do we want Old Age Homes for? Is it for our elders to be abused? What about if for a day there are no volunteers working at these Homes?

I think we should look at this matter and approach it from very different perspective. My view is that, we are letting our society to disintegrate. If as Leaders and Political Leaders for that matter, as well as Church Leaders can allow people in our communities to neglect their parents, and we know them because every time, you hear stories - you would hear that - *they have now come to bury their father with expensive cars, but their father was just left alone in the house* - and we know them. Why do we not name and shame them because we know them? They live in our neighbourhood, but we allow them to leave their elderly parents in a very deplorable state. We let children remove their parents from their own homes and put them at their backyards, but we just remain quiet about it. Why do we, as communities and as Leaders not call those people out, and even call the Police and say - *this person was removed from his or her house,* and open a case.

I think we need to do more as Leaders in this country, through our communities and make sure that our children actually start caring for us. I am afraid because I am also getting old now and if we leave it this way, I think we are going to have a society where all the elders are thrown away because as it was said here, this Old Age Homes are good, but let them be

exceptional for those who do not really have anybody to take care of them. However, I also know that in many communities, the elderly persons who do not have next of kin are taken in by neighbours, Church Leaders or church members and cared for. And to tell the truth, they are less expensive they are less expensive to care for.

Why can we as Leaders, not engage our young people and educate them through our communities and teach them not to neglect their grandmothers, mothers or grandfathers. However, I think if we can even come up with Community Committees to monitor the welfare of the elderly people, we can go a long way because people are at times just naive and do not even understand the importance of the elderly. For those who take their pension, what happens when this person dies and you no longer have access to this pension. We need to make them understand the importance of an old aged person.

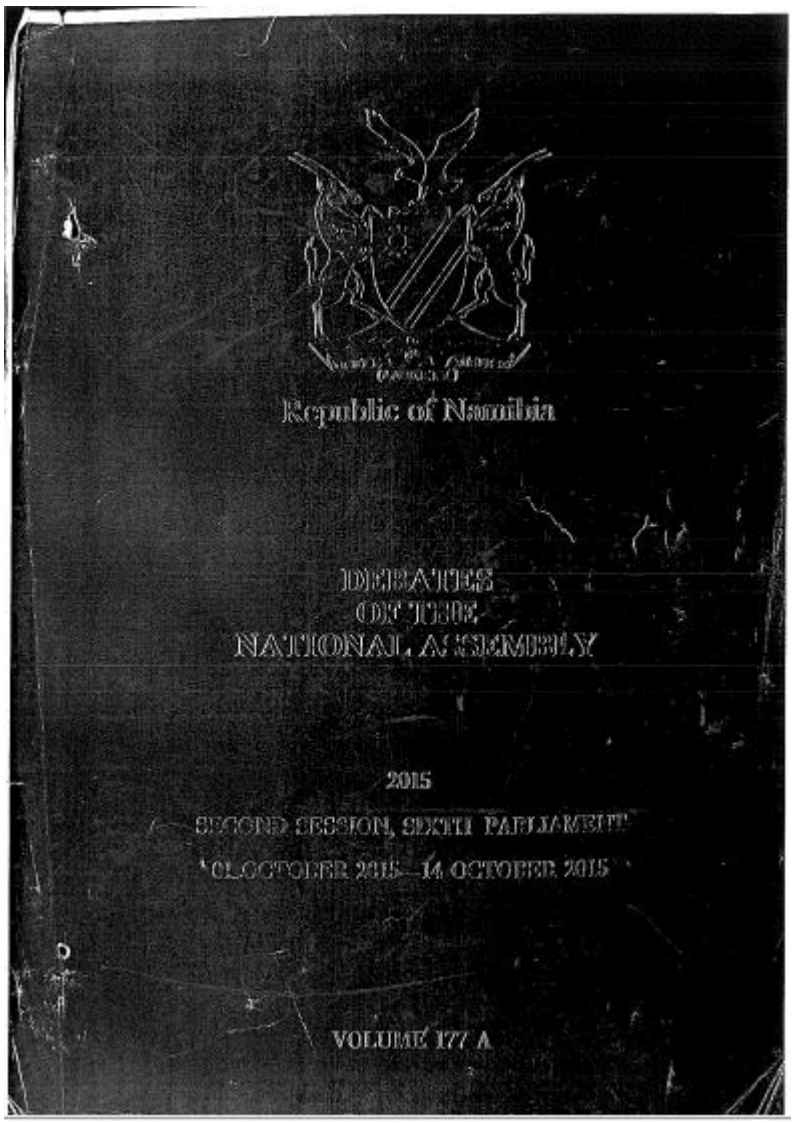
Honourable Speaker, with these comments, that was my contribution to this Motion. Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. I am looking at my list and Honourable Kapofi's name is still appearing on my list. I will call upon the Honourable Deputy Speaker, Honourable Kasingo.

HON DEPUTY SPEAKER: Honourable Speaker, I would like to adjourn the Debate until tomorrow. I would like to request for the postponement of the Debate until Wednesday, tomorrow so that I can contribute.

APPENDIX 11

Debates of the National Assembly. 01 October- 14 October 2015. Vol. 177A.



HON MINISTER OF FINANCE: Thank you very much, Honourable Deputy Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. Mine is on Chapter 2 – ***The Application of the Code,*** under 2(2), it is stated that – *this Code would be applicable to spouses and dependants of such Members to the extent that the benefits of the Member, whether directly or indirectly, and the Member is aware of their registrable interests.*

The question is, if this whole Code of Conduct is applicable to spouses and dependants, then the penalty Clauses will also be applicable. If the Code is applicable to all those who are stated here under 2(2)(b) – my arguments is, if that is so, then the penalty Clauses under 7(5) would also be applicable to spouses and dependants. Is the intention not that there is an obligation to the Member to disclose any interest of the spouse that might directly or indirectly benefit the Member? The obligation to disclose that rests with the Member and not with the spouse.

However, if we make the Code applicable to Members' spouses, I think we are missing the point – mainly, that it is the obligation of the Member to disclose his interest and not the spouse. Therefore, the Code is not applicable to the spouse, but only to the Member.

HON HAMBYUKA: Thank you, Honourable Minister. I recognise Honourable Katrina Hanse-Himarwa.

HON MINISTER OF EDUCATION, ARTS ANS CULTURE: Thank you, Honourable Chairperson of the Whole House Committee.

Mine is more in line with the concern of Comrade Calle Schlettwein on the sponsorship issues of the spouse on Page 5. My very layman question would be; if members of my family – be it my dependants or my spouse,

is receiving donations of any nature, do I understand it correctly that they would be held accountable through me?

My question is perhaps a very lay question, but my family and dependants have not taken oath of any kind in this House, I am the one who has taken oath – why should my dependants and spouse be held accountable through me, for their involvement in their own private activities?

Comrade Shixwameni has just now, correctly so, shown Comrade Nujoma on the fact that when somebody is not in this House, he or she does not have the platform to defend him or herself. Firstly, how do we hold people who have not taken any oath in this House, and secondly, people who will not have any platform in this House, accountable through the Rules of this House, directly or indirectly? Thank you.

HON HAMBYUKA: Thank you. I recognise Honourable Utoni.

HON MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: Thank you, Comrade Chairperson of the Whole House Committee. I am on Chapter 2 – ***The Application of the Code.***

Let me first speak about Chapter 2 and then I come to the spouse - just above Chapter 2, there is – *a spouse means a spouse to a Member, married under Customary Law or Civil Law.* Do we recognise Customary Law Marriages? If you have 10 wives, does it mean that all of them must be registered here? *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: The Constitution makes provision for that.

Honourable Speaker, Comrade Minister, one is the issue public toilets in places that are visited by the public such as the banks and shopping malls. I feel that they should be obliged to avail public toilets or ablution facilities for use by the public. We are aware that if you go to banks and some shopping malls today, people find it difficult to find these facilities, however, there are long queues found in this very places.

Comrade Minister, Honourable Speaker, the other aspect is that we have learned over the years, especially in the Windhoek, Oshakati and Ondangwa areas, that the so-called street vendors are being kick left, right centre for trading at places that are designated for that purpose. Given the circumstance in our country, I am of the opinion that this Bill should include the mediation process so that people are not just loaded on the vans or have their things confiscated but to create harmonious relationships with the communities. I do not think that this people are just doing it because they want to do it but most of these people are doing this to meet some of their basic necessities.

Comrade Minister, I am also of the opinion that the Bill must provide for the right to a minimum size of land for residential purposes for Namibian citizens.

The other issue that I feel has not been addressed is the issue of the Relocation Compensation Policy. We have learnt and continue to learn that our communities who were in the areas that are allocated to municipalities are complaining that the money that they are being given for compensation is just peanuts.

Secondly, people are given this money and have to find places where to relocate for themselves. I do not think that this is good, there should be a fair process where human beings are not just told to leave, because some of these people have been living there for many years. They are given what they feel is not adequate and there is just no negotiation at all. I

paragraph below says – *"but shall remain in office until the date preceding the date on which the new members are due to make and subscribe to the oath of office and assume duty."*

Now, my understanding of this is that at one point there will be two Councillors; the other ones are not yet out because they can only go out when the others are sworn in or have taken oath, yet the others are Councillors from the date of the election. I am not a legal person but assume today is the day of the elections *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Point of Order.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE OFFICE OF THE VICE – PRESIDENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISABILITY SECTOR: I am sorry for taking the Honourable Member back, Comrade Speaker did not see me when I was raising my a Point of Order earlier.

On the issue of disabilities – I just want to say that if the Bill is mentioning that, it is correct because the disability cost of one person is worth the cost of 20 people. Therefore, if that exemption is given to people who are even working, it is just correct. In terms of the terminology for *people living with disabilities*, if it is written like that in the Bill, I suggest that it be corrected because it should be people or persons with disabilities and not people or persons living with disabilities. Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you, for that very Point of Order. Honourable Member, I think you have taken note of that. Can you please continue?

HON ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Is the Honourable Member aware that there is a difference between a member-elect and a substantive member as is more underlined by Section 1(3) of the Electoral Act of 2014 which reads and I quote – *"for the purposes of any election or appointment into office requires the making of an oath or affirmation, and despite the date of election or appointment, the assumption of office and performance of functions by the elected or appointed person is only upon the swearing in of such person."*

Reading in conjunction with the Provision in question, that may mean that once you are appointed, you are not a member who can exercise the functions of the office of the Council to which you are elected until you are sworn in and that the individual who is in office, hold office for the five-year term or the portion of the term of office if that person was a replacement.

Is the Member aware that with the reading of this Section the point he raises may actually be resolved and not be of concern at all?

HON SPEAKER: Please continue.

HON NEKUNDI: Honourable Speaker, that is why I sometimes appreciate SWAPO for creating UNAM and having Graduates of Law to interpret things in that fashion.

From a layman's perspective, I was just reading everything straightforward. Thank you very much for that. It is correct.

I would like to take this opportunity to place my contribution to the *Local Authorities Amendment Bill* on record as a subject of consideration before this august House. I wish to commend the Honourable Minister of Urban and Rural Development for a forward-looking Bill. It is evident that a great deal of effort has gone into putting it together for it is sound in a number of aspects.

However, Honourable Speaker, notwithstanding the above, I hold reservations in respect of a few proposed Sections in the Bill namely; Section 33 (a) – Designation of Zones in Local Authorities for the purpose of reservation for acquiring immovable properties. This Section of the Bill seek to provide for a designation of certain areas as zones reserved for Namibian citizens for the purpose of acquiring immovable properties in accordance with levels or categories of income. In all honesty and sincerity, the foregoing has the potential of taking us back to historical legacies of reserved zones along which the colonial doctrine was effectively implemented against our people. I am sure that no Namibian would like to be reminded of this historical accounts for they bring back horrible memories.

Honourable Speaker, not only is the proposed Provision of Section 33 (a) Subsection 3 socially terrifying, it is equally infringing on the Provisions of the Namibian Constitution in terms of Article 10 which guarantees the equality of freedom from discrimination through the prohibition of any discrimination on the ground of sex, race colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed, social or economic status. On the premise of Article 10 of the Constitution of Namibia; if the Provision of Section 33 (a) Subsection 3 passes, it would be found wanting for sanctioning discrimination of social or economic status.

In addition, the intention of zone reserves will violate the Provision of Article 16 of the Constitution of Namibia, which provides that, and I quote – *"All persons shall share the right in any part of Namibia to acquire,*

own and dispose of all forms of immovable and movable properties individually or in association with others and to bequeath their properties on their heirs or legatees." By preventing some Namibians from buying properties in certain areas while allowing others, Article 16 (1) loses its generality in terms of application. This should not be allowed through this august House. It is thus, my well-considered opinion that Section 33(a) in its entirety needs to be revised or to be done away with. *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Point of Order.

HON ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Honourable Speaker, can I humbly request the opportunity to ask the Deputy Minister a question?

HON SPEAKER: Are you ready to entertain a question from the Honourable Member?

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE, WATER AND FORESTRY: Yes, Honourable Speaker.

HON SPEAKER: D' accord.

HON ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Thank you, Honourable Speaker and

Honourable Member for the opportunity to ask a question on this very interesting topic that you have raised, relating to the discrimination under the Namibian Constitution.

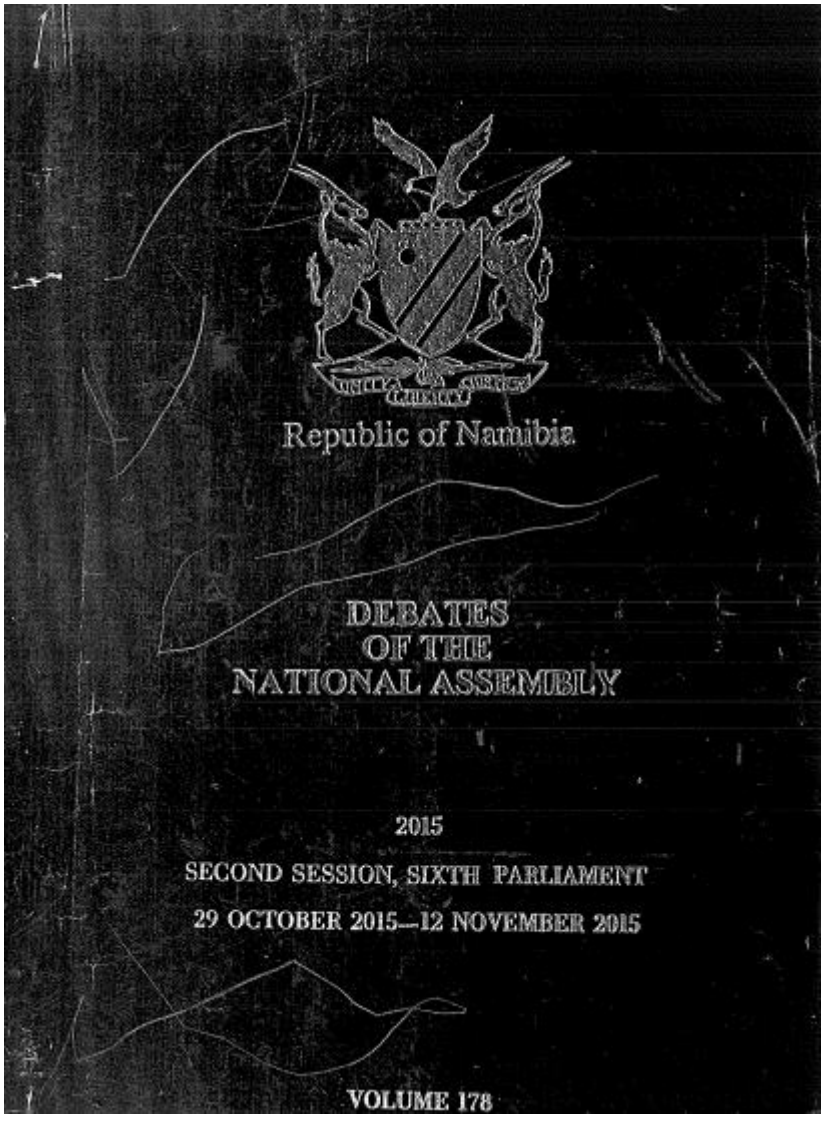
Is the Honourable Member aware that the Constitution has inbuilt discrimination? Let us take a generic one; Not everybody can occupy the Office of the President if you are not of a given age, it is discrimination, it passes muster. Article 16 discriminates against foreigners, I do not think that is in doubt. Article 23 (2), for example, which I quote – *"nothing contained in Article 10 hereof shall prevent Parliament from enacting legislation providing directly or indirectly for the advancement of persons within Namibia who have been socially, economically or educationally been disadvantaged by past discriminatory Laws or practices, or for the implementation of Policies and Programmes aimed at redressing social, economic or educational imbalances in the Namibia society arising out of past discriminatory Laws or practices, or for achieving a balanced structuring of the Public Service, the Police Force, the Defence Force, and the correctional service."*

And if I may ask the Honourable Member and those who may want to rise on this issue, that while we may agree that the wording may be tweaked here and there so that we achieve the intended objective the articulate premise upon which the Amendments are sought, are the redressing of the imbalances which were propagated, which arise from that era described in the Constitution, which the Constitution permits to be redressed through deliberate discriminations which passed muster, and if so, will the Honourable Members agree that is perhaps not entirely outlandish or unconstitutional? I so submit.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. Honourable Attorney-General, I was not sure whether among the category you listed, the question of age is

APPENDIX 12

Debates of the National Assembly. 29 October-12 November 2015. Vol. 178.



the Ministry of Urban and Rural Development; the Ministry of Works and Transport; the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology; the Ministry of Industrialisation; Trade and SME Development; the Ministry of Health and Social Services; the Bus and Taxi Association; the Shebeen Owners' Association; the Neighbourhood Watch Association – both the society and the Association; Property Owners and Volunteers; the Namibian Media; Communities, Traditional Authorities and the Private Sector.

I have already been writing letters to the various stakeholders to inform them about their role and to ask that we join hands in this national operation. For instance, the Ministry of Health and Social Services will be required to have an ambulance and medical personnel on standby in case of an emergency. While teams are working out in the sun, water will be needed by the team; chain saws to cut the bushes; gloves for protection against the bushes, insect and even reptile bites; sun cream; hats or helmets; protective clothing; food for the people on the ground and a host of other things, just to name the least. We will, among others, also need the assistance of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism when it comes to us chopping off protected flora – the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture to ensure we do not destroy the National Heritage Sites, and the Ministry of Information and Communication Technology for public awareness and many other stakeholders. We will know what is expected of them in *Operation Omake,* once their letters have been sent, as each and every stakeholder's part is of extreme importance for the success of this Operation.

This massive joint operation will be launched on Monday, the 2nd of November 2015, at 09:00, in the morning, at Moses Garoeb Street in Khomasdal, where the two Kuaseua sisters have been murdered. I invite everyone to come and join us on that day. It will continue as long as it is necessary and will be rolled out to the Regions in due course. I, therefore, wish to take this opportunity to request all Members of Parliament and the public out there to support this effort and participate in the efforts of the stakeholders.

I also want to call upon all Namibians not to move around with any type of weapon, as the Police will be conducting vehicles and body searches and anyone found with weapons and/or drugs will be dealt with in accordance with the Law.

I further want to appeal to the Shebeen Association to inform their Members to abide by the *Liquor Act* and stick to the specified business hours, as NAMPOL and the City Police will make sure that the *Shebeens* close at the specified time as per their licences.

Honourable Speaker, the initial manpower is estimated at 490, but it is expected to increase as we will be welcoming community members and volunteers to join the operation. The joint operation or Command Centre will be housed at the Namibian Police Force National Headquarters at Ausspannplatz, Windhoek.

Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, *Operation Omake* will be carried out in accordance with the Supreme Law, the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, strictly upholding and respecting the fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms guaranteed to all people – the Provisions and guidelines as set out in the *Criminal Procedure Act,* 1977 (Act 51 of 1977) as amended and other relevant legislations.

I would also like to call upon the community out there, those who by default or by will, assist criminals or hide them in their houses, to desist from doing so. We will be carrying out this operation in support of our society so that we live in peace. I thank you, Honourable Speaker.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much indeed. Just a moment please. Thank you very much. I think this is an important Statement. The Honourable Colleague is appealing to this House, to all of us collectively, to do the best we can to support our Law Enforcement Agencies in maintaining Law and Order. I am sure the House is fully appreciative of

what your Ministry is attempting to do and you cannot do that without the support of the Nation as a whole. Honourable Venaani, you have the Floor.

COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS ON MINISTERIAL STATEMENT

HON VENAANI: Honourable Speaker, I want to thank the Honourable Minister for this Operation. However, I have one great concern about these killings and it has to do with the issue of Protection and Restraining Orders by the Police. The Courts would grant Protection and Restraining Orders in favour of the would-be victims, however, when it comes to the implementation of these orders, you would find that the Police is aware that Venaani should not go to a particular house, but he will still be allowed to go there without being arrested.

What is our Police Force doing to ensure that we implement these orders to make sure that we protect the victims of Gender-Based Violence in our Republic?

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Honourable Shixwameni.

HON SHIXWAMENI: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. I rise in support of the Statement of the Minister of Safety and Security. I just have a small question to ask. I think we must clampdown on crime of whatever type in this country, we cannot relent on that. We will give you our full support wherever the operation is taking place and we hope that the operation will be successful.

My only question is on the cutting down of trees, you are talking about *chopping* trees down. As an environmentalist, as a person who is concerned with the environment *(interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Since when?

HON SHIXWAMENI: Always. We do not chop trees down in Utokota, there are still a lot of trees there. What I am trying to emphasise here is the general chopping down of trees – I drive around town where there were bushes and it is, of course, a serious concern that it is basically denuded. We are so to speak desertifying the town.

Have we investigated the impact of *chopping* down trees all over the place, including riverbeds, on the environment? If we have investigated, what does that study tells us – if we keep on chopping down trees where would we end up with Windhoek? It is so hot in Windhoek.

HON SPEAKER: Point of Order?

HON MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: I just want to correct my Brother here. The intention is not to cut down all the trees, the intention is to trim the trees. Do you know trimming? Trimming and making sure that those unwanted bushes are removed. Therefore, there is no intention of cutting trees – my Brother, a little bit of thinking will help.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. Honourable Shixwameni can you conclude?

HON SHIXWAMENI: No, my question still remains, because the Minister used the words *chopping down the trees*. All that I am asking is that at the end of the day we must also consider the environment, take it into account *(interjection)* Yes, some will be cut, but let us not clear Windhoek out of its beautiful greenness also.

We must clampdown on criminals, we must make sure that they are taken to task by the Namibian Police and City Police and that the *Shebeens* in Evelyn Street are going to be dealt with, however, we must deal with all this firmly in an environmentally friendly way. I thank you and I support the whole operation.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Let us move on. Honourable Muharukua.

HON MUHARUKUA: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. Honourable Speaker, I rise to register my voice on *(interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Which one?

HON MUHARUKUA: Yes, my voice, this one. On many instances, the Courts have issued Restraining or Protection Orders against the same

individuals and still, the vulnerable fall prey to the malicious actions of these individuals.

I think as a suggestion, it is high time that Namibia invest in technology that ensures that it keeps the would-be criminals in check after due legal process has followed and the Court has accordingly issued the relevant order. One such measure could be – I forgot the English words now. *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Say it in *Otjihimba*. *(Laughter)*

HON MUHARUKUA: *Motjihimba okazuta, nambano okazuta ene kamukei. Nambano matu tjitivi nai?* Let me explain – it is basically in jurisdictions like the Britain and I believe also in Germany, I am speaking under correction, at times when one is under house arrest – maybe the Minister of Justice will assist. When one is under house arrest, you can get a band that is put on your leg or on your arm, wherever *(interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Even on your neck?

HON MUHARUKUA: No, that will be dangerous. Now, if you go out of a specific area or beyond a specific area that band clumps your arm, your leg or wherever it is on to such an extent that you have no choice, but to return to the area you are restricted to.

HON SPEAKER: But it will also alert the Authorities?

HHON MEMBER: Ask the Minister of Information Technology.

HON MUHARUKUA: Yes, Minister, what is the thing called?

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY: I do not know.

HON MUHARUKUA: You see, even you do not know that. We can perhaps investigate and invest in such technology, so in instances where a person is issued with that Order, when he comes within a specific distance from the home where the other person lives. *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: It should alert the Authorities?

HON MUHARUKUA: Yes, it should alert the Authorities, but it would also clump the person to such an extent that he/she would have to return, because he/she may have a mortar or something to perpetrate a bad deed. That is my only contribution.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Let us move on. Honourable Kavekotora.

HON KAVEKOTORA: Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker. I also rise to support the discussion and the points brought up by the Honourable Minister. I think it is about time for us to really take crime very seriously. Crime has becomes a very serious phenomenon in Namibia and the Minister mentioned that we are planning to put up this *Operation Omake* for as long as it is necessary. I think that is something that needs to be qualified, but I would suggest that we should really take a long-term view on the issue of crime. If that *as long as necessary* means that this *Operation Omake* will become a permanent feature in our protective systems, then it is fine, but my point is that we also need to have a holistic approach to crime. I know that there are countries in this world that are very safe, how did they do it? How did they manage to become safe countries? Obviously, they have done something right, that is why they are safe at this point in time. Proactively, we need to approach some of these countries to benchmark with them and to make sure because, for instance, in Singapore when you enter the Airport, you are being warned of certain crimes, that if you are found to be guilty of those crimes, you will be sentenced to death. Now these are the types of things that are happening in some other countries, so I think we need to really take a holistic approach to this whole thing, but *(intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Are you standing on a Point of Order? Okay. Point of Order.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION (HON HINDA): Let us talk about the prevention of crime, otherwise, it appears like we are a criminal Nation if we talk about crime directly, but I think **prevention** of crime would

probably better reflect the Namibian situation.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. Point well taken.

HON KAVEKOTORA: As a Point of Correction, yes, but I want us to become a crime free country. That is basically my wish. Therefore, from that perspective, I would not want us to continue in a reactive mode – *two sisters are killed, therefore, we have to react.* I think we need to take a very proactive approach to crime. Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Honourable Deputy Speaker.

HON DEPUTY SPEAKER: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. I would also like to add my voice to thanking the Ministry of Safety and Security and also thank the Police men and women. I welcome the operation – a few weeks back we had a discussion in our Constituency, the John Pandeni Constituency, because there is a new wave of crime, where the criminals just enter your house by cutting your window's burglar bars while you are sleeping. It is said that they spray an unknown chemical into your house to make you sleep and when you wake up, everything is gone. I have told a certain Police Officer about this and I hope that with this operation, they will take that into consideration.

I am aware that during the end of the month, Police women and men normally patrol the streets in town, however, today I was walking in the CBD – Independence Avenue towards OK in town and a group of criminals were following me. I immediately identified them, as they were

talking in Oshiwambo. I stood and I looked straight at one of them and the other asked in Oshiwambo *omwem'tara?* Not knowing that I was understanding what they were saying and I responded – *mwem'tara ngini?* Then they ran away.

I am just saying we are supporting these men and women and all of us must also be men and women enough to report crime. They should perhaps carry out patrols during month ends, whether in civilian clothes or uniform. With this, I support the operation.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. It is absolutely a joy when the House is united on a topic like this one. It shows our absolute commitment to combating crime. Being Lawmakers, we have to work hand in hand with our Law Enforcement Agencies. We must make ourselves available, share ideas in terms of training, share ideas with regard to particular strategies that we consider to be absolute relevant to strengthening the work of our Police and other members of the security.

Honourable Minister, you have heard your Colleagues, the House is united behind you. There was a particular question that I thought you might want to deal with and that is, when people have sought protection against certain individuals who are expected to be prevented from interfering in other people's lives, you find that these people find their way into places where they are not supposed to be venturing into. Perhaps that is one particular question that I feel you should deal with, but before you take the Floor, I see Honourable Bezuidenhout would like to have a go.

HON BEZUIDENHOUT: I just want to report that your machine is not picking up the lights that are on, because I see Honourable Sankwasa's light has been flickering, perhaps he can also make his relevant input.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. You are my special assistant *(laughter)* I do not know how I omitted to notice my Dear Colleague and Friend, Honourable Sankwasa. You have the Floor.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. I rise to add some few points to the good Motion that has been tabled *(interjection)* Sorry the Statement made by the Minister of Safety and Security.

The issue of crime is a very serious consideration for us as the House of Parliament. If we look into our previous Financial Year Budgets, much of the money that was budgeted for various Ministries was returned to the Treasury unused. At the same time, crime is escalating. I happened to be in touch with the Head of the Windhoek City Police, they have installed cameras and they intend to monitor the entire Windhoek from their offices, but the problem they have is the scarce financial resources while resources are being made available to those who do not need it. It is something serious that this House must maintain accountability. We must do our best *(intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: On a Point of Order, the Honourable Minister of Finance.

HON MINISTER OF FINANCE: Thank you very much. I am sorry to intervene, but I want to remind the Honourable Member that resources are allocated by Parliament through the *Appropriation Bill* and that is how we deal with priorities. If it is a priority, we can deal with it, but it is this House's responsibility to appropriate funds.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you.. Honourable Sankwasa, you have the Floor, but you are indeed reminded *(intervention)*

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY: Honourable Speaker, it is exactly what I am trying to say. The resources are allocated by this House and this House should be able to direct the various Ministries on how and where to put these resources to use. That is my point. If those resources are allocated and are not used, the same House comes to look at the resources that are returned. Accountability should be maintained. That is the point I am trying to drive home, because these are resources that are not used when we should have used them for crime prevention. It is a bit disturbing. *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: I am going to resist granting further interventions because of time. This was a Ministerial Statement and it must be completed within the time frame. Yes, please continue.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. I was saying that if most of the Members can visit the Offices of the City Police, they will appreciate the effort they are making in trying to put in place a monitoring system that will go a long way in contributing towards preventing crime – only then will you appreciate the difficulties that they operate under.

Coming to the point of Restraining Orders – I know the Honourable Minister will be able to answer that, but I think as citizens, we should also be appreciative of the efforts that the Police are making instead of being

critical and on the negative side, because when a Restraining Order is granted, how many people are receiving these Protection Orders and how often should the Police monitor these people? Should they be at their gates when they are sleeping, should they accompany them to the shops – what mechanisms should be put in place so that every Restriction Order is attended to? We must also be aware of the fact that these Police Officers operate on a shift basis and appreciate what they are doing under the difficult circumstances? Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. Yes, Honourable Minister, you finally have the Floor.

HON MINISTER OF SAFETY AND SECURITY: *Interjection (Laughter)* Who wants me to conclude before I have even started? Thank you very much, Comrade Speaker. I want to thank all the Honourable Members for supporting these efforts and I hope that you will be able to avail yourselves when you are requested to do so.

On the Restraining and Protection Orders, we have had cases before that have happened and we have taken measures to revisit this. We are taking measures to enforce the Rules and Laws of these Restraining and Protection Orders – we have taken it up and we are working on that.

On *chopping* trees – well, that is just *Namlish,* Comrade Utoni Nujoma has explained what I mean and we are also not doing it in isolation, we have the Ministry of Environment, however, we also have Environmental Experts onsite, they are there. Perhaps it is just a matter of the English Language Comrade Shixwameni, it is not that we are going to desertify Windhoek, no, we will be pruning and making it more beautiful than it is now.

Of course, this is a good idea to keep the criminals in check. We are

moving towards using those various technologies, but we must be aware that they cost money. However, we will be able to do that as we move into the 21st Century and we will also be able to do that when funds are made available. Nevertheless, the proposal is a very good one to look into.

Somebody said that we must take crime seriously – we are. Yes, we are taking crime seriously. As I speak, we have also created a Whatsapp Groups and there are currently about 20 groups throughout the City. They consist of Neighbourhood Watch Groups and Police Stations that are sharing information on what is happening here. As I was sitting here, I was looking at my phone and I have already received over 100 messages on what is happening in the Windhoek area. We are, therefore taking crime seriously and giving it our best considerations. This operation, as I said, will take as long as is necessary, we will evaluate as we go. I will receive Reports every week on the progress made, as well as recommendations on what we need to do more. Of course, we know that criminals also have their schools that introduce new tactics, but we also have to find ways and means to stay current with their tactics. *(Interjection)*

Well, committing crime may be easy, but we will always keep them in check, the operation will be evaluated. As we are nearing the Festive Season, this operation may not be called off before the Festive Season ends, and as I said, we will roll it out throughout the country. You will be seeing more stakeholders, hopefully the services of the Namibian Defence Force may be enlisted during the Festive Season to assist the Police where possible. I think I have answered most of the questions.

RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Well done. All the best once more. We have concluded the Ministerial Statement. We are now moving on to the Response to Questions as usual on Thursdays.

The first question on the agenda is Question 38 by Honourable !Auxab directed to the Minister of Health and Social Services. The Honourable Member is not in the House. We actually need to be well grounded in our Rules, I think the Honourable Member who asked the question must be in the House, that is what the Rule says and if the Member is not available, that question should be deferred to a later date. However, we entertain questions because a Member has requested another Member to put the question on his/her behalf. Are you comfortable with that? I think the Rule is very precise and I really want to apply the Rule to the letter. If you permit me, I will simply move on.

Thank you very much. Question 63 is from Honourable Muharukua directed to the Minister of Home Affairs and Immigration. I know Honourable Muharukua is here. May I ask the Minister to respond?

QUETION 63:

HON MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS AND IMMIGRATION: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. Honourable Members, I rise this afternoon to answer the questions posed by Honourable Vipuakuje Muharukua of the DTA, and I answer them as follows:

Since we have questions on the paper, I am not going to repeat the questions.

I took note of this question by the Honourable Member, however, the question is completely outside the mandate of the Ministry of Home Affairs and Immigration. I would like to inform the Honourable Member that the issue of tribes and traditional setup falls under the mandate of the Ministry of Urban and Rural Development and not under the jurisdiction

of the Ministry of Home Affairs and Immigration, which deals with the Namibian citizens living in one country as a Constituency, that is, Namibia as one Constituency, and we do not deal with tribes.

The second question – as I earlier stated, we deal with Namibians within the concept of ***One Namibia, One Nation*** and not based on ethnicity and tribal groupings. Our Identity Documents are not coded along tribal lines. The coding was done away with when the National Identity Card System was introduced on the 27th of June 1994. I want to inform the Honourable Member that the tribal coding was the fulfilment of the Apartheid Policy to control inter-tribal migration and to ensure that the Apartheid Law Enforcement Agencies monitored the movement of persons within the so-called tribal areas. The policy of this Government is to promote harmonious coexistence of the various communities and enhance the oneness of the Namibian people under the ***One Namibia, One Nation*** Policy. Tribal segregation has no place in an independent Namibia and the registration of the citizens is taking into account only biometric data of the individuals and not their tribes or tribal origin.

Honourable Speaker, if I may show the Honourable Member the Namibian Identity Card, it does not tell from which tribe or colour you come from. On the face of the card is the – **Republic of Namibia National Identity Card,** followed by the Identity Number of your card, the name *(intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Is it Point of Order?

HON MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: On a Point of Order – Comrade Speaker, I just want to thank the Honourable Member. She was not here yesterday, but she read my mind. This is exactly what I was saying yesterday. Excellent! We speak with one voice. Thank you.

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advise members of the public on how to access Government services accordingly, including the acquisition of National Documents, rather than to wait and ask the Minister responsible to go and register tribes and ethnic groups.

Now that the Honourable Member is more informed, it is my hope that he is satisfied with the information that I have given him, he will now go and inform the concerned communities to apply for National Documents instead of waiting until they are given. These documents are not being dished out to ethnic groups or tribal groups, they are issued to nationals who come and apply to get them.

With the above said, Honourable Speaker, I am happy that the Honourable Member has now understood how we operate. I thank you. *(Applause)*

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. Honourable Muharukua, a quick one please, because I have a long list of questions to go through.

HON MUHARUKWA: Honourable Minister, I now understand how the Ministry operates and I am not saying that literally. One would not want to labour the issue out of respect and I shall not, but perhaps I am induced to make a comment or question on those comments in the background.

The arguments of ***One Namibia, One Nation*** should never – and, is increasingly being used to quash constructive discussions. Yes, we believe in ***One Namibia, One Nation***, that is why we are engaging each here in dialogue, but before I sit down, Honourable Minister, I hold the Namibian Identity Card that was correctly issued. It does not say *Omuhimba* at the back or on its face, but when I go to apply, I am ask where I was born – to which I will respond – *I was born in Opuwo – what are you? – I am Himba.* In fact, it should say I am Himba, not Herero, but

it says, I am Herero at least.

The crux of the second question was, Honourable Minister, how many of those people that we identify as Zembas are holding those Namibian cards? However, as I said, I shall not labour the issue out of respect for you. Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. I want to move on. Question 64 is from Honourable Muharukua directed to the Minister of Education, Arts and Culture. Honourable Minister you have the Floor.

HON MINISTER OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND CULTURE: I want to apologise that I do not have the responses right here. I wrongfully brought them here yesterday, but I am waiting on my staff to bring them in, if I could be given time to come in later, I will appreciate it. Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. We will get to that point when you are ready. The next question is number 65 from Honourable Muharukua directed to the Minister of Information and Communication Technology. Honourable Minister, you have the Floor.

QUESTION 65:

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY: Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, thank you very much. Let me also thank Honourable Muharukua for the

HON SPEAKER: Let him speak. Give him the opportunity.

HON VENAANI: Let me have my say. Honourable Speaker, I know why people are very jittery. They are jittery because of miscalculations *(interjections)* Let me raise the issues that are very fundamental to this Debate.

Honourable Speaker, the key issue is that Government is expanding on a daily basis *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Says who?

HON VENAANI: Says McHenry Venaani. Government is expanding on a daily basis, since the President has assumed power six months ago, Government is still expanding to a point where we are sitting with four Permanent Secretaries in the Office of the Prime Minister today. *(Interjections)* Please listen!

For as long as we do not balance the inflow and outflow of our revenues with the expanding the Civil Service, we will have serious problems and we have this serious problem. I want to caution as I have cautioned over the years – *Tate* Sacky Shanghala please – I have cautioned over a number of years to please put your breaks on the expansion of our Civil Service because at a point, this Debate today, has ended the *d'accord* politics that this House has been accustomed to. Every now and then there is a Debate – *we d'accord* and *d'accord*. It is time for us to reassess where we are.

There is one truth that I agree with the Minister of Finance and that is the truth that our country is not bankrupt. I agree with you that at this point in

time we have not reached financial bankruptcy of the State and I want to raise that issue so that the public also take it seriously, as there are lot of people sending SMSs trying to find out whether this country is bankrupt or not.

HON MEMBER: Are you speaking to the Gallery?

HON VENAANI: It is my job, do not worry. You can also speak to the Gallery, what is your problem.

Honourable Speaker, I want to address one key issues and this is the reason why I took the Floor immediately – it is a question of our balance of payment and the poor foreign reserves that we are finding ourselves in. I think I have raised this issue on a number of occasions during the Budget Debate in this House that roughly 80% of our foreign reserves come for SACU revenues, but the Debate on SACU, whether we have overspent and we owe SACU N$3 billion, is a little bit skewed. I want the Minister of Finance to really elucidate to us what is really happening in SACU.

What we are hearing is that SACU could lead to a dissolution of the whole system, because South Africa is very adamant – they do not want to share this resources any longer. If you look at the meetings that were supposed to take place between SACU and its partners last year alone, very few meetings took place, so the diplomatic environment under SACU is questionable and I think we need to interrogate this question of SACU. I would have opted for an option where our Head of State engages President Zuma directly on the question of SACU, because South Africa is playing a ball game with all of us who are Members of SACU. For as long as we do not really address the question of a win-win process in SACU – we need to know where we stand in SACU. Permit me to say that, in a very diplomatic culture, we are seeing papers that are pushing the culture of

one big power house bullying the rest of the small countries. I, therefore, want the Minister of Finance to, in his reply, tell us what is happening in SACU because for our export earnings we can only be able to balance our books if we are exporting enough for us to get *foreign valuta* to balance our books, and the mere fact that 80% of our resources comes from SACU is a serious concern.

One issue that I also want to raise, that is very fundamental to the question of us not being able to balance our books, is the fact that a lot of Ministries are getting budget allocations and they are stashing the money that they are getting from Treasury into commercial banks for a period of a full year and then these banks loan this money back to the Government through Treasury Bills. Go to the Local Authorities, I was stunned – if you happen to read the Auditor-General's Report you will see how much money Local Authorities have in commercial banks – money that is not supposed to be there – Government money that is there! *(Interjection)* Local Authority is a structure of Government in this country, *motjitire nawo!* (why are you doing this) – are you trying to say that Regional Government is not a structure in Government or what? He is trying to confuse me, but be that as it may, we really need to address this question of allocating resources to certain Departments and Ministries in our country – for them to stash this money in commercial banks. That issue needs to be addressed.

Honourable Minister of Finance, I also want to take the bull by its horns. *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Which bull?

HON VENAANI: The bull is the Ministry of Finance – I am talking about the Treasury. *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: What type of bull is it?

HON VENAANI: It is a Bonsmara bull *(laughter)* Honourable Speaker, the Treasury has rules and guidelines, and Departments such as Debt and Cash Flow Management, Expenditure Control and Revenue Patterns. One thing that is very clear is that we need to do an in-house capacity strengthening of the Ministry of Finance. The rules are there to govern State resources, but even we as the backbenchers sitting in Parliament would be taken aback.

HON MEMBER: Are you a backbencher?

HON VENAANI: No, I am not a backbencher, but I am talking about backbenchers in the context of Parliamentarians who are not Member of the Executive – that is also the meaning of the word ***backbencher***.

When people are travelling – it tells us that there is something fishy happening at the Ministry of Finance – nobody knows what is happening there. For S & Ts to be brought to this side of the House, one would have to call to get certain results and one can tell that it has to do with the capacity of the Ministry of Treasury *(interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Ministry of Treasury?

HON VENAANI: Treasury is a Department, Colleagues please do not confuse yourselves. Finance or Treasury, whatever you call it, all amounts to the same thing. The Ministry of Finance for the purposes of that little understanding – is Treasury. Treasury is a common global name for the Ministry of Finance. *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: I think it is well understood now *(intervention)*

HON VENAANI: Understood, yes. We are seeing a trend where our internal capacity to know the cash-inflow and outflow of the country – I doubt whether the Ministry knows how much the Government must spend on the 20th of every month and what is that cost. We need to strengthen *(interjection)* I am not saying it is a badly managed country, but I am saying we can improve. I am talking about improving the system so that it provides answers to our problems. You might not like what I say, but I will have my say anyway.

I think we need to check these Departments, the Departments of Revenue, Expenditure Control – these Departments must be really in check, to make sure that they know what is happening with the country's financial resources.

Honourable Speaker, one issue that I also want to address very briefly is the question of priority projects. Not all capital projects that we are venturing into in the country are priority projects or are ultimately geared towards addressing the result that we want. Therefore, we should identify these key projects at this point in time – five projects that are very key to drive our development agenda. We cannot only have 20 Capital Projects at one go while we do not have resources – but five projects that are very key, for example, it is my view that Kudu Gas is an important project, but of course, we cannot finance Kudu Gas at *carte blanche,* because we do

not have resources. We must identify key Capital Projects that are going to help the country move forward. When the Minister comes with his reply, I want him to tell us what these key Capital Projects he thinks we cannot move this country forward without are, so that we also start putting money where it is needed most.

Honourable Speaker, another issue that comes to mind is that I am seeing a decline in resources when it comes to Higher Education with around N$22 million. I believe that if we want to propel this economy, if we want to propel this country, we need to invest a lot of resources in vocational training for our people to have skills – for, especially the young men and women of this country to be able to do things with their hands in order to move our economy forward. Now, if we are downscaling money that is very needed in the area of Higher Education, it becomes a concern to us. *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Are you campaigning?

HON VENAANI: Who stopped you from campaigning? I have a problem with the allocation to Health. We are seeing a drop of close to N$250 million minus the actual appropriated amount.

Health is a key Sector. It was an embarrassing fact to have read in the local media that because of the 40% cut, one key Department in the Ministry of Health could not serve patients in this country. I think health is a priority area, in our argument, that should not be punished because some people have private healthcare and can afford to go to South Africa for medication. That is okay, but some of us go to Katutura Clinic *(interjection)* Let us have our say, you can have your way. We will have our say. *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: You do not go to Katutura Clinic!

HON VENAANI: I am a people's Leader, I go there -- I go and queue up there. Honourable Speaker *(interjections)*

HON SPEAKER: Order! Order! Order, please!

HON VENAANI: Honourable Speaker, the President and the Government are talking about the war on poverty, which is a good position -- a vintage point where we want to take the country by pushing back the frontiers of poverty, but looking at your Budget, it does not reflect that. We are seeing a cut of over One Hundred Million Dollars from the Ministry of Poverty Eradication. There is a minus of One Hundred Million Dollars. How can we achieve poverty eradication when they are cutting this way. They are saying it is a fight that we want to carry on fighting, while on the other hand, they are cutting the Budget..

Honourable Speaker, on the Ministry of Industrialisation and SME Development, for us to grow and earn export earnings – the reason why we do not have foreign reserves is, because we are not manufacturing and we are not sending our products or services abroad. For us to accelerate that process and to become self-reliant, we need to put money in the SMEs Sector.

Honourable Speaker, the reallocation, which is now an Additional Budget *(interjection)*

HON MEMBER: It is not an Additional Budget!

HON VENAANI: It is an Additional Budget -- it is Bill man! This is a Bill. It is a Bill before the House, it is an *Additional Budget Bill*.

Whereas we want to see the country accelerate our SME Sector, we are cutting the Budget again with N$58 million – money that is supposed to kick-start our SME Sector for us to be able to address the question of foreign reserves by manufacturing more and thus exporting more, we are instead cutting the Budget. *(Interjection)* The appropriated amount is a minus. *(Interjection) Ae, Mukuru wejuru, Mbara yo uyere!* (Oh God of Heaven, King of light). *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Let us make progress.

HON VENAANI: The Honourable Speaker does not have a problem with what I am saying. I have been telling you, Right Honourable Prime Minister for a number of years that SACU is going to give us a problem. Here we are! I have forewarn you, I have told you year after year, over and over again that it is going to create problems and you were saying – *huh uh, huh uh, d'accord, d' accord.* I am very glad that the Government is at least talking about venture capital for SMEs. *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: It sounds as if you are done?

HON VENAANI: No, I am not done. Well, Honourable Speaker, I have unlimited time. If the Members of the other side of the aisle want to disturb me, I am a privileged soldier of this House to speak as long as I want. Please, I am not done and I will be done in a few seconds.

Honourable Speaker, we support some of the reallocations, however, on those key areas of Urban Land, Health, Poverty Eradication, Higher Education and Industrialisation – we should have done more to make sure that we accelerate those areas. With these very few remarks, I end here. Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. I call upon Honourable Tweya.

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY: Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, let us put the record straight.

Honourable Venaani, the Leader of the Opposition Party tried to confuse the Nation. I hope the young DTA Lawyer will convey this to him as well, but we need to inform the Nation correctly.

Firstly, Honourable Speaker, a correction on the document we are busy with – it is not the ***Appreciation*** but the ***Appropriation Amendment Bill*** – please make the correction here – ***Appropriation.***

Secondly, this is not an Additional Budget as the Leader of the Official Opposition was trying to be clever and say here – it is not additional. The Minister of Finance made it very clear – it is a Midyear Review, six years, halfway before the end of the Financial Year. *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Six years?

HON MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY: Six months, halfway. I know you may not understand the *Namlish,* but the other *Namlish* is *middel jaar* (middle year). *In die middle van die jaar* (in the middle of the year). This is a realignment of the allocation. We approved in this House a total Budget of N$63 billion and this realignment is exactly within N$63 billion. It is not because there is no revenue from SACU, it is not true and it is not accurate.

Now let me simplify it for the purpose of those who do not understand what realignment is. For example, please do not believe that there is a contradiction within the Government because there is a reduction in the Ministry of Poverty Eradication's Budget from N$2.7 billion to N$2.6 billion. It is not a contradiction at all, but a realignment in terms of the new reality of the day. When, within six months, we realise that the Food Bank has not started in terms of construction, and we will not be able to use that entire amount to put up that infrastructure, however, the drought is now here, we only realigned that money to address the immediate need of the drought without asking for any additional money – it is still within the Budget. The reason why we have brought it here is simply because the House has passed a Law of N$2.7 billion, but the N$2.7 billion is now being adjusted to N$2.6 billion – there is no contradiction and there is no poor planning. It is simply being responsible and addressing the reality as it unfold during the course of the year. *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: *Veraera!* (Tell them!)

Why am I saying this, Honourable Speaker? When we look at the Budget reduction of the Ministry of Health and Social Services, Honourable Speaker, my concern is that the people who go to Katutura Hospital are not Members of Parliament and for that reason – the Members of Parliament come here and reduce what is important for poor people.

Honourable Speaker, I would like us to pass a Law in this House, which will compel the Members of Parliament to visit Katutura Hospital, because only when we start visiting Katutura Hospital will we never ever in our lives think of reducing the Budget of the Ministry of Health and Social Services, because the people who frequently visit Katutura Hospital are people who do not have medical aid, they are the people who, when they visit the hospital are at the end of the day told to take their prescription to a private pharmacy because there is no medication for them at the Public Hospital, but only Panado. However, we, sitting here can afford to take other type of medicine than Panado. Therefore, for me, this is an insult – taking a Budget which is already not enough to spend on the poor people and reducing it.

Honourable Speaker, we have read about what the Namibian youth have said regarding Higher Education, and if we come here and again, decrease the Budget of the Ministry of Higher Education, what are we telling our students. Are we saying that – *you are not good enough for this country, that is why we want to cut your Budget?*

HON MEMBER: Where do you get all that?

HON DIENDA: I have read my Dear. Honourable Speaker, with the Ministry of Industrial Relations' Budget – every day you switch on your TV and open Newspapers, you see people *toyi-toying*, just because there are problems in the labour market. Does it now all of a sudden mean that

there is enough money to give attention to labour issues in our country and hence, the reason for decreasing it?

Honourable Speaker, what is meant with priority spending on the Education and the Health Sector? I do not see anything prioritised in here if the Budgets are being cut. During my contribution, Honourable Speaker, I already raised my concern on the Budget Allocation for the Ministry of Health and the Budget Allocation for the Ministry of Education. Honourable Speaker *(interjection)* It is my Right, if I am not happy, I will say it my Dear. *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Point of Order.

HON MINISTER OF GENDER EQUALITY AND CHILD WELFARE: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. I just want to comment on the issue of the Ministry of Health. If you could check on Page 18, bullet number 2 from the bottom, there is N$500 million, which is allocated to the Ministry of Health.

That is all I want to clarify.

HON DIENDA: Honourable Speaker, I am talking about the overall cut of the Budget – that is what I am talking about. Honourable Speaker, let me continue.

The OVC Grants that the Minister is referring to in his Speech is a social responsibility that we are neglecting. We have given the pensioners N$1,000, and that we appreciate, but when it comes to the OVCs, Honourable Speaker, it seems as if we are treating them like *second-hand*

citizens. We are sitting with single mothers with five children and we give each one of those children N$250. Honourable Speaker, it is only enough for maize-meal – what about water and electricity?

Honourable Speaker, there will be additional money allocated for TransNamib. They will get extra money. Is it really worth it? TransNamib must become a commercial entity that makes money – not for us to bail them out every time. When will they bring money in this country? *(Interjection)* Honourable Tweya, please do not compete with me.

Honourable Speaker, I saw an allocation for land survey. I have noticed that we are really under pressure here because there are young people outside there who are warning us – *if...you will see* and that *if* is why we are sitting here today and say – can we please put this money that side?

Honourable Speaker, Page 18 of the Speech – *Mess* Housing *(interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Not *Mess*, **Mass** Housing !

HON DIENDA: It is a mess! Honourable Speaker, when this project was introduced, I was under the impression that it was a m-e-s-s project, because, since this project was introduced, it was a disaster. People are now threatening and saying – *you owe us X amount of money because you stopped the project.* We have now even realised that the bill has increased, we owe more than we originally owed these people – and now you are coming back here and asking us to please approve more money for these people. This is a big joke, Honourable Speaker.

Honourable Speaker, I want to go further and concentrate on this project called Neckartal Dam. Honourable Speaker, I remember a few years ago

that this dam was all over the media with people taking this tender process to court because some of us have interfered in the process. The irregularities came out that you allocated this tender to *so and so* while another bidder was supposed to get it and now you are back again asking us – *please give us money to complete this project.*

Honourable Speaker, I am honestly speaking, 50 years old, but my memory is still fresh. I remember what happened there, Honourable former Governor. Today, we have to pay the price for what has happened there. *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: You must read the papers properly.

HON DIENDA: No, you must read the newspaper properly, it is not toilet paper.

Honourable Speaker, with all due respect, I would like to ask our Government – please let us prioritise, let us do things the right way. I thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. I call upon Honourable Mbumba.

HON MBUMBA: Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker. This is our first Mid-year Budget Review and now all of us are celebrating it by jumping at discussing it before we have even read the documents.

In the first place, it is the duty of every Minister of Finance to keep his

hands on the pulse of the national economy and to have his eyes, ears and brain focussed on what is happening worldwide in order to make sure that whatever effect is there, is mitigated at home. Here we have a situation where, before we even say – let us go, digest this Statement, come back tomorrow and discuss it – we are already jumping on the issues. We have somebody here who is a Leader of some Party, which is his Right – but he gave himself the prerogative, of course, to be the President of his Party, the Prime Minister of his Party and the Shadow Minister of Finance of his Party. What is this habit of talking to people and you are walking away? Really, you make your contribution and then you walk away, because those you are leaving behind are not your equals? *(Interjection)* No, you wait until when you become the President of the country, then you can speak here and go to State House. *(Interjection)* No, not that way. I do not belong to that school.

The Statement was rightly delivered by the Minister of Finance, it is his responsibility. The Minister of Finance is not the one responsible for appointing Ministers and other Office-Bearers, however, before this Colleague of ours and Honourable Member starts with the Minister of Finance who delivered the Statement, he attacks the Policy of the President, who was elected by the majority of the people to govern and manage the affairs of this State. That is the responsibility of the President and whoever is the President of the Republic has a responsibility to appoint appropriately qualified people to manage those Departments and to occupy those posts. What we could say is that, if somebody does not do his or her work, we should call on the President to make sure that that person does not continue, but not just to attack the President's Programme for managing the affairs of the State. Things are not done that way.

Some of these people who are now complaining about the Civil Service are the ones who were saying – *I did not see somebody from my village in that top team.* Have they forgotten already? You want the President to have the Prime Minister, the Minister of Finance, the Minister Responsible for External Relations, then a Secretary to Cabinet and then the Government of the country – is that what you want? No! So when we

are talking about financial matters and about the Ministry of Finance, let us talk about the things we can ask from the Minister of Finance and not the things we can ask from State House. State House will come here later and give the State of the Nation Address, then you can ask your questions, but do not question the President's authority to manage the affairs of the Republic.

Where is this money going? First of all, as Honourable Tweya has said, no extra funding was sourced or borrowed to fund anything. Look at your figures. Where did the money that was taken from wherever it was taken from go? Look on Page 18 of the Minister Statement. Agriculture – Neckartal Dam – for the sake of water; Agriculture – to fight the Food and Mouth Disease; Social Issues – to address the issue of the drought; to address the issue of land surveying; to buy Anti-Retroviral drugs and other pharmaceuticals products; and to address the issue of poaching.

If you do not have your transport system in place, how are you going to transport things. Whatever we might say about TransNamib, it was never an issue of Calle Schlettwein, it is an issue of all of us – how we manage the affairs of this issue. Let us allow ourselves to study the documents properly, continue to Debate and not to throw stones when we ourselves live in glass houses. I thank you, Honourable Speaker.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Honourable Muharukua.

HON MUHARUKUA: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. Allow me to firstly, with respect, allay the concerns of the Member – the words that were uttered on the attitude of speaking and walking away.

I believe the Minister of Finance has thanked the Chief Whips of the Opposition Parties for a reason and that is within the context of how the

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much and I am actually happy because you are saying you are seeking answers and those are specific questions. It is always very helpful when you are debating, to be absolutely clear and lucid in terms of your questions or the answers you are looking for. I am extremely grateful to you, because the Minister will respond to all those questions.

We move on to the next Honourable Member, Honourable Kavekotora.

HON KAVEKOTORA: Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker. I also want to thank the Honourable Minister of Finance for presenting a Midterm Re-allocation. I listened very carefully to the Honourable Minister of Finance and I was also trying to look at the extent and economic environment that we are facing. The Minister was very specific in highlighting the economic factors that we are facing currently. There is an economic slowdown; there is a widening deficit; there is a decline in domestic revenue; there is a negative trade balance; there is a reduced SACU revenue; and that is basically the external environment in which we are doing the Midterm Review, if we will.

One would have expected that under those circumstances, obviously the logical thing to do is to try to curb expenditures and not necessarily keep the expenditures the same while your revenue base is declining based on the macroeconomic realities.

Having said that, I must also acknowledge the fact that this document is relatively something that one has to study. One cannot just jump to a conclusion, I think you will make some mistakes by doing that. Now, I think the serving Government is also using some of its words economically. Whenever there is a Statement to be made or a Budget to be present, the word *pro-poor* has always been the buzzword and I think we just need to be very specific when we use some of these wordings. **Pro-poor** must mean something.

I just want to make a few comments with regard to a few items that I browsed through in the Budget.

The first item is **Mass Housing** – we must acknowledge the fact that Mass Housing is costing the Government dearly. There is no question about that. There is a question of this whole project not being properly conceived; it was not properly planned; it was not properly allocated; the beneficiaries were not properly defined; and it is on that basis that we need to go back to the drawing board and define Mass Housing more prudently, Honourable Speaker, if we want to save money and, especially when we are in an environment of an economic downturn.

On Mass Housing, I remember that at one point I asked the question about the cost implication of the repudiation of contracts and I was told that this thing is in the Court of Law and, therefore, we could not say anything about it. However, the end results was that we have to pay penalties for our action and continuing with this Mass Housing is basically not a prudent thing to do.

Secondly, the increase in the Office of the Prime Minister's Vote, Vote 2 – I will not question it. but just want to make a comment that I hope that that allocation under other budgetary bodies, include the acceleration of EVMs with Paper Trail for elections.

Thirdly, the increase in Agriculture is also commendable, but the question is that it falls under **others.** Perhaps there are reasons why it was categorised under others, but normally in accounting, others is just a miscellaneous account that sometimes does not have any significance, but a significant amount was actually put under others and one would like to pose a question as to why it was put under **others.**

As a pro-poor Budget, Honourable Speaker, under Vote 33, one would have assumed that the Ministry of Poverty Eradication could have received an increase in the reallocation, but there was a significant drop and that is questionable.

Lastly, I want to confine myself to the acquisition of locomotives at TransNamib. That expenditure would not be prudent, because that is not the core problem of TransNamib at this point in time. The real problem of TransNamib at this point in time – being one of those who were employed by TransNamib- is the railway. Our railway system is totally dilapidated. Trains and locomotives are being forced to drive at something like 5 kilometres an hour. Drivers in some instances are being paid bonuses if they can detect a broken rail in front of them. That is the reality of the situation and I think on that basis – the real need for allocation at TransNamib, if we want to do the right thing, is to allocate resources towards the rehabilitation of the railway system.

I would like to confine myself to those comments. Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Honourable Member, there was a comment, I am sure you did not hear. You said five kilometres per hour and someone said – *let us make it 50 kilometres per hour*. Are you not buying that?

I call upon Honourable Hinda please. You have the Floor.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. I rise to congratulate the Minister of Finance for the Reallocation Budget which was well deliberated and I am of the opinion that if all of us have listened to his Motivation of explaining right from the beginning – and I think it is good that it has also been given in writing so that we could follow as he was presenting – he did explain why the expenditure range was reduced compared to last year. He also explained that it is not an Additional Budget and *addition* in English means a plus when you move from a zero

point to a positive point, but when you move up and down and you end up at zero, it means there is no addition.

However, that being said in passing, I also want to emphasise that, yes, I indeed agree with the former Minister of Finance who emphasised that there is a need for the Colleagues to really study the document. There is a Midyear Budget Review Policy Statement that provides an explanation in terms of the Votes where the movements are. I would also want to concur with the Honourable Member who has just spoken that, yes, the intention is to curb expenditure and not to increase it and, therefore, the reallocation.

For example, we ran to a conclusion in terms of the Ministry of Health and Social Services and started talking about Katutura Hospital, which has no relevance to the subject matter. The point is that, for example, the N$35 million reallocation to the Ministry of Health and Social Services is about advertising and printing. It is about office refreshments and about security costs adjustments. *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Point of Order. Honourable Member, there is a Point of Order.

HON MUHARUKUA: Thank you, Honourable Speaker, I wish to ask the Honourable Member a question, if she allows me.

HON SPEAKER: You must seek her consent and I am not sure whether she is saying yes or no.

HON MUHARUKUA: That is what I am seeking.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION: I think the Honourable Member has risen on a Point of Order. So, if it is not a Point of Order, can I be allowed to proceed, Honourable Speaker, because I do not think he has requested to ask a question?

HON SPEAKER: Is that a question you want to pose? Your microphone is not on.

HON MUHARUKUA: Honourable Speaker, the Honourable Member is seeking clarity as to whether I rose on a Point or Order or not. I am saying I rose because I want to ask a question, so the question is, would she take it or not?

HON SPEAKER: Honourable Member, please continue because Honourable Muharukua is not very precise and clear of what he wants to do.

HON DEPUTY MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION: Honourable Speaker, let me repeat, maybe I was not clear, if Honourable Muharukua is giving me his ear, I was saying that the aspect of the reallocation of the Budget is to curb expenditure on things that are not essential and in terms of the execution rate, not possible

to execute within the timeframe left.

I am saying that the visit to the hospital in Katutura was not relevant to the point – I am saying that the increase, for example, is also given to provide for the additional Anti-Retroviral medication, and I am also saying that it deals with the aspect of the pro-poor Budget that it is committed to. I just want to say that, in addition, the aspect of privatisation in this discussion of the Budget was simply not relevant because privatisation does not mean efficiency. I wish to just reaffirm that, yes, the whole Budget Review, in my opinion, has put the importance on efficiency and it is efficiency in terms of expenditure and spending, and if we improve the overall efficiency of Government in terms of performance as per the Performance Management Contracts that are being signed, I think we are on the right track.

I just want to compliment the Minister for giving us such detail and I want to appeal to the Honourable Members to take time to read the document and understand how it works instead of making it their election campaign tool. Thank you very much, Honourable Speaker.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. Let us go ahead and I call upon the Attorney-General.

HON ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Mr Speaker, it is true that we have been impacted in our ability to communicate with one another by the fact that we have adopted the English Language as the National Language. Given our background, we come from backgrounds where sometimes we are so fluent in own Languages that English becomes a problem. I find it extremely difficult, Mr Speaker, particularly when Honourable Dienda is on the Floor to understand some of the words she is enunciating. I could not even remember the project she was talking about, but it so happens to

the Neckartal Dam – help me out. *(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Point of Order.

HON DIENDA: On an Point of Information, this is not a Court here, I do not need to express myself in a certain way. I am not in Court, I am in Parliament. Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. Let us continue because *(intervention)*

HON ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Mr Speaker, I understand that very well, but I am getting to a point because semantics become important when we try and describe something. When we add adjectives to terms we start giving meaning when the meaning was not perhaps intended. I am saying this because I gave the background of the history of our Languages and our colonisation, and it was merely an example to request the Secretariat also to give me proper headphones because, particularly when the Honourable Member who intervened speaks, I may need proper ones.

The issue has to do with additional and I think this is the crux of the issue. It is Campaign Season and I think we are trying to ascribe meaning *(interjection)* I will address you on the matter, Honourable Dienda.

The Miriam Webster Dictionary is very clear about what additional means and I quote – *"more than is usual or expected."* I do not see more than is usual or expected in this Financial Year in the Budget Review presented

here for appropriation. It is a reallocation.

The only thing additional is that the Minister stands additionally in this Financial Year to review the Budget, but the fact that the Budget itself is not additional should be very clear, hence, the semantics – I am saying that English may be the problem, but let me address some of the specifics issues Mr Speaker so that I can elucidate my term.

The problem is, when you have a very reduced knowledge or vocabulary, you cannot blame us who are abundantly skilled with the Language to use it and declare *(laughter)(Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Point of Order.

HON SHIXWAMENI: On a Point of Order, English is actually not our mother tongue *(interjection)*

HON MEMBER: That is what I am saying.

HON SHIXWAMENI: And for the Honourable Attorney-General to come and belabour the point of the English that is spoken, it is completely irrelevant. It is actually insulting those ones who struggle to speak the Queen's Language in this Chamber.

We are actually supposed to say, let us speak Rumanyo, Rukwangali,

Oshindonga, etcetera, therefore, that point that the Attorney-General is trying to make is completely irrelevant, because, I do not know the other English that well, but I would have said; please do not lecture us, we are not in an English Grammar Language class here. Let us talk about the essence of the Budget, let us talk about issues that are contained in the Budget and not come here as if it is an English Grammar Language class around here. Thank you.

HON SPEAKER: I appeal that you move on because of time.

HON ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Mr Speaker, I think that needs to be responded to. It cannot be left in the Hansard without a response.

The Honourable Member is fully aware that we have a Constitution, we are a Rule of Law country governed by the Constitution and one of the first articles, Article 3, for instance, says that *the official language of Namibia shall be English.* Hence, the Honourable Minister did not bring an Additional Budget here, but he brought an *Appropriation Amendment Bill.* Therefore, the point that I am trying to make with the English is that when we have agreed to speak it, let us say what we mean to say and mean what we say.

However, the difficulty is, if I even speak with my Colleague in Rukwangali, he is still unable to follow my philosophical idioms in Rukwangali. *(Laughter) (Intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Honourable Member, I would appeal that we go beyond those introductory remarks to the point.

HON ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Yes, thank you, Honourable Mr Speaker. It was said here by the Leader of the Official Opposition that Government is growing because we have four Permanent Secretaries. He is ascribing the whole Motion being tabled here to amend the *Appropriation Bill,* to amongst others, that there are four Permanent Secretaries. I am not an economist and I cannot even fathom or try and do the mathematics, but I can hardly believe that Permanent Secretaries are paid in such proportions that four of them would affect the Budget in such a way that it would be brought here. The problem is that we are making rumours official by putting them on the Hansard simply because we have the immunity and the platform to speak.

We go to Katutura, and then we come here and say things. It is not fair because we are not telling the public *(interjections)* No, we go to our *Cuca Shops,* that is where we pick up the rumour mill and we want to bring it to Parliament.

Now, I think the Comrade Minister of Finance was very clear on those issues and we have to dismiss those assertions, and it was also made very clear by the Secretary-General. I saw it, Honourable Mr Speaker, the day the election results were announced, there seemed to be delusions of grandeur when people wanted to compare themselves to the Head of State then and the one elected now. You see, this here is a Government run with the Executive Powers between the President and the Cabinet, and the President appoints, but those appointments – if you are saying Government is growing bigger – it is not the first time that Government is growing bigger, if it is growing bigger. We have made deliberate attempts previously as a Government to growing for purposes which you celebrate elsewhere when you go and say – *oh the GIPF is great and big* and whatever. You forget to remember what causes it to grow in that fashion, but yet you are quick to come and castigate us for four Permanent Secretaries. I really do not understand that.

Then Mr Speaker, on the issue of land servicing – my former NANSO Leader has stopped listening, this is the problem. You see, he has stopped

listening and is reading. On the issue of land servicing, it has been said time and again – now let us credit whoever, let us credit Zeus the god of the sun or whatever, but land servicing has been an integral part of availing the comprehensive housing solution for Namibians in urban areas. That is why a Cabinet Committee was put up, it made presentations to the Parliamentary Committee, public statements were made, but yet you are sometimes selective Honourable Members, in selecting the issues you want to raise out of the Budget that we ascribe to. It is ongoing. It is not a new issue and you are ascribing it as if we are now doing something extra-ordinary. It is not.

Now, on what you call *Mess* Housing – I think you say that because you know you have a roof over your head and you know you are going to your house. Those people who are looking forward to the delivery of these services do not call it *Mess* Housing. In fact, they are very grateful that Government is doing it *(intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Point of Order.

HON MUHARUKUA: Thank you, Honourable Speaker. On a Point of Information, Honourable Member, we do not say it is *Mess* Housing because we have roofs over our heads, we say it is *Mess* Housing because we have cousins, uncles, aunts, friends and family who do not have roofs over their heads.

HON ATTORNEY-GENERAL: In that case, can you allow us to deliver the services that are needed for your uncles and brothers and I will in due course *(intervention)*

HON SPEAKER: Point of Order.

HON SHIXWAMENI: On a Point of Order – you are talking about the Mass Housing, let us talk about that Mass Housing which is a *mess (laughter)* The Mass Housing that has turned out to be a mess. Cabinet gave the Attorney-General the responsibility to negotiate with tenderpreneurs who sued the Government to come to an agreement, but last week I read in the newspapers that the same tenderpreneurs who inflated their prices in the first instance, are being re-awarded the tender to continue with the very same mess they had under your watch and clock.

How do you explain these things to the people out there that the same people who messed up and could not deliver are re-awarded the same tenders to continue not delivering? I think there is a very serious need to review this thing because we cannot award the tender to the same people. They are supposed to be blacklisted if they do not deliver – they are not supposed to be awarded the tender. Honourable Attorney-General, explain to this House and the Nation as to how the process is going. A person cheats you and he keeps on cheating you around the corner. What are we doing? *(Interjection)*

HON MEMBER: Please tone down.

HON SHIXWAMENI: No! Honourable Attorney-General, you owe a proper answer to the Nation.

HON SPEAKER: Let him answer.

HON SHIXWAMENI: Yes.

HON ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Honourable Speaker, the problem with my former NANSO Leader is that he does not listen. I am on my way to providing responses. I know that the campaign season has started *(interjections)*

HON SHIXWAMENI: Just answer my question please.

HON ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Okay, let me answer you. I will provide responses to this House in due course. Our focus to today is the Budget. However, let me just say that you are misleading the public with the statement you made because you cut and paste from newspapers and I thought you would be one of the people who knows not to believe each and everything you read in the paper. *(Interjections)*

My problem is that you are maybe not willing to understand what I said, which is that I will present responses in due course, but today we are dealing with the Budget.

However, I want to make a point on that issue by saying, when the money

is going to projects like those, I thought we would be grateful because there would be a delivery of houses, hopefully as we would all want to have them being provided in a regular and proper manner. Let us, hopefully, accept that there is a Government of reason and that the people who have now been made aware, if they were not aware, that there were issues that needed to be taken care of, are aware that we presume that there will be some regularities in the way it is done.

Therefore, my appeal to the Honourable Minister of Finance is that when he responds, he can perhaps shed some light to elucidate, because I understand that the Budget that was just tabled now, is a knee-jerk reaction and the regurgitation of that which is pasted on the Worldwide Web by newspaper journalists are sometimes self-inspired. Sometimes they do not even quote us, but I thought you would know. In that respect, I would allow the Honourable Minister to address that.

Lastly, Mr Speaker, I think we do a great disservice to our Nation when we are the ones castigating and making statements such as, for example – *I do not even know whether the Government knows how much it owes.* Really? We have systems and are appraised externally. The fact that the Honourable Minister in his Budget presentation indicated that we over-subscribed with what happened when we went to the market to raise funds and it is testimony that our financial systems are sound.

Now you have somebody aspiring to hopefully one day be the Leader of the Government – the currently Leader of the Opposition – saying that this system is just *kaput*. I do not know whether we do ourselves a favour or we do it on behalf of those who would like to see us fail. I do not know why we say this, but perhaps if it is a lack of knowledge, I trust that the Minister would be in a position, when he responds to give clarity. I thank you.

Thank you, we have done away with Notice of Questions and Notice of Motions. Messages from the Head of State? Ministerial Statements?

Having done all that, all that is left is for me to extend a warm welcome to Honourable Emmanuel Ngatjizeko. It is good to have you back safely.

HON MINISTER OF INNDUSTRILISATION, TRADE AND SME DEVELOPMENT: Thank you, Honourable Speaker.

HON SPEAKER: The Secretary will read the First Order of the Day.

COMMITTEE STAGE – DEEDS REGISTRIES BILL [B.13 – 2015]

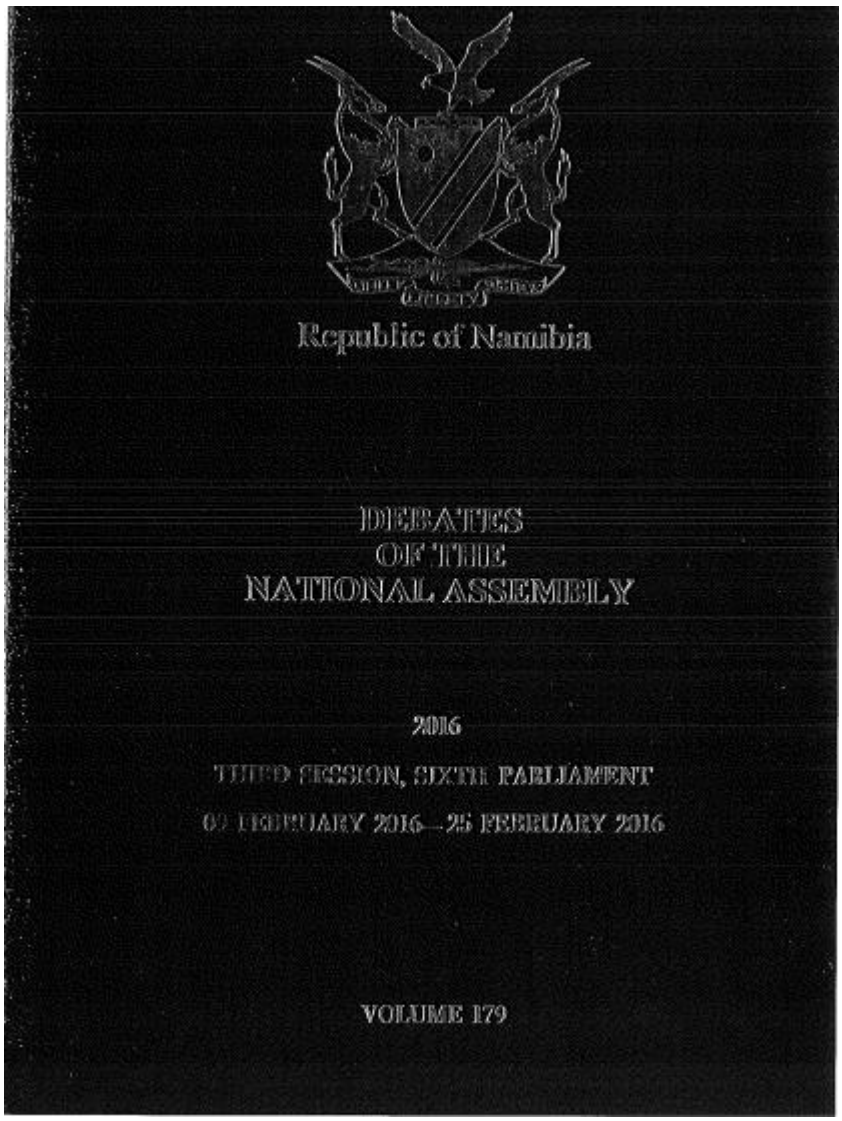
SECRETARY: Committee Stage - *Deeds Registries Bill* [B.13 – 2015].

HON SPEAKER: Does the Honourable Minister of Land Reform Move that the Assembly now goes into Committee?

HON MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: Yes, Comrade Speaker, I so Move.

APPENDIX 13

Debates of the National Assembly. 09 February-25 February 2016. Vol. 179.



issue of the physically assaulted women. He ~~said~~ something very important that day. He told us that, when they were growing up, it was unheard of to see boys beating up girls and men beating up women. He said; *aamwandje, omikalo dha tya ngaaka dho kudhenga aa kadhona, no maa pagani kadhimo. (Interjection)* Translated ~~this~~ means – *such behaviour is, even among the pagan community, unheard of.* What he was trying to say is that, even the most primitive and non-believers do not do these things. You are supposed to be enlightened, but you are doing these things. That is really a symbol of a sick society.

When we were growing up tending cattle, one thing we observed is that, you will never see a bull fighting a cow, it will just fight another bull. You will never see a male dog fighting a female dog, it will just fight another male dog. Out of their consciousness, animals even know that it should not happen.

Then there is an issue of psychological abuse. That is more common to men and children. As a student of sociology, I learned ~~that there~~ is something called *scapegoating* of children. When parents fight their war there, the victims are children. If a man has issues with his wife, the children would be beaten up – it is true. I even know of Honourable Members in this House who told me – *my father used to beat me just because of this. (Interjection)* I have heard Members in this House saying it. That is a psychological problem ~~where~~by children become victims.

I also want us to call *spade a spade.* In most cases, when a woman moves with the children in a marriage with a different man, it is really in rare cases where you will find the husband having issues with stepchildren. However, when a man marries a woman and have children from other women – and let us call a *spade a spade,* because you said we are talking about domestic abuses – in most cases, women have issues with their stepchildren. Sometimes it escalates and becomes a problem between a man and a woman. We should, therefore, address these things in a broader perspective.

I will, however, in the process also speak about domestic abuse in general, because the problem is not only the question of domestic violence, but also a broader spectrum of domestic abuses.

Honourable Speaker, the old Members should recall that many similar Motions have been introduced in this House. Perhaps we must also revisit what is it that we have done to those Motions? What happen to those recommendations? Otherwise, we will time and again, come to introduce Motions, make good recommendations, then we go back to square one. When these Committees bring up Reports here, these Reports are tabled for consideration and they are discussed. They are referred to the Ministries concerned – what is the status of these Reports from these from these Committees? Perhaps we also need to be appraised on that one.

Then talking in general, as I said, there are physical abuses and there are psychological abuses. Physical abuses are more common to women who are assaulted by men, tattered etcetera, which really symbolises primitivity.

I recall when I was at high school, there was a time when there was a boycott at school. During those years, boycotts were sort of compulsory. If you do not participate in a boycott – but this particular boycott was not political, I must say. This was mainly just learners who had a habit of going and lay at the hostel and wait for lunchtime after the second break. The Principal came, locked them inside the hostel, registered all of their names and told them to go home. Then a boycott was called because of those who were sent home. Since the only learners who were affected were boys, the girls were not affected, they did not participate in the boycott and they went to class as usual. The boys then went to beat these girls up who were attending classes because they did not want to be in solidarity – these are also type of physical abuses.

The then School Inspector who became the first Governor of the Oshikoto Region after Independence, Mr Namupala, had a serious talk about the

HON MINISTER OF GENDER EQUALITY AND CHILD WELFARE: We know.

HON SHIXWAMENI: That is in our Constitution and there is also freedom of Religion. I am not an admirer of Bushiri and the prophets, and all these kinds of things, but where do we locate ourselves being a secular State and also advocating freedom of Religion in the Constitution.

Why do we want to condemn other Religions as being fake and other Religions being right? Further than that, I would like to know, which of the Religions or Churches are real and which ones are fake? I would like to know that.

HON SPEAKER: I wish to beg you to conclude please, because now we are really totally deviating, and touching on everything under the sun.

We have agreed that the Committee will deal with that. Honourable Minister, please conclude.

HON MINISTER OF GENDER EQUALITY AND CHILD WELFARE: Comrade Speaker, I was about to conclude, but once you allow somebody I must wait and entertain them.

Honourable Shixwameni, we know that very well. I do not want to mention our children, but will it make you feel good to see your son getting married to a man? That is abuse of the secular State. We should be very careful because those things are coming where my daughter would even marry her own sister.

24 February 2016 AVENUES TO CURTAIL DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HON SIOKA

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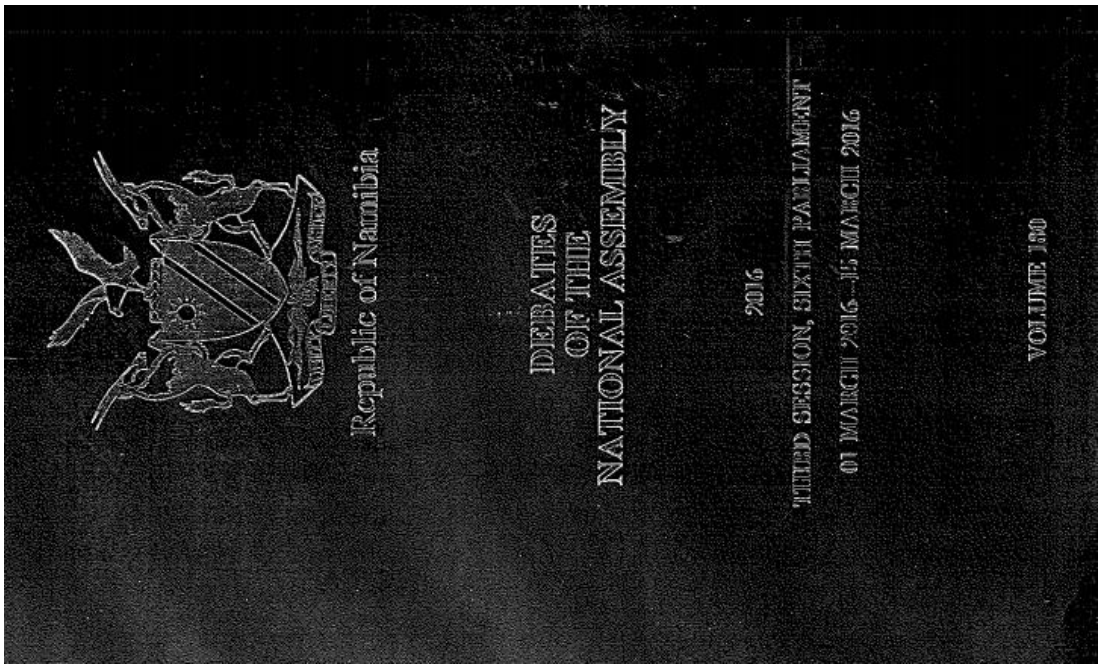
APPENDIX 14

Debates of the National Assembly. 1-15 March 2016. Vol. 180.



Republic of Namibia

DEBATES
OF THE
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

2016

THIRD SESSION, SIXTH PARLIAMENT

01 MARCH 2016 – 15 MARCH 2016

VOLUME 180

matangara now and then *(interjection)* No, not from the dumpsite *(interjection)*

HON MEMBER: *Afwahleis!*

HON MINISTER OF LAND REFORM: Yes, *Afwa!* However, what I wanted to say is that – young man I support you. Let us look for better ways as to how we can utilise that we have and make sure that we benefit from the resources of this country, in that way, contribute to the GDP and economic wellbeing of our people, because the President is always telling us about the ***Harambee*** Policy.

We have to reduce the inequality in our country. We have to fight poverty and I think this is also a strategy that we can reinforce to fight poverty and make sure that we take good care of our children – so that they grow well and not stunted, in order for them to enjoy the benefits that we can create through this Industry. I thank you, Comrade Speaker.

HON SPEAKER: Thank you. Honourable Uutoni Nujoma, your intervention reminded me of something – I was at the farm over the weekend and my neighbour invited me over for cup of tea. We drove on his farm, the de-bushing you are talking about – I think you need to see this Honourable Members – on the one side where he has carried out de-bushing, you see how the grass is growing, but on the other side where he is still needs to de-bush, you see can see a thick bush. The grass is not growing the same way as on the side where he carried out de-bushing.

For farmers to flourish, manage the farm, to grow and be profitable, you

Line. That is a reality. I would hope for more direct financial investment and political will in expediting the creation of a Buffer Zone between Namibia and Angola, to ensure that all farmers are at par with each other in an independent Namibia.

(Interjection) Honourable Speaker, Honourable Members, and General Namoloh *(laughter)*, as has been the case for the last few years now, the Social Sector once again retains the biggest chunk of Government expenditure. I am fully in agreement with Government prioritising social responsibilities. What has been lacking, however, for the past 25 years, is the yielding of quality service from the investment. Long queues, medicine shortages, the unavailability of doctors, the lack of professionalism and etiquette from staff and the low levels of hygiene at our medical facilities continue to jeopardise the quality of Public Health Service.

Moreover, one would hope that the highest allocation to the Education Sector is accompanied by a review and overhaul of our school curriculums. Nations from which we copied, what was then best practices, are now doing things differently now. The Namibian Education System must, therefore, follow suit and put emphasis on producing young people who have skills and practical knowledge of what they learn in school. Information Technology has to be one of the major investment areas in our schools and Tertiary Institutions.

It is important that we do not simply continue to *throw money at the problem*, but that investment in the Social Sector is accompanied by the appropriate Policy Amendments. Although the Honourable Minister indicated that it is important to tackle the institutional culture within the Public Service, we are yet to see the formation and implementation of policy reforms that will move our Public Service towards the best that it can be.

In conclusion, Honourable Members, there is an old OvaHerero saying which says – *Ondunge imue vazewanajo, yarwe isa kumbwae yoe.*

The Parliament Building does not belong to the Members of Parliaments, the MPs will come and go... *(applause)*

HON MEMBERS: Yes!

HON !AUXAB: ...But the building will remain the national asset of the Nation, let us not denied the right of owning national assets to the Nation.

In conclusion, Honourable Speaker – *!Gâi tu bahe-hâ /Ninis gera /Gana... Ne !hub ǂgae-ǂguis ge !gâiba !oa ge daba tsî datse khao-oa tite (applause) ai sa oa /gui ni /gei.*

HON SPEAKER: Please allow him to complete so that he is clearly understood.

HON !AUXAB: *Ti hâ tsî tini hâ se i, Og!! Tarebe suriba!!!*

Honourable Speaker, Sir, Honourable Members of this august House, with that, I support the tabling and introduction of this *Appropriation Bill* of 2016/2017. Thank you for having listening to me.

Let me briefly explain what I said – we are in an ever changing world, the governance ethics of our beloved country Namibia has changed, and will not be reversed again. It is, and it will remain as such. If there are people in our country, maybe even in this House, who are enemies of progress tough luck! *(applause and ululation)*