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RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

GABORONE
REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

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RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN BOTSWANA

THE CHALLENGE

"The greatest challenge ahead of us is undoubtedly that of rural development." (H.E. the President, National Development Plan 1970/75).

1. The population of Botswana is estimated at 620,000. Some 450,000 (or about 70%) are attached to traditional farming households. The average per capita income of the rural population is between R35 and R40 per year, including remittances received from relatives in wage employment. But this average, low as it is, disguises the extent of rural poverty. There is great inequality of wealth within the rural sector. 100,000 people are resident on holdings which possess no cattle whatsoever, whilst on the other hand 4% of the holdings claim some 30% of the cattle.

2. The poverty of the vast majority is extreme. The urgent challenge facing the nation is to alleviate this poverty. We must not simply be concerned to increase people's incomes received in cash and kind. We must also improve basic social services and generally raise the quality of life in the rural areas. We should think of our income as money kept in two different pockets. We have a private pocket in which we keep our personal income and we have a public pocket from which we can draw the benefits provided by the Central Government and by local authorities, for example, roads, education, health services and so on. Our aim must be to increase the money going into both pockets.

3. Which families belong to the rural sector? It is not possible to draw a clear-cut dividing line between the rural and the urban areas or between the traditional and the modern sectors. Few in the modern sector are without dependents in the traditional sector. A modest but significant proportion of the money earned in towns finds its way into the rural areas in the form of remittances or investment in agricultural and pastoral activities. The traditional towns (Serowe, Kanye, Molepolole, etc) have a modern sector. The squatter settlements attached to modern towns embody some of the characteristics of our traditional villages. In the rural areas there are both modern farmers and traditional subsistence farmers working beside one another. Most significantly, the cattle industry is in a state of transition between the traditional and the modern. In short, our policies for rural development cannot be conceived in isolation and in formulating our policies for modern sector development we must bear in mind their likely impact on the rural areas. This statement of our policy for rural development is intended to make clear those aspects of our overall national development strategy which most affect those living in the traditional rural sector.

4. Our task is not simply to improve conditions in the rural areas. Our immediate problem is to prevent them getting worse. Our human population is growing very fast. The advent of modern medicine has dramatically reduced the death rate, but there has been no corresponding reduction in the birth rate. As a result, the total labour force grows each year by 10,000, of whom at most only 2,000 may expect to find wage employment. Moreover, the increased livestock population concentrated in the relatively well watered areas is resulting in over-

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2. The poverty of the vast majority is extreme. The urgent challenge facing the nation is to alleviate this poverty. We must not simply be concerned to increase people's incomes received in cash and kind. We must also improve basic social services and generally raise the quality of life in the rural areas. We should think of our income as money kept in two different pockets. We have a private pocket in which we keep our personal income and we have a public pocket from which we can draw the benefits provided by the Central Government and by local authorities, for example, roads, education, health services and so on. Our aim must be to increase the money going into both pockets.

3. Which families belong to the rural sector? It is not possible to draw a clear-cut dividing line between the rural and the urban areas or between the traditional and the modern sectors. Few in the modern sector are without dependents in the traditional sector. A modest but significant proportion of the money earned in towns finds its way into the rural areas in the form of remittances or investment in agricultural and pastoral activities. The traditional towns (Serowe, Kanye, Molepolole, etc) have a modern sector. The squatter settlements attached to modern towns embody some of the characteristics of our traditional villages. In the rural areas there are both modern farmers and traditional subsistence farmers working beside one another. Most significantly, the cattle industry is in a state of transition between the traditional and the modern. In short, our policies for rural development cannot be conceived in isolation and in formulating our policies for modern sector development we must bear in mind their likely impact on the rural areas. This statement of our policy for rural development is intended to make clear those aspects of our overall national development strategy which most affect those living in the traditional rural sector.

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stocking which, together with bad pasture management practices, is causing in many places the very rapid deterioration of the grazing areas; consequently the basis for the main rural industry on which the vast majority depend for their livelihoods, either directly or indirectly, is being undermined. The growing over-population, both human and animal, of much of the best endowed rural areas, presents Botswana with a problem which calls for urgent and radical action.

5. It is not only our land which has deteriorated. There has also been a decline in traditional industries. Well established modern manufacturers in Southern Africa and elsewhere have flooded local stores with mass produced goods, providing overwhelming competition. Traditional craftsmen have been steadily deprived, over the years, of their local markets and have ceased production. Thus, the situation facing us in the rural areas is one of an expanding population struggling to survive and improve their living standards in a harsh and deteriorating environment.

THE STRATEGY

"Unless we introduce clear and consistent policies which provide for social justice, development will enrich a minority of our citizens and leave the lives of the majority practically untouched.

Our development must be planned so that the people of Botswana - and I mean all the people of Botswana - benefit from it. They must benefit from the creation of jobs, from the reinvestment of revenues in rural development, and from policies which ensure that development benefits the least privileged.

We must make every effort to ensure that our strategy for development is based on social justice and this means that rural development must have a high priority."

(H.E. the President, Sir Seretse Khama, address to the Nation on the Fifth Anniversary of Independence - 30 September, 1971).

6. The Government is committed to achieving rapid social and economic development and promoting social justice. Conscious that the labour force is rapidly expanding, the Government has set as one of the major objectives of the National Development Plan the creation of as many new job opportunities as possible. However, Botswana is faced with an acute shortage of capital resources and skilled manpower. Also the scope of Government action is strictly limited by the low level of revenue and its lack of experienced staff. Fortunately, Botswana is endowed with significant natural resources which offer a sound basis for long term economic development. A dual economic strategy has therefore been adopted:-

- (a) securing rapid and large returns to the nation from intensive capital investment in mining and other viable modern industries mainly aimed at export markets;
- (b) re-investing the proceeds of these investments to promote labour intensive activities and improve services in the rural areas.

7. The Government's programme for rural development has four main aims:

1. To increase sustained production from the land and from wildlife through research, co-ordinated extension work and conservation planning leading to the introduction of correct land use and management practices;
2. To improve marketing and credit facilities in the rural areas;
3. To create new employment opportunities wherever feasible and thereby reduce the numbers at present without any means of support; in particular to promote industries, services and crafts in rural areas;
4. To improve social services in the rural areas (water supplies, education, medical and welfare services, etc) leading to healthier, smaller, better educated, better fed families.

8. Government is committed to adopt policies in all fields which will contribute to the success of this strategy. This includes, for example, policies for incomes, investment, taxation, external aid, agriculture, education and training, water supplies, medical services, community development, game, and so on. A related paper on the critically important issue of incomes, prices and profits policy will be put before the National Assembly later this session.

9. Before all else, the basic considerations must be to halt the deterioration of the land. We must introduce measures which build up the fertility of the soil and increase the productivity of the range. If our land is to be conserved, the increasing population cannot be absorbed in the existing major villages. As in the past, new villages will be formed, and social services must be planned accordingly. New villages will require roads, schools, clinics, water supplies and other amenities. At the same time these new settlements should be planned so as to ensure that such services can be provided as conveniently and economically as possible.

COMMITMENT AND OUR NATIONAL PRINCIPLES

"Firstly we wish to strive for social justice; secondly we are concerned to provide wherever possible equality of opportunity; thirdly, we intend to use persuasion rather than compulsion in order to achieve change in a democratic and constructive way. These three objectives are rooted in our four principles of democracy, development, self-reliance and unity."

H.H. The Vice President: Introduction: National Development Plan 1970/75.

10. The challenge is so great, and the strategy so broad based that little will be achieved unless the nation is totally committed to rural development. Sacrifices are required from everyone. Those in salaried employment must accept wage restraint to promote job

creation. Traders will be required to accept price controls on basic commodities so that the poorer consumers are not exploited. Industrial and mining companies must plough back a significant percentage of their profits in new investment, thereby creating new jobs. For its part, the Government, when formulating and administering policies, will always consider the interest of the rural population as paramount. These policies are designed to implement our national principles.

11. To achieve the social justice and equality of opportunity which are essential for the application of our principles of democracy and unity, Government policy is directed towards reducing the large differentials in income and wealth within the country. Specific development proposals have been framed with this objective in mind. Social and economic change must not favour the rich or deprive the poor, but this emphasis on equality must not lead us into assuming that the living standards of all the population can be raised by re-distributing the assets of the few people who are relatively well off. We are a poor country and our most pressing problem is to promote development and see that its benefits are justly distributed. In order to achieve this we must see that all our existing resources are effectively deployed. Reforms will be achieved by participation, explanation and persuasion. Our democratic principles and our concern for national unity both preclude forcing change on a reluctant people. Changes in such vital areas as land tenure can only be achieved by popular consent. But we shall take care not to confuse the vested interests of an articulate minority with the needs and wishes of the majority. Finally, it must be stressed that self-help and self-reliance are principles which apply to all groups and all communities, in both the rural and the urban areas.

HIGHER FARM INCOMES FOR THE MAJORITY

"Our objective must be to ensure that rural income levels rise as fast as possible right across the board. The present unequal distribution of wealth and education in the rural sector makes this task more difficult" Sir Seretse Khama: Address to the Botswana Society's Conference on Rural Development, July 1970.

"We cannot afford to permit individual tenure in the tribal areas, since that would risk alienating the majority from their means of production - the land. Equally we cannot afford to permit the traditional methods to continue because under the pressure of an expanding human and animal population, they are ruining the land and the pasture which represents the only livelihood for most of our people" Sir Seretse Khama: Botswana: Developing Democracy in Southern Africa, November 1970.

"It will not help Botswana if we increase agricultural productivity at the cost of driving the majority of our people from the rural areas to the towns where they will simply swell the numbers of the unemployed" Sir Seretse Khama: Address to Conference on Rural Development, July 1970.

12. The bulk of our rural population are attached to farm holdings. Increased incomes and living standards in the rural areas must mainly be achieved in the foreseeable future through increased agricultural

production, but it will not be enough if this increased production is the work of a minority of farmers and cattle-owners. Increased production will create more problems than it solves if in the process the majority lose their stake in the rural community, and living standards which depend on traditional co-operative practices are eroded

13. The greatest potential for increased production is in the livestock sector. Our policy for livestock development has three main objectives which must be given equal emphasis:

- (i) to increase and improve production;
- (ii) to preserve our pasture;
- (iii) to preserve those features of our traditional rural society which promote social cohesion and mutual co-operation and to create new institutions to the same ends; and in particular to ensure that as many as possible of the rural population have access to cattle for milk and draught power.

Over the next twenty-five years the target of our livestock development progress is to raise the percentage off-take from the national herd by a half while continually improving the quality of slaughter stock. This should result in at least doubling the real value of production on a sustained basis. Any increase in the size of the national herd will be feasible only if traditional cattle-ranching practices are changed. But the concern for mutual welfare which is a feature of our traditional society and the benefits which traditional practices offer to the poorest members of the rural community must be preserved. There is a danger that these values and benefits will be eroded as livestock production becomes more commercialised. In bringing about the reforms needed to promote sustained production Government will also take measures to see that such erosion does not take place and that the socially beneficial aspects of traditional systems are not only preserved but also strengthened and perpetuated in new forms.

14. Government is acting in a number of ways to achieve an increase in the real value of livestock production. To improve the quality of the national herd a programme of breeding research is being carried out to evaluate those breeds most suited to Botswana conditions. In addition, ten Artificial Insemination Centres are in operation at present and a further two will be completed by 1973. An increase in the quality and quantity of production is only possible with improved methods of animal husbandry. Seven Demonstration Ranches have been built as training centres for livestock owners and three mobile animal husbandry teams in the Division of Animal Production will give advice to farmers at their cattle posts. Disease is a significant constraint to livestock production and a considerable amount of Government's recurrent finance is devoted to the work of the Department of Animal Health and, in particular, to the control of foot and mouth disease and tsetse fly. A chain of Animal Health Service Centres will be established as soon as possible at strategic points where vital veterinary and animal husbandry requisites will be obtainable and where advice to farmers will be given.

15. It has already been stated that over-stocking, especially in the communally grazed areas, occupied in particular by the small farmers who cannot afford individual cattle posts, demands an urgent solution. There are large concentrations of cattle around existing watering points and with the prevailing systems of land tenure effective management and control of these cattle populations are difficult to achieve. Forms of land holding and land use will have to be evolved in order to maximise the returns which can be obtained from livestock on a sustained basis, and prevent any further deterioration of the environment.

16. A rapid and wholesale introduction of individual forms of land tenure would, however, almost certainly widen and fix more rigidly the existing division between the rich minority and the poorer majority. People with small herds will now be actively encouraged to form themselves into viable groups. It is proposed that these groups should be granted exclusive rights to grazing land which they should be allowed, encouraged and, if necessary, assisted to demarcate in an appropriate way. This would make it possible for the farmers to manage their livestock efficiently and, more importantly, would permit control to be exercised over land use to prevent overstocking and promote positive anti-erosion measures.

17. The Government will introduce to Parliament an Agricultural Resources Conservation Bill, which will provide a framework for the re-organisation of traditional grazing practices. The Agricultural Resources Conservation Bill will establish machinery for introducing appropriate control measures to prevent the degradation of the environment by reckless agricultural practices. The legislation will establish Tribal Land Boards as Conservation Committees and will provide for the issue of conservation and stock limitation orders. The follow-up to this legislation will be an Agricultural Development Bill which will provide for the establishing of farmers associations within defined areas. The association will be empowered to impose such controls or initiate such developments within its own area as may be deemed necessary to prevent the degradation of the land or to increase its productivity. Government will also undertake the preparation of land use plans to guide District Conservation Committees and Tribal Land Boards. To this end the Division of Land Utilisation in the Ministry of Agriculture is being strengthened. Tribal Land Boards will also be strengthened by the appointment to them of members who have agricultural training.

18. The present uneven distribution of cattle makes it more difficult to achieve rural development in the interests of the majority. We should, of course, do nothing which will make our cattle industry less productive, or which would reduce its income-earning capacity. But we must recognise that cattle in the traditional sector represent a national resource which like all such resources must be exploited to the full in the interest of the nation as a whole. When we are seeking to swell our public resources by improving revenue collection in the rural areas, it would be wrong to permit the wealthiest members of the rural community to escape their obligations to the nation.

19. Large herds require extensive grazing areas. The present practice is to allow large cattle owners to take up increasingly large tracts of tribal land at no charge. The land belongs to the tribe and customarily each tribesman is entitled to have free access to grazing. However, control over private boreholes has given a minority of wealthy individuals what in effect amounts to exclusive use of particular areas of grazing at no cost. Thus a resource, pasture, which belongs to the nation through the tribe is made available in large quantities to the richer members of the rural community. Access to this resource provides the opportunity of making considerable private profit. No other national resource is available free and in such large quantities. Mineral resources, for example, may only be exploited in the public interest. It is inconsistent with our national principles that tribal land should be wide open to the wealthiest section of the community and that large cattle-owners should be permitted to use and in some cases abuse this resource free of charge. It is only just that they should be required to contribute some of the proceeds to the nation for development in the interest of the majority. Government is therefore actively considering measures which would seek to ensure that this important natural resource, our tribal land, is equitably used in the best interest of the community. In its consideration of possible solutions to this problem due regard will be taken of national fiscal policy which is presently under review and of the social consequences of any proposal.

20. The poorest section of the rural population, that is those without cattle, would be unaffected by such reforms except where they were employed as cattle herds. It is necessary for them to seek their livelihood in arable agriculture. The development of arable agriculture is important in other respects. Although Botswana's semi-arid climate dictates that it is primarily a pastoral country, the carrying capacity already grossly exceeded in some areas, does not permit every farmer to own enough livestock to provide himself and his family with an adequate subsistence income. In practice, the distribution of cattle ownership is such that nearly half the farmers have insufficient cattle to make a livelihood from them alone, and therefore depend partly on arable farming. Government therefore attaches great importance to the improvement of dryland arable farming. Because of climatic factors, only about 3% of Botswana's land surface is suitable for dryland arable farming employing existing techniques and even in this small area the risk of crop failure is still high unless careful crop husbandry is practised. Government is therefore carrying out active research to determine new methods of dryland farming which make the best use of whatever rainfall is received. Practical studies are being made to devise agricultural implements which require the minimum of draught power, improved ploughing and soil management techniques and the control of certain major pests. Over the long term, it should be possible to evolve new techniques which greatly enhance the productivity of dryland farming.

21. Meanwhile positive measures must be taken to assist the farmer. Some of these have been described in preceding paragraphs which have dealt with land tenure and conservation measures. Priority to such co-operative endeavours must be given in the overcrowded Eastern areas. Fenced areas of State Land will also be available to small cattle-owners who group themselves into co-operatives, syndicates or farming associations with cattle-holdings of a minimum size to permit them to participate in such schemes. The larger cattle owners will at the

same time be encouraged to acquire land grants to fenced areas of State Land for which an economic rental will be charged. They will also be encouraged gradually to move their herds from over-crowded tribal land in order to permit the promotion of co-operative endeavours in these areas.

22. Research in these fields would, however, be of little benefit to the farmer if the results were not made known. It is the function of Government's agricultural extension service to make farmers aware of methods of increasing productivity. To date the Government has adopted the individual to individual extension approach which has had undoubted success. During the last crop season an estimated 14% of the farmers who planted and harvested were members of the extension scheme and they produced at least 38% of the national grain crop. But this approach is costly and, with our limited staff and finance, it is not possible to increase substantially the numbers of pupil farmers. In addition, the present extension scheme is of greater assistance to the more affluent farmer, that is, those with the capital, skill or other resources needed to follow the extension advice offered. Therefore, in order to involve the rural majority in agricultural development, Government will undertake a mass extension effort. Increasing emphasis will be laid on promoting through media - the radio, Rural Training Centres and broad-based publicity campaigns - simple and inexpensive methods which farmers can adopt to increase productivity on a sustained basis. To this end the Agricultural Information Service is being expanded and additional Rural Training Centres will be built.

23. In view of the limitations placed on dryland farming by our harsh climate, ways of diversifying agriculture will be sought. There is a significant potential for large scale irrigation in Ngamiland and in the Kasane area which is being actively investigated. Other opportunities for diversification, which will be pursued, include limited small scale irrigation in eastern Botswana related to boreholes, sand-wells and small dams for vegetable production and for fishing in Ngamiland and in dams in eastern Botswana.

IMPROVED MARKETING AND CREDIT

24. Increased agricultural production will be encouraged by an improvement in marketing. Marketing channels within Botswana are at present inadequate. Therefore the possibility of establishing a national crop marketing organisation is being studied, including a scheme for the regional storage of grain. Such an organisation would supply farmers either directly or through co-operatives, with seed, implements and other inputs, and would purchase their produce. With regard to livestock marketing, cattle auctions will be established where possible. Cattle trek routes will be improved and holding grounds will be created where immatures may be fattened. All these measures should result in improved prices for producers. With regard to crops, an urgent need is for more and better farm storage. With this in mind, Government initiated research on grain storage and the results are being taught through a specially planned extension campaign.

25. The need for readily available credit to assist farmers is recognised. The National Development Bank (NDB) has, in the past, concentrated its efforts on providing loans to farmers, including very many small loans. At present some R564,000 is currently being lent to over 2,500 farmers. It is Government's intention that the NDB should continue and expand its lending activities in the rural sector.

CO-OPERATIVES FOR SELF-RELIANCE

26. Co-operatives are a vital instrument of social and economic development because they are institutions of the people, rooted in our basic national principles. In their concept and organisation they call for self-reliance among our people; their methods of operating are essentially democratic and they promote social justice and unity. The guiding principles for co-operative development require members, committees and staff of co-operative societies and the unions ultimately to become completely responsible for the control and ownership of their own co-operatives. The members must grow in awareness of the nature of a co-operative and the committees must increasingly accept responsibility and take the initiative in seeing that their societies are well run. The level of competence of paid management must be raised to cope with all the factors involved in day-to-day management. Expanded and strengthened programmes of education and training have first place in our co-operative development programme through the activities of the Co-operative Development Centre.

27. Co-operative societies must be seen as economically viable units and should not be regarded as social welfare institutions. They are a business tool of economic and social development and as such their setting up must follow careful feasibility studies. Their continued operation must depend upon their ability to provide a service which can more than hold its own with alternatives and, at the same time, provide enough surplus to cover costs. Primary societies are not enough. Federations of co-operatives such as the Botswana Co-operative Union will be strengthened to support the co-operatives both in their trading and in the national discussion of co-operative problems and plans.

28. Started in 1964, the past seven years' achievements are considerable. There are over 70 working societies with a turnover of about R1,500,000 and nearly 80 Batswana employed full-time. There will be a steady expansion of the co-operative movement.

29. Eleven consumer co-operatives have so far been established in various parts of the country. Their basic function is the supply of retail goods to consumers at a reasonable price. In addition they may act as a market for locally-produced goods. Twenty-three agricultural marketing co-operatives have been formed to deal in the marketing of both grain and livestock. By enabling producers to supply direct to market, producer prices are increased and production may be stimulated. Some forty thrift and loan societies exist and, while at present not fully developed, they represent a potential source of small-scale credit for rural enterprises. Based in Gaborone, the Botswana Co-operative Union has been formed to act as wholesaler for the consumer co-operatives and as a servicing agency for the marketing co-operatives. The Co-operative Development Trust, which acts as the co-operative "bank" is an important source of finance for the development of co-operatives.

MORE JOBS

30. Although the livestock industry is potentially highly productive, it does not provide great employment opportunities. Increased beef output is unlikely to give rise to many new jobs. As has been noted, although opportunities exist for increasing incomes in arable farming, it will be difficult to absorb the growing labour force in the agricultural sector. Thus there is a need for new industries which create

additional jobs without putting existing producers out of business. These new enterprises may be located either in the urban areas or in the villages. Since the rural unemployed drift to the towns searching for work, and become the urban unemployed, the problem of urban and rural unemployment are closely related. Government wishes to see industries established in the rural areas as well as in the modern towns. However, it would be a mistake to force industries into unfavourable locations if development and employment opportunities were thereby seriously obstructed. The paramount consideration is the creation of new jobs. Nevertheless the need for equitable regional development will be fully taken into account, for example, in the planning of new infrastructure investment on which industries must be based.

31. Fortunately, the new mines, which although highly capital intensive, are also significant employers, are located in isolated rural areas where they will provide a focal point for new regional development. These mines bring with them not only new job opportunities, but also new services. The discovery of payable mineral deposits in a remote area, for example, would justify investment in better roads. Widespread mineral exploration is currently being undertaken with active Government participation.

32. Viable enterprises not only provide new jobs, but also give rise to profits which can be taxed, and surpluses which can be re-invested in new job creating enterprises. Unfortunately, Botswana lacks both the capital and the skilled manpower required for industrial development. Government therefore will attract foreign investment, both private and inter-Governmental, in support of the activities of the Botswana Development Corporation which will play a more prominent role in future. Investment is controlled by means of the Industrial Licensing Act. Given the need for more employment, Government will monitor all new investment proposals to ensure that:

- (i) as far as feasible without undermining their commercial viability, all enterprises adopt labour intensive techniques;
- (ii) the least possible damage is done to existing enterprises and that as many additional jobs as possible are created;
- (iii) local raw materials are used as much as possible to create further local production opportunities;
- (iv) Government's policies for localisation and training in the private sector are implemented.

The skilled manpower required must be met by accelerated programmes of training and education in which employers are expected to play an active part; meanwhile shortfalls in the supply of adequately trained citizens will be met by overseas recruitment.

MORE RURAL INDUSTRIES

33. In order to promote locally-owned and managed businesses, Government has established the Botswana Enterprises Development Unit (BEDU) in the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Water Affairs responsible for encouraging the establishment of all types of small

enterprises in both urban and rural areas. BEDU will work in conjunction with Botswana Enterprises Development Company (BEDCOM) which will be set up to manage and assist the day to day operation of small enterprises. BEDU will be concerned with basic policy matters, whilst BEDCOM will be concerned with the promotion of individual enterprises. BEDU and BEDCOM will draw on the expertise of production, marketing and management specialists from the UN Industrial Development Organisation and other external aid agencies. Research will be carried out on the use of local raw materials. Production opportunities will be identified and Botswana entrepreneurs assisted to improve and expand production.

34. There is considerable scope for the expansion of handicraft industries such as textile production, rug making, basket and leather work and similar activities. The Brigade System offers an excellent means of expanding rapidly at minimum cost the training of workers in rural industries, and in particular of spreading knowledge of the techniques of handicraft production. Government will assist the Brigades to expand in these directions.

35. Although emphasis has been placed on the potential for increased handicraft production for which there is an export market, Government considers that there is considerable scope for other small enterprises producing for the local market and using local raw materials, for example, different kinds of leather goods, woollen goods, clothing, beer, furniture, pottery, soap, bricks, lime, fencing poles, brooms and a variety of prepared foods.

36. Credit for working capital and plant, tools and equipment will be made available to assist producers through such institutions as the National Development Bank, Botswana Craft Trust and the Co-operative movement. Government will seek external aid to promote rural industries.

37. The main objective of Government's industrial policy is to increase local production both for local consumption and export, thereby increasing incomes and providing employment. The choice of the scale and technique of production for any particular article must be decided after consideration of the numbers of jobs created, size and distribution of profits and the value added to the economy. Policy on all industrial matters should and will be formulated and administered by one department of Government - the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Water Affairs; for this reason it is not Government's intention to hive off "rural industries" into an organisation separate from that concerned with "urban industries".

38. Government is aware that strong competition from mass-produced imported goods presents a serious obstacle to the development of local small enterprises. Under the 1969 Southern African Customs Union Agreement, Botswana has the right to levy additional duties on imports to protect infant industries. However, since such duties will raise the retail price of imported goods and hence the cost of living, none should be introduced unless it is evident that local producers are capable of supplying the local market with goods of a satisfactory quality at reasonable prices and sufficient quantity. In all cases it will be necessary to compare the increased burden placed on the consumer with the additional employment and incomes created. Industries will not be protected at the expense of the poorer consumers. For this

reason, particular emphasis is placed on handicraft industries, which not only employ a lot of people, but also are geared to large external markets where sales opportunities are very much better. To reach these markets efficiently, Botswanacraft Marketing Company has been formed with finance from the Botswana Development Corporation. This company is expected to play a major role in the development of the handicraft industries.

39. The rural areas are remarkably lacking in service industries such as small construction companies, plumbers, borehole maintenance and repair units, mechanical and carpentry workshops, and so on. The encouragement of such enterprises will be a central concern of Government. Here again the Brigade System has a vital role to play in providing basic training.

WILDLIFE

40. The importance of game and game industries is stressed. Wildlife conservation is usually thought of in the context of tourist development. However, wildlife is also an important factor in the rural economy. The consumption of game meat obtained from hunting is considerable, especially in years of drought. It is particularly important for people living in the Kalahari who are generally among the poorer section of the population. In addition, sale of hides and skins provides rural communities with a valuable source of cash income. Government is concerned to ensure the proper control of hunting and thus prevent the excessive destruction of wildlife which would eliminate a vital source of livelihood for the rural population.

PLANNED WAGES, SALARIES, PRICES AND PROFITS

"We must ask the urban workers to exercise wage restraint in order to ensure that as many Batswana as possible find paid employment and that the majority who remain in the rural areas have the means of improving their standard of life on the land and in small-scale rural industries. To do otherwise would be to ignore the principles of democracy and development, for both become meaningless without social justice. Social justice requires that priority be given to rural development." (Sir Seretse Khama, Trade Unions in Botswana, July 1971)

41 Nothing will hinder the expansion of job opportunities more than rapidly rising wage rates. In industry, higher wage rates increase the costs of production, reduce the viability of enterprises, and thereby limit the possibilities of industrial expansion. Furthermore, the higher the cost of labour, the greater the tendency of companies to adopt labour saving equipment. In Government, the services which may be provided are limited by the cost of employing staff and by the revenue available to pay for staff. Government revenue is partly derived from the taxation of company profits, which as already explained, are reduced by raising wage costs. In short, the higher wage rates the fewer the numbers of workers employed. Thus the nation is faced with a stark choice. Is it wished that there should be rapidly rising wage rates, but a static or falling level of employment? Or is it preferable to restrain wage increases to moderate levels and maximise employment opportunities? If our priorities are social justice and rural development, there can be no doubt that the correct choice is to maximise employment. At the same time, with the welfare of the

workers in mind, every effort will be made by Government's Labour Branch to improve the non-monetary work conditions of those in wage employment, and to prevent the exploitation of labour. Below subsistence wage rates will not be tolerated. Wage levels by Government should be regarded as providing a clear guideline to private employers and Wage Councils.

42. Rises in public service salaries must result in reduced Government services which inevitably limits Government's efforts to develop rural areas. Furthermore, rapidly increasing wage rates give rise to a widening differential between incomes in the rural areas and incomes in the urban areas, demoralising those engaged in rural activities and accelerating the drift to the towns. In short, wage increases must be restrained and the Government is determined to adopt a policy of planned wage and salary levels. However, the policy of wage restraint will be accompanied by new policies on taxation and restraint on profits and prices. These matters are to be dealt with in detail in Government's Policy Statement on Incomes, Prices and Profits.

BETTER RURAL ROADS

43. Development in the rural areas will be greatly assisted by improvements of the district road network. A detailed national transport plan is in preparation. This will identify priority projects for upgrading district roads or constructing new ones. Funds for these projects will be sought from external agencies. District Councils are required to consider the need for road improvements and to make proposals to Central Government. The Public Works Department will assist District Councils by offering road maintenance and construction equipment on a subsidised plant hire basis and to provide general technical advice.

44. It is intended to introduce small construction units which will assist District Councils to upgrade the roads in rural areas. A small unit will be created capable of forming the road and constructing simple drains. It should be able to upgrade between 40 and 50 miles of road in a year, at a cost of under R500 per mile. District Councils will be encouraged to arrange for Ipelegeng work to be done in conjunction with this unit.

45. Government is particularly concerned to ensure better road links with the remoter parts of Botswana. Consultants are currently designing an all-weather gravel road from Nata to Kazungula which will link the Chobe District to the rest of Botswana. Government will undertake a detailed technical and economic feasibility study of the road between Kanye and Ghanzi with a view to determining a suitable project for external financing. Meanwhile, the Public Works Department will continue gravelling the worst sections. Studies will also be made of other key district roads including the roads from Ghanzi to Maur, Shakawe to Maun, Lobatse to Bokspits and Bobonong to Selebi, and Zanzibar to Selebi with a view to their reconstruction. To facilitate travelling in remote areas, Government will provide limited subsidised bus services to rural areas, such as Ghanzi, Shakawe, Kuli/Nojane, Chobe and Bokspits.

IMPROVED RURAL WATER SUPPLIES

46. Most villages depend for their water supplies on boreholes. In most rural areas domestic water supplies are very inadequate. Villagers

have frequently to walk long distances to find water, and too often the source is impure thereby creating a public health hazard. Government will assist District Councils on request to design, install and run village water supplies. The borehole equipment is maintained on request by Government's Borehole Maintenance Teams. The intention is to establish two Rural Water Supply Teams, one to assist Councils in the northern half of Botswana and another for the south. With regard to water supplies in the major villages (or traditional "towns"), Councils may request Government to take them over completely. In each such case, there will be a written agreement between the Council and Government. Water will be sold in bulk to the Council, which will have the responsibility of collecting individual water fees. Since the installation of reticulated water supplies is very expensive, fees must be charged for water which indicate that the water is not a free commodity. Some subsidies for domestic water supplies in rural areas will be provided, at least with respect to capital expenditure, if appropriate finance can be secured from external agencies.

47. Creation of new rural water supplies of all kinds is essential if new grazing areas are to be opened up. Dams to supplement other water supplies will be built in the rural areas as part of a land use plan to facilitate a more even distribution of cattle. These facilities will be provided at the request of local residents provided they are prepared to pay reasonable water fees and are willing to organize themselves to manage the supplies and control grazing in the vicinity. Where conditions are suitable and no better alternative service is available communities may be assisted to build haffirs. Small dams or haffirs constructed in the "lands" areas will enable farmers to stay at their lands at crucial times of the year where lack of water would otherwise prevent them. But steps will be taken to ensure that the provision of new boreholes, dams or haffirs will not lead to further over-grazing and deterioration of the land.

48. The conservation measures discussed above will be supported by the introduction of economic charges for drilling and associated services, which are presently provided by the Department of Geological Survey at subsidized rates. This will have several effects; firstly it will ensure that subsidies, if given, will go to the most needy members of the community. Secondly, it will force the borehole applicant to consider more carefully the need for a new water supply, thereby eliminating wasted drilling time; thirdly, it will encourage people to employ private drilling contractors, thereby relieving some of the pressure of demand on the Geological Survey for drilling and enabling the department to concentrate on state priorities and research. At the same time strict control over the activities of commercial drillers is to be enforced through the Borehole Drilling Proclamation: the National Development Bank will continue to provide loans to enable farmers to meet the cost of drilling and equipping boreholes.

49. It is imperative that boreholes and borehole equipment are kept in good order and acceptance of the idea of regular maintenance must be encouraged. Government already provides a maintenance service through the Borehole Preventative Maintenance Scheme, and it is intended to improve and streamline this service. To this end, a review and investigation of the operations of the Borehole Maintenance teams is to be carried out, and improvements made where necessary. Since over 80% of Botswana's population are dependent on groundwater, there is an

urgent need for research, and a research programme designed to evaluate the nature and extent of Botswana's underground water resources is already under way. Efforts in this field will be intensified.

EDUCATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

50. "Our educational system should, above all, aim at erasing from the minds of the youth of this country the impression that book-learning is the sole purpose of education. We should, instead, plant in the minds of all our citizens the fact that there is as much dignity in tilling the soil as there is in book-learning. In other words, our schools should, beside providing education for development and for responsible citizenship also provide education for self-reliance." - Sir Seretse Khama - Re-examining our political and social philosophy, April 1970.

51. The Government's two major objectives in primary education, as set out in the National Development Plan are :

- (a) in the long-term, to provide universal primary education;
- (b) in the short-term, to achieve a radical improvement in the quality of primary education.

52. Primary school facilities are in the main ill-fitted for the purpose they serve. In many classes there exists a large degree of over crowding; only about half the schools can adequately accommodate all their classes. In addition to the severe shortage of bare classrooms, other amenities such as water supplies, sanitary facilities, equipment and materials are severely lacking. For example, in 1971 only 16% of primary schools had their own supply of water. The remainder obtained water from the village supply, dams, rivers, private sources or had no supply at all. The lack of adequately trained and educated teachers is also a major constraint, many teachers are not only untrained but have no more than a Standard VII education themselves.

53. The achievement of Government's short-term goal will be through the pursuit of policies and programmes which include:

- (a) splitting up over-sized classes;
- (b) adoption of the double shift system which allows classrooms to be utilised during the morning and afternoon;
- (c) improved and expanded teacher training both in-service and pre-service;
- (d) continued phased exclusion of over-age pupils;
- (e) minimisation of repetition;
- (f) the provision of adequate basic furniture, equipment and teaching aids;
- (g) the provision of water supplies and sanitary facilities.

In education as in other sectors we are faced with the problem of priorities. We face the choice of devoting a great deal of money and

effort to taking many children half way through the primary school course, after which the majority leave and rapidly forget what they have learned or of taking a smaller number through the whole course and giving them an education which will be of permanent benefit both to them and to the country. To choose to half-educate the many would be like spending our money on building the walls of five factories while knowing that we could not afford to buy machines for them, instead of completing and equipping one complete factory so that it can produce the goods we need. Since we are dealing with people rather than machines when we choose our primary education strategy, the choice is an agonising one. But if in the future we are to achieve our long-term goal of universal primary education we must choose now to make an effective and permanent investment. Therefore we will continue our policy of consolidation, and qualitative improvement in primary schools rather than opting for a dramatic but deceptive expansion of enrolment.

54. But we cannot abandon those who do not enter or have not entered primary schools or to ignore their potential. Moreover, the formal education of children will take many years to have a national impact, if only because it takes many years for children to grow up and assume adult responsibilities. We will therefore increasingly devote additional resources to the promotion of functional adult education. In the attempt to educate all our people in the skills required for their full participation in the development process, much can be achieved through the extension services of the Community Development Department, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Information Department. At Content Farm a rural education college has been established where extension workers in agriculture and community development are being trained together with veterinary assistants, and where adults may follow short courses in a variety of subjects such as co-operative management, nutrition, home economics and agriculture. This college is being expanded as described in the National Development Plan (1970-75).

55. The Rural Training Centres will increasingly become a focus for adult education. To date, two have been established in Gaborone and Mahalapye and a third is under construction at Maun. Two more will be built - at Kanye and Francistown, so that a Centre is within reach of most of the rural population. At the local level, approximately one hundred and twenty-six 4-B clubs have been established for young people between the ages of 10 and 22 with the objective of teaching young people to make use of local resources to improve their family living conditions. The clubs emphasise training in agriculture, nutrition, health and home economics. Over the next five year period it is planned to expand the assistance given to the 4-B programme and increase the number of staff in the Ministry of Agriculture responsible for supervising and advising 4-B clubs.

56. The administration of the primary schools is the responsibility of the District Councils. Central Government will seek funds from external aid agencies for primary school education projects prepared by the District Councils. It is intended that self-help labour and voluntary donations from parents should contribute substantially to the expansion of primary education. Facilities at the Teacher Training Colleges are being expanded and by 1980 it is expected that a sufficient number of qualified teachers will exist to teach the number of pupils enrolled.

57. For historical reasons the curriculum of primary schools has been predominantly academic in orientation. It has been designed primarily to provide a training leading to secondary education. However, at least three out of every five children passing through primary school will not find wage employment, and must therefore seek their livelihoods within the rural sector. It is essential, therefore, that the primary school course should be complete in itself and prepare the children to cope with the environment where the majority will spend the rest of their lives, and where almost all will have roots. But there is no reason why the curriculum should not be made sufficiently flexible to provide for the needs of pupils in both urban and rural areas. Nor is there any reason to insist that all children should start schooling at precisely the same age in all schools, since the needs and circumstances in the rural areas differ from the urban areas. For example, unavoidably some children may have several miles to walk to school and such long journeys are too great for six year olds. The basic primary school syllabus will increasingly be closely geared to the experiences, interests and concerns of children living in a rural situation.

58. The content of both primary and secondary education plays a critical role in shaping society and the attitudes and aspiration of our nation. This is not simply a matter for professional educationalists, but must concern the whole community and, in particular, the nation's leaders. The school curricula and examinations system must be more specifically adapted to the situation and needs of Botswana. Conscious of this, the Ministry of Education is considering the expansion of the existing Curriculum Development Committee to include members from other ministries and the private sector who have a contribution to make. The Committee advises the Minister of Education on modification in the form and content of the school curricula and examinations required to create a system of education appropriate to Botswana's circumstances. The Committee will be concerned to see the basic primary school course transformed into education for rural development. A secondary school course is required which will place increasing emphasis on technical and vocational subjects; the teaching of academic subjects should draw on the culture, history and geography of Botswana. Through civic and development studies all students must learn the basic constitutional, social and economic backgrounds to national development. The recommendations of this Committee will be incorporated in the curricula and examinations system by the professional educationalists.

59. The Government is particularly concerned that secondary education should not alienate the students from the rural population. Development can only occur if there is enlightened leadership. Our future administrators and professional men must appreciate the priority attached to rural development and social justice. We cannot afford to permit the growth of an irresponsible, non-productive and self-seeking elite.

60. The development of the rural areas requires a great number of people equipped with simple technical skills - for example, people with an elementary knowledge of building, carpentry, plumbing and mechanical skills, agricultural techniques, textiles, dress-making, child-care and nutrition. However, the Government does not have sufficient revenue to meet all the training needs by conventional methods which are very costly. Low cost and income earning Brigades offer a solution, at least in part. The Government regards the Brigades System as making a vital contribution to education and vocational training for rural development.

The Government wishes to see a planned expansion of Brigades co-ordinated through the National Brigades Co-ordinating Committee and supervised by the Ministry of Education, with the co-operation of other interested government agencies.

RURAL HEALTH CARE

61. Over the six years since Independence, the greater part of the national resources devoted to health care has been directed into the construction of Princess Marina Hospital, Gaborone, and the improvement of the facilities at Francistown, Lobatse, Mahalapye, Maun and Serowe. These hospitals act as referral institutions for the surrounding rural areas, as also do the six mission hospitals at Kanye, Maun, Mmadinare, Mochudi, Molepolole and Ramoutsa. Government will at national and district level, concentrate new developments on the building up and staffing of a basic infrastructure for rural health. At present we have a situation where those living in the towns have immediate and local access to hospitals. Those living in villages with resident nurses at a clinic have access through the rural health centres to the hospitals. But those residents of the rural areas who have no permanent access to medical care rely on occasional visits by doctors or staff nurse/midwives.

62. Health care should encompass the whole range of personal health services, the promotion of good health, family planning, the prevention of disease, its early detection, diagnosis and treatment, and the rehabilitation of the patient. It is our primary objective to ensure the provision of such health care for the rural population. The major element of our comprehensive health care network will be accessibility. Medical care and advice should be available to the individual patient at a time and place reasonably convenient to him. We must ensure that men, women and children in every family have within their locality a health post, clinic, health centre or hospital.

63. There are four aspects of health care which must be provided:

1. Good health must be promoted through a programme of health education in the fundamental aspects of health, nutrition, hygiene, and disease prevention;
2. Special protection must be provided by means of campaigns to ensure that every mother receives antenatal, maternity and postnatal care, and that children receive complete courses of immunizations and vaccinations. It is essential that attention is paid to the continuing welfare of our children, since investment in their health is an investment in the future of the country. An integral part of such child welfare is the availability of family planning and advice, so that the benefits of child spacing to the mother and the child can be carefully explained and understood;
3. There must be early diagnosis of disease, and prompt treatment to ensure a limitation of the effects of that disease on the patient and his family. There will be a need for well defined procedures to facilitate hospitalization of patients where necessary;

4. There must be a programme of rehabilitation of the patients after treatment, and public education to this end.

64. In order to improve the health care system in Botswana a phased construction programme of health posts in the rural areas will be given priority. The criteria for the construction of a health post will be determined by the population in the immediate vicinity, the availability of health-care within the area, the demand of the people for these services, and the ability to provide full time staff and supervisory personnel. A series of Training Programmes will be undertaken to ensure a continuing availability of para-medical or auxiliary personnel to staff the health posts. Two years of training is given to enrolled nurses, but much shorter training (8-10 weeks) is given to health aides and family welfare educators, who are selected from within the rural community. Their training enables them to advise on immunization, and maternal and child health, to undertake simple first aid, to advise on family planning and child spacing, and to trace TB contacts and defaulters. They are also able to keep basic records, dispense vitamin pills, treat common contagious conditions, and assist the doctor or staff nurse on their regular and frequent visits. By the increased use of such auxiliary personnel resident in the villages, it will be possible to establish community-based health care, with a continuing relationship between the providers of health care and their clients. However, such auxiliary personnel will be frequently supervised by medical officers or staff nurse/midwives, and exposed to continuing in-service education. There will therefore be an increase in the number and coverage of tours undertaken by supervisory personnel, most of whose duties will be the provision of continuing education, to the rural health care workers. There will also be frequent, short, in-service refresher and training courses for auxiliary and para-medical personnel.

65. The goals and objectives of this health care programme are to promote, protect, and restore the health of the people. It is recognised that the allocation of money, manpower and materials to the field of health is an investment in the total welfare of the community. If that community desires to combat disease and disability and to remove or reduce the social and economic consequences of such, we must allocate a large proportion of the health care budget to these developments. This means that we must spend less on building new hospitals and expanding existing ones, and spend more on the provision of preventive medicine, health education, nutrition, child-welfare and ante-natal clinics in the rural areas. Urban dwellers may demand a more sophisticated, expensive and specialised hospital health care system, but this must not be allowed to develop at the expense of the provision of basic health care facilities for the rural majority.

66. Even with the sacrifices entailed in the above strategy it will not be possible to transform immediately the existing pattern of health care. Nor will it be possible for Botswana to perform the task solely from its own resources. It will be necessary to seek external aid, which we are confident will be forthcoming.

67. More important, however, it is essential to ensure continuation of the assistance provided in medical care by the mission hospitals,

and clinics. Mission hospitals currently provide 40% of the hospital beds in Botswana, and are of invaluable assistance in the provision of national health care. The establishment of the Association of the Medical Missions of Botswana is a vital step in the direction of greater co-ordination of our rural health care network, and assuring maximum benefit to the rural population.

SELF-RELIANCE AND DEMOCRACY

"Botswana's policy of self-reliance has in many places already greatly improved the standard of services available. Our people have built for themselves, clinics, schools and latrines. Now these efforts must be expanded and diversified to include projects which help to increase production and raise rural incomes." (Sir Seretse Khama; Forword: National Development Plan, 1970-75).

"Democracy is as important a national principle as development. Change must be based on consent and consultation. We must, by marrying the new institutions like district and village development committees with the old traditional methods of government, achieve a system where the people themselves are involved in discussing the choice before them." (Sir Seretse Khama, Opening Ngwaketse Agricultural Show, Kanye, June 1970).

68. It is the role of the Community Development Department to promote grass roots initiative and to mobilise local resources for village projects. At present there are some 85 Community Development Assistants (CDA) in the field. It is proposed to increase the numbers to 137 by 1980 and by 1990 there should be one CDA per 5,000 people. To achieve this, a Community Development Training Centre is being established at Content Farm in association with the Botswana Agricultural College, the Co-operative Training Centre and the Rural Training Centre.

69. In 1969 the BDP Manifesto identified the Village Development Committee as the foundation of our democratic development structure. Through these committees village representatives can make known the views of the people. They are forums for debate and discussion about development choices at village level. VDC's assist the mobilisation of the people to achieve development through self-reliance. They are there to initiate projects for improving local amenities, to secure general agreement on these proposals and to supervise their implementation. Community Development Assistants are responsible for encouraging the formation of VDCs and for assisting in their running. Government wishes to see a VDC in every village and to see them grow in authority and effectiveness as basic instruments of popular participation in national development.

THE PLANNING, CO-ORDINATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL POLICY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

70. Responsibility for development planning at the national level rests with the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning under the

direction of the Vice-President. Responsibility for the preparation and co-ordination of district development plans rests with the District Development Committees under the chairmanship of the District Commissioners. Councils are responsible for preparing District Council Development Programmes and are responsible, in conjunction with Village Development Committees for development at the village level.

71. New ideas, policies or projects may be initiated at any level. People in the village may, through the agency of the Village Development Committee or their councillor, propose new schemes to their Council for implementation either by the Council or by Central Government departments. Community Development staff also have a duty to bring to the notice of the Council the needs of the villages. The DDC can help Council Secretaries to decide whether a specific project should be implemented by the Council or whether a proposal should be forwarded to the Central Government for action. Central Government departments will receive proposals not only from Councils (through DDC's) but also from their field staff.

72. The Ministry of Finance and Development Planning has nominated a senior officer as Co-ordinator of Rural Development. He will act as executive secretary of a high level Rural Development Council (RDC) established, under the chairmanship of the Vice-President, to ensure overall co-ordination of Government's programme and policies for rural development.

73. Stress has been laid elsewhere in this Statement on the importance of Adult Education and extension work. Several Government agencies are concerned, as is also the University Division of Extra Mural Services. It is important that the "messages" being conveyed by these different agencies are mutually consistent. Economy of effort will also result from close co-ordination. To achieve this, it is proposed to establish a Rural Extension Education Co-ordination Committee.

74. It is of vital importance that there is close co-ordination between Central Government and the District Councils and District Development Committees. In the District the key figures are the Council Chairman and Secretary, the Councillors and the District Commissioner in his capacity as Chairman of the DDC and as the chief representative of the Central Government in the District. The District Commissioner and the DDC are responsible for the preparation of the District Development Plan and will assist the District Council Secretary at his request in the preparation of District Council's Development Programme. The District Development Plan will set out all the projects to be undertaken in the District both by the Council and by the Central Government covering a three year period. The District Commissioner will also be responsible for pursuing with Central Government matters raised by the DDC. The Ministry of Finance and Development Planning will advise the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, DDCs and District Councils on the preparation and implementation of their plans and development programmes.

75. Improved co-ordination, efficient planning and more professional advice for District Councils will be provided through the agency of the DDCs. But if Councils are to play their rightful role as key

agencies in an expanded rural development programme, they will need considerable additional resources of money and manpower. Councils have, since Independence, made an important contribution to the achievement of rural development. By the end of 1971 most of them had exhausted all the funds available from their own resources as well as development grants from the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Their very considerable programmes for expanding facilities for primary education, starting rural health services, providing and maintaining rural water supplies and improving district roads are imposing severe strains on the available Council staff as well as on their finances. The Ministry of Local Government and Lands will give priority to determining methods of strengthening Council staff ability to make good use of development funds made available through Central Government.

76. Development is a continuous process and so is the formulation of policy. Government is currently preparing itself for the task of preparing a new National Development Plan 1973 - 78. This present statement of policy is not therefore the last and final word on the subject. Successful rural development will depend on the mobilisation of the people. It will also depend on the effective deployment of national resources, including our manpower resources. We must ensure that the administrative structure which must implement our policies is equipped for the task. To that end Government will keep rural development policy under constant review and in particular will seek the advice of consultants experienced in the problems of rural development elsewhere in Africa. These consultants, in reviewing current policies and programmes for rural development, will examine the institutional and administrative arrangements necessary for the implementation of our policies for rural development at Ministerial, Departmental, District and Village levels. Special consideration will be given to the most effective means of managing and co-ordinating all the agencies concerned with field extension services, that is, our programmes for rural adult education, community development, agricultural extension, home economics, public health, education, small-scale industries and co-operative development. Government will ensure that special measures are taken to determine the manpower and training implications of staffing the various agencies concerned with rural development and will identify what contribution external aid and technical assistance can make to meeting these needs.

77. But it is the people and their elected representatives who must make these policies work, and where necessary see that they are modified in accordance with our needs and circumstances. For rural development cannot be achieved by paper plans from offices in Gaborone or even by speeches made in our National Assembly. There must be plans and these must be discussed by parliamentarians. But the success of the plans will depend in the last resort on their relevance to the real needs of our people, and to the people's commitment to progress by their own efforts. Botswana's democratic structure, which includes instruments of participation like the Village Development Committees, Parent Teacher Associations, women's and Youth Movements, and Farmers' Associations as well as District

Councils, District Development Committees and Parliament itself, is there to see that these plans are tested against the people's real needs and problems. But if we are to make tangible progress everyone, elected and traditional leaders, officials, farmers, trade unionists, employers - must study the policies and programmes set out in this paper, so that they can identify their role and be clear about their contribution. And if there is to be criticism, which in a matter so wide-ranging and so vital to the majority of the Batswana is only to be expected, let it be constructive so that we can learn from our mistakes and profit from a debate on how best to attain our national objectives.

MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING
GABORONE

March, 1972.