

**WEDNESDAY, 02 APRIL 2025**

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***PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY***

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The House met at Nieuwmeester Dome at 14:01.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

**ANNOUNCEMENTS, TABLINGS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS** - see col 000.

The SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Order! There is a hand raised by the Chief Whip of the DA, as well as the EFF, the ATM and the MK Party. Can we start with the DA? Let me hear your point of order.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY (Mr G Michalakis): Madam Speaker, I rise in terms of Rule 92 on a procedural matter. You would have received my letter this morning, indicating that we are of the opinion that, in terms of the report as it was published today, the final recommendation as it appears in the ATC was not included and put before the committee last night, and therefore, it does fall foul of section 8(4) of the Money Bills Amendment

Procedure and Related Matters Act. I received your response; however, I wish to put it on record that it is our opinion that the matter is in procedural default.

It must also be kept in mind that it is a matter of law, since the VAT increase will commence on 01 May 2025. We would like to ask you to please send this report back to the committee on those procedural grounds, because if the House considers that report despite the procedural defect, this House would be complicit in considering what we at this stage believe to be an illegal report. Thank you.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: You're supposed to be the third, but it's okay.

Mr V ZUNGULA: Speaker, I want to echo the sentiments of the DA regarding the issues that have been raised, not only by them, but also by the MK Party and the EFF, on the flawed process that was followed in adopting the report that will be considered today.

Based on that, our submission is that the committee must be requested to follow the correct processes properly and legally in terms of adopting that report, so that when it comes to the House, it comes to the House having gone through the proper legal channels. Thank you.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: Speaker, we wrote to you last night and your response that you sent to us earlier today is deeply unsatisfactory. I want to put it to you that you completely missed the point, because you are quoting a rule that seeks to say that it was the workings of the committee. It was not.

It's a legal requirement, Speaker. If you look at the Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act, section 8 subsection ... Speaker, my microphone is going off. Section 8(4) clearly says that there must be a clear statement in terms of whether we accept or we amend the Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals. We are putting it to you that you were misled to believe that, that happened in the committee, because it did not.

In your response you said that you were advised that, that happened. I sit in that committee. We were there from the morning until the evening. That did not happen. We are saying to you that it is a question of a legal requirement, not a procedure of a committee.

Therefore, we appeal to you to suspend today's proceedings, send the staff back to go and do the right thing, and to comply with the law of this country in terms of that Act.

Otherwise, if you continue it will be procedurally unfair and unlawful. Therefore, we are asking you to suspend today's proceedings please.

Let the Standing Committee on Finance first go and agree, with a clear statement as stipulated in the Act. It must be clear that it is either amending or accepting. The issue of the recommendations and the report is a separate issue altogether. Here, we are dealing with an objection because of the illegality of the process which happened yesterday. I thank you, Speaker.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITIOM (Mr M Manyi): Speaker, we rise in terms of the same issues that members are raising, from a different angle. For us, the angle that we are rising on is on a procedural matter in terms of the Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act. In that Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act which we are dealing with here today, the Act does not make provision for a conditional acceptance.

What we saw happening in the committee is a situation where one of the parties gave a condition, that they support the Bill on condition that in 30 days this and that must happen. So, we are saying that, that is procedurally flawed. There is nothing in that law which allows for conditional acceptance.

So, to bring a report here with a conditional acceptance is to bring a legally flawed report.

Secondly, in terms of the law, there is no latitude to reject the report. However, if you go to the last line of the report, it has listed companies there that have rejected the report. That should have been the easiest of things to illustrate the illegality of this. It cannot be that you have a report that lists ... Speaker, have a look on the last line of that report, even if you have to take a 10 minute adjournment. Look at that report. You will find an unlawful line there which says this party, that party, and that party rejected ... The law does not allow you to reject ... So, to have a report that talks about rejection ... we have a report that is unlawful.

We're calling on you to do two things. Firstly, to declare this sitting and the processing of this report as unlawful. Secondly, we are calling on your conscience, Speaker, to say that you cannot lead an unlawful process. So, we are calling on you to ... And, if you differ with that, Speaker, we are asking that you put this matter to a vote. As you do, allow us to vote individually, if you differ with the fact that processing the report be declared unlawful. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Hon members, I have noted all the hands that have been raised in respect of this matter. As we know, the passage of the Fiscal Framework and the Budget is determined by the Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act of 2009.

In the case of the Fiscal Framework, section 8 of the Act prescribes that the standing committee must consider the Fiscal Framework within certain parameters. Moreover, in terms of its report, section 8(4) of the Act states that, "The report must include a clear statement accepting or amending the Fiscal Framework."

The dispute is whether, in the process of concluding the report, the question to accept the Fiscal Framework was duly considered by the committee. Hon members, the Act does not determine the specific details of the decision-making process within the committee. The rules of the House do, however, provide some guidance. Assembly Rule 232 provides that the committee must perform the function and exercise the powers specified in the Act, as well as those listed in Rule 227. The committee can also exercise the powers specified in Rule 167, except in so far as any of these provisions are inconsistent with the provisions of the Act. Rule 167(f) in turn adds that a committee may determine its own working arrangements.

I am advised that the draft report was formally adopted in the standing committee. The report before the House states the following on page 35, which I think has been quoted by hon Manyi, "Having considered the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals, the Standing Committee on Finance accepts the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals."

On the basis of the report and advice received, I am not convinced that the committee contravened the law or the rules when finalising its report. Consequently, there is no legal impediment preventing this House from proceeding with its business today. [Applause.]

Hon members, I also want to state that I received letters, even though at different times. I received a letter from the EFF which landed on our desk at 05:00 this morning, asking us to respond by 8 o'clock. But, because we had to satisfy ourselves about these matters, we missed their deadline. However, we responded equally.

Subsequently, we also received the letter from the DA, which we again responded to, as well as the letter from the MK Party, which we again responded to in terms of the matters that they've just raised in this House for all of you to appreciate, even including my response to those parties.

So, my ruling is that we proceed with the ... report today. Thank you. [Applause.] Hon Manyi and the hon member of the EFF?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): Speaker, I know how the rules work when you are not satisfied with a ruling. The question I want to raise is a different one, based purely on facts. You say you were well-advised? I would like to point out to you that you were not properly advised. The sitting ended at about 18h00. We can prove that the report was circulated at 19h30 in the evening, so it cannot be. The two cannot work together. You cannot have a meeting that ends at six o'clock and have a report distributed at 19h30. Obviously, the report was made after the meeting and therefore the procedures were not followed. By saying that everything was done, you were misled. You have taken the decision on the basis of false information. We ask you to suspend the proceedings for 10 minutes and get your facts straight.

The SPEAKER: Hon Manyi, thank you very much. I have noted your concern. However, you must also appreciate that when committees sit, you do have the staff of Parliament, all of whom were consulted in responding to your letters. Hon member of the EFF!

Ms O M C MAOTWE: Speaker, it is very painful that we have to repeat the things we said in the committee. Even in the committee, we repeated many times, and the chairperson refused to follow what the law says. Now we come here - I am going to read what the Act says because what you are quoting from is the procedure of the committee. But here is the Act that guides what needs to happen once you have the Fiscal Framework? Let me refer you to section 8 ... [Interjections.] ...

The SPEAKER: Order, hon members! Let us allow the member the privilege to quote the Act, which all of you have. You can quote the section you want to quote.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: ... Yes, Section 8, Adopting the Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals, it reads as follows, and I quote:

The National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces must refer the Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals to their respective committee on finance. The committees must conduct joint public hearings on the fiscal framework and revenue proposals. The committees must, within 16 days of the tabling of the national Budget, submit a report to the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces as the case requires under Fiscal Framework and Revenue

Proposals. The report must include a clear statement accepting or amending the Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals. When amending the Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals, a Money Bill, or taking any decisions in terms of this Act, Parliament and its committees must ensure that there is an appropriate balance between revenue, expenditure and borrowing.

Speaker, there was never a time in the committee where the chairperson asked whether we are accepting the Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposal, or we are amending it. We are saying to you that did not happen. What happened is that we started with the report and the chairperson encouraged members to have inputs on the report and make recommendations on the report.

Even at the end, it was never subjected to whether we are accepting the Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposal.

Therefore, what is going to be tabled here today is procedurally unfair. We cannot continue with a document that is procedurally unfair. It did not follow the process as stipulated by the Money Bills Act.

Speaker, we are asking you once again, please suspend today's proceedings. Let us follow the law. We obviously have South

Africans who are waiting for these funds, but we will not vote on an illegal report. Thank you.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY (Mr G Michalakis): Madam Speaker, thank you very much for the response. Madam Speaker, Rule 167 still requires the committee to fulfil its functions within the ambit of the law and the determinations of the law.

The fact of the matter is that the members of the committee yesterday frequently asked for updated versions of the report as they were going through it. And the fact is that the final version of the report, as it appears in the Announcements, Tablings and Committee, ATC, reports, was never presented and voted on by those members as a final step. That is a procedural irregularity. I respect your right to make the determination and the ruling, but I do have to emphasise that there is a serious procedural defect in this, and the House does stand a risk of being part of that procedural irregularity if this Vote does not get postponed today.

So, I would like to ask you to please take Rule 167 into consideration as well as the facts that we have put before you, this afternoon, that the procedure was not followed according to the law. Thank you.

The DEPUTY CHIEF WHIP OF THE LARGEST MINORITY PARTY (Mrs D E Dlakude): Hon Speaker, I want to inform this House on a point of procedure that the Standing Committee on Finance followed all the processes according to the Money Bills ...

[Interjections.] I did not howl at you when you were speaking ... [Interjections.] ...

Mr S THAMBO: Point of order, Speaker!

The SPEAKER: Order! Hon member, I will give you an opportunity to make your point of order, but I have given another member an opportunity to speak. [Interjections.]

Mr S THAMBO: This is a mistruth. She cannot make a reflection of a committee she does not sit on. What is she reflecting on? She is reflecting on an ATC report that is irregular, unlawfully and procedurally adopted.

The SPEAKER: Hon member, you must allow the member to conclude her point. I will give you an opportunity to raise your point of order. We cannot allow a process that is just going to be unfair.

Hon members, every member has equal rights. I have given members an opportunity. And also, hon Thambo, other members who are not on the committee have spoken here and made their

reflections. So, she is not the first member who has contributed. Other Chief Whips who do not sit in that committee have spoken and made their reflections.

You can put your hand down. I will give you an opportunity. So, will you please allow me to chair the session?

The DEPUTY CHIEF WHIP OF THE LARGEST MINORITY PARTY (Mrs D E Dlakude): ... Hon Speaker, as I said, according to the report we have received, the portfolio committee has followed all the procedures according to the Money Bills and the Rules of Parliament. Then this morning in the Chief Whips Forum we were informed by the EFF and the MK Party that today's sitting is illegal, and they will go to court if this meeting is not postponed. So, we indicated to them that, as the ANC, we are going to the sitting and those who feel that the sitting is illegal should not attend, because their presence in this House means that they agree with the proceedings and also that they are legitimising the sitting. Thank you very much.

The SPEAKER: Hon Thambo, what is your point of order?

Mr S THAMBO: Hon Speaker, I think the first point of departure that we must state is that although Members of Parliament should all be allowed to make reflections and contributions in Parliament, it should be labelled and categorised as incorrect

to reflect on the procedure of a meeting you did not attend, and base your reflection on a report that is currently being contested in the House. The reflection on procedural processes that happened in the committee being made by hon Dlakude is based on a report that we are currently debating whether it is valid or not. So, her submission is invalid.

Second to that, because we are saying that we can take this report to court, we must correct you on the timeline of when we sent you the letter. We did not send you a letter at 5h00 this morning. It was sent to your office last night after we received this irregular report that did not contain the amendments that we, as Members of Parliament, put into the report while we were in the committee.

The letter we sent to you was based on the fact that we received the final report that did not reflect the amendments and recommendations that we stated in the committee that had, in hindsight and in retrospect, a clause that accepts the Fiscal Framework of 2025 and Revenue Proposals, whereas we never deliberated on that in the committee.

So, please, let us refrain from reflecting on procedural occurrences in the committee when we were not there, and let us allow members of the committee who were there, who witnessed procedural errors ... Three political parties have

raised that today. Let us allow them to be the ones who guide those reflections and advise you.

You were advised by people who manipulated a report. It is illegal, and we must allow this House to conclude now. Thank you.

The SPEAKER: Hon members, I do think I must reflect, as I have said earlier. Each letter I receive from a party, or from a member of this House, I do read and consider it. I do get advice in terms of the rules and in terms of the procedure before I satisfy myself and respond, which I did, and I have given a ruling.

On the basis of what I received from you and the advice I received, I do not see any reason why this House must not sit. I do want to say, anyway, all committee reports come to the House. It is the floor that will decide whether it accepts or rejects a report. And all of you, as you will be participating in the debate, you can decide that you reject this report, you do not accept it.

Therefore, I will now proceed with the discussions. Hon member, I am not suspending the House, nor am I giving 10 minutes for consultation. Thank you very much.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: Speaker, I just need to correct this and put it on record. That you did not receive the letter at 05h00 this morning. The letter was sent to your office at 23h46, last night. So, your office is very much incompetent, and you cannot say it was received at 05h00. I have a proof here, South Africans must know that the EFF wrote a letter to the Speaker at 23h46 ... [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: You're wasting time.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: ... and you only responded to us now at 12h00.

The second point - let me just finish. It is incorrect for you to say all committee reports come here and get voted for. We are dealing with the Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposal, which is guided by the Money Bills Act. And the Money Bills Act is very clear and explicit that, "In the committee there must be an indication of whether we accept ...

[Interjections.] ... " That was not done.

The SPEAKER: Hon member, you have repeatedly raised that point. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Go to court!

The SPEAKER: Can you allow us to give other members a chance to speak? You have made your point. You have raised the same points, and I have listened, and I have responded ...

[Interjections.] ...

Ms O M C MAOTWE: ... I agree but ... [Interjections.] ... if you keep on saying the wrong things we must correct you ...

[Interjections.] ...

The SPEAKER: ... Hon member, you know the rules of this House that when a Speaker or presiding officer has ruled, you have other channels to raise your point. And I do not think we need to belabour that point.

The MINISTER OF SPORTS, ARTS AND CULTURE: Speaker, you have given us ample time to debate here. You have made a ruling ...

[Inaudible.] [Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: Let's proceed, Speaker. Let's proceed!

The SPEAKER: Allow the member to make his point.

The MINISTER OF SPORT, ARTS AND CULTURE: ... Speaker, you have given us a chance to debate. Our Whips have spoken, and you have also ruled on the matter. You are now being asked about things that happened at midnight. You don't have a security

guard that must look at your computer the whole night ...

[Inaudible.] ... with the Budget ... [Inaudible.]

[Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order, hon members. I have now closed the debate.

I will allow the chairperson of the committee to come and table the report.

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: On a point of order, Speaker!

The SPEAKER: Hon members, I have closed the debate on the points of order. Whether the issue must be debated or not ...

[Interjections.]

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: Point of order, Speaker! It is a different point.

The SPEAKER: No, I will take a different point when we have tabled the report. Hon Manyi, you can put your hand down. I have responded to you on procedural matters in this matter. The item on the agenda is the tabling of the report on the Fiscal Framework. We have to proceed. We have taken your arguments on board, and we have heard that some of you have a problem with this. I have responded to that and closed the matter. [Interjections.]

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: Speaker, I am raising a different point. Can I continue?

The SPEAKER: No, hon member. [Interjections.]

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: I want to raise an issue concerning the sound? Are people going to attend to it?

The SPEAKER: The sound guys are going to attend to it. [Interjections.]

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: We do not hear anything, Speaker! [Interjections.]

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: On a point of order, Speaker!

The SPEAKER: Hon Mkhali, you said you want to raise an issue with the sound, but the sound guys will attend to it. [Interjections.]

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: But we can't hear. We cannot hear!

An HON MEMBER: What are you responding to?

The SPEAKER: The sound guys will attend to the sound glitch. Hon Manyi, if it is the same point about the report, I have

ruled on that, and so, I do not think we are going to take another new point on that matter. [Interjections.]

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: Fix the sound, Speaker, we do not hear anything. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: You are hearing everything.

The SPEAKER: Hon Manyi, what is your point of order? Which is not on this matter?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): Madam Speaker, the only point I am rising on is not to deal with anything that you have dealt with, but just to make a correction for the record of this House. As the MK Party, we only got acknowledgement of the letter, but we did not get the response. I have seen responses to other parties, but the response to the MK Party has not arrived.

As we speak, there is no response on the issue that we have raised.

The SPEAKER: Hon member, you can also check on your report or on your emails. The response was given to the MK Party. What I did not do is to respond to you on WhatsApp because you also sent your letter via a WhatsApp. I sent it through the

official email. We will now proceed, and I will call on the chairperson of the committee to table the report. Thank you.

Mr V G REDDY: Speaker, because of the sound we cannot hear a thing. I am not sure if you addressed the issue of sound or what, but we can't hear anything. [Interjections.]

Ms L A MATHYS: Yeah, we can't hear!

The SPEAKER: Hon Reddy, the issue of the sound ...

[Interjections.]

Mr V G REDDY: We are proceeding with a meeting where we cannot hear anybody ...

The SPEAKER: You know, hon members ... [Interjections.]

Mr V G REDDY: ... and then your members across are making the biggest noise here.

The SPEAKER: It is very interesting that I can hear you, but you cannot hear me. Very interesting. It is a very interesting thing because I am responding to you, and you are responding to me.

Hon Ntlangwini, what is your point of order?

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: Speaker, your desperation this afternoon is quite embarrassing and sad. You can clearly hear that there are issues, but you are reluctant to give us a 10-minute break to sort out the sound issues. It is not only about me and you seated in this tent, but about the millions of South Africans who are waiting on this House to make a decision. Making it only about you is very wrong and making it about the ANC yet again is very wrong. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: We can hear you very well.

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: Stop wanting to be a voting curtail and address the issue of the sound. Let's take a 10-minute break because the sound and the echo are bad and then ...

[Inaudible.] [Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: We can hear you very well.

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: ... videos that we are putting out there to our constituencies. We are saying this is a people's Parliament, and so, let us act as that and stop this rubberstamping that you are planning to do this afternoon ...

[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Sound is perfect and we can hear you. Our people can hear you, Speaker, continue.

The SPEAKER: Order, hon member. The member of the PA?

Mr M V DANIELS: Hon Speaker, I agree with all parties complaining about the sound; it is now and then a bit inaudible, but I have two solutions: Firstly, I have tested the headphones, and they work perfectly and solved the problem of the sound. Secondly, if they are quiet, they will hear the sound better because we have South Africa waiting on the Budget and we cannot waste the time of the citizens of this country by listening to frivolous things when we do have solutions. Thank you. [Applause.]

Ms N J NOLUTSHUNGU: Speaker, we are going to vote at the end of this session, and I want to appeal to you that because this is a very important matter, you allow each individual to stand up and vote verbally. It is not something new ...

[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Sit down!

The SPEAKER: Order, hon members, let us allow the member to raise their point. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: ... she is abusing us!

The SPEAKER: No, hon member. You have no right! That is my right to determine whether what the member is saying is out of order. Hon member, can you finish your point?

Ms N J NOLUTSHUNGU: Yes, it will not be the first time that we do that. Remember, on the issue of Phala-Phala we did the same. With Judge Hlophe we also voted verbally. So, I am appealing to you that we entertain that process for today. Thank you. [Applause.]

An HON MEMBER: Ha, ha, ha, president of women's league!

Mr D M SKOSANA: Madam Speaker, we support, but we are saying that it should be on a secret ballot. I am supporting and it should be on a secret ballot.

An HON MEMBER: We are not in a BGM here!

The SPEAKER: Hon member, order! I have a duty to ensure a smooth conduct of proceedings ... [Interjections.] Order, hon members! I also have to ensure that the privileges of all members of this sitting are protected.

Hon members at the back, on the side of the EFF and side of the MK, you can converse, but you mustn't drown other members.

I also want to indicate that all members have the same privileges and that is why I have listened carefully to each one of you and the interventions. Therefore, hon members, we must now proceed.

I have heard the request by the EFF Chief Whip, and I just want to inform her that earlier on we had received a request from the DA that there must be a voice recording of the Vote when we come to voting. We have also received a request from the MK Party. Now am not sure whether you did consult together because the first request we received from the MK Party was that it must be a show of hands.

So, we will formally inform you when the time comes what process are we going to follow, but I just want to alert all parties that the three parties did make a request on the mode of voting that must be followed. Thank you very much. I will now ask the chair to table the report. [Applause.]

**CONSIDERATION OF 2025 FISCAL FRAMEWORK AND REVENUE PROPOSALS  
AND OF REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE ON FINANCE THEREON**

Dr M J MASWANGANYI: Hon Speaker, the Deputy President, Ministers, Deputy Ministers, and Members of Parliament, I want to indicate that the Minister of Finance, hon Godongwana, tabled the 2025 National Budget before Parliament on 12 March

2025 in terms of section 27 of Public Finance Management Act and Section 71 of the Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act. The Minister, together with the Commissioner of SA Revenue Service ... [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Hon members! Sorry, hon chair.

Ms L A MATHYS: Speaker, we can't hear this illegal ... [Interjections.] We can't hear. It is even illegal, and we can't even hear it.

The SPEAKER: Can we please ask members to use their earphones.

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND PETROLEUM RESOURCES: Hey, hlala phantsi! [Hey, sit down!]

Ms L A MATHYS: Chair, it is even worse, and they put it on. We are not lying. [Interjections.] Hey you ... [Inaudible.] ... ANC ... if you steal the money. [interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Hon members, order!

Ms L A MATHYS: That's why they fiddle with this thing. [Interjections.] Speaker, I'm pleading with you ... cannot approve ... [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: We cannot abuse our privileges. [Interjections.]

Ms L A MATHYS: No, you are abusing us, Speaker! You are abusing us by not providing us quality sound. Sound is 101. We are not even pretending. [Interjections.] Speaker, listen to it yourself. [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Chairperson of the committee, can you please proceed? [Interjections.] Hon members, I am not going to allow points of order because really this is about abusing privileges that we have.

Ms L A MATHYS: Speaker, it is not true; you are abusing us as the Speaker, and we are representing our constituencies. We cannot hear. Speaker, listen; it is horrible. Plus, there are squeaky things here. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: We can hear you!

Ms L A MATHYS: ... Unless you are telling us how illegal this framework is. I don't even understand how you cannot hear the squeak in this dome as well. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: We can hear you!

Ms L A MATHYS: This is the quality that you are giving us to listen to an illegal report, Speaker. It is not fair.

The SPEAKER: Hon members, I have raised earlier on that while all of you have privileges as members of the House, such privilege cannot be abused. You have raised the issue of the sound. We have asked the sound people to address it and you are continuing to make your points of order. We have been assured that the sound, both on the earphones and also in the dome will be fixed.

So, those of you who may not hear from not using your earphones, I will really plead with you to use your earphone so that we proceed with the debate. I would really plead with members not to disrupt the House by actually coming up with all sorts of spurious points of order. Hon member, can you please raise your point of order so that we can proceed with the debate?

Ms O M C MAOTWE: Thank you, Speaker. We don't want to disrupt the proceedings. I think that's the first point of departure. Speaker, you might downplay this issue of the sound, but it is not the first time. We have raised it before, and this is now the third time. On the last session, we had to adjourn for them to fix the sound. The other time it was the air conditioner. The other time it was something else.

So, we are saying to you, your House is collapsing, Speaker - under your watch and under the GNU. That is why we are saying this is a very important sitting. The whole of South Africa is watching the proceedings of Parliament. We might look like we are unreasonable by actually pointing out to you the things that we had pointed out to you before.

The sound is not good, and the people of our constituencies are sending us WhatsApp messages. They are telling us that they can't hear the proceedings. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: She is lying!

Ms O M C MAOTWE: So, we are asking you, Madam Speaker: Please, let us have five-minutes break. Let the sound be fixed. The last time some people had to be fired and that was confirmed by the Secretary to Parliament after our request and after our complaint that the sound system is not proper. They were fired.

So, these new ones should have ... [Interjections.] ... and should know that they haven't done the right thing because we are now back to the same issue. We are appealing to you, Speaker, to adjourn the session for five minutes ... [Interjections.] ... so that they can fix the sound. Our

constituencies ... My mother is watching, but she can't hear what we are dealing with. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: That is why you want to appear on TV!

The SPEAKER: Hon member, that actually borders on abusing the process and I really would plead with all of us. Let us respect ourselves, this House and the people of South Africa. I really think we should do so. I said hon members have an opportunity to raise their points of debate in this House, and they have an opportunity to even vote if there is a need to do so at the end. You will determine that. I don't think we need to belabour the points of order in this matter. The hon member that is waving a paper, what is your point of order?

Mr F ADAMS: Thank you, Speaker. I have not gotten involved in the debate about illegality, but I am telling you, in all honesty, we can't hear over here. I have tried the earphone; it is actually worthless. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: How did you hear when they called your name?

Mr F ADAMS: Speaker, I am going to ask you if you can adjourn for five minutes to have the sound fixed ... [Interjections.] ... because I am not being funny ... [Interjections.] ... but we lost R16 billion over the last few days due to this Budget.

We want the chair to deliver. I, personally, want to. If I can't hear him, Speaker, then we might as well all go home. Thank you. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: How did you hear when they called you?

The SPEAKER: Hon members, I am proceeding. You can use your earphones. We really cannot belabour the points of order. Those members who feel very strongly that they are not hearing, they must use the earphones. However, we cannot stop the debate today. Hon members, I have stopped on this issue of the sound, and we proceed. Chairperson, can you please table the report?

Dr M J Maswanganyi: Speaker, I will spend some time to outline the procedure that has been followed by the committees in processing the report. The Minister, together with the Commissioner of Sars briefed the Standing Committee on Finance on 14 March 2025. On 18 March 2025, the committees of finance, both in the NCOP and NA received the post-budget tabling input from the Parliamentary Budget Office and the Financial and Fiscal Commission.

The committee issued adverts for public hearings on 4 March 2025, on the website, social channels and print media. The committees held public hearings on 25 March 2025. We

received 51 submissions: 29 written; and 22 oral. National Treasury and Sars responded to the issues raised during the public hearings and engaged with the committees and stakeholders on 28 March 2025.

On 31 March, the Committee Secretariat sent out the draft report and the agenda of the committee meetings to the members of the Standing Committee on Finance and the Select Committee on Finance, respectively. Yesterday, which was 1 March 2025, the two committees, the standing and the select committees, had the meeting to consider and adopt the report. The meeting is conducted in terms of the rules, as applies in the Rules Book.

Speaker, section 8(1) of the Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act, Act 9 of 2009, requires that the National Assembly and the NCOP refer the Fiscal Framework to their respective committees on finance. Section 8(3) requires that committees must within 16 days after the tabling of the Budget report to the NA on the Fiscal Framework, and we are doing that today.

The report that the House is considering, today, is a result of an extensive process. We welcome the Budget as tabled by the Minister of Finance, as it will invest in strategic infrastructure over the next three years. A total of

R1 trillion will be allocated to public infrastructure, with major allocations to roads, which will be R402; energy will be R200 billion; and water and sanitation will be R156 billion.

This Budget will support job creation and maintain a growth-friendly fiscal policy that will underpin government policy over the medium term. It will stabilise the debt-service costs, which consumed 22% of every rand of revenue. Spending is highly redistributive, with the social wage making up 61% of total consolidated noninterest spending over three years.

Having considered the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals, the Standing Committee on Finance adopted the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals, and this report was adopted with recommendations. Among the recommendations that the committee processed was the issue of VAT, and in this regard, I want to commend the ActionSA for crafting the recommendations.

The Minister of Finance should give the rationale as to why an increase in the VAT rate; and what will the government do to mitigate the impact of the increase in the VAT rate. The Minister is given a reasonable time to assess the Budget and see if he cannot find items which the government can cut to make up for the VAT.

Speaker, today we are processing the Budget of the country, which is an issue of national interest. Decisions made in the national Budget influence the standard of living, the distribution of wealth and the overall economic health of the country. Thus, citizens, policymakers, Members of Parliament and international actors closely scrutinise the national Budget as it determines how a country handles its financial resources and addresses pressing national needs.

Speaker, I want to indicate that in the meeting of yesterday, all parties who participated in that committee had an opportunity, either to object or to agree with the report. Those parties that objected, their comments are contained in the report. The meeting was conducted, as I have said before, in terms of the Rules of Parliament. There was no member who was intimidated in conducting that meeting. All members participated freely. At the end, the report of the committee was adopted.

I want to indicate, hon Speaker, that I want to move that the Report of the Standing Committee on Finance be adopted today. Also, as patriots, let us make sure that we vote for this report, not for party politics, but for the interest of the people of South Africa. Let us rise above party politics and care about the needs and the interests of the people of South Africa. I so move, Speaker. Thank you.

Mr D D D VAN ROOYEN: Hon Speaker, allow me to share two of the MK Party's many take-away lessons from this legally flawed Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals process.

Firstly, the process exposed National Treasury as a Ministry that doesn't consider or take the country's democratic public participation seriously. National Treasury was advised by both the Financial and Fiscal Commission, FFC, and the Parliamentary Budget Office not to increase VAT, as this will worsen the harsh living conditions endured by the poor masses of our people. This advice was ignored.

This advice was further reiterated by Members of Parliament serving in the Finance Committee, except ANC Members of Parliament who were obviously instructed to swallow the bitter pill even if it worked against their party position on being a pro-poor party. Interestingly, at the tail end of the process, the IFP supported a very weird and legally flawed recommendation on a VAT increase initiated by ActionSA, which seems to be finding it difficult to resist a devil-pact blue lights temptation.

As if that was not enough, National Treasury, through a public participation process facilitated by the joint committee on finance, received 51 submissions. Only two of these submissions supported VAT increases. The rest opposed the

regressive revenue generation measure. Still, National Treasury refused to listen.

The million dollar question is, who is National Treasury serving and supposed to listen to? If the overwhelming majority voice of reason is ignored, who is National Treasury listening to? We hope that this posture by National Treasury does not confirm our long-held view that South Africa is controlled by powerful men from Washington and London, pulling the strings in far-flung neoliberal colonies, of course with the active support of greedy and unpatriotic local politicians turned political managers of the moment.

As the MK Party, we hope that National Treasury's posture does not substantiate our long-held view that it is a proxy of global capital, whose sole objective is to enrich the few and subject the masses of the global population to extreme poverty, unemployment and inequality through neoliberal policies.

Minister, I must indicate that you were advised to consider reviewing tax incentives given to businesses without the realisation of desired outcomes so as to save millions for the fiscus.

You were further advised to consider suspending government's contribution to the Government Employees' Pension Fund and generate a much-needed injection into the fiscus. We advised you to consider a wealth tax to tamper with the unacceptable wealth distribution disparity bedevilling our country. All this advice fell on deaf ears.

The list of alternative revenue sources is very long. Our country has the potential to finance its development agenda, provided its leaders stop worshipping white capital at the expense of its people.

The MK Party does not support this report. It is far from addressing the Budget requirements and the challenges of our beloved country. It is more a compliance exercise which fails to meet statute provisions. Thank you, hon Speaker.

Dr M J BURKE: Madam Speaker, it is significant that this report was considered in yesterday's committee on the first day of April. A farcical day for a farcical process leading to a farcical report. Yet, it's a report that sadly is not an April fool's joke.

This House generates stacks of reports, agendas and minutes of meetings which fill archives, servers and libraries. Much of

it are meaningless, expensive, full-of-nothing documents that changes very little for our people – a waste.

However, every now and then, Parliament has the ability to take regular A4 paper and give it remarkable power to change lives with laws and to table budgets, and because of the power in the Constitution and the Money Bills Act, it gives Parliament the power to amend bad budgets.

Yesterday, we had the chance and almost the numbers to amend a bad Budget. We could've fulfilled our constitutional duty to do so to protect South Africans, to protect them from a Budget that includes VAT increases, and that doesn't move the needle enough for an efficient government that creates jobs and grows the economy.

That chance was spectacularly squandered. It was squandered by ActionSA, the IFP and the ANC that voted on a version of a report which only came into existence hours after the meeting and the voting had concluded.

Now, sure, supporters of this April fool's day farce are very quick to point out that, while they accepted the Fiscal Framework, they are making recommendations to have a relook at tax increases. The archives are full of reports with ignored recommendations.

Why don't we ask the Auditor-General how delinquent ANC-led local governments across the country respond to their recommendations year after year?

Why don't we ask those who worked on the Zondo Commission what they think the effect of their recommendations have been? After all, the Zondo Commission detailed how the hon Joe Maswanganyi was complicit in state capture, yet that hon member is here with us today, he spoke earlier and he chaired the farcical, procedurally flawed meeting yesterday. Reports in the hands of ANC-led governments mean nothing.

Let me be specific. ActionSA took the votes it received from market-friendly, centre-right South Africans and sold them out in order to support a framework. For what?

The SPEAKER: Order, hon Burke. Can you take a seat? Hon member, what's the point of order?

Mr G J SKOSANA: Hon Speaker, I'm rising in terms of Rule 85. The hon member is casting aspersions on hon Maswanganyi. He says that hon Maswanganyi is complicit in state capture. So, if he wants to do that, he must bring a substantive motion.

The SPEAKER: Hon member, I will listen to the Hansard and come back with a ruling. Hon Michalakis, why are you rising?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY (Mr G Michalakis): Madam Speaker, when you consider the Hansard, will you also consider that the hon member actually quoted the Zondo Report, which was a fact. Thank you.

The SPEAKER: Hon member, I said I will look at the matter and come back to the House with a ruling. Can you proceed, hon Burke?

Dr M J BURKE: Madam Speaker, I've consulted the Hansard dictionary on what casting aspersions means.

The SPEAKER: Hon member, can you please proceed with your speech?

Dr M J BURKE: None of what I've said was false or misleading. It's all very well documented. And, for me to damage a reputation, you need to have one.

The SPEAKER: Order, hon member! In terms of the matter, I have said that because there was a point of order raised, I will come back to the House. So, can you proceed with your speech on the report? [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: He is lastig! [irksome]

Dr M J BURKE: As I was saying, what did ActionSA sell their voters out for? Five minutes of media coverage? Promises of future Cabinet positions? [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: That's all you know. Insults, insults, insults.

Dr M J BURKE: Certainly not to stop taxes, because those taxes and those increases are still very much baked into the Fiscal Framework.

ActionSA has said it's in Parliament to be a constructive opposition. Yet, its only significant achievement so far is to support a report enabling an ANC antipoor, antigrowth and antijobs VAT-based Budget. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: [O hloile mokgatlo wa ANC wena. Tsamaya! [You hate ANC. Go home!]

Dr M J BURKE: There are only two rational explanations for what they were thinking, and what the IFP might have been thinking. Either they were the April fools ...  
[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Chest pains!

Dr M J BURKE: ... and they genuinely thought they were changing the Budget with their flimsy, pointless recommendations, and didn't come to the committee with even a basic understanding of the Money Bills Act, or alternatively, these parties knew exactly what they were doing and were trying to make South Africans the victims; selling us down the river for an ANC VAT-based Budget. Either way, what the IFP and ActionSA did was treachery.

On the other hand, the DA is very clear about what we are doing, and we've been consistent, both in our intentions yesterday and through the course of this seventh administration.

We joined this government to drive efficient spending, grow the economy and create jobs, not to enable the worst parts of the ANC. The ANC will have to turn to ActionSA for that.

[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Khayelitsha is poor!

Dr M J BURKE: We've been met with an ANC that has refused to upgrade the economy or to compromise. They don't want coalition partners; they want supplicants. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Helen Burke!

Dr M J BURKE: Welcome ActionSA. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Goodbye!

The SPEAKER: Order, hon members!

Dr M J BURKE: I will say one thing about all the paper that Parliament generates. Even though reports and motions that achieve nothing do record our deeds or misdeeds. What will they record now? Today, you hon members have the same opportunity ActionSA and the IFP had yesterday and squandered, either for cheap political points or as victims of the saddest April fool's joke in parliamentary history. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Huis toe! [Go home!]

Dr M J BURKE: So, your choices are as follows. One, you can choose to vote for a report that keeps the Fiscal Framework as is, that enshrines tax increases, enshrines bad economic policy and supports the antipoor, antigrowth and antijobs ANC Budget. Or, two, you can support us in opposing this increase. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Support you?

Dr M J BURKE: As the DA, we will remain on course. We will pursue an efficient government, growth and jobs, and vote firmly against this farce of a report. We reject it with the contempt it deserves. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: We reject you! [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: You're a spoilt brat!

Dr M J BURKE: It's not worth the paper it was printed on. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

An HON MEMBER: Angry about the blue lights, hey?

Mr V G REDDY: Madam Speaker, I rise in terms of Rule 65. You know, while the previous speaker ... it's not every day that we like to hear what the DA has to say, and today we want to hear. But members were actually speaking into the mic, switching on their mics and as a result of that, we were unable to hear the speaker. Now, the sound, the acoustics is extremely bad on this side of the House.

I'm really appealing to you, Speaker, to get some control here. And inform members that they should not howl so much so that we cannot hear the speakers, please.

The SPEAKER: Thank you, hon Reddy. That point I made myself for all of you in this House, to actually be in order. Hon Maotwe, take your podium.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: Through you, Speaker, greetings to president and Commander-in-Chief, hon Julius Malema, officials, commissars and fighters. The EFF does not support the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals, as tabled by the Minister of Finance.

Speaker, we wrote to you last night an urgent letter requesting the withdrawal of the Report on the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals, adopted by the Standing Committee on Finance yesterday. Adopted during a very chaotic meeting and in a procedurally illegal manner.

In our letter we demonstrated that the committee failed to follow a very basic but essential legal requirement in terms of the Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act of 2009 and requested that you withdraw this item from the Order Paper, but you chose not to do so.

This is what will ultimately collapse the confused Government of National Unity, GNU, not the present backroom dealings and the stabbing we are witnessing, but the failure to follow a simple legislative process. With all the confusion we

witnessed in the committee yesterday, we were reminded of a giant of our struggle, mama Winnie Nomzamo Madikizela-Mandela, who passed away on this day seven years ago. She once said:

We have betrayed our people; our struggle has been betrayed.  
The ANC has become something we never envisaged.

[Applause.]

This quote rings truer than ever before, as the ANC, now hiding behind the so-called GNU, continues to sell out the aspirations of our people. The less said about Action SA's misunderstanding of the legislation which guides the process and procedure to amend and approve the proposed Budget as tabled by the Minister, the better.

We will take time outside the sitting and explain, perhaps in a simpler manner that the budget is not passed based on negotiations of good faith but is the creature of statutes.

But let's deal with the crux of the matter, the debate, and what has caused so much chaos with this Budget. Allow us to take the educational approach, and then we'll make some of the proposals that should have found expression in amending the report.

Firstly, the procedure to process the Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals tabled by the Finance Minister is guided by the Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act. Let me remind you that this is the very same legislation that, when it was introduced in the late 1990s, the ANC and the then Minister of Finance, Trevor Manuel did not want this law because they wanted all the powers in the hands of a government to pass a budget, but that is not what the Constitution says.

Secondly, once the Budget is tabled by the Minister of Finance as a proposal, it is up to us as Members of Parliament, who have legislative responsibility to finalise the Budget. We cannot send it back to the Minister of Finance. It becomes our baby, and we must see it through to the end.

Thirdly, like we said in our letter to you, Speaker, this report was adopted unprocedurally because, despite our advice in the committee, the ANC refused to heed the advice and follow simple procedure. They could not allow for this to happen because they wanted to hoodwink ActionSA into adopting a report, they seem not to understand its implications. And for that, we don't blame them because they simply didn't know.

Lastly, all other money Bills, this includes the Appropriation Bill, Division of Revenue Bills, and all other Bills,

including ultimately, value-added tax, VAT, must be consistent with this Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals. You cannot vote for a VAT increase today and hope that when it comes in the form of a separate Bill, it is different. It will be inconsistent with the law and this fiscal framework.

President we're making simple proposals, as the EFF. We are saying, we reject the Minister of Finance's proposal of VAT, and we say it must be kept at 14%. We are saying let's adjust the personal income tax bracket in line with inflation so that when middle- and low-income earners receive annual adjustments on their wages, they are not pushed into higher brackets.

We're saying let's increase corporate income tax and introduce new forms of wealth tax that target apartheid inheritance. We made a proposal for an amendment to increase funding for SA Revenue Service, Sars, so that they can go and collect R800 billion that is there, uncollected.

We made a proposal that let's give the Parliamentary Budget Office together with the Financial and Fiscal Commission, FFC, the mandate to recalibrate the Budget, allocate additional money for appointment of doctors, of nurses, of teachers, police officers and more general workers in municipalities.

We made all these concrete, practical and implementable proposals in the meeting but there was never a procedural and legal way to put this before a decision of the committee. Instead, they were just ignored. Now, this is what is going to happen. If you vote for this Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals today, against the advice, we're going to challenge you in court for failing to follow the law that is clear and basic. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mr N M HADEBE: Hon Speaker, the IFP acknowledges the presentation of the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals. The IFP notes the macroeconomic projections underpinning the Fiscal Framework, particularly, the estimated gross domestic product, GDP, growth rate and inflation focus.

While the government's revenue projections are optimistic, we edge a more cautious approach, considering global economic uncertainties and domestic structural challenges such as high unemployment, energy insecurity and policy inefficiencies. We support efficient government spending but remain concerned about continued wasteful and irregular expenditure.

We call for a strengthened oversight mechanism to curb corruption and mismanagement, realignment of expenditure priorities to ensure increased investment in health care, education and job-creation initiatives and greater fiscal

support for small and medium enterprises, as engines of economic growth and employment.

The revenue proposals include adjustments in taxation and the introduction of new levies. We raised the following concerns that any increase in taxation should be carefully assessed to avoid discouraging investment and burdening households.

We welcome the government's expansion of the list of zero-rated goods to protect vulnerable communities. While we support measures to curb harmful consumption, tobacco and alcohol excise duties, we caution against excessive increase that may fuel illicit trade and job losses in affected industries.

We acknowledge the importance of debt sustainability and therefore call for a pragmatic approach to deficit reduction. Instead of austerity measures that disproportionately impact service delivery, we advocate for targeted expenditure cuts in nonessential government spending.

Enhance revenue collection through improved tax compliance and efficiency in tax administration and encourage private sector partnerships to lighten fiscal pressures, while stimulating investment.

Fiscal policies must be assessed in terms of their impact on poverty reduction, employment and economic growth. We emphasise the need for increased public investment in infrastructure to create jobs and improve service delivery, and expanded support for agricultural development to enhance food security and rural economies. There should be greater allocation towards youth employment programmes and skills development to equip South Africans for future industries.

Furthermore, we stress the importance of a transparent and accountable fiscal process, to ensure that the Fiscal Framework achieves intended outcomes.

Hon Speaker, in consideration of the issues we have raised as the IFP, we support the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals as well as the committee report. [Applause.]

In conclusion, I wish to caution the DA, that if the DA think that their views are a master plan for all of us, they must wake up and think again. [Interjections.] We are here to represent our constituency. We are here to represent the people of South Africa. We are not here to take mandate from the DA. [Applause.] [Interjections.]

Hon Speaker, lastly, if the MK Party is really true and honest in that they are representing ... [Interjections.] ... the

people of South Africa, they must ask their leader why he loaned R2,4 billion ... [Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: Udakiwe! [You're drunk!]

Mr N M HADEBE: ... to Eswatini, when he was President of South Africa, instead of taking that money ... [Interjections.] ... and give it to the people of South Africa. I thank you. [Applause.] [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: You're a sellout! [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Minister, please take your seat. There's a point of order. Could I just get where the point of order is from. Hon Dugmore.

Mr C DUGMORE: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: My point of order relates to the fact that when the hon member from the IFP started speaking and addressing some comments about the MKP, we could not hear, and we request that he be given an opportunity to repeat what he said about the MKP.

An HON MEMBER: No, we agree.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, your point of order is not sustained. We will proceed. [Interjections.] Hon Minister? Hon member, yes please. What is your point of order?

Mr D M SKOSANA: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: Can you ask the member who spoke just now, under which Rule is he talking?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I did not sustain the point and so, we proceed. Hon Minister, please proceed.

[Interjections.]

Mr N T TSHOTETSI: Deputy Speaker! Deputy Speaker! Deputy Speaker!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Minister, please take your seat. Could I just have an indication of who has now activated his or her mic?

Mr N T TSHOTETSI: Yes, it is me on this side.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes, hon member there at the back.

Mr N T TSHOTETSI: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: I would like you to rule on this matter. The speaker when he started mentioning the issue of the MKP was drowned out. As a result,

as Members of Parliament, we did not hear. Please rule on it and give him space to re-articulate what he was saying about the MKP, because we did not hear. He was being drowned out against the Rule that guides this House. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I also ... [Interjections.] ... Order. Hon member, I also refer you to the Rule that once the Speaker has ruled, you do not raise a point of order on that point, and I have not sustained that point of order, and therefore, we proceed. Yes, hon member.

Mr E M NTSHINGILA: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: We cannot be judged for sound issues that we've been raising a number of times, and the members must understand the MKP are not sound engineers. We are MPs hoping that Parliament will ... [Inaudible.] ... [Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: You are not engineers ... [Inaudible.]

Mr E M NTSHINGILA: ... an environment conducive for us to do our work. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: They are not engineers of any kind.  
[Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, that is not a point of order.  
Order members! [Interjections.]

Mr E M NTSHINGILA: We are not sound engineers.  
[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: They are very far from being engineers anyway.  
[Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, do not switch on your  
microphones if you have not been recognised. I see there is a  
problem there in front, hon member.

An HON MEMBER: The MKP can't be engineers. They are far from  
that. They can't be engineers.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: But please, can we now proceed? I have  
ruled on the matter, and the hon Minister may now proceed.

The MINISTER OF SPORT, ARTS AND CULTURE: Speaker, we are  
fighting today with our Government of National Unity, GNU,  
partner the DA. Now it's important that I must give context  
and history of the fight. The Minister of Finance approached  
us, and he said, we are looking at a 2% VAT increase. We  
immediately said that's too much. We were negotiating, we were  
fighting, and we were debating. We ended up on 0,5 percentage

points. I can't have it my way or the highway. So, on the basis that the ANC deployee in the form of the Minister of Finance, was willing to move from 2% to 0,5%, is the reason why I am a proud member of the GNU today.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Minister, please take your seat. Hon Manyi, on what point do you rise?

The CHIEF WIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): Speaker, on a point of order: The hon member is misleading the House. There was never a 2%. It has always been a two percentage points. [Inaudible.] It is very different. The member must not mislead the House. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, hon members. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: You destroyed the Department of Government Communication and Information Systems.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: I am now dealing with hon Manyi's point. Hon Minister, I have not yet called you to the podium. Hon Manyi, that is a matter of debate. So, the Minister may proceed. I see the hon Thambo at the back. Yes, hon Thambo.

Mr S THAMBO: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: I think at some point we must have an interaction with the Minister of

Sport, Arts and Culture, because he never addresses the matters on the table in the Parliament of South Africa. He is constantly speaking about peripheral matters. Today he is not debating the finance Budget. He is speaking about something else. I think it is a disservice to the people of South Africa.

All he knows is to praise those who have deployed him.

[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: What is the point of order?

Mr S THAMBO: At some point, there must be a reigning in on the Minister of Sport, Arts and Culture if he does not make any valuable contributions to the Parliament. We have to have that conversation. He does not make valuable contributions to debates in this Parliament. He goes there and speaks about peripheral issues because he has no value to add ... It is unacceptable. It has been continuing for a while now. We cannot accept it as Members of Parliament. Can you debate the matters on the table and stop telling us about his role in the GNU and his appreciation? We know he is thankful, but we are tired of that.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Thambo, that is a matter of your opinion and a matter for debate. The Minister may include in

his speech whatever he wants to include. We cannot dictate. So, hon Manyi, is it on the same point on which I have just ruled? Hon Manyi?

The CHIEF WIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: I am raising the point of you saying this matter is a point of debate when it is a factual issue. If you were to look into the Minister's ... [Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: No, but there is no such a point man.

The CHIEF WIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): If you were to look into the Budget, hon Deputy Speaker, there is no such thing as a 2%. It is two percentage points. It is fundamentally different. This is not a debate matter. It is a factual matter. [Interjections.]

ILUNGU ELIHLONIPHEKILE: Hhayi! Hhayi! Hhayi! (*Translation of isiZulu sentence follows.*)

[An HON MEMBER: No! No! No!]

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND PETROLEUM RESOURCES: Hlala phantsi, Manyi! [Please sit down, hon Manyi!]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Manyi, in terms of the Rules I have now ruled and the hon Minister will now proceed. Hon Minister, my apologies, your member there at the back also wishes to raise a point. Yes, please go ahead, hon Daniels. Hon Minister, please take your seat. Your member is on the floor. Hon Minister, your member is on the floor. Yes member, please go ahead. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND PETROLEUM RESOURCES: You must be patient!

Mr M V DANIELS: Hon Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: We must be sitting in different meetings because the hon Minister is raising points on the VAT item. Talking about the 2% is a matter that was initially tabled. But they mustn't say we're not talking about VAT when the VAT digits which refer to VAT are being mentioned.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have ruled on the matter and please members take note. Once I have ruled on a matter, that is the end of that point of order, and we don't entertain it any further. Hon Minister, please proceed.

The MINISTER OF SPORT, ARTS AND CULTURE: So, hon Speaker, it was on that basis that I wanted to explain why I support what we are discussing here today unashamedly. But you see, since I

joined this Parliament, the name of the poor has been used by every Tom, Dick and Jabulani. Everyone says the poor, the poor. The DA wanted to trade the VAT issue with the Basic Education Laws Amendment Act. Where were the poor in that transaction?

Yesterday, a lady called Bronwyn Williams' son was shot dead in Westbury. That lady fell sick after the forensics took her son and said to her, follow us. She said no I must go and vote first because voting is the only way to silence the guns in my area.

So, if you wonder why Mackenzie is voting here, it's because this Budget contains hope and plans that there will be more policing, and there will be more jobs for the people. Lastly, you see, hon Des van Rooyen comes here and says we love the blue lights. When President Zuma appointed him for a weekend, he didn't say no to the blue lights. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Minister, there is a point of order. Hon Minister, please take your seat. Hon Skosana, your point of order?

Mr D M SKOSANA: Deputy Speaker ... [Interjections.] ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, hon members! Please proceed, hon Skosana.

Mr D M SKOSANA: ... on a point of order: President Zuma is not in the House here, so it's irrelevant. What he's talking about is irrelevant. Thank you.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Minister, please proceed. Hon Minister, my apologies. Please take your seat. Member from the EFF, what is your point of order?

Mr S LONZI: Speaker, on a point of order: This is on relevance. You know, we're having a very sophisticated debate on Money Bills, and on the Fiscal Framework. The Minister has totally degenerated the debate on the Budget. The guy simply has no clue what the Money Bill is about, or what the Fiscal Framework is about. He's speaking like he's talking some numbers there in prison. [Interjections.]

Can you ask the Minister, if he knows what the Fiscal Framework says? Or is he going to continue degenerating the standard of the debate in this Parliament about the Budget? We can't stand for this mediocrity. We cannot. [Applause.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I have already ruled on the same point raised by the hon Thambo, and that is my ruling.

Hon Minister, please proceed. [Interjections.] Hon Minister, you will be interrupted again. Please take your seat. Member from the MKP, what is your point of order?

Mnu M P MSEZANE: Sekela Somlomo ... (*Translation of isiZulu sentence follows.*)

[Mr M P MSEZANE: Deputy Speaker ...]

... on a point of order: I wish to check if the Minister's three minutes have not been depleted yet. He is wasting our time.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, that is for the presiding officer to indicate that the time has been concluded. Thank you. Hon member of the MK?

An HON MEMBER: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: I just want to check with the Minister about the allegation that there is a cheque missing and he is the one who accepted it. I want to check with the Minister if he is aware he is supposed to be arrested for that matter?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, that is out of order. Minister, please proceed. [Interjections.]

`n AGB LID: Gaan vir hulle; gaan vir hulle, Gayton!

*(Translation of Afrikaans sentences follows.)*

[An HON MEMBER: Go for them; go for them, Gayton!]

The MINISTER OF SPORT, ARTS AND CULTURE: You know Speaker, I am sitting there very proud of myself because I am containing myself. I am being given economic lessons by people who have never given anyone a job, who never opened a business, while I have given thousands of people jobs, and I have opened plenty of businesses. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Who told you that?

The MINISTER OF SPORT, ARTS AND CULTURE: In conclusion, I want to conclude by saying, that five minutes before this hearing, I was the one running around saying to people, we can't lose the DA. We must convince the DA to remain. I am standing here today to say ...

... abahambe. [Ubuwelewele.] *(Translation of isiZulu sentence follows.)*

[... they should leave. [Interjections.]]

`n AGB LID: Sê vir hulle; sê vir hulle! [Tussenwerpsels.]

*(Translation of Afrikaans sentences follows.)*

[An HON MEMBER: Tell them; tell them! [Interjections.]]

Mr M V DANIELS: Abahambe! [They should leave!]

Mr W W WESSELS: Hon Deputy Speaker, we disagree on a lot of matters in this House, in this Parliament ... [Interjections.] ... but I do believe that we all agree that South Africa is in financial trouble. I do believe that we can all agree that we are in economic trouble, that there is not sufficient economic growth, that there is an unemployment crisis and that the majority of South Africans are poor. I do believe that we disagree on the causes hereof.

But whilst we disagree, because of different ideologies and different policies, I do believe we can agree that the people out there, the ordinary South Africans, the majority of South Africans, are suffering.

I do believe, and I'm convinced that we can all agree, and we do all agree, and that there is a broad consensus in this Parliament, that a value-added tax, VAT, increase is not desirable; I do believe that. And that is why I also believe that accepting this fiscal framework, which still provides for

and is based on a VAT increase, won't be acceptable for the FF-Plus. The fact of the matter is that we could have amended this fiscal framework and made it better.

For too long Parliament has functioned as a rubber stamp when it comes to Budget. And that is why it is ... in the past accepted that what was tabled was just passed and implemented. Times are changing, and we have to accept that. And that is why we can and do have the power to amend the Fiscal Framework to make it better and to what we are all convinced of, what we all agree with, that we should not overburden the already overtaxed South Africans, and even more, that we should change the fiscal framework and the Budget as such.

South Africans are overtaxed and underwhelmed or underserviced, if you want. Job creation is not taking place ... [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Mosquito ...

... wa bora ... (*Translation of Setswana sentence follows.*)

[... is boring ...]

Mr W W WESSELS: ... the economy is not growing, poverty is increasing ... [Interjections.] ... and service delivery is lacking.

Increasing tax, in any form, will not, at the end of the day, stimulate economic growth. It will lead to less economic activity, it will increase cost of living, it will lead to less disposable income, less job creation, less investment opportunities and more poverty, which will lead to less tax revenue. And the projected tax revenue won't be realised because of that economic reality.

We have to note that a tax revolt is imminent in South Africa and it's understandable because people are poor and getting poorer. We have to take that into account.

Government expenditure is not cost-effective. A lot of money is being wasted; we have to address that. But we should leave the politicking and the political opportunism and rather focus on making this Budget better and building a better economy so that we create wealth for all South Africans. I thank you.

Mr R A P TROLLIP: Hon Deputy Speaker, let me remind us all why we are here this afternoon, and that's because we have a budget impasse and that the Government of National Unity, GNU, has not been able to thread that Budget needle, having been in

government together for nine months. And the main protagonist in this conflict is the very party that were clapping like seals this time a year ago when the Minister tabled his Budget, but now they're moaning like a drain.

From the outset, ActionSA has fiercely opposed any increase in VAT and the personal income tax bracket creep. We remain unwavering in our commitment, shielding ordinary South Africans from unjust and unnecessary tax hikes.

At the first aborted effort to table a budget, I said that the government must cut the fat and leave the VAT.

ActionSA chose to recommend changes to the Fiscal Framework rather than amend it outright because an amendment would have required the Minister of Finance to redo the entire budget process. This would have caused more delays.

Let me remind you what the delays are: 19 February aborted Budget; 21 days later, 12 March, presentation of a budget; 21 days later we are here today and we have an impasse.

All that while the value of our rand has gone down the drain. The rand to dollar value has decreased by 1,1%, rand to pound 1,2%, rand to euro 1,1%. That's making South Africans much poorer than a proposed increase in VAT that we object to.

Instead, our approach allows for the necessary time to table alternative revenue proposals and, most importantly, to gazette the postponement of the VAT increase without triggering a full budget revision.

ActionSA led the charge in the Standing Committee on Finance to protect South Africans from increase in VAT. We made this recommendation to prevent a VAT increase, to prevent inflation or to ensure inflation adjustments for personal income tax and prevent income tax stealth bracket creep.

Instead, the committee, now, will have 30 days to develop alternative proposals to raise R19 billion in personal income tax and R13 billion to make up the shortfall that is required to balance this Budget.

This approach ensures that the government explores reasonable and responsible revenue solutions without burdening the ordinary South Africans with unfair tax hikes.

ActionSA's constructive, responsible alternative keeps the Fiscal Framework intact while preventing more fiscal instability and procedural deadlock.

SA Revenue Service, Sars, has proven, today, that they are the master revenue collectors. They collected R1,855 billion of

revenue in the last financial year; R8,8 billion more than they projected, R114 billion more than the year before. There is the solution.

The solution lies with Sars doing its job and this House empowering Sars to do its job. Not by taxing poor South Africans, not by exposing South Africans to bracket creep.

We now have a month to fix that, and I hope that this House will put South Africans first and put their parochial priorities in their pockets. Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr S N SWART: Madam Deputy Speaker, the ACDP appreciates that this is a very complicated and complex matter. However, let us make it very clear that we have some serious concerns with the report and we are concerned from a legal perspective as to the process that was followed.

Surely, a senior counsel opinion should have been obtained, given the fact that in all likelihood this matter will end up in the courts.

If one also considers that the Fiscal Framework is premised on economic growth of 1,9%, last year's growth was a dismal 0,6%, half a percent lower than Treasury's own projection. How realistic, then, is a 1,9% projection?

Even the committee agrees that Treasury's growth projection is too optimistic. Yet, we accept this Fiscal Framework. It must improve the accuracy of its forecasts. And even on this dubious forecast, gross loan debt is set to reach a staggering R6 trillion or 76,2% of gross domestic product, GDP, debt service costs R4,24,9 billion or 22 cents of every rand of revenue. This is clearly unsustainable.

So, the ACDP is very clear as most parties are here, that we do not accept the VAT increase.

Yesterday, whilst the committee was sitting, Sars announced that they had collected an extra R8,8 billion. Surely, the additional balance, which is about R4 billion, could have been collected and will be collected without raising the VAT.

We also do not support the fact that personal tax brackets were not increased for the so-called bracket creep. And we seriously question from a legal perspective whether these two aspects have, in fact, been scrapped, as has been alleged.

We firmly believe that South Africans are cash-strapped and already, according to the Laffer Curve, shows that additional taxes will have diminishing returns.

The ACDP believes that a pro-growth budget, which cuts unnecessary spending and wastage, is what is required. Underperforming and unnecessary programmes must be discontinued.

Lastly, we believe that closing the tax gap, which is estimated by Sars at R800 billion, by only 10%, would result in additional R80 billion for state coffers.

We as the ACDP cannot support the report. We believe that those VAT changes and those other changes could have been implemented using the legislation that the committee has at its disposal. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mr N L S KWANKWA: Deputy Speaker, it's easy to say ...

... asiyifuni iVAT, asiyifuni i ... (*Translation of isiXhosa sentence follows.*)

[... we do not want VAT; we do not want ...]

... corporate income tax increase, but then what do we want? What are the alternatives? When you're dealing with finances it's about balancing books, and it was great that there's an opportunity for further engagement on the revenue proposals that were made by the Minister. However, that process here is

great. I don't take mandate from anyone except the UDM. It's great because it provides us an opportunity once again to reflect on the various scenarios and the options that might be tabled at that particular forum. Why? Simply because there are trade-offs in economics. There's also the transmission mechanism. So, if you take one from here, it has an impact on the other sector of the economy and it's easy to say no tax increase.

However, where are we going to get the alternative sources of revenue from? Because they are not on their own going to entail tax whether it's indirect or direct, that means it's a no-brainer, it's simple economics. The second issue is, we are only delaying the inevitable. At some point we have to make this decision and the difficult decision to plug the revenue shortfall. So, I hope this exercise is not intended to kick the can down the road, if you like, but that we're going to engage in intensive and extensive engagements about how best to find solutions for our country, and that is what is critical, in essence. And to try and seek refuge in our ideological enclaves and narrow partisan interests is not going to help us. To do that is not going to help South Africa. Secondly, I think what is even more important, it's great to talk about the debt to gross domestic product, GDP, ratio, and it's great to talk about growth forecasts, which are unrealistic. That's true, but at some point, we have to

grow the economy so that we can reduce the debt to GDP ratio, as ratio of the economy. Now, it means we need to try and manage all the economic fundamentals and the economic indicators simultaneously. They are not mutually exclusive.

They have to be done concurrently because the management of the economy is like that. Also, I think we should learn a lesson from what is happening right now, that consultation should have started way back when the Budget cycle started last year, so that we're able to reach the compromises which we are likely to reach if we deal with this matter in a very matured way, going forward. As the UDM, we need money to bring our soldiers back from the Democratic Republic of Congo, DRC; we need money to be able to pay the Social Relief of Distress, SRD, grant and we need the money to be able to pay social welfare budget. All of those are required. When I go to my constituency, I am not asked about Basic Education Laws Amendment, Bela, etc; I'm asked about social grants, and we support this ...

... kuba siyazi ukuba ... (*Translation of isiXhosa sentence follows.*)

[... because we know that ...]

... in the process ...

... mayingene imali ebantwini ... (*Translation of isiXhosa sentence follows.*)

[... money must go to the people ...]

... we'll sort ourselves right after that. Thank you.

Mr S S ZIBI: Madam Deputy Speaker, we are here today because the can has been kicked down the road too many times in the past, especially since February 19. We are here because trillions of rand borrowed by our government since 2013 have gone to waste. If we borrow more, it will be irresponsible. Today we face a situation where the country pays interest of R8,5 billion per week on our debt at between 9% and 10%. Taking on any more debt will be a burden on future generations. We must make our choices within the money that is available. Also, the biggest problem we have is the composition of our expenditure. We spend too much on salaries, too much paying for debt and too little on investment into the economy. The Department of Health only spends 5% of its budget on capital expenditure, the Department of Education, only 4%, and that means we are asking fellow S Africans to wait longer for services they deserve.

South Africans have been bled dry. They cannot afford any more taxes, and they are angry because on a daily basis they see

people who steal and waste government money walking around without being arrested. Just last week we were in Buffalo City on oversight, where R57 million has been spent on a swimming pool so far, but it is still not working. Instead, it must be dug up and built again at a cost to taxpayers. In the O R Tambo District, where I come from, we see the same patterns, of South Africans still waiting for clean running water even though there are taps installed. We saw a dam project on which hundreds of millions have been spent, but there is still no dam and no water. We found the same pattern of mismanagement with suppliers being paid for work that till today has not produced a desired result. The painful thing is that the people of South Africa have no choice but to put more money into the projects because we cannot tolerate that there are South Africans who have no access to clean water.

It is a painful insult to us, South Africans, to pay twice, three or four times what they should have paid less for. Hon Deputy President, surely, surely, we can work together to find between R20 billion and R30 billion minimum in savings in the medium term, surely, but that means we must work together between now and October to start producing results from next year. South Africans cannot afford to bleed any more money. They don't have it ...

... iphelile. (*Translation of isiXhosa sentence follows.*)

[... it is finished.]

If we take their experience seriously, then we must use the next 30 days to find alternatives to value-added tax, VAT, and personal income tax increases. We will certainly make detailed submissions in the respect, so that we can finalise this Budget. Therefore, we will vote for the adoption of this report.

Mr M A MAIMANE: Madam Deputy Speaker ...

... bagaetsho, dumelang. (*Translation of Setswana sentence follows.*)

[... greetings, my fellow people.]

I think it's common cause. Today we're not being asked to make an easy decision, but we've been asked to make a responsible decision that serves the people of this country, not court processes, not political processes, but the people's processes. And therefore, fellow South Africans, it's not a choice between good or bad, it's a choice between worse or much worse. Delaying today, we'll have the economic impact that we're beginning to see. Therefore, as Bosa, I come here today to say, we are here to ensure the passing of this Fiscal Framework so that we can deal with the issues that sit within

this Budget. [Applause.] I've said it and I will say it again, this is not a good budget. Otherwise all of us would accept it easily, but Parliament has the duty to amend it. That is a punishment on people for state capture. Therefore, let's use the next while to find alternative revenue mechanisms, and part of those revenue mechanisms, hon members, may tend to say, we declare gambling as a sin tax so that we can raise the appropriate revenue through that whole process. The Budget suffers because it tells the people that we have 1,8% growth. We need more growth, not less, and it's a fictitious number. So, I'm here to make some proposals, Minister of Finance, as you know, I've engaged you on this issue.

We think that we can support transformation, but let's ensure that the R20 billion allocated to the National Empowerment Fund, NEF, can be staggered over the medium-term, because if we do that, we can find the reduction in expenditure to ameliorate the VAT needs that we are putting on the table. Secondly, I think we need to strike a deal with one of our trading partners, which is the USA, so that we can increase the growth capital formation in this country. Thirdly, let us fund not only SA Revenue Service, Sars, but let's fund the National Prosecuting Authority, NPA, and Special Investigating Unit, SIU, so that those who stole the money can end up in jail, and we can solve the revenue question. Lastly, let us fix municipalities. That's why our supporters, Bosa, say we

will be going to the Appropriations Committee to deal with the expenditure issues and to amend the Budget that has been put before us, and say, hon members, it's not a blank check. If we don't do these amendments in the next 30 days, we cannot support the Appropriations Bill and we cannot support the division of revenue. Our job is to find growth mechanism that ... [Interjections.] ... will deal with this Budget.

Ke a leboga. (*Translation of Setswana sentence follows.*)

[Thank you.]

Thank you very much. [Time expired.] [Interjections.]

Mr N L S KWANKWA: Sifuna i-Agriculture! [We want Agriculture!]

Ms T L MARAWU: Hon Deputy Speaker, the ATM rejects the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals. The ATM unequivocally stands against any tax increases. Raising taxes in the current economic climate will place an additional burden on already struggling households and businesses. South Africans are grappling with high unemployment, rising living costs and economic stagnation. Increasing taxes will only stifle economic growth, discourage investment and further push vulnerable communities into financial distress. Instead of extracting more from taxpayers, the government must focus on

an efficient revenue collection, cutting wasteful expenditure, and eliminating corruption to maximise existing resources.

Focusing on the business of the day, a budget that prioritises the needs of the many over the privileges of the few must be our guiding principles. The continued allocation of over R30 billion in medical aid tax credits disproportionately benefits the middle class, while our public health care systems remain underfunded. It does not make sense to subsidise private health care while provinces are forced to implement hiring ... [Inaudible.] ... compromising service delivery in our hospitals and clinics. This is an injustice that we cannot ignore. These funds should be redirected to strengthening our public health care infrastructure, ensuring that all South Africans, regardless of income, have access to quality health care.

Hon members, we are deeply concerned about the increasing push for public-private partnership at the local government level, often without transparency on their financial implications. Initiatives like Operation Vulindlela are being promoted with little evidence modelling on clear results on the long-term impact. People ... [Inaudible.] ... often obscure debt obligations and expose critical services such as water and electricity cost escalation that makes our people more vulnerable, and they are unaffordable for our people.

If we are to pursue such partnerships, there must be full disclosure and public scrutiny to prevent unintended consequences that disproportionately affect the poor. We stand at a crossroad. South Africa's Fiscal Framework must be one that serves its people equitably. We cannot continue with policies that entrench inequality, while millions struggle to access basic services. The ATM called for a budget that prioritises many people ... [Inaudible.] ... directing ... [Inaudible.] ... expenditure. We do not adopt the report. Thank you. [Time expired.]

Ms L S MAKHUBELA: Hon Deputy Speaker and hon members, the Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals report tabled before us considers a budget that continues to advance the transformation of the country through a redistributive measure. The Fiscal Framework of the 2025 priorities prioritises the expansion of government spending, with the net increase of noninterest expenditure of R142 billion. This increases our social wage and cushion the poor through a safety net and strengthens the provision of critical social services. The Budget further prioritises key capital investments to strengthen network industries and expand infrastructure development to contribute to economic growth and job creation. The ANC has always advanced a progressive taxation system which taxes the rich and the middle strata to support the poor and the marginalised.

In the local sphere of government, most of the rates and taxes are collected from urban areas to support our rural areas and townships. This is a character of a progressive tax system. True to its commitment to the people of South Africa, the ANC has shaped our fiscal policy to prioritise the social wage which currently stands at 61% of the Budget. The social wage is about the poor and the marginalised. In the main it expands access to education, health, shelter for the poor and it provides a safety net through a comprehensive social security system, which is one of the largest grant systems in Africa and in the continent.

On revenue proposals the ANC welcomes the internal processes of the national executive, which resulted to a decline in the value-added tax, VAT, from the first 2% proposed to the 0,5%. The ANC has resolved as part of the public involvement to have the National Treasury to look into an alternative revenue source to cover the shortfall, which is proposed to cover the VAT increase and the inflationary adjustment to personal tax brackets.

We can assure South Africans that this Fiscal Framework is subject to a strict recommendation coming from the Standing Committee on Finance, which recommends that National Treasury facilitates to seek alternative revenue and expenditure savings to balance the R28 billion shortfall. We believe that

multiple social interventions will cushion the poor, such as the zero-rated food baskets, social grant increases, and the increases in the indigent programme, and the decision not to increase the fuel levy. The intervention to improve affordability of public transport will provide a relief for the public.

Hon members seated here in this Assembly, we are fully aware and cognisant of the fact that our challenges as a country are a problem of the stagnant economy that cannot create enough jobs for the youth and the unemployed. The Budget that is tabled before us makes bold measures to cushion the poor and the workers, and that will be done through the increased social grants above inflation, including funding of the Social Relief Distress grant, to support the unemployed, which will cover about 28 million South Africans.

Allocations for the three-year Public Service Wage agreement, which is above inflation, will mitigate against the cost of living for the poor, stimulating increased household consumption. About R19 billion is to cover the medium-term to keep approximately 11 000 teachers in their classrooms. R28 billion is added to the health budget to keep about 9 300 health care workers in our hospitals and in our clinics, which will contribute to addressing the matter of unemployed doctors, nurses and employ about 800 post-community service

doctors. This Fiscal Framework includes funding the missing middle to enable their continued access to higher education.

Hon members, to stimulate economic growth the Fiscal Framework takes bold measures through increased public infrastructure spending for over three years, which will amount to about a trillion, focusing on the SA National Roads Agency, Sanral, Transnet, Eskom transmission and the provision of water. New regulations for the public-private partnerships will take effect from 1 June 2025 to increase infrastructure investment and enhance crowding of the private financing for public infrastructure.

The SA Revenue Service, Sars, is allocated R3,5 billion in the current financial year, and an additional R4 billion over the medium-term to enhance revenue collection. This will strengthen Sars efforts to collect a significant portion of the projected R8 billion debt collected and to tackle illicit financial flows.

Hon members, about R2,1 billion over the medium-term is allocated to support about 120 000 small, medium, and micro enterprises, SMMEs, which will benefit businesses owned by the youth, persons with disabilities and other small business owners. To achieve debt sustainability, we need to resolve the economic growth problem. We should take measures to lower our

annual debt-servicing costs and tackle the imposition of high credit premiums as advanced by the African Union. Without restructuring of the global and the domestic financial sector, low-to-middle-income countries like ours will experience a stagnant economic growth due to high credit premiums.

The ANC welcomes the public participation that was made by 51 submissions which have enhanced the consideration of this Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals, which were very constructive. The ANC further considers submissions made in shaping ongoing efforts to resolve the social and economic challenges the country is confronted with.

As I conclude, hon Deputy Speaker, I want to leave you with a saying that resonates, amongst my people, the people of the Lowveld in Mpumalanga who are Shangaan speaking, and often bring hope by saying:

Hambiloko swo teka nkarhi, kambe swi nga ka swi nga endleki, swi nga endleki. Kutani na le ka nkarhi wa sweswi hi vula leswaku hambiloko swo teka nkarhi, swi nga ka swi nga endleki, swi nga endleki. Ndza khensa, Xandla xa Xipikara. Inkomu! Kxanimambo! *(Translation of Xitsonga paragraph follows.)*

[No matter how long it takes, it is impossible for it to not happen. Even now, we say no matter how long it takes, it is

impossible for it to not happen. Thank you, Deputy Speaker.  
Thank you so much.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: Hon Deputy Speaker, Al Jama-ah would like to thank the Minister of Finance for going out of his way to give pensioners, children and people living with disabilities above-inflation increases despite of difficult fiscal constraints. Minister, 28 million people who receive social grants salute you. Please, a round of applause to the Minister of Finance. A 30-day breather is very progressive. A round of applause to ActionSA! The Report of the Standing Committee on Finance on the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals, dated 01 April, is a revolutionary report and the Fiscal Framework is a world-class framework. It was developed after entertaining 51 submissions - 29 written and 22 oral. The points of order raised earlier today are like April-fool jokes compared to this well-thought evidence-based submissions by the thought leaders of South Africa. There were independent members of society who also contributed making the points of order and positions of some speakers, hon speakers before me, mute. None of them referred to any of these submissions. All of them support 15% value-added tax, VAT, and raised no objections to this creature of apartheid.

Thirty years into our democracy Parliament has done very little to reverse VAT introduced by the apartheid regime.

Parliament has ignored other Fiscal Framework opportunities like zero-based budgeting and recovering illicit financial flows out of the country by multinational conglomeration colonial companies. [Interjections.] Tax on turnover is already in our framework, but it is not mandatory and there is no political will to insist on it. Once we have a fiscal framework with these important baselines, we can start the process to reduce VAT to under 10%, a single-digit tax.

Let me compliment the Treasury and the SA Revenue Service, Sars, Commissioner for the work-in-progress to deal with illicit financial flows which hampers our GDP from reaching 5% growth. This is not a pipedream. Like I said, this is a world-class Fiscal Framework developed by a world-class country and the best minds in South Africa through submissions. Al Jama-ah puts its weight behind Treasury, puts its confidence in them, and thank them for serving the nation. Thank you very much.

[Time expired.]

Mr F ADAMS: Hon Deputy Speaker, colleagues and the progressive caucus under nine wasted months, it is impossible for anybody with a conscience to support this report. It is because some of us have forgotten the cold chills in the shack. Some of us have forgotten what is like to eat mealie meal with no sugar. Some of us have forgotten the indignity of using long-drop

toilets. This is why we are so comfortable to support this injustice.

If this report ever goes to court this meeting will be meaningless because it will be overturned. But what we can say is that this has been a heated debate. It was a debate between those who speak from the souls of our communities and those who speak from the pockets of rubber hashoffs. Ultimately, this is dehumanising to pass the flops of this government unto the poor and say it is only 0,5%. The honest truth is that it is 6% over two years. But lying to the people who brought us here is nothing new to this Parliament.

We want to applaud the DA for standing up against this 0,5%. But I want to ask the DA, how they balance that considering that they want to scrap minimum wage and want our people to work for food and water? The seeds of food riots had been planted in this report. We thank the progressive caucus for standing by their morals, for standing for the poor and say no to this report. Thank you. [Applause.]

The MINISTER OF LAND REFORM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: Deputy Speaker ...

... phambi kokuba ixesha lam liphele kuba imizuzu emithathu ayonelanga, mandiqale ngale ndawo ibalulekileyo. (*Translation of isiXhosa paragraph follows.*)

[... before my time expires, because three minutes is not enough, let me start with this important issue.]

The PAC supports this Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals. [Applause.] It is our observation that maintain the practice of expenditure on servicing the needs of our people is the correct position given the foundations of a developmental state that is focussed on redress politically and addressing poverty. Spending on the poor, providing access to basic needs and services such as food, housing, water and electricity is the reason why we are here. Our people expect a budget that speaks to the needs of the majority. We call on the improvement on tax collection before cutting expenditure on increasing the burden on compliant taxpayers. We are looking forward to seeing how the Budget allocated to the SA Revenue Service, Sars, for improved tax collection will be utilised. At the same time let us not rush to borrowing money that comes with harsh conditions and future burdens. Cutting expenditure that directly impacts on the living conditions of the poor is unacceptable.

The investment in transport infrastructure as an example of pro-poor expenditure, Madiba, is welcomed given the distance the poor travel for migrant labour in our metros, cities and towns. The working poor spend up to 60% of their income on transport, and this leaves them in a perpetual poverty trap.

We support the Budget that seeks to provide universal coverage in health to all our citizens. Our support for the Budget is based on our mandate which we received from the majority of the electorate who remain poor and unemployed. If we are serious about addressing the inequality in our country, we cannot ignore the fact that we are here because of decades of underspending upon the African majority. [Interjections.]

Mr A NCHABELENG: Hon Deputy Speaker, we want to know, how much money has been allocated for land redistribution in the Budget? Let those who are fighting for the Budget tell us.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Honmember, in terms of the Rules, you first have to ask whether the speaker is prepared to take a question. You do not just ask a question. Hon Minister, please proceed.

The MINISTER OF LAND REFORM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: I don't have time for comedy. If we are serious about addressing inequality in our country, we cannot ignore the fact that we

are here because of decades of underspending to the African majority. This was done deliberately by the apartheid government. By ignoring the needs of the majority of opposing the pro-poor Budget as was presented, we are further entrenching inequality and advancing an apartheid-type of government.

Hon Deputy Speaker, we fought for the poor people; we went to jail for the poor people; we went to exile for the poor people; and we were hang for the poor people. We cannot be told by our former oppressor that they are fighting for the poor. We support the Budget. [Applause.]

Mr L W MAHLATSI: Deputy Speaker ...

... kgotso, Mafrika. (*Translation of Sesotho sentence follows.*)

[... greetings, Africans.]

As the UAT we reject this report because it does not align with the developmental objectives of our nation. Instead, it exacerbates economic inequality and serves the interests of the capital imperialists at the expense of the working class and the poorest.

The VAT, increase contradicts the economic development goal. The nation's fiscal policy should be designed to stimulate inclusive economic growth, reduce inequality and promote industrialisation particularly in a country like ours. However, increasing VAT achieves the opposite.

The South African National Development Plan and the African Agenda 2063, both emphasise the need for progressive taxation and inclusive economic policies that do not burden the low-income groups. This increase will lead to a decline in consumer spending particularly on essential goods, rise in food insecurity and poverty levels and increase financial strain on small businesses who rely on consumer demand.

South Africa must prioritise its citizens over the Western capitalists. It is deeply problematic that the National Treasury justified VAT increase by comparing South Africa to all Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD, countries. We cannot allow our economic policies to be dictated by the western capital framework that do not serve our people's interests. Parliament must act independently and prioritise the needs of South Africans over the foreign economic pressures.

Rejecting this Fiscal Framework is not an act of defiance, but an act of responsibility. Our nation cannot afford to adopt

policies that entrench inequalities and suppress economic growth. Instead, we demand a progressive taxation that ensures that wealth has contributed fairly to the national development. A crackdown on corporate tax evasion to recover billions lost through illicit financial flows. Increase investment in local industry and infrastructure to create jobs and reduce reliance on consumer tax.

Ekare GNU e ya putlama. (*Translations of Sesotho sentence follows.*)

[It looks like the GNU is collapsing.]

Khanimamba! [Va phokotela.] (*Translation of Xitsonga sentence follows.*)

[Thank you very much! [Applause.]]

The MINISTER OF TOURISM: Madam Deputy Speaker, today we are witnessing a new history here. We see the birth of a new doomsday coalition. The DA, the MK and the EFF, that's the new doomsday coalition that we see today. Now is the time, not for party posturing and politicking. Now is the time for us to work together and put our country first.

As the Good party, we commend the increase in the allocation of education and infrastructure, as well as the retention of the Social Relief of Distress grant. We further welcome the recommendation by the Appropriations Committee that Social Relief of Distress, SRD be taken into a basic income grant, because section 27 of our Constitution places an obligation on government to make sure that we take reasonable steps ...

[Interjections.] ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Minister, please take your seat, there is a point of order. Hon member of the MK? Hon Minister, please take your seat while the point of order is being raised.

Mr E M NTSHINGILA: Deputy Speaker, I just want to ask if the hon Minister can take a question?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Minister, are you prepared to take a question?

The MINISTER OF TOURISM: No, suka! [get away!] [Laughter.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please proceed. [Interjections.]

Mr E M NTSHINGILA: Deputy Speaker, is 'suka' parliamentary?

The hand gesture is against Rule 84.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please take your seat, hon Minister.

Please repeat your point of order, hon member.

Mr E M NTSHINGILA: I want to establish if it's parliamentary for the Minister to use these gestures and say 'suka'.

[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: She was stretching her hand.

Mr E M NTSHINGILA: Please rule on that. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: The Minister was stretching her hand.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, please do not interfere whilst I'm deliberating on a point raised. It is unparliamentary to say 'suka' with the hand gesture. Hon Minister, please withdraw that.

The MINISTER OF TOURISM: I withdraw, Madam Deputy Speaker.

Hlala phansi. [Uhleko.] (*Translation of isiZulu sentence follows.*)

[Sit down.] [Laughter.]

Madam Deputy Speaker, every member of the executive has a role to play to grow our economy and to create jobs. It is not the responsibility of National Treasury alone. What we need to see as a matter of urgency is that every Minister in the executive comes with a plan as to what their departments will contribute towards economic growth and job creation, not just National Treasury.

Ministers need a budget to create jobs. So, those Ministers with budgets are going to vote for their budgets today, so that they can create jobs. But if you are a Minister without a budget that you are not voting for today, you can't create jobs. So, we must look into that.

Madam Deputy Speaker, I am confident that with the allocation to SA Revenue Services of R7,5 billion over the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework, MTEF period that they will be able to collect more taxes next year and that the 0,5% value-added tax, VAT will only be applicable for the current financial year. I'm confident that they are going to raise that money so that we only have the 0,5% VAT for one year.

I would like to appeal to all of us to make sure that we work together. We can't just say for the interest of the sake of the country, but then some of us want to be holier than thou.

So, the strange bedfellows, the doomsday coalition, we are going to vote you out. Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr M J CUTHBERT: Deputy Speaker, yesterday we witnessed the ANC and ActionSA choose taxing South Africans over growing the economy. They chose to undermine their partners as they could not accept that they are now a 39% party and are obligated to create a shared economic vision for our country. A vision that would grow the economy, create jobs and lift millions of South Africans out of poverty and into prosperity.

Instead of working with its partner in the Government of National Unity, GNU, the ANC decided to collude with the band of bitter exes, has-beens and political opportunists, otherwise known as ActionSA. A party with a demonstrable ... [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Hon member ...

Mr M J CUTHBERT: ... record of sacrificing good governance and growth at the altar of expediency.

One only has to look at the cities of Tshwane and Johannesburg, where these two parties colluded to install coalition. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Hon Deputy Speaker.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, please take your seat. There is a point of order. Please raise your hand. I cannot see who is raising the point of order. Hon member, on which point are you rising?

An HON MEMBER: I want to check if the hon member is prepared to take a question?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, are you prepared to take a question? [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Don't ask if he is.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, he is not prepared to take a question. Thank you. Hon member, please proceed. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: He ... [Inaudible.] ... the budget of the Basic Education Laws Amendment Act.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I have ruled on the matter, and I have not recognised you any further.

'n AGB LID: Jy is 'n banggat. (*Translation of Afrikaans sentence follows.*)

[An HON MEMBER: You are a coward.]

Mr M J CUTHBERT: I think my comment obviously hurt the hon member there. One only has to look at the cities of Tshwane and Johannesburg where these two parties colluded to install coalitions of corruption at the expense of critical service delivery. As they attempted to spin their misdeeds to voters in these two cities at the time, they followed the same playbook yesterday.

Firstly, the Finance Committee had only two options ...

[Interjections.] ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, please take your seat. Hon Swart?

Mr S N SWART: Chairperson, I'm rising on Rule 85.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Swart, if you could just bring the microphone closer to you.

Mr S N SWART: Someone mentioned that he is a *banggat* [coward]. Obviously, that is unparliamentary. We don't know who said that, but maybe the person who wanted to put the question, but I would submit that it is totally unparliamentary and must be withdrawn.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: The reference was to *banggat* [coward]. I am not quite sure that, that is unparliamentary, hon Swart. I think that is a description of someone. What I do take exception is that the member spoke without being recognised. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: But those who ... [Inaudible.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Cuthbert, please proceed.

Mr M J CUTHBERT: Thank you, hon Deputy Speaker. Firstly, the Finance Committee had only two options, but could either accept or amend the existing Fiscal Framework as empowered by the Money Matters and Related Procedures Amendment Act. On this score, the ANC, IFP and ActionSA, voted in favour of the existing Fiscal Framework, which included a 0,5 percentage point VAT increase and the non-adjustment of personal income tax brackets for inflation, commonly referred to as bracketry.

However, they desperately tried to buy themselves cover by inserting non-binding recommendations into the committee's report, which requested that the National Treasury revise its Budget within 30 days. Despite the snake oil ActionSA sold to South Africa last night, the National Treasury has no legal obligation to amend the framework if it passes in today's sitting.

Secondly, the financially and illegally illiterate hon Beesley confidently stated that his proposal would amount to a R28 billion reduction on the revenue's side of the balance sheet. However, if one were to remove both of VAT increase and bracketry, the actual amount would be R31,5 billion. Worst of all, he had no idea where the National Treasury would find the money to plug the gaping hole left in the fiscus.

To make it abundantly clear to members of the public, ActionSA capitulated to the ANC's misguided policy of taxing South Africans and undermining the economic reform agenda. In contrast, the DA has remained resolute in its opposition to any new taxes and succeeded in blocking the initial 2% point VAT hike from the Budget tabled in February.

Furthermore, the DA submitted a fully costed alternative to the existing Fiscal Framework which would have generated R27,2 billion in savings from national departments alone. These savings could have been used to eliminate the need for any tax hikes and prioritise expenditure towards growth-enhancing reforms.

However, the DA did not stop there. We proposed a comprehensive overhaul of the country's economic policy to address the following critical issues. A GDP growth rate that has remained capped at 1,3% from 2008 to 2024 and cannot keep

up with annual population growth. This is best demonstrated by the fact that South Africans on average have become poorer over the years, with GDP per capita declining from \$7 900 in 2010 to \$6 000 in 2023. An expanded unemployment rate that has increased from 31% to 42% between 1994 and 2024, which means that millions of South Africans have joined the unemployment queues on an annual basis.

Even more concerning is that our children are not equipped with the necessary education and skills to gain meaningful employment, as illustrated by the 60% youth unemployment rate. Previous ANC-led governments have also led us to the brink of fiscal collapse, with our debt-to-GDP ratio having risen from 44% in 2014 to 77% in 2024, while debt repayments consume 21% of all government's revenue.

If the rest of these metrics did not make the ANC think twice about the need for meaningful economic reform, then they should look at the trend line from the Bureau for Economic Research, BER Business Confidence Index, which had an average score of 36 out of 100 between 2014 and 2024.

If we genuinely expect businesses to invest in our country and create jobs, but they lack faith in the government's policy direction, we have absolutely no hope of addressing the frightening policy crisis that is facing our economy.

This is why we as the DA remain resolute in our call for the following evolving economic reforms. Pursuing an aggressive debt reduction strategy to ensure that we live within our means and do not allow debt repayments to crowd out the expenditure on frontline services. Expediting the private sector's involvement in electricity generation and transmission to create a truly competitive energy market. Finalising port and rail concession agreements with private partners to enhance competitiveness and position us as an export-oriented economy. Scrapping duties on manufactured goods not produced in South Africa, and other localisation policies that hinder trade and make goods more expensive for consumers. And lastly, removing the extension of Collective Bargaining Council wage agreements for small, medium and micro enterprises, SMMEs, which hinder hiring and add to the number of South Africans in grinding unemployment.

Hon Deputy Speaker, the choice before us today is clear. Those parties in favour of voting for this fiscal Framework will betray the voters who elected them to this very House. My only advice to these parties is, good luck explaining this to your voters at the local government elections next year and do not be surprised when they punish your expediency at the voting booth. The DA rejects this pro-tax and ... [Inaudible.] ... with contempt it deserves. I thank you, Deputy Speaker.

Mr M K B MOLEFE: Madam Deputy Speaker, each generation must discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it, in relative opacity. This is what Frantz Fanon said more than 50 years ago in his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*. I am invoking the writings of this great African which speaks directly to the challenges imposed on us, this generation, by centuries of oppression and exploitation. The response of our fathers and forefathers in their titanic battle to defeat the demon of racism and exploitation, and the things that have been done and not done since the attainment of freedom in 1994. It points starkly and glaringly to the monstrous beast we are facing as a country and its resilience in resisting change and transformation. Indeed, this beast is not only resilient, but also agile and can adapt very easily, despite it being enormous and elephantine. It easily changes its colours, but more ominously, it has very loyal surrogates who work extremely hard and reside within the bosom of its opponents in such a sophisticated way that in time many effectively begin to believe that the surrogates and the beast itself are, in fact, the leaders against all that defines the same beast and its legacy. It then eloquently and convincingly presents the legitimate opponents of oppression and exploitation as the incarnation of its historical self.

Let me turn to the business of the day. The Financial and Fiscal Commission has urged the National Treasury to return to

economic fundamentals and the idea of a capable developmental state focusing on overcoming poverty, unemployment and inequality. We reiterate that call. The only path to economic growth in South Africa is through employment creation underpinned by land redistribution through expropriation without compensation. Those that have a burning desire to become refugees elsewhere must be allowed to exercise their democratic rights that are available free of charge under the Bill of Rights. They must not perpetuate the suffering of our people by pleading with foreign governments to join them in their bullying. Apartheid was enough.

Hon Maswanganyi said that ActionSA crafted the recommendation which we are today talking about in the report. It is a tragedy, hon Maswanganyi, that even the recommendation that hon Beesley has crafted is not in the report. So, the report is inaccurate and historically incorrect because the very recommendation that we are discussing here that was crafted by the hon Beesley is not in the report. Listening to the DA, it sounds as if they have an irrepressible desire to be the leader of the opposition. You cannot have your cake and eat it. If the Government of National Unity, GNU, is too hot, leave it.

I want to enter the PA only offered as an update on the soap opera that is unfolding in the GNU. Obviously, hon McKenzie

thinks that a generational mission is the same as generations. The FF Plus cannot stand here and tell us about poverty. We all believe and agree that we need land reform and expropriation ...

... sonder vergoeding. (*Translation of Afrikaans sentence follows.*)

[... without compensation.]

Hon Trollip from ActionSA, despite your party being credited with resolving the impasse by supporting the VAT increase, that resolution of the impasse is not recorded in the report. Hon Trollip, it will not even be reflected in the historical documents that are being crafted today. Where are the legal provisions, hon Trollip, that allow for alternative tax proposals within 30 days? There is nothing in the law that allows us, or you, to negotiate the Budget further in the next 30 days. The correct position would have been to reject the report today so that we can do those alternative tax proposals. The UDM has asked quite a number of questions relating to economic issues and where we are going to get the money.

... Rre Kwankwa, ga o ka botsa baitsi dikwalo kgotsa ba ka go tlhaga ... (*Translation of Setswana sentence follows.*)

[... Mr Kwankwa, if you can ask the experts, they might ...]

We reject the report. [Time expired.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Thank you. The next speaker is the hon Sekoati. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: That was the second largest opposition party.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, there are members who are persistently switching on their microphones without being recognised. If you do so, you may be requested to leave the Chamber. Hon Sekoati, you may proceed. Thank you.

Mr S C SEKOATI: Thank you, House Chair. Our macroeconomic policy framework is a critical instrument to advance the developmental objectives of a democratic state. The past decade has been a period of low economic growth, and increasing levels of unemployment and poverty. We need to recognise that monetary policy and fiscal policy are the key elements of our macroeconomic policy framework. Through our fiscal policy, the ANC seeks to advance the imperatives contained in our Bill of Rights and the realisation of the aspirations of all South Africans. The Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals increases a focus on stimulating economic

growth and job creation, as they also create an opportunity to increase our revenues and our tax base.

The ANC-led government has taken measures to strengthen state-owned enterprises in the sixth administration, and we can see the positive developments thereof. Eskom has restored electricity supply reliability, though with some hiccups, and investments in the green economy have also increased significantly in the past administration. The Budget supports Eskom's financial sustainability, which is critical for its ability to invest in plant maintenance and infrastructure developments of transmission lines.

E re ke tliše pego go bohle bao ba ka bago ba le ka magaeng ba theeditše ebile ba na le kgahlego go ditekanyetšo tše di tlišitšego ke Tona ya rena. Ke ditekanyetšo tše re di thekgago go ya ka polelo ya Tona ya rena yeo le yona re e thekgago ka mabaka ao a itšego. Gare ga rena go šetše go tlile dingangele le diphure tše di gananago le ditekanyetšo tše Tona a di begilego tša go kaonafatša maphelo a rena batho ba Afrika Borwa.

Ereng ke le tsebišeng gore ditekanyetšo tše diphure tše di ganana le tšona ge batho ba gaborena - bakgekolo le bakgalabje, ba okeletšwa mphiwafela. Ke le tsebiša gore batho bao ba gaborena, re kwelego diyalemoyeng le dikuranteng gore

ba hloka mešomo, ke bao ba rutegilego, e lego dingaka le baoki.

Go ditekanyetšo tšeo, Tona o boletše gore batho bao ba tla thwalwa gore ditirelo kua dipetleleng tša rena di tle di kaonafale. Ditekanyetšo tšeo diphure tše di di ganago lehono - ba re go ka se kgonege, rena re re go tlile go kgonega. Se se tla thuša gore barutiši bao ba tsenego dikolo, ba rutegilego, ba tle ba thwalwe, ba tlišwe dikolong tša rena gore dithuto di kgone go tšwela pele gomme bana ba rena ba hwetše thuto ya maleba.

E re ke re bana ba kgoši ba tlile nwa meetse a mokgako ka lebaka la ditekanyetšo tšeo. Ke ka lebaka leo rena re le ba ANC re emago thekeng tšeo Tona ya rena a di boletšego. Re thekga yona tekanyetšo yeo. E re ke boleleng gape gore Ditirelo tša Motšhelo tša Afrika Borwa, e lego Sars, e tlile go kaonafatšwa gore bao ba efogago motšhelo ba hwetšwe gore mmušo o be le mašelang ao a tlogo thuša batho ba gaborena, a be a hlabolle le naga ya rena. Tšeo kamoka re a di amogela- re di amogela ka diatla tše pedi ka lebaka la gore di tlile go lwantšha tlala, tlhokego ya mešomo le go se lekane.

Go na le ditekanyetšo tšeo di lebeletšego kgolo ya ekonomi gore bao ba se nago mešomo, ba hwetše mešomo, gomme bao ba sa e hwetšago ba tšwele pele go hwetša setsekana seo ba ka kgonago go iphediša ka sona. Re a makala gore dingangele tšeo

di gananago le tekanyetšo ye ke eng seo ba se tshephilego. Gape ke bona ba tlogago ba laetša lehloyo go batho ba gaborena, mola ba ikaketša ba re bona ba emetše ditokelo tša batho ba gaborena. Ke mokgatlo wa ANC woo o nago le kgahlego gore batho ba gaborena ba tšwe dinaleng tša tlala le tlhokego ya mešomo.

Ke rata go le tsebiša taba ye nngwe ya gore mmušo wa rena o hlokomela borakgwebopotlana. Gape ke seo se boletšwego ke Tona gore borakgwebopotlana ba tla hlokomelwa, ba beelwa setseka seo se tla ba thušago. Borakgwebopotlana ba tlile go hwetša seo se tla matlafatšago dikgwebopotlana tša bona gore ba kgathe tema go ekonomi. Ke tšwela pele ke re re kgahlanong le bao ba ganetšago tekanyetšo ye - ba ganana le gore batho ba gaborena ba hwetše monyetla wa go godiša ekonomi, go fediša tlala le tlhokego ya mešomo. Re le ba ANC re re re thekga pego yeo. Ke a leboga, Modulasetulo. (*Translation of Sepedi paragraphs follows.*)

[Let me give a report to all South Africans who are interested in the Budget Vote presented by the hon Minister, especially those who are tuning in from the rural areas. We support this Budget Vote in totality. There are already people who are against it, even though it is meant to improve the lives of the people of South Africa.]

Let me indicate that one of the stipulations in the Budget Vote they are against is the increase in the old age grant. We heard over the media about our people who are struggling with unemployment, the educated ones, mainly medical doctors and nurses.

In the Budget Vote, the Minister indicated that those health practitioners will be recruited into health facilities in order to improve the health services. To those who are against the Budget Vote, saying that it is not feasible, we are saying that it is feasible. This will also assist with recruitment of teachers who are unemployed. This will ensure that our children receive quality education.

This Budget Vote is promising better services for our people. As the ANC, therefore, we support the Budget Vote tabled by the hon Minister. Efficiency at the SA Revenue Service, Sars, will be improved such that tax evaders will be traced. This will create a bigger revenue base that will assist in improving services to our people. We fully support all those initiatives, because they are endeavours to alleviate hunger, unemployment, and inequality.

The Budget Vote is focused on economic growth, in such a way as to create jobs in an effort to alleviate unemployment. Those who do not get jobs will receive grants to help them

survive. We find it unusually surprising that anyone should be against this Budget Vote. They are really showing hatred to our people, while at the same time making false allegations that they stand for the human rights. The ANC has the interest of the people at heart; we will deal with the alleviation of hunger and unemployment.

Furthermore, the government is taking care of small business owners. It was announced by the Minister that they will receive grants. Their businesses will be economically empowered. It is not a good idea for the Budget Vote to be rejected; doing so is denying an economic growth opportunity for our people to alleviate their hunger and unemployment. As the ANC, we support the Budget Vote. I thank you, Chairperson.]

The MINISTER OF FINANCE: Hon House Chair, let me start by saying, what has happened in this financial year in debating this Budget, is a positive aspect which we're missing. Never, since the democratic breakthrough, have we ever had this public debate of the Budget. That in itself is a positive development. Sadly though, the debate is focused on one side of the equation, and that equation is on the revenue side. Little attention is paid to the spending side of this equation because, had we looked at the spending side of this equation and said, what is being funded, those who talk about the poor

would understand that a major part of this Budget is targeted to those poor communities. Whether you're talking about education, or whether you are talking about health. We made the point here that about 9 000 workers have left the system in health last year, undermining the quality of health services in poor communities. And all of us here, we talk about poor, poor, poor. We don't understand those services that belong to poor people, which are being eroded.

Let me just outline for instance this VAT impact people are talking about. Let's update the facts. What are the facts? Zero point five would generate R15,5 billion, okay? What does our data tell us about VAT? Our data says 76% is paid by the three upper-income categories. What does that mean? It means 10,26 of this VAT is going to be paid by the three upper-income categories. Remember, it is going to be paid by what we call the lower-income categories, which is R3,24 billion. But what is the package that we are presenting to these poor categories? It far exceeds the R3,2 billion. We're talking about zero-rating, which is R2 billion. We're talking about an increase in the indigent basket. We are talking about this R29 billion in education. We're talking about this R28 billion in health. Let's be fair when we talk about health in poor communities; let's do the numbers. The numbers refute everything we have said in this room.

The second set of issues; on Friday this week ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Minister, would you just take your seat please. Hon Van Rooyen, why do you want to be recognised? Order, hon members. Order! Why do you want to be recognised?

Mr D D D VAN ROOYEN: House Chair, I rise to check if the Minister, by outlining the essence of the VAT increase, is going to ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon member, please take your seat.

Mr D D D VAN ROOYEN: I wanted to pose a question on the ... [Inaudible.] ... provision, Chair.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Take your seat, please. You had an opportunity to debate. Continue, hon Minister.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE: I was saying on Friday this week, we will be tabling the Rates and Monetary Amounts and Amendment of Revenue Laws Bill which gives effect to all the tax categories we are talking about. That provides an opportunity for all of us to have this engagement about 0,5% and all of

that. And we would appreciate ... we will be more than happy to work with all the people in this room - with everybody with constructive proposals. But those constructive proposals must talk to two equations of this Budget. They must talk to those two equations. If we are taking this R2,5 billion, we must then say, as the DA says, cut the equivalent amount on the expenditure side. That is what the DA says and it's fine. Set R13,5 billion aside on the revenue side, then go and cut an equivalent amount on the expenditure side. The very issue that we have been talking about of austerity. But let's have these constructive engagements about wastage and efficiency. Parliament has an important role to play. And that opportunity is this Budget.

People have made reference to Sars. Let me repeat the Sars issue. We have agreed with Parliament. We can't say we are intransigent. Parliament says to us, increase Sars budget. We said to Parliament, yes, we are listening. Sars budget was supposed to increase by R3,5 billion over the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework, MTEF. What was our response? It was to add the R4 billion to that Sars budget over the MTEF increases by R7,5 billion.

The hon member from the ACDP talks about our forecasting. The unfortunate part in the joint committee when we made a presentation to demonstrate on average with comparators how

are our numbers look like, I don't know why he was not part of the meeting because we debunked that notion that our forecasts are inaccurate. On the Budget process, I must say that we accept that. The Budget process now has to be changed. We are going to think about, when we come back to the committee, how we make sure that we can involve everybody starting from July, September, and October. That's what we want to do.

Let me just say the DA does not necessarily tell the truth, normally, and then they have the tendency to shift the goal post every day. The Deputy President chairs the committee where we were looking at alternatives. The DA proposals were no bracket creep. That is the DA proposal. No bracket creep. No medical service. Nothing! We had accepted their proposal. Today they have the audacity to stand up and say they don't want bracket creep. It's a lie! Let's be fair. Let's debate honestly and disagree honestly. We accept genuine disagreements. It's in the nature of a robust debate. I think this Budget has produced that robust debate, but let's make sure that the debate is robust. Don't base it on lies.

As I conclude, hon Chair, for the Government of National Unity, GNU, I don't think you can vote against a Budget and tomorrow you want to go and be part of its implementation. It can't be. We are going to draw a line on that one. Thank you.

Debate concluded.

The Chief Whip of the Largest Party moved: That the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals and Report of Standing Committee on Finance thereon be adopted.

Question put: That the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals and Report of Standing Committee on Finance thereon be adopted.

Division demanded.

The House divided.

The House Chairperson, Mr C T Frolick, announced that the Speaker had determined that, in accordance with the Rules, a manual voting procedure would be used and that this would take the form of a roll-call vote whereby each member would be requested to voice his or her vote. Members would be called from the membership list, per party, in alphabetical order.

Business suspended at 16:54 and resumed at 17:05.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, will you take up your allocated seats so that we can proceed with the business of the House? Are all members now in their allocated

seats? Hon members, as I indicated before the break, I have determined that the manual voting system will be used, whereby each member will be called upon and requested to voice his or her vote. I think it is important that the hon members follow because it can prolong the voting process if we do not cooperate. In terms of the Rules, all members present when the question is put, with the doors barred, must vote or record abstention. This Rule does not apply to a Minister or Deputy Minister who is not a member of the House. Political parties will be called alphabetically. The secretary will call each member from the membership list, starting with those from the ANC. Members will be called by their surname, followed by their initials. To facilitate this process ... Order, hon members ... I appeal to hon members to indicate only their vote without a preamble statement or without delay. Members must simply indicate yes, no, or abstain. This will assist the tellers in ensuring that your vote is correctly captured. In the event a member's name is called and the member is present, but for whatever reason, do not indicate their vote, an opportunity will be provided for such members to raise their hands after the last member is called from the list, at which point they will be recognised to cast their vote.

Question put: That the 2025 Fiscal Framework and Revenue Proposals and Report of Standing Committee on Finance thereon be adopted.

Voting:

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Michalakis, we are in the middle of the voting process, why do you want to be recognised?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY (Mr G Michalakis): House Chair, my apologies for doing this, but members are approaching the door, and the doors are supposed to be locked.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Doors must remain closed and locked.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY (Mr G Michalakis): House Chairperson, a member came in after the doors were locked. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Who is the member that came in?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY (Mr G Michalakis): The member from the PA in a green top.  
[Interjections.]

HON MEMBERS: Mabhambe! [They must leave!]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, order.

Hon members, take your seats ... [Interjections.] ... Who is speaking ... [Interjections.] ... take your seats ...

[Interjections.] ... Hon Manyi! The Chief Whip of the MK, can you prevail on your members, please? You are now disrupting procedures. Who is the member that came in when the door was locked ... [Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: Isiboshwa! [Prisoner!]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): ... the hon member at the back. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: PA member. [Interjections.]

Mrs H DENNER: House Chairperson, also on a point of order on this subject.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, why are you standing? Yes, take your seats. Calm down! Yes, hon member.

Mrs H DENNER: House Chairperson, the member in front of me from the PA came in after the doors were locked. I watched the proceedings as it happened.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): The hon member must leave the House ... [Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: Makahambe! [She must leave!]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): ... If any ... don't shout at me ... any hon member who came through the door after the doors were closed and supposed to be locked, there is no debate, you must simply leave. [Interjections.] [Applause.] It is simple. Order, hon members, who is the hon member that came in? The Chief Whip of the PA. Hon members, you are now disrupting the voting. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: House Chair, yes, he came in when the doors ... [Inaudible.]

The MINISTER OF SPORT, ARTS AND CULTURE: House Chair ... If she came in when the door was locked, is she 'Lesilo Rula'? [A ghost in a South African soapy?] How could she have passed the door? She came in when the door was open!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Minister, please do not speak so directly into the microphone because I could not hear anything you said.

The MINISTER OF SPORT, ARTS AND CULTURE: House Chair, my question is: If the door was locked, as the DA is saying, how did she get in? [Interjections.]

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: We saw her!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Minister, and this is my ruling. I am not going to recognise any more hands. This is my ruling, the members that came in through the door after I made the announcement must leave. They cannot vote.

[Interjections.] Where is the Sergeant-at-arms?

[Interjections.] Hon members, hon members, just calm down ...

[Interjections.] ...

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: It's the two of them. Help them out.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Deputy Minister ... [Interjections.] ... Hon members, why are you behaving like persons who do not understand the Rules? [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Hon Chair ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Do not shout. You are not going to get my attention if you start shouting. It is a sign of insecurity when you start shouting because you are not sure what you want to say. Hon Deputy Minister, and I am not

debating the point, I made a ruling. The ruling is that those who came through the door after it was closed must leave. That is the ruling ... [Applause.] ... Where is the Serjeant-at-arms? Serjeant-at-arms, will you see to it that those members who came through the door after it was closed, leave the House ... [Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: Yes! Hon Chair ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, I am not in a debate in the middle of a voting session. We are in the middle of a voting session ... [Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: Let me assist you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): ... hon members, stop shouting at me. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Hlala phantsi! [Sit down!]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF COMMUNICATION & DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES (Mr M Gungubele): Here is my question. How do you use Members of Parliament to decide who came in or came late? [Interjections.] All of us here ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Please, take your seat, hon Deputy Minister. Please take your seat. You see, we expect Members of Parliament who have sworn, who have already taken an oath in Parliament to accept responsibility. They know they came in late; they must leave. [Applause.] Why must you be pointed out? So, I request those members or member who came in late to simply leave, otherwise I will have to ask the Sergeant-at-arms to remove you ... [Interjections.] ... No, I am not recognising you, I am busy with a ruling.

[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Was the door locked or not?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, the report that we have from the ushers at the door is that there was one member, Raatiqah Tagodien, who must leave the Chamber immediately so that we can get on with our business. Please leave the House. Where is the hon member? May I ask the Sergeant-at-arms to assist the member and show them to the door, please. Thank you. The Chief Whip of the Second Largest Minority Party.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY (Mr G Michalakis): House Chair, I am being reliably informed that the member was fetched from the door by her party whip who

knows fully well that when the voting is going on, no member ... [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Sit down Chief!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Order, hon members, hon member, please take your seat. You are not assisting the proceedings ... [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: We are not in prison here. They were two. They are prisoners who broke into the House.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, there were ushers at the doors who managed to give us the name. The Chief Whip of the PA was inside the venue. That is the report that we got and that is the report that I am taking in making my decision. Hon member, we are in the middle of a voting session, why do you want to be recognised?

Mr A SAULS: House Chair, I want clarity. If a member's name is on the register as present during the session, how can she ... [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Hlala phantsi wena! [You sit down!]

Mr A SAULS: She was here.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Take your seat ...  
[Interjections.] [Inaudible.] Please, take your seat. There  
are Rules here.

Mr A SAULS: Could you explain the Rule? [Inaudible.]  
[Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): ... [Inaudible.] ...  
you are now delaying the voting in the House ...  
[Interjections.] ...

Mr A SAULS: Chairperson, could you explain ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): ... I am not going to  
allow you to delay the voting in the House. We want to  
proceed. Hon members, let us proceed from where we left off.

Voting contd. [Interjections.]

Mr V G REDDY: On a point of order.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Secretary, will you  
just hold it there, please? Hon Reddy, why do you want to be  
recognised?

Mr V G REDDY: House Chair, how do we know that the person who is saying yes is that person? [Interjections.] Maybe, they should stand up and say yes or no, so that we know who they are.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon member, we are proceeding very well because from where I am sitting, I can see every person here and whether it is the person who is voting. Please, do not raise spurious points of order that will delay us. Please continue, secretary.

Voting continued.

Hon members, as I indicated earlier, members who remained present but could not, when called, indicate their vote may now raise their hands if there are any. After which, I will recognise them to indicate their vote. Are there any who did not vote? None. Thank you, hon members, the voting session is now closed.

Hon members, the plenary is in session, so do not go too far away from where you are supposed to sit. I will announce the outcome of the division as soon as it has been checked by the secretary to the National Assembly.

AYES - 194: **ANC 154** Adams, R C; Bila, T J; Bilankulu, N K;  
Boshielo, S P; Botes, A; Burns-Ncamashe, Z; Capa, R N; Chabane,  
M S; Chauke, T M; Chikunga, L S; Cloete, E A; Creecy, B D;  
Davids, S W; Dhlomo, S S; Didiza, A T; Dikgale, M C; Direko, D  
R; Dithebe, S L; Dlakude, D E; Dlelanga, M; Dugmore, C M;  
Dunjwa, M L; Gantsho, N K; Gcaleka-Mazibuko, N A; Gigaba, K M  
N; Gina, N; Godlimpi, Z; Godongwana, E; Govana, Y; Gungubele,  
M; Hala, M M; Hassan, F; Hlongo, A S; Kegakilwe, B M; Kekana,  
P S; Kgabo, G D; Khumalo, J Q; Koornhof, G W; Kubayi, M T;  
Kumbaca, A N; Lamola, R O; Legoete, M D; Lekganyane, M S;  
Letsie, W T; Letsike, M S E; Ligaraba, L E; Louw, S T D; Lucas, S  
E; Mabe, B P; Maduna, N; Maeco, S M; Magagula, T E;  
Mahambehllala, T; Mahlangu, S S; Mahlaule, M G; Mahlobo, M D;  
Mahumapelo, S O R; Maimela, K J; Majodina, P C P; Makasi, N;  
Makgato, M P; Makhubela, L S; Malematja, C N; Manamela, K B;  
Maneli, B M; Mantashe, G S; Masemola, N D; Mashatile, S P;  
Masina, M C; Masondo, D; Maswanganyi, M J; Mathabatha, C S;  
Mathafa, O M; Mathale, C C; Mbiyo, I M; Mchunu, E S; Mchunu, T V B;  
Meth, N; Mgweba, T; Mhaule, M R; Mhlauli, N B; Mkhize, Z L;  
Mkutu, L; Mmolotsane, M L; Mnganga - Gcabashe, L A; Modise-Mpya, M;  
Moela, M S; Mofokeng, M L; Mohai, S J; Mokoena, J L; Moraka, A T;  
Morolong, I K; Mosikatsi, S; Motaung, N E; Motshekga, M A;  
Motsoaledi, P A; Mrara, M; Mtolo, N E; Munyai, T B; Muthambi, A F;  
Mvana N Q; Ndabeni-Abrahams, S T; Ndalane, N A; Ndamase, P; Neale-  
May, H E; Nel, A C; Nemadzinga-Tshabalala, J; Nkabane, N P;

Nkopane, N S; Nkosi, N E; Nkosi, V A; Nontsele, M; Nqola, X;  
Ntshalintshali, L L; Ntshavheni, K P S; Ntuli, M; Nzimande, B E;  
Nzuza, N B; Phaahla, M J; Phiri, C M; Pholwane, M B; Plaatjies, W  
T; Pule, D D; Ramaila, K S; Ramokgopa, M L; Ramokgopa, K D;  
Ramolobeng, K A; Sangoni, K L N; Sapo, L; Seabi, A M; Seate, M O;  
Segede, M; Sekoati, S C; Selamolela, S D; Senne, M M; Shabangu, F  
L; Shiviti, T G; Sibiyi, N M; Simelane, T P; Siweya, R T;  
Skosana, G J; Sokanyile, T; Sokopo, M M; Sompá-Masiu, N S; Sotyu, M  
M; Subrathie, S I; Tau, M P F; Tikana-Gxotiwe, W; Tlhong, K C;  
Tolashe, N G; Tshotetsi, N T; Xaba-Ntshaba, P P; Xego, S T;  
Zikalala, S; **IFP 15** Buthelezi, E M; Buthelezi, N Z; Cebekhulu,  
R N; Hadebe, N M; Hlabisa, V F; Hlengwa, M D; Langa, T M;  
Luthuli, B N; Machi, B E; Majosi, Z; Mhlongo, N H; Mncwango, M  
A; Ngcobo, S L; Sithole, K P; Van der , L L; **PA 8** Daniels, M V;  
Freeman, E; Mathopa, M L; Mckenzie, G; Petersen, J S; Rorke, F  
S; Sauls, A; Van Wyk, S H M; **ACTIONSÁ 6** Beesley, A D; James, D  
E; Kobe, M P; Letlape, T K S; Ngobeni, L M; Trollip, R A P;  
**UDM 3** Holomisa, B H; Kwankwa, N L S; Nontenja, C T; **Rise**  
**Mzansi 2** Gana, S M; Zibi, S S; **BOSA 2** Hlazo-Webster, N L;  
Maimane, M A; **Al-Jama-ah 2** Hendricks, M G E; Salie S; **PAC 1**  
Nyhontso, M; **GOOD 1** De Lille, P.

NOES - 183: **DA 87** Abrahams, A L A; Alexander, W R; Atkinson, P  
G; Aucamp, W A S; Bagraim, M; Baptie, E V; Basson, L J;  
Bateman, A G; Bath, E M; Bergman, D; Bodlani, T K; Bollman, N

J; Breytenbach, G; Burke, M J; Cameron, I; Chance, R W T;  
Chetty, M; Christians, D C; Christie, K A; Clarke, M O;  
Cuthbert, M J; De Blocq Van Scheltinga, De Villiers, J N;  
Engelbrecht, J; Essack, F; George, D T; Gondwe, M M; Graham-  
Mare, S J; Gwarube, S; Hattingh, C; Horn, W; Hunsinger, C H H  
; Ismail, H; Jacobs, L C; Jordaan, C; Kgobisa-Ngcaba, K;  
Khakhau, K L; Khanyile, T A; Klopper, D D; Kohler, D; Krüger,  
H C C; Labuschagne, C; Le Roux, K W D; Linde, E; Lorimer, J R  
B; Lotriet, A; Mabhena, T B; Macpherson, D W; Madikizela, B S;  
Malatsi, M S; Marais, E J; Masango, B S; Maseko, L M; Mazzone,  
N W A; Mbiko, F; Mc Gluwa, J J; Mdluli, M M; Michalakis, G;  
Mileham, K J; Moore, S J; Mphithi, L; Myburgh, N G; Nhanha, M  
A; Nodada, B B; Peach, W D; Poole, C J; Potgieter, L R;  
Powell, E L; Ramongalo, T R; Roos, A C; Sarupen, A N;  
Schickerling, L; Schreiber, L A; Seithloho, I S; Shelembe, M  
L; Singh, S; Sithole, R J; Smit, C F B; Smith, R; Spies, E R  
J; Steenhuisen, J H; Van Der Walt, D; Van Zyl, A M; Vilakazi,  
S G; Wakelin, K H H; Whitfield, A G; Zondi, S; **MK 47** Abader, Z  
A; Douglas, W M; Gama, S; Gamede, T I; Gasa, M M; Gasa, N M;  
Gcwabaza, N B; Kobane, G E; Kubheka, T T S; Madlala ,E K;  
Madlala, M C; Mafagane, M C; Makhubele , C; Malinga, J S;  
Manyi, M; Matutu, M J; Mbatha, M S; Mbele, H H; Mchunu, G;  
Mjadu, T S; Mkhize, S P; Mngadi, P P; Mngxitam, J A; Molefe, M  
K B; Montana, T L; Moodley, S R; Motubatse, M P; Msezane, M P;  
Mthethwa, Z E; Mtshweni, N A; Muhammad, M B B; Mwali, S G;  
Nchabeleng, A; Ngubane, J S; Nomvalo, S; Ntshaba, D;

Ntshingila, E M; Nxumalo, N I; Reddy, V G; Rweqana, M; Selepe, H D; Shongwe, C V; Skosana, D M; Taaibosch, G; Themba, A T; Van Rooyen, D D D; Zuma-Sambudla, D; **EFF 38** Blose M B; Diale B K; Dlamini M M; Dlamini M; Gcilishe S; Khawula S; Komane L M; Letlape M S; Lonzi S; Mailola P R; Malema J S; Managa L; Maotwe O M C; Marais P; Mashabela N R; Mathulelwa B; Mathys L; Matiase N S; Matiwane C; Mente-Nkuna N V; Mhlongo N M; Mkhaliphi H O; Mkhonto C N; Mogale T P; Mohlala M R; Mokwele T J; Montwedi M K; Mthethwa E; Niehaus C G; Nolutshungu N J; Ntlangwini E N; Pambo V; Paulsen M N; Shikwambana M; Tafeni N; Thambo S; Thembekwayo S S; Tito L F; **FF Plus 5** Boshoff W J; Denner H; Groenewald P J; Van Staden P A; Wessels W W; **ACDP 3** Meshoe K R J; Swart S N; Thring W M; **ATM 2** Marawu T L; Zungula V; **UAT 1** Mahlatsi L W.

Question agreed to.

Report accordingly adopted.

**HUMAN RIGHTS DAY: DEEPENING A CULTURE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND  
HUMAN RIGHTS**

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): I now recognise the first speaker, hon Mmolotsane. Hon Mmolotsane?

[Interjections.]

Order, hon members! Order, hon members! Take up your seats!

[Interjections.]

Order, hon members! [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Mabahambe! [Let them leave!]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Whose microphone is on? Members of the ANC, will you take up your seats? Hon Deputy Chief Whip of the ANC, will you assist us so that we can proceed with our proceedings? [Interjections.]

Hon Mmolotsane, take your seat please. Hon members, take up your seats! I now recognise you, hon Mmolotsane.

Ms M L MMOLOTSANE: Hon House Chairperson, good afternoon to hon members. Today we gather to commemorate Human Rights Day, a day that carries profound historical significance in our nation's journey towards justice and dignity for all.

We remember 21 March 1960, when peaceful protesters in Sharpeville stood defiant against the oppressive pass laws, only to be met with violence. Their sacrifice ignited a fire that burnt through the darkness of apartheid, gifting us the freedom we cherish today. However, as we honour the past, we must ask ourselves, how do we continue to uphold human rights

in our daily lives? The answer lies in the universal power of sport, arts and culture. These three anchors are forces that break barriers, unite us and amplify the voices of the unheard.

For decades sports have been catalysts for unity. In 1995 Nelson Mandela donned the Springbok jersey during the Rugby World Cup, transforming a symbol of division into one of reconciliation. Today, Siya Kolisi, the first black captain of the Springboks and a leader who forged through adversity, commands our national team with unwavering pride, proving that true greatness transcends above all circumstances.

In 2010 the Fifa World Cup united a once divided nation in celebration. Sport teaches fairness, teamwork, respect and perseverance - values that mirror the very essence of human rights. They remind us that victory is not for an individual but for a collective. Sport does more than unite, it heals broken communities in a way that no one can ever comprehend.

By investing in community sport infrastructure and programmes, we give young people an alternative to the scourge of drugs and substance abuse. When a child kicks a ball or joins a team they find purpose, discipline and hope - a shield against despair. Such sport also challenges toxic norms, fostering

respect and equality to combat social ills such as gender-based violence.

Since 1994 we have seen a revolution in women's participation in sports. Olympic champions like Penny Heyns, Caster Semenya, Tatjana Schoenmaker, have not only made history but shattered ceilings. Their victories are a testament to the power of inclusion.

We applaud the leadership of Cricket SA for being the first federation in South Africa to professionalise women's cricket as well as the Premier Soccer League for embracing female teams, proving that the field belongs to everyone. To pioneers like Ria Ledwaba, Anastasia Tsihclas and now Jessica Motaung, women who fight for equity in boardrooms and on pitches. We see you, your courage lights the path for the future.

Our culture defines who we are. From the stirring melodies of Mama Miriam Makeba, Mama Letta Mbulu, Ntate Caiphus Semenya, Hugh Masekela to the kwaito beats of Thebe, TKZee, Mandoza and Trompies to the spiritual harmonies of Kabza Da Small, Babalwa M, Samthing Soweto to the afro tech rhythm of Black Coffee, DJ Shimza and the Free State-born international afro tech producers, Kasango Ben Sharpa and Zulu Mageba.

Our artistry is a testament to resilience and joy. A very special mention to our Tsonga princess, Sho Madjozi. We honour story tellers whose work in theatre and activism wove the struggle of our people into fabrics of global consciousness. Our visual arts commands global respect.

Dr Esther Mahlangu, the Ndebele legend, turned village paintings into a world-renowned BMW art ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms z Majozi): Hon Mmolotsane, can you kindly take your seat? Thank you. Hon members, according to Rule 64, as much as we appreciate and we are together on the issue of our child, Cwecwe, we all know that members must firstly say that they would want to put up placards. It is not allowed to just come into the House and put up placards. I have said it that we understand, and we are all in this but it is not allowed to have placards in the House when you have not requested to have the placards before.

So, can I kindly request that members of the EFF take down your placards before we proceed, please. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: These ones have no shame! They are politicising such a sad thing.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms z Majози): We all know the Rules ...  
[Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: They have no shame!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms z Majози): ... and we should then  
adhere to the Rules. Can we please take down the placards?  
[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: They are politicising it.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms z Majози): Hon Michalakis, your hand  
was up.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY (Mr G  
Michalakis): House Chairperson, I am covered. Thank you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majози): Members, you are  
requested to please take down your placards. [Interjections.]

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: Which Rule is that, House Chair?  
[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: They are politicising such a tragic thing!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): I did read out the Rule ... [Interjections.] ...

An HON MEMBER: You have no shame EFF!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): ... Hon Mkhaliphi, you don't do that; you can't just press your mic and speak without being recognised. You know that you must raise your hand first.

Hon Chief Whip of the EFF, hon Nolutshungu, can you please assist us with the placards? I think we all know the Rules and we should adhere to them. As much as we know how sensitive the matter is and we are together on that issue, there is nothing that we are opposing on what you have written on the placards, it is just a matter of procedure. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: They are politicising such a tragic thing. What a shame!

Mrs N J NOLUTSHUNGU: House Chair, we are not aware of the Rule. Which Rule is that?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Can you repeat, I didn't hear that?

Mrs N J NOLUTSHUNGU: I am saying that we were not aware of the Rule. Which Rule are you referring to because we are not aware of it. Please give us the Rule.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Okay, let me read it out for you so that you understand. According to Rule 64(e) members must, at all times, accord the Presiding Officers of the National Assembly and members due respect and conduct themselves with dignity and in accordance with the decorum of the House and are required not to bring (i) weapons of any kind nor dangerous or threatening object or articles nor replicas of such into the Chamber; (ii) nondangerous or nonthreatening objects, articles or placards into the Chamber except with a prior approval of the Speaker.

So, I have read it out, can you kindly take down your placards? [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: It is not dangerous! [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: They are politicising such a tragic thing! Wow! EFF, wow!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Please, can we take down the placards? [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: What a shame!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): There is no discussion about it. I have just read out a Rule for you, it has been updated.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: House Chair, please recognise me; my hand is up.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon Maotwe?

Ms O M C MAOTWE: House Chair, I am not sure which Rule book you are reading from. I have the Rules of the National Assembly ninth edition. What you just read there is not here, House Chair. In the ninth edition it is not here. I can ask the Table Staff to come and take this Rule book and give it to you and you read this because what you just read is not here.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon Maotwe, I don't need your Rule book to understand the Rules. All I am saying to you is according to Rule 64(e) which has been updated. Your Chief Whip knows and sits in the Rules Committee, and they did update these Rules. So, according to the updated Rules, that section allows for articles and placards. It was updated in the Rules Committee. Can you please speak to your Chief Whip, she might have an idea because I am definitely sure that she

sits in the Rules Committee. That is why I even asked her to please assist in members taking down placards.

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: On a point of order, House Chair.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon Ntlangwini?

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: Thank you very much, House Chair. It is important to read to comprehend. According to what you just read now, we are not in any violation because these placards do not pose any danger. That is what you have just read there. So, please when you are reading the Rules, read with comprehension so that you can also understand because I don't think you are clearly understanding what you have just read there. Mr Xaso, please help the House Chair properly and guide her properly because she is definitely misguided ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon Ntlangwini, I don't need any guidance and I can read properly.

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: ... and we are not lowering these placards.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): No, hon Ntlangwini, I don't need any guidance, and I have read the Rule properly.

Maybe it is your hearing problem that you have, but I said nondangerous and nonthreatening objects. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: It's not a hearing problem; it's a comprehension problem.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): So, it doesn't even count on that one. I also said articles and placards.

What you are telling me now is an issue of you understanding what I've just read to you.

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: You won't insult me with my hearing problem. You must apologise and you must withdraw it.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms z Majozi): I will forward this matter to the Rules Committee and to the Speaker so that it can be discussed further, and a decision is taken. I will now allow hon Mmolotsane to continue. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: They are politicising a tragic matter.

An HON MEMBER: There is nothing political here, keep quiet man!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon members, can you please stop pressing your mics? Continue, hon member.

Ms M L MMOLOTSANE: Nelson Makumu's portrait of hope graces *Time Magazine*, while Laduma Ngxokolo's Maxhosa designs dazzle *Vogue Italia*. To the famous Ricoffy artist, Ennock Mlangeni from Zamdela who went from making coffee drawings in his parents' house to having solo exhibition in Belgium. This is our story, these creators are not just artists, but they are architects of our heritage.

To photographers, TC Maila and Trevor Stuurman, very few can capture, document and reflect our culture and heritage the way you do. We see you and appreciate your work.

The ANC as the longest liberation movement has been at a forefront of human rights advocacy since 1912. We remember the 1943 African Claims which demanded equal rights and opportunity for all South Africans. The 1954 Women's Charter championed by the Federation of SA Women, further underscored the need to gender equality and social justice.

After 30 years into our nation's democracy the ANC affirms its commitment to defending our democratic gains and addressing historical inequities through critical reforms such as the

National Health Insurance, NHI, Basic Education Laws Amendment Act, BELA, and the Expropriation Act.

The resistance to these reforms by AfriForum and Solidarity must be challenged and condemned for what it is - a means of maintaining a status quo that structurally and systematically hinders people access to land, education and health, thus disproportionately disadvantaging the majority in this country.

We steer ahead towards the realisation of a united nonracial, nonsexist and prosperous country. We must recall that human rights are not passive; they demand action. Therefore, we must pledge to honour the legacy of our forebears and the great sacrifice they made for our nation. We must pledge to teach our children the real price of freedom, celebrate creativity, use art and sport to heal and unite, stand firm and speak out against injustice wherever it hides.

The bloodshed in Sharpeville was not the end; it was the beginning. Let us honour it by building a future where every life is valued, every voice heard, and every dream nurtured. We will continue to strive for a society that truly reflects the ideals of our Constitution. A society where all South Africans can live with dignity and equality. Democracy must prevail. Human rights must prevail. Amandla!

Mnu J S MALINGA: Sihlalo ngaphambili, amaLungu ePhalamende ahloniphekile wonke, sihlangene ngaphambili namhlanje ukukhumbula ukuzinikela kwalabo abalwela amalungelo abo ngomhlaka-21 kuNdasa ngonyaka u-1960. Ngalolo suku uHulumeni wobandlululo laphaya endaweni yase-Sharpeville lona nina njenge-GNU esenimbhethe ingubo eyodwa nawo wadubula abantu abanebala elimnyama ababengahlomile bengaphethe lutho ngokuthi nje babelwela amalungelo abo. Bethi sebekhathele ukuthathwa njengezihambi ezweni labo.

Kwahlaselwa abantu base-Sharpeville ngaphansi koHulumeni nobuholi buka-Robert Sobukwe we-PAC. Ningizwe kahle-ke. Angisho i-PAC le elele embhedeni owodwa namhlanje ne-GNU. Lokho kwavezela umhlaba ... [Ubuwelewele.] (*Translation of isiZulu paragraphs follows.*)

[Mr J S MALINGA: House Chairperson and hon members. We have gathered here today to commemorate those who fought for their rights on 21 March 1960. On that day, the apartheid government killed many people in Sharpeville - the same government of the Government of National Unity, GNU, that you have decided to join; those were unarmed black people who had come to state that they were tired of being treated like refugees in their own country.]

The people of Sharpeville who were led by Robert Sobukwe of the PAC were attacked. You heard me right. I am not talking about the PAC that joined the GNU. The events of that day were exposed to the world ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon Malinga, can you kindly take your seat, please.

UMPHATHISWA WOHLENGHLENGISO LOMHLABA NOPHUHLISO LWAMAPHANDLE:  
Sihlalo weNdlu, bendifuna ukukhumbuza lo mfo unxibe iyunifom yakwa-Ackermans ukuba i-PAC inye. (*Translation of isiXhosa paragraph follows.*)

[The MINISTER OF LAND REFORM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: House Chair, I want to remind the man who is wearing the Ackermans uniform that there is one PAC.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): That's not the point of order. Could you please continue, hon Malinga.

Mnu J S MALINGA: Hhayi, sizokuqasha uhambe uyoshaya amahlaya. Kwahlaselwa abantu base-Sharpeville ngaphansi kobuholi buka-Robert Sobukwe we-PAC. Lokho kwavezela umhlaba wonke isihluku esenziwa sokungahlonishwa kwamalungelo abantu. Okuthi namhlanje uHulumeni ka-ANC usususe ukubaluleka kwalezi zinsuku ngokuqamba lolu suku kabusha alubize ngokuthi uSuku

lwamaLungelo aBantu. (*Translation of isiZulu paragraph follows.*)

[Mr J S MALINGA: No, we will hire someone to be a comedian. The people of Sharpeville were attacked under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe of the PAC. The atrocities committed on that day and the disrespect for human rights were exposed for the whole world to see. Today, the ANC-led government has abolished the significance of this day by renaming it Human Rights Day.]

The MK Party does not mince its work. The MK Party is led by one of the foremost activists in the fight for human rights and dignity, His Excellency President Gedleyihlekisa Mhlanganyelwa Zuma ... [Applause.] ... A man who endured 10 years of imprisonment on Robben Island. He lived in real exile and risked his life daily not for personal gain, but for the freedom of our people. President Zuma represents the true face of sacrifice ... [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: We remember Khwezi.

Mr J S MALINGA: ... in the fight for the human rights, unlike those who are now occupying high offices but never truly walked the path of struggle. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: We remember Khwezi.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon members, no, you can't do that.

Mnu J S MALINGA: Umangabe ungangikholwa ... [Ubuwelewele.] ...  
(Translation of isiZulu sentence follows.)

[Mr J S MALINGA: If you do not believe me ...

[Interjections.]]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon Malinga, please can I assist you? Hon members, when a member is debating on a podium, it can't be that you just open your mic without raising your hand. Can we please keep the decorum of the House? Continue, hon Malinga.

Mnu J S MALINGA: ... uye laphaya e-Namibia njengoba nje kade kugcotshwa khona uMongameli uyobona ukuthi uma kubizwa uMsholozisi, abase-Namibia bazini ngaye. Hhayi i-Phala Phala le esukume kwathula kwathi cwaka. Umbimbi olwenziwa i-ANC ne-DA le enidubile namhlanje, akuwona umshado lo, umkipito uqobo lwawo. Inhloso yalo ukuqeda isithunzi sabantu abamnyama abaqhubeka nokuhlupheka nobuphofu abahlukunyezwa ukungabi namathuba anele abawathola ngonyaka ka-1994. Lolu bumbano luyihlazo, uyalazi igumuncu, into enuka phuhlu njengeqanda

lenjelane. Iqembu le-MKP lifuna ukukhumbuza abantu baseNingizimu Afrika ... [Ubuwelewele.] (*Translation of isiZulu paragraph follows.*)

[Mr J S MALINGA: ... have you seen what happened in Namibia during the presidential inauguration? You could see what the Namibians know about Msholozzi, when he was introduced. When your Phala Phala president came, the silence was felt. The alliance between the ANC and the DA is a shame. They have abandoned you today. This is not a marriage; this is like cohabitation. Its aim is to destroy the dignity of black people who continue to suffer from poverty, and the job opportunities they have received since 1994. This alliance is a disgrace, you know. It is sour. It smells like rotten eggs. The MKP wants to remind the people of South Africa ...

[Interjections.]]

Mr W T LETSIE: Well, thank you very much. Is the member aware that he is just voted with the DA that he is talking about?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): No, hon member. Hon Malinga, please ... [Interjections.]

Mr W T LETSIE: I think the speech is two weeks old.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): No, hon Malinga, please take the podium. That is not the point of order.

Mr W T LETSIE: It is an outdated speech.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon Malinga, please continue.

ILUNGU ELIHLONIPHEKILE: Wena ukwi-GNU ne-DA njalo.

Mnu J S MALINGA: ... ukuthi ingobani i-DA. I-DA umpotshozelwa, igumuncu le-National Party, eyaphekwa ngobandlululo. Umzali we-DA u-Tony Leon wayeyindodana ka-Justice Ramon Leon owagweba intsha eyayilwela amalungelo abantu. Kwakunguyise ka-Tony Leon owathumela u-Andrew Zondo owayeneminyaka eyishumi nesishiyagalolunye ezintanjeni zikadilikajele.

I-DA iyona enezimpande zayo i-National Party eyayibusa ngezikhathi zobandlululo. Ayikaze iveze ukuzisola nokuhlansa ngezenzo zalaba abangaphambi kwabo. I-MKP ikhumbuza abaholi be-GNU ukuthi i-DA inuka phuhlu igazi ezandleni zayo. Umhlaba wethu wathathwa ngonyaka ka-1652 ngesikhathi kufika u-Jan van Riebeeck nezihlobo zakhe kuleli lizwe. Kusukela ngaleso sikhathi akuzange kwabakhona ukuthula ezweni lakithi.

I-MKP ufuna umhlaba ubuyele kubantu ngaphandle kwesinxaphezelo ngoba nawo wathathwa ngaphandle kokunxashezela kwabantu.

[Ihlombe.] I-MKP ifuna amalungelo abantu bonke abahlukunyezwa ngaphansi kombuso wobandlululo abuyiselwe. Lokhu kusho ukuthi imindeni yabantu abamashumi ayisithupha nesishiyagalolunye ababulawa e-Sharpeville kufanele bathole isinxaphezelo esingaphezulu kuka-R2 million umuntu emunye.

Ayikho into ebuhlungu njengokuphile ezweni elicebile kunawo wonke eAfrika kodwa abantu balo izwe belokho bebhuqwabhuqwa ubuphofu. Izigidi ezingamashumi amathathu zabantu baseNingizimu Afrika baphila ngaphansi kobubha nobuphofu. Abanye balala bengadlile lapho bona abaholi be-GNU bedla izambane likapondo. I-ANC eyayisophondweni lokulwela amalungelo abantu isilahlekelwe ulayini namhlanje. Kunokushintsha izimpilo zabantu abacindezelwe, ishintsha izinsuku zomlando ukuze isuse ukubaluleka kwezwe nomlando walo.

Uma ukhumbula nje, usuku lweNkosi uShaka Zulu selenziwa usuku lwamasiko. Usuku lweNkosi uDingane sekwaba usuku lokubuyisana. Kanye nalo lolu suku lwase-Sharpeville selwaba usuku lwamalungelo abantu. Umangabe siwalwela ngempela amaalungelo abantu, umhlonishwa esimthandayo nesimthembayo uKhuzeni, ugodile kwezemfundo kodwa uyiSekela, ingcuba ekhalamanzi

yondlebezikhanyilanga Emini kabha. Uphendulwa ilelebane lwabelungu i-GNU. (*Translation of isiZulu paragraphs follows.*)

[An HON MEMBER: You are in the GNU with the DA.

Mr J S MALINGA: ... who is the DA. The DA is a product and the progeny of the National Party, dating back to the apartheid period. The founder of the DA, Tony Leon, is the son of Justice Ramon Leon who sentenced young human rights activists. It was Tony Leon's father who sentenced Andrew Zondo, a 19-year-old boy, to life imprisonment.

The DA has its roots in the National Party that ruled during apartheid. It has never expressed atonement for the actions of its predecessors. The MKP reminds GNU leaders that the DA has blood on its hands. Our land was taken in 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck and his relatives came into this country. Since then, there has been no peace in our country.

The MKP wants the land returned to the people without compensation because it was also taken without compensation from the people. [Applause.] The MKP wants the rights of all those who were oppressed under the apartheid regime to be restored. This means that the families of the 69 people killed in Sharpeville should receive compensation of more than R2 million each.

There is nothing more painful than living in the richest country in Africa, but the people of that country live in poverty. Thirty million South Africans live in abject poverty. Some go to bed hungry while the GNU leaders live in abundance. The ANC, which was at the forefront of fighting for human rights, has lost its way today. Instead of changing the lives of the oppressed, it is changing the course of history to erase the significance of the country and its history.

If you remember, King Shaka Day has been made a cultural day. King Dingane's day has become the Day of Reconciliation. Along with this, Sharpeville Day has become Human Rights Day. If we are really fighting for human rights, why is hon Khuzeni, a man we love and trust, with the highest qualifications, a deputy? A stooge for the white man. He has been turned into a tool for the white man's GNU.]

The MINISTER OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES:

No, thank you so much, House Chair. Is the member being able to take a question? Does he really believe in what he's saying about his own leader because this can't be right?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozzi): Okay, hon Malinga, will you be able to take a question?

Mr J S MALINGA: I will give you my WhatsApp number. You can WhatsApp me.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): That's a no then.  
Continue, hon member.

Mnu J S MALINGA: Umbuzo uthi, nibasabani abelungu?

[Ubuwelewele.] *Translation of isiZulu sentence follows.*)

[Mr J S MALINGA: The question is, why are you scared of whites? [Interjections.]]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND INFRASTRUCTURE: House Chair, may I request your protection that my name be not used by the very same people who have just voted with the DA.

ILUNGU ELIHLONIPHEKILE: Wena ukwi-GNU njalo. Wena Zikalala ukwi-GNU. (*Translation of isiZulu paragraph follows.*)

[An HON MEMBER: You are also part of the GNU. Zikalala, you are part of the GNU.]

An HON MEMBER: Deputising for a matriculant. You are worshipping a matriculant.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon Malinga, please continue.

Mnu J S MALINGA: Niwasabani amasela antshontsha izwe lethu? Sikhuluma nje namhlanje izikole zakithi azinawo amanzi. [Ubuwelewele.]

ILUNGU ELIHLONIPHEKILE: Kodwa uvote nabo.

Mnu J S MALINGA: Uma ushona Kwazulu-Natal eSikhethuxolo, awekho amanzi, ayikho indawo yendle. Uma ushona kwaVukuyiphathe, izingane zigcwele phakathi, ziyizimpethu zendlovu. Sithi nje njenge-MKP amalungelo omuntu omnyama ayobuya mhlazane babuyelwa ngokungokwabo. Mhlazane babuyelwa umhlaba wabuyeloa ezandleni zabo. Umhlaba wabantu bakithi mawubuyiselwe kubona ngaphandle kwesinxaphezelo. Gwaza Mkhonto, gwaza! Awuwe uHulumeni wamasela awuwe! [Ubuwelewele.] Gwaza Mkhonto, gwaza! Sithi njenge-MKP, amalungelo abantu base-Sharpeville ... [Ubuwelewele.] ... akuzwakale kahle lokho, selokhu balinyazwa uHulumeni wobandlululo abakaze banxashezwe kuze kube yimanje. Gwaza Mkhonto, gwaza! [Isikhathi siphelile.] [Ihlombe.] [Ubuwelewele.] (*Translation of isiZulu paragraphs follows.*)

[Mr J S MALINGA: Why are you afraid of thieves that stole our land? Today, some of our schools have no water as we speak.

[Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: But you voted with them.

Mr J S MALINGA: If you go to KwaZulu-Natal, at Sikhethuxolo School, there is no water and toilets. There are too many children at Vukuyiphathe School. As the MKP we say the rights of the black person will return the day the land returns to the rightful owners; the day the land is returned to them. The land of our people must be returned to them without compensation. Stab, Mkhonto! Stab! The government of thieves must fall. [Interjections.] Stab, Mkhonto! [Spear]. Stab! As the MKP, we are saying, the rights of the people from Sharpeville ... [Interjections.] ... this must be understood clearly, since they were hurt by the apartheid government, have never been compensated until now. Stab, Mkhonto! Stab! [Time expired.] [Applause.] [Interjections.]]

An HON MEMBER: Bye, bye!

Mr S J MOORE: Hon House Chairperson, hon members and fellow South Africans, today we rise in this House to mark Human Rights Day, a moment to reflect not only on our painful history, but also on the progress we have made in building a

just and equitable society. Human Rights Day is not symbolic. It is a call to action. A reminder that the rights enshrined in our Constitution must be protected, advanced, and realised.

Among these is the right to water. Section 27 of our Constitution guarantees that everyone has the right to have access to sufficient water and the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of that right.

But how can we speak of progressive realisation when we are, in truth, experiencing a progressive collapse?

The 2023 Blue Drop Report shows that 277 water supply systems - 29% of all the nations' assessed systems - are in a critical state. That is an increase of over 100 water supply systems in the last year dropping into critical category. The Green Drop Report reveals that 64% of water treatment systems are in high or critical risk. This is not just a service delivery issue. It is a human rights crisis.

When communities go weeks without water, when sewage runs through the streets of our towns, and when the water from the tap is too dangerous to drink - people are being denied their

basic rights. The right to dignity, to health, to education, and to a safe environment.

This past week, the Water and Sanitation Indaba was convened to try and address this very crisis. Even there, it became clear: National government is having to step in because Water Services Authorities across the country are failing.

Municipalities are not maintaining infrastructure, not paying water boards, and not collecting revenue. And this failure is not random, but it is the result of decades of mismanagement, cadre deployment, and political protectionism by the ANC.

This House just passed the National Fiscal Framework, and let us not forget, it was passed without the support of the DA.

The ANC, instead of working with its core partner in the Government of National Unity, the DA, chose instead to align with ActionSA to raise VAT and ignore our proposals that would have grown the economy and created jobs.

And why did the DA withhold our support? Because we are fighting for fiscal discipline, spending reform, and sustainable budgeting. We want government to reduce wasteful expenditure, shrink the bloated Wage Bill, and allocate more resources to frontline services like water, sanitation, education and health.

We are fighting to rescue our economy from a debt trap that threatens not only our growth, but our very democracy. And while the ANC talks about rights, it actively undermines them by bankrupting municipalities, collapsing basic services, and now threatening to do the same to national government finances. [Applause.]

We are seeing a mirror effect colleagues. At municipal level, ANC-run towns are failing to deliver water and basic services.

At provincial level, the same dysfunction is replicated in health, education, and housing.

And now at national level, the ANC is turning away from the path of responsibility and choosing instead the path of patronage politics and reckless populism. [Applause.]

Fellow South Africans, if you want to know why your municipality cannot fix broken pipes, why your clinic has no clean water, and why your toilet cannot flush, it is because the ANC has spent the last three decades building a state not on merit, but on political loyalty.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majosi): Hon Moore, can you please kindly take your sit.

The hon member from the EFF, what you are doing is not allowed in this House and you know. You cannot take photos in this House. It is not allowed. I will not repeat it.

Continue, hon Moore.

Mr S J MOORE: Hon House Chairperson, let me be clear: The right to water is not just about access. It is about governance. When water is lost through leaks, when wastewater contaminates rivers, when infrastructure decays because tenders are given to friends and not experts, people suffer. And that suffering is not accidental. It is the direct result of failed governance.

This is a government that has chosen its own political survival over the survival of its people. It has chosen backroom deals over transparent budgeting. It has chosen alliances of convenience over coalitions of principle.

[Applause.]

Fellow South Africans, but there is a different path. A path grounded in constitutionalism, fiscal discipline, good governance, and delivery. The DA has already shown, in municipalities we govern across the country that this is possible.

In the Western Cape, 92% of drinking water systems meet national standards.

Here in Cape Town, they survived the worst drought in their history by working with communities, experts, and civil society without collapsing.

We have put forward budget reform proposals, cost-cutting measures, and infrastructure investment plans that could rebuild this country. But they will require political will. And right now, that political will is being traded away to satisfy the ANC's short-term coalition arithmetic.

So, on this Human Rights Day, let us not be fooled by speeches that celebrate our Constitution while undermining it in practice. Let us not praise the right to water while watching taps run dry.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon Moore, can you kindly take your sit. There is a point of order.

Yes, hon member.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES: Hon House Chairperson, can the hon member take a question?

He is talking about the Western Cape. Which communities is he referring to? Is it Struisbaai, Khayelitsha, or Langa? Which one is he referring to in his argument of human rights?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms z Majozi): Alright.

Hon member, can you take a question?

Mr S J MOORE: No, Hon House Chairperson. This one is wasting our time.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Proceed, hon member.

Mr S J MOORE: So, on this Human Rights Day, let us not be fooled by speeches that celebrate our Constitution while undermining it in practice. Let us not praise the right to water while watching it dry up. Let us not talk of dignity while communities live in sewage.

The DA will continue to fight for a South Africa where rights are not aspirational, but real. Where budgets work for the people. Where municipalities are functional. And where government is honest.

South Africans, the greatest honour we can pay to the legacy of Human Rights Day is not rhetoric. It is reform! Thank you.

[Applause.]

Ms M R MOHLALA: Hon House Chairperson, the day historical revisionism is forcing us to celebrate as Human Rights Day is in fact a day of commemoration of the murder of black people by an entitled bunch of settlers in this country. It was on 21 March 1960, when 69 African people were killed in cold blood and over 180 injured by an unrepentant racist white minority regime. The only sin these African people committed on the African soil was to be black and to demand that their humanity as African people be respected. That they must not be required to carry dompasses in the land of their own birth. That they must be treated like lupus by a foreign invader in Africa.

When Robert Sobukwe made the call for African people to resist the insidious oppression and the exploitation of African people by the apartheid regime, he called on the African people to take their liberation into their own hands. For they had no one else by themselves. He drew the line between the people and the enemy, and he emphasised that there was nothing of common interest between the people and their oppressors. He famously said they are fighting to entrench an outworn anachronistic vile system of oppression.

We represent progress, they represent decadents. We represent fresh fragrance of flowers in bloom, they represent the run seeds smell of decaying vegetation with the whole country or world on our side. We have history on our side. We will win.

The racist regime which provided comfort for the settler minority responded the only way Europeans know how - by mowing innocent African people to death. Today the *modus operandi* of racist has not changed. They still own all land, all minerals, control the economy and continue to subject black people to subhuman treatment. They refuse all attempts to recognise the humanity of African people. They even oppose timid legislative reforms such as the Basic Education Laws Amendment Act, the National Health Insurance Act and the toothless Expropriation Act.

They do this and are emboldened to do this because they are horrified by any notion of equality between themselves as a settler group and African people. The settler minority is as emboldened as it is because they know that the nationalist bourgeoisie, running the country has no ability to reconfigure the country in a way that would take power away from settlers and affirm natives as full human. It is for this reason that this settler minority is now sharing power with the nationalist bourgeoisie so that the settler can leash on the nationalist bourgeoisie very tightly.

While this senseless dance between the ANC and the DA goes on, African people's humanity is in a more precarious state.

Hon House Chairperson, the fight for human rights in this country has never ended. It continues every day in every court room where justice is sold to the highest bidder, in every police station where cases of gender-based violence are ignored, and in every Parliament session where those who claim to lead the people betray them to political expediency.

The Omotoso saga is a prime example of how the ANC and DA coalition government, and its compromised National Prosecuting, NPA, Authority have failed the victims of gender-based violence. It is a disgrace that in a country where femicide is a pandemic, the NPA cannot successfully prosecute a high-profile case not because there is no evidence, but because of incompetence.

Children as young as seven years such a Cwecwe are raped, and no one is ever held accountable. There are over 11 000 cases of rape every single quarter in this country. The murder rate is worse than that in war-torn countries, with over 40 000 people killed every year in this country.

Over 40% of our people are unemployed. Over 50% of young people looking for work are unable to find work. Over a

million of households are living in shacks in this country and have no one else to call home. This is the state of human rights violation still perpetrated on Africans, 31 years into democracy.

This is what the DA and AfriForum and their funders and enablers in America, want to continue in this country. It is for this reason that they are prepared to do all in their power to prevent the EFF from being government. They do this because they know that the EFF will take land and give it back to the dispossessed. They know that only the EFF has the necessary will lethal to nationalise the mines and strategic sectors of the economy to ensure that this benefits the majority of our people and not just a tiny fraction of the racist settler community.

They know that it is only the EFF that will guarantee universal access to quality health care and quality education from primary to the university level. It is only the EFF that will root out the deeply entrenched corrupt tentacles that entangles the ANC with the interests of the white racists' capital.

The EFF is the only true heirs to the bold and uncompromising legacy of Robert Sobukwe. It is only under the EFF-led government that African people will have their rightful heirs.

Justice for Cwecwe! We demand justice for Cwecwe! We are demanding justice! [Time expired.] [Applause.]

Mr N M HADEBE: House Chairperson, on 21 March our country commemorated Human Rights Day, a day that holds deep significance in our nation's history. It reminds us of the sacrifices made to pursue justice, freedom and dignity, values enshrined in our Constitution, but they remain under threat due to ongoing injustices.

As the IFP we stand firm in our commitment to defending human rights, not just as a symbolic promise but as a practical mission that must translate into action.

While we celebrate the progress made, we cannot ignore the deep inequalities that persist.

Human rights lose their meaning in a country where millions remain unemployed, where corruption steals from the poor, where gender-based violence, GBV, is rampant and where safety is a privilege rather than a right.

These injustices betray the principles of Human Rights Day and dishonour those who sacrificed their lives for our freedom.

For five decades the IFP has been at the forefront of the fight for justice, democracy and equality in South Africa. Since its founding in 1975 by Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi we have consistently championed human rights, advocating for the protection of civil liberties, economic empowerment and accountable governance. We played a pivotal role in South Africa's transition to democracy, engaging in negotiations that shaped our Constitution while ensuring that the voices of marginalized communities were heard. The IFP also formed a significant part of the drafting process of the Bill of Rights within our Constitution.

Our party has remained steadfast in opposing corruption, standing for good governance and pushing for policies that uplift the most vulnerable members of our society.

As the IFP marks 50 years of service, yes, 50 years, not one year, we reaffirm our commitment to building a South Africa where human rights are not theoretical but are upheld in everyday life.

Our legacy is one of resilience and our future remains dedicated to ensuring that the promises of democracy are fulfilled for all citizens.

We ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon Hadebe, can you please take a seat. There's a hand.

Yes, continue, hon member!

Nk D NTSHABA: Mhlonishwa ohloniphekile, nginephuzu lokukhalima okuphambukayo: Ngizwa uBaba uHadebe la ekhuluma ngeNkatha yeNkululeko. Yebo, kwakunjalo kodwa okungididayo ...  
[Akuzwakali.] ... [Ubuwelewele.] ...

ISEKELANGQONQOSHE LOMNYANGO WEZOKUTHUTHA (Mnu M Hlengwa):  
Ungadideki lithini iphuzu lakho lokukhalima okuphambukayo?  
Udideke endaweni engalungile la ...

Nk D NTSHABA: ... babeyiNkatha kusakhona uButhelezi kodwa manje sebeyiNkatha egida emakhanda abantu. Bonke omasipala bayo abantu baphuza amanzi nezinkomo kanye nezingulube bedlala ngabantu. Angiyazi le Nkululeko akhuluma ngayo uHadebe.  
[Ubuwelewele.] (*Translation of isiZulu paragraphs follows.*)

[Ms D NTSHABA: Your Excellency, I have a point of order: I've heard hon Hadebe talking about the Inkatha Freedom Party. Yes, that was true, but what confuses me is ... [Inaudible.] ...  
[Interjections.] ...

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRASPORT (Mr M Hlengwa): Do not be confused; what is your point of order? You got lost at the wrong place here ...

Ms D NTSHABA: ... they were Inkatha when Buthelezi was alive. It is Inkatha that is fooling people. In all their municipalities, people share water with cattle and pigs. They are fooling people. I do not know this freedom that Hadebe is talking about. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon member, that is not a point of order! Hon member from the MK! Hon member from the MK! [Interjections.]

Nk D NTSHABA: Ngifuna ahlukalise ukuthi usho yiphi inkululeko ngoba ngazi inkululeko kaButhelezi ... [Akuzwakali.] ... [Ubuwelewele.] ... (*Translation of isiZulu paragraph follows.*)

[Ms D NTSHABA: I want him to clarify which freedom he is referring to because I know Buthelezi's freedom ... [Inaudible.] ... [Interjections.] ...]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Can you please switch off the mic! Switch off her mic!

ISEKELANGQONQOSHE LOMNYANGO WEZOKUTHUTHA (Mnu M Hlengwa):

Udideke endaweni engalungile, akudidekwa la ...

Nk D NTSHABA: Ngikhuluma ngesiZulu ... (*Translation of isiZulu paragraphs follows.*)

[The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRASPORT (Mr M Hlengwa): You are getting confused at the wrong place; this is not a place for confusion...]

Ms D NTSHABA: I am speaking in isiZulu ...]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Switch off her mic!

Nk D NTSHABA: Angazi ukuthi usho eyiphi inkululeko Hadebe, ngabe usho inkululeko le kusakhona uButhelez? [Ubuwelewele.]

Omasipala benu abantu baphuza nezinkomo nezingulube.

[Ubuwelewele.]

ISEKELANGQONQOSHE LOMNYANGO WEZOKUTHUTHA (Mnu M Hlengwa):

Awukhuzeke mama! [Ubuwelewele.]

Nk D NTSHABA: Angazi ukuthi oyikuphi lokhu akushoyo.

Ngikhuluma isiZulu ... [Akuzwakali.] ... kongangizwa.

ILUNGU ELIHLONIPHEKILE: Hamba uye esikoleni! (*Translation of isiZulu paragraphs follows.*)

[Ms D NTSHABA: I do not know what kind of freedom you mean, Hadebe. Do you mean this freedom while Buthelezi was still alive? [Interjections.] In the municipalities that you're governing, people drink with cattle and pigs. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRASPOT (Mr M Hlengwa): Stop this, Madam! [Interjections.]

Ms D NTSHABA: I do not know what you are talking about. I speak isiZulu ... [Inaudible.] ... who do not understand.

An HON MEMBER: Go back to school!]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majози): Hon Manyi! Chief Whip of the MK! Hon Manyi! Hon Manyi, I've been calling you and I do know that you've been hearing me. An hon member raised her hand, I recognized the hand thinking that it's a point of order, and she was now making a statement. And I told her that she's out of order, but she continued.

Hon member! Hon member!

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): Can I assist you, Chair?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon member! Hon member! Hon member!

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): Can I assist you, Chair?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon member! Hon member, if you don't want to listen to what I'm saying ...

ILUNGU ELIHLONIPHEKILE: Khuluma isiZulu! Ngicela ukhulume isiZulu. (*Translation of isiZulu paragraph follows.*)

[An HON MEMBER: Speak in isiZulu! Please speak in isiZulu.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Okay.

Mhlonishwa ... [Ubuwelewele.] ... angikaze ngithi khuluma. Angizange ngithi khuluma. Akwenziwa lokhu okwenzayo njengamanje. Awuyenzi nje le nto oyenzayo. Le nto eniyishoyo ukuthi akezwa ayikho ngoba uma ngimnikeza inkundla ngikwenze lokho ngesiLungu wezwa futhi ngimubizela eshashalazini ngesiLungu. Ungayenzi leyo nto futhi ngoba waphinda ngizokucela ukuthi usishiye la eNdlini. [Ubuwelewele.]

Nk D NTSHABA: Ngiyaxolisa. (*Translation of isiZulu paragraphs follows.*)

[Hon member ... [Interjections.] ... I never asked you to speak. I did not ask. What you are doing right now is wrong. You are not doing what you should be doing. What you are saying is that she does not hear and it's not true because when I gave her the platform, speaking in English, she heard when I called her in English. Don't do that again because, if you do, I will ask you to leave the House. [Interjections.]

Ms D NTSHABA: I apologise.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): ... you don't do that.

Hon Hadebe, continue!

Mr N M HADEBE: As the IFP we reaffirm our commitment to protecting and advancing human rights through action, not empty promises. It is with this in mind that we especially call for stronger protection of our women and children through harsher penalties for gender-based violence and improved Community safety.

Human Rights Day is not just a commemoration, but it is a call to action; it is a reminder that rights are not given, and they must be defended.

We will continue to fight for a South Africa where dignity, equality and justice are more than ideals; they are a reality for every citizen.

As the IFP celebrates 50 years of commitment to human rights, let us honour the past by shaping a future ... a better future; let us work together to build a country where human rights are not selective but universal, where freedom is not conditional but absolute.

Hon House Chairperson, I conclude by giving advice to my colleague that if you feel that you can't contain or control your emotion stay away from the microphone, otherwise you are going to say things that you will regret. People who have elected us to come to this House are expecting us to represent them not to rant. Thank you so much. [Applause.]

Mr A SAULS: Hon Chair, greetings in the wonderful name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

!Honkia u huniki. (*Translation of Khoekhoegowab sentence follows.*)

[Greetings, everyone!]

Kendrick Lamar, a popular American musician, in his Super Bowl performance, went viral when he did his hit entitled: They are not like us. The subliminal messaging resonated mostly with African Americans because it seemed like Lamar was addressing the elephant in the room, saying that the former slave masters who infringed upon the human rights of the former slaves are not like us.

But surprisingly, the descendants of the former slave masters danced along to the tune in agreement, and the question is: why? Because every system of oppression and slavery is built upon and kept alive by the ideology that they are not like us.

For as long as the whites say of blacks, they are not like us and blacks say of whites, they are not like us, then we will have a Bill of Rights with a system that is still not right. We say they are like us.

When the People's Assembly made up of black, white, coloured and Indian gathered in Kliptown to sign the Freedom Charter, it was because whites and blacks said of each other, they are like us.

Anton Fransch fought off apartheid police and when they threatened to kill him, which they did, he screamed ...

... kom haal my ... (*Translation of Afrikaans sentence follows.*)

[... come and get me ...]

... because when he, as a 20-year-old coloured African, looked at his black brothers and sisters, he said: they are like us.

When our Khoisan ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Sauls, just take your seat for a moment. I have a hand to my left.

Hon member?

Mr D M SKOSANA: Hon Sauls, can you take a question?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Sauls, are you prepared to take a question? ... Thanks. Hon Sauls is not prepared.

Mr A SAULS: When our Khoisan forefathers welcomed Portuguese, Dutch and British settlers for a temporary stay and they

forcefully made it permanent, it was because they believed that they are like us.

If we are going to deepen social justice and human rights, we as South Africans will have to say I am you and that is ubuntu.

When we see Rassie leading the Bokke [Springboks] to represent our national unity globally, we must say that is us.

When we see KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Commissioner, Lieutenant-General Mkhwanazi, win his fight against crime, we must all say that is us.

When we see Minister McKenzie stand for the inclusion of all races in the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture, DSAC, we must say that is us.

We will only deepen social justice and human rights when those who are corrupt amongst us whether white, black, coloured or Indian, of them, we must all say they are not like us. Those amongst us who loot, they are not like us. Those amongst all of us who are racist, they are not like us.

Those amongst us who kidnap our children like Joshlin Smith and rape them like Cwecwe, they are not like us.

Those amongst us in the Government of National Unity, GNU, who continuously return to their default colonialist setting of arrogance, who pretend to fight for all South Africans against the Value-Added Tax, VAT, increase, but when asked for alternatives, they speak only of Cape Town and Richards Bay ports, a devolution exposing that they are only concerned about what they consider their country, Cape Town, and definitely not the poor parts of it like Mitchells Plain and Langa, of them only we must say, they are not like us.

En verder ... *(Translation of Afrikaans sentence follows.)*

[And furthermore ...]

... we don't have a bill of black rights, coloured rights, Indian or white rights, but we have a Bill of human Rights.

We won't take four acres and a mule; we shall pay market value for it and share the rest fairly until we are all owners. We are all South Africans. We are all Africans, in particular ...

Awe lanie, aiyo, salute ma se kind. *(Translation of Afrikaans sentence follows.)*

[Yes, sir, that's how it is! Hallo!]

Mnr P A VAN STADEN: Agb Voorsitter, Menseregtedag is 'n dag waarop die regte van mense gedenk word, en dit word omskryf as die basiese regte en vryhede waarop alle mense geregtig is. Dit sluit in die reg tot lewe, vryheid van denke en uitdrukking, en gelykheid voor die reg.

In die Suid-Afrikaanse Grondwet is Suid-Afrikaners se regte gewaarborg deur middel van die Handves van Regte. Hierdie Handves van Regte is volgens die Grondwet die hoeksteen van demokrasie in Suid-Afrika waarin die regte vir alle mense in ons land verskans is. Dit bevestig ook die demokratiese waardes van menswaardigheid, gelykheid en vryheid.

*(Translation of Afrikaans paragraphs follows.)*

[Mr P A VAN STADEN: Hon Chairperson, Human Rights Day commemorates the rights of individuals and is defined by the basic rights and freedoms to which all people are entitled. These include the right to life, the freedom of thought and expression, and equality before the law.

The South African Constitution guarantees citizens' rights through the Bill of Rights. According to the Constitution, this Bill of Rights is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa, in which the rights of all people in our country are enshrined. It also affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom.]

The Bill of Rights guarantees us the right to equality, human dignity, life, freedom, environment, property, housing, health care, food, water, the rights of children, education and the list goes on.

In March of this year, the SA Institute of Race Relations published on their website that South Africa has adopted 319 racial Acts since 1910. An amount of 117 racial Acts of Parliament have been adopted since 1994, whereas 142 racial Acts of Parliament are still operative today.

Ons moet ook besef dat die verdieping van die kultuur van menseregte beteken dat die kultuur en bestaan van menseregte uitgebrei moet word. Vir te lank val die klem net eksklusief op individuele menseregte. Mense is nie net individue nie, maar hulle kom byeen in groepe of gemeenskappe. Sulke groepe en gemeenskappe het ook regte wat tuis hoort onder die oorkoepelende term van menseregte.

Juis daarom moet menseregte ook in Suid-Afrika uitgebrei word om die regte van gemeenskappe en groepe te erken. Dit is die ware toets van demokrasie wat nie net neerkom op 'n een-mens-een-stem nie, want dit lei tot 'n tirannie van die meerderheid.

Moderne demokrasie word erken wanneer beskerming en akkommodering aan minderhede en groepe gebied word.

*(Translation of Afrikaans paragraphs follows.)*

[We must also recognise that enhancing the culture of human rights requires expanding both its culture and existence. The focus has been exclusively on individual human rights for far too long. People are more than just individuals; they form groups or communities. Such groups and communities have rights that fall under the broader term of human rights.

This is precisely why human rights in South Africa must be expanded to recognise the rights of communities and groups. This reflects the true test of democracy, emphasising that it involves more than just one person, one vote, as this can result in a tyranny of the majority.

Modern democracy is recognised when protection and accommodation are offered to minorities and groups.]

So, we need to ask each other the following question: What is there to celebrate on Human Rights Day? How can we as a nation celebrate Human Rights Day when 28 million of our people are depending on state grants and when people sleep on the streets, if we cannot provide basic health care services to our citizens and human rights violations are taking place in

our public hospitals, if millions of South Africans do not have housing, water, a clean environment and basic infrastructure?

How can we as a nation celebrate Human Rights Day with race-based laws on our statute books such as affirmative action and broad-based black economic empowerment, with laws like expropriation without compensation, the Basic Education Laws Amendment, Bela Bill and the National Health Insurance?

How can we as a nation celebrate Human Rights Day when there is no law and order, when children do not have access to basic education and those who do still have to use pit toilets at their schools, without books and learning material? How can we as a nation celebrate Human Rights Day when our economic progress is hampered by the construction mafia, when our children die in hospitals due to food poisoning?

How can we as a nation celebrate Human Rights Day when our citizens fear for their safety, because of our borders that are open to anyone who can come here and do whatever they want to do? How can we as a nation celebrate Human Rights Day when people across the country's roads are contaminated with sewage, when our children are abducted, due to child trafficking?

How can we as a nation celebrate Human Rights Day when our farmers and farm workers are being attacked, murdered and slaughtered in huge numbers? How can we as a nation celebrate Human Rights Day when the ANC is supporting international terrorist organisations, when our troops are sent to the DRC without any help and assistance? How can we celebrate this day when our policemen and women are killed?

Die eenvoudige antwoord is dat daar absoluut niks is om te vier nie. Ons as wetgewers is tans besig om alle waarborge en regte wat in ons Grondwet verskans is, te verbreek en te skend. Dit veroorsaak dat ons tans die muishond geword het in die oë van die internasionale gemeenskap.

Wat 'n absolute skande! Die tyd het aangebreek om Suid-Afrika eerste te plaas en weg te doen met rasgedrewe ANC-ideologie. Ek dank u. (*Translation of Afrikaans paragraphs follows.*)

[The straightforward answer is that there is absolutely nothing to celebrate. As legislators, we are currently engaged in actions that break and violate the guarantees and rights enshrined in our Constitution. This behaviour has led us to being viewed negatively by the international community.]

What an absolute disgrace! The time has come to put South Africa first and do away with racially driven ANC ideology. I thank you.]

Mr A D BEESLEY: Chairperson, the only way we are going to deepen a culture of social justice and human rights in our country is through a revolution, not a violent revolution, but rather a moral revolution. Currently, South Africa is plagued with numerous and devastating social injustices and human rights violations.

Two of the most pervasive and harmful social injustices and human rights abuse that I want to touch on are that of unemployment and hunger. I am going to give two examples that have had a huge impact on me to illustrate the injustices of these two human rights abuses.

Firstly, unemployment. A while back, I was volunteering for an organisation called the Red Blood Anti-Human Trafficking Organisation. One night when we were ministering to sex workers, I met a young woman who was drinking box wine through a straw to numb her body and mind for what lay ahead for her that night. What struck me was not that she was young, or that she was numbing her body, or that she could be my daughter, but rather, she did not want to be there.

Through unemployment, she was trapped in economic slavery and was forced to sell her body. Unemployment was physically, mentally, and emotionally destroying her. Martin Luther King Junior refers to unemployment as psychological murder, as it deprives a person of their dreams, their agencies, their hopes, and a chance to live a life of purpose.

In our country, we have over 8 million people murdered this way. This includes 46% of all our youth. Unemployment in our country is a human rights crisis.

On hunger, during the school holidays, I was assisting at a community feeding scheme that fed people from a particularly poor community. As it was school holidays, many children came for a meal, since they were not receiving a meal at school. For many children, it was the only meal of the day.

One child, after receiving his food, accidentally dropped his food on the floor. The shock and horror on his face, as he had thought he had lost his only meal of the day was painful to witness. Hunger has been described as a slow violence.

More than 50% of households are going to bed hungry tonight. More than 50% of households are subject to slow violence. Hunger in our country is a human rights crisis.

The only way we are going to address the unemployment and hunger crisis, as well as other social injustices and human rights violations plaguing our beautiful country, is if there is a moral revolution. That moral revolution must start with Parliament.

People must be put first. People must be prioritised before party politics and egos. As Martin Luther King Junior says, the time is always right to do what is right. It is time for Parliament to do what is right.

As I conclude, the most trended word today is ActionSA. I am so proud to be part of a nonracial party that puts people first, rather than another political party that continues to drive a fear narrative, divides a nation and believes in white supremacy. I come from a mixed-coloured family and it is time for us to unite, rather than be divided. Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr W M THRING: Hon House Chairperson, as we consider this debate on human rights, allow me to dispel the lie that South Africa is a secular state.

At the drafting of our Constitution in 1996, our ACDP President fought against South Africa being a secular democracy. We won this battle when some 50 000 Christians

marched to Parliament, supporting the ACDP's position, resulting in no mention of the word, secular, in our Constitution, rather, in the preamble we have: "May God protect our people. Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika."

The ACDP was not silent then and will not be silent now. We condemn, in the strongest terms, the violation of the human rights of the Christian and Alawite communities in Syria by the new government forces, Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, HTS. In recent weeks, thousands have been brutally murdered, Christians targeted, and a Syrian Alawite mother, watched as her three unarmed sons were shot in cold blood. As corpses piled up in the streets, the mainstream media and international community were stunningly silent. The ACDP will not be silent on these gross violations of human rights.

On a scale not seen before, some 16,2 million Christians, mainly women and children, in sub-Saharan Africa, have been displaced, violently persecuted, murdered, raped, and kidnapped by groups calling themselves, Islamic Jihadists, and the world is silent. Is it because they are Christian or African? The ACDP will not be silent.

Mozambique is listed as the 32nd most dangerous country to be a Christian. In 2022 the "mashababos", linked to Al Shabaab, attacked a Catholic mission in Nampula, killing an elderly

missionary and burning down several churches. In Cabo Delgado, 11 Christians were executed in September 2023. In 2024, these extremists launched a campaign targeting Christians called: Kill them wherever you find them. The ACDP will not be silent.

Thousands of South Africans cannot celebrate human rights, as they do not receive proper medical treatment, education or access to potable water and in one of the greatest human rights violations ever, and in contravention of Chapter 2(11) of our Constitution, millions of babies are murdered, while still in their mother's wombs. On these human rights violations, the ACDP will not be silent.

Mr N L S KWANKWA: House Chair, Human Rights Day reminds us of the price we paid for our treasured human rights. However, for many victims of human rights violations, it is just a reminder that their rights are invalidated, as they continue to be traumatised and revictimised by the sluggish justice system.

Nowhere was this more evident than the justice system failed us than with Cwecwe, a seven-year-old Grade 1 learner who is a victim of a horrific sexual assault at Bergville College in Matatiele. It has now been five months since the incident happened, but no arrests have been made.

Cwecwe is one of the many children who are daily subjected to the worst forms of abuse, particularly in schools where learners are either raped by teachers or they die because they fall into pit latrine.

In fact, it is such a shame that nowadays, there are no longer safe spaces for our children. A total of 632 children were reported missing in two in 2024. In the same year, at least 22 children died, due to plaza shops' poisonous food, and no justice has been served.

The brutality of our society towards vulnerable groups is unbearable. Many elderly people are subjected to physical, emotional and financial abuse, while others are subjected to horrifying accusations of witchcraft, often with fatal consequences, not to mention the intolerably high levels of gender-based violence against women in South Africa.

It has already been cited here that the third quartile, Q-3, statistics confirmed that a woman is raped every 12 minutes in our in our country. It is time to increase the urgency in addressing the systemic injustices facing the marginalised groups, and we have to strengthen the already existing legislative reforms that we have undertaken to ensure justice for all, more especially for children.

The Department of Basic Education should also conduct proper vetting, especially for teachers, before employing teachers. It should also ensure or create a framework where teachers will have files containing their performance, misconduct and allegations, to avoid having perpetrators abusing children from one school, and moving to another school.

We must also be the voice of the voiceless to achieve human rights, especially on the African continent. Let us think about the women and the girls in the Democratic Republic of Congo who have been subjected to increased levels of sexual assaults, where rape is used as a weapon of war. We need to speak up for change. Our voices can influence policies that promote the betterment of our humanity.

Siyabulela. (*Translation of isiXhosa sentence follows.*)

[Thank you.]

Tat S M GANA: Mutshamaxitulu, eka madyambu ya namuntlha ndzi yimela ku khensa, ku hlonipha na ku xixima vanhu va Afrika-Dzonga lava va nga lahlekeriwa hi vutomi va ri karhi va lwela ntshuxeko lowu namuntlha hi vulavulaka ha wona. Namuntlha hina hi na timfanelo hikokwalaho ka ku va va nyikerile hi vutomi bya vona ku lwela ntshuxeko eAfrika-Dzonga. (*Translation of Xitsonga paragraph follows.*)

[Mr S M GANA: Chairperson, this evening I would like to thank, honour and pay respect to the people of South Africa who lost their lives while fighting for the freedom that we are talking about today. Today we have rights because they sacrificed their lives to fight for freedom in South Africa.]

Hon members, many have made tremendous sacrifices to ensure that we can enjoy the rights we do now. We must not forget these sacrifices, yet, there remains a long road ahead of us to ensure that everyone - especially our children - in South Africa, fully enjoys the right set out in our Constitution. We must not lose sight of this imperative. We must continue to fight for the rights of all South Africans and build a better future for our children.

On 21 March 1960, a battle for our democracy and rights at Sharpeville resulted in 69 people losing their lives and 180 people wounded. Every year we return to Sharpeville to come to commemorate his sacrifice particularly for the role that it played in securing the rights that we now have, yet when you walk in Sharpeville you can see the poverty and you can smell the poverty. Every year we go to Sharpeville, we see the reality that many South Africans still do not enjoy the rights that so many have sacrificed and then we leave.

We have a duty and a responsibility to build a better South Africa for our children than the one we received or the one that we lived in. Unfortunately, we are failing in this day. In recent weeks we have once again heard of our schools - the very same places that are meant to strengthen our children's future - are becoming war zones. Almost 300 rapes and 36 murders were recorded at our educational institutions between April and December last year. Not only are our children starving and thirsty at home, but they are also not even safe at schools.

Hon members, our children are suffering in the shadows of the many Sharpevilles which we do not visit. The many schools that we do not see we are failing in our responsibility to provide them with a better future. We need to ensure that every home has piped water. We must also introduce regulations to ensure that an essential basket of nutritional food staff remain affordable for all. We must expand the National Food Nutrition Programme ... to ensure that our children are fed 365 days a year. [Time expired.]

Ndza khensa swinene, Mutshamaxitulu. (*Translation of Xitsonga sentence follows.*)

[I thank you, Chairperson.]

Ms N L HLAZO-WEBSTER: Hon House Chair, I was here in Parliament yesterday when a group of South Africans marched past this House. They marched because of a horror that has unfolded at a school in this country. They marched to stand up against one of the most brutal and most painful violations of human rights in this country - an assault on the child and violence against children in this country.

So, to have a debate about Human Rights Day and not speak about these rights crisis; the crisis of violence against children, gender-based violence and femicide would actually be a betrayal. Human Rights Day reminds us of lives that were lost in the fight for human dignity, freedom and justice particularly 69 people killed in Sharpeville in 1960. However, for these rights to mean anything they have to protect humanity and they particularly have to protect the most vulnerable among us.

What are human rights to a childlike Cwecwe who was harmed in a place that is supposed to nurture her? Her story has moved the nation not because it is rare, but it has moved the nation because it is all too familiar. Those women who were marching in the streets yesterday marched because either Cwecwe is them, or because it has happened to their children, or because it has happened to their families. This case is not an isolated case; in recent weeks we have heard about a child

Grade 7 in Limpopo. This is a system-wide failure. As parliamentarians, we have a right to respond.

That is why as Bosa, we have called for a urgent nationwide rescreening of educators and school staff against the National Register for Sex Offenders because that is a tool that has been underutilised and inconsistently applied. The current law only insists on screening at the point of hiring, and that means that an educator, after a few years, can actually violate and still be in the system, teaching and standing in front of children. We welcome the Minister of Basic Education's response to this call but we need timelines, transparency and accountability.

Additionally, we have consistently called for and will continue to fight for the National Register for Sex Offenders to be made public because nobody wants to have in their child's school, in a clinic, or as a coach, a perpetrator who is violating their children or exposed to their children. So, South Africans yesterday marched outside Parliament and it was not by accident. They came here to this House because they have entrusted us with voice; they have entrusted us with the laws and with the world to make a change. I urge you today, the parliamentarians in this House for us to make that change because we owe it to Cwecwe and every single child in this country. Thank you.

Ms T L MARAWU: Hon Chairperson, today as we commemorate Human Rights Day, we do so with a fierce resolve. A resolve to deepen a culture of social justice and human rights across the country. We do not merely reflect on the past, but we demand action. We stand here today committed to fighting for the dignity of every South African particularly those whose rights have been trampled on by a system that too often tends a blind eye to injustice.

The ATM has never been passive in its fight for human rights. We do not sit idling by and wait for justice, but we demand it. We hold the power to account, we take action and we expect swift results. The ATM has already made its voice heard in the face of shocking cases of injustice. Let us speak of Laila Nnyane, a prominent figure of the Central University of Technology in the Free State who has publicly admitted to using her position of influence to prey on young girls. On the *Podcast and Chill* with MacG, she brazenly admitted to exploiting her platform to manipulate vulnerable girls.

We, as the ATM, are not standing silent. We wrote to the National Prosecuting Authority, NPA, demanding that charges be laid against Nnyane immediately. We wrote to the CUT urging them to suspend her from her position until the investigation is concluded. We will not allow the powerful to abuse their position without facing the full force of the law. We demand

justice for every girl whose life was impacted by Nnyane's action and we will not rest until justice served.

Similarly, the ATM has demanded answers in the case of Cwecwe, the young girl who was allegedly raped at her school in the Eastern Cape. The horrific crime calls for immediate action. We have written to the Police Ministry demanding answers as to why the case has been mishandled and will not accept any more delays. The ATM demands swift action and we will not allow another child to be left in the hands of the justice system that fails to protect the vulnerable.

We have also written to the Minister of Basic Education urging her to take immediate action to ensure that schools become safe spaces for our children not places where they are preyed upon. The ATM demands action intervention to protect the rights and dignity of all learners across South Africa. We will not stand by and watch as human rights are violated. We will not allow corruption, violence and exploitation to go unchecked.

The struggle for human rights must go beyond criminal justice. It must be woven into the very fabric of our society. The ATM's mission is to ensure that every South African has access to basic human rights, access to education, health care, clean water and economic opportunities ... [Time expired.]

Adv S SALIE: *As salaamu alai kum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatu.*

*(Translation of Arabic sentence follows.)*

[Peace be with you and Allah's mercy and blessings.]

As Al Jama-ah we note that Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the laws of our country are in tatters as they have been violated over and over. The International Court of Justice has proven not to be the highest court in the world. In name, yes, but with not much teeth. It has failed the Palestinians as it lacks the ability to take to task the Zionist Israeli bloodthirsty leaders and their supporters and their gross human rights violations.

We are sitting here today from our own country and many others around the world where human rights abuses have increased without shame. In fact, we had those rejoicing the massacre, starving off and denial of the basic human rights. We have people who are supposed to be God conscious lacking humanity. In reality, we don't have to be God consciousness to switch on our humanity. We have people denying a genocide happening in their lifetime before their eyes calling the brutal murder of babies, children, civilians as regrettable and that they are casualties of war yet they do nothing to stop it.

They protect and defend the perpetrators, people who see certain lives as more important than others, people who support stepped-up land and property, the bombing of innocent lives, torture and famine. Shame on all who are guilty and in denial. Shame on all for allowing these atrocities to happen, talking, negotiating, workshopping and benefiting on the misery of others.

In our country, many of our people are drugged out under influence of alcohol desperate in escaping the hopelessness of this situation, denied the decent education, homes, jobs, dignity, massacred, their land taken, and restricted on their own land. Our country is ripped off its resources and who benefits? Most definitely not the people of this country. Islamophobia in South Africa is rife and Muslims are openly attacked. Look at the words being used in this very Parliament to discriminate against Muslims. Muslims are identified as Islamists, terrorists and are targeted. Social media is rife for the Islamophobia in South Africa.

The ACDP continues their hate speech and narrative of Islamist and Jihadists and yet Muslims are sought after in elections. Why? Our compassion and contribution to the GDP and to the upliftment of the most impoverished. We are good enough when needed but then discarded. In the DA-run City of the Western Cape, freedom of speech is targeted and people are arrested.

Cases not strong enough are withdrawn while human rights are violated. On Friday, a young man was arrested after a protest, clearly targeted and profiled.

Hon Chair, Members of Parliament and viewers, what human rights? Another debate. What action will be taken to protect us all and our offspring from apartheid, racial oppression, inequality, Islamophobia, economic discrimination and the impact of forced removals? Thirty years into democracy we are still suffering. The World Day of social justice in South African Constitution recognises the need to tackle these issues: social justice, equality, harmony, etcetera. March has come and gone with the day of combat of Islamophobia forgotten by many. Sharpeville and Langa Day have come and gone. [Time expired.]

Ons praat te veel en ons doen te min. Dankie. (*Translation of Afrikaans paragraph follows.*)

[We talk too much, and we do too little. Thank you.]

Ms T E MAGAGULA: Hon House Chair and hon members, having inherited a broken and divided nation, one of the principal tasks of the ANC-led government since 1994 has been to protect and advance the ideals of human rights and live up to the words of President Nelson Mandela when he said:

Never, never, and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another and suffer the indignity of being the skunk of the world.

These words have since been expressed in the Bill of Rights and our Constitution as cornerstones, shaping how this land is governed and advancing the National Democratic revolution, NDR. In the many strides advanced by the ANC-led government, we have seen significant progress in empowering women in various fields. These efforts have supported the achievements that have given us the likes of Asnath Mahapa, who became the first black female pilot. Asanda Luwaca, a young black woman who is the Executive Chairperson of the National Youth Development Agency, NYDA, and Desiree Ellis who leads our South African women's national football team, Banyana Banyana, which has made our country proud on many occasions. Despite the incredible legislative reforms and social programmes to advance women's rights as human rights, too many women remain disfranchised and victims of abuse.

The late President of Mozambique, Samora Moisés Machel, reminds us that our quest for liberation will never be complete without the total emancipation of women. He said:

The emancipation of women is not an act of charity, or the result of humanitarian or compassionate attitude. The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity of the revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition of its victory.

This sentiment reminds us that sustainable development cannot coexist with injustice. Therefore, we call for the release of the National Register for Sex Offenders as a critical step towards protecting vulnerable groups and empowering institutions to make informed decisions that prioritise public safety. We call on government departments to work together in holding abusers accountable and implementing the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide.

As citizens, we also have social and active roles to play.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon member, please just take your seat for a moment. I have a hand here to my left. Hon member, why do you want to be recognised?

Mr D M SKOSANA: Hon House Chairperson, on a point of order: I am going to repeat myself and unfortunately it is you who is sitting on that chair again. The isiZulu and isiNdebele languages, in all the interpretations are not here. I want to urge, once again, that let us please balance this issue

because our people are sending us messages to ask what is happening again. Thank you, Chair.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Thank you. I will ask the Table staff and the technical staff to advise on that. Hon member, please continue.

Ms T E MAGAGULA: Thank you, House Chair. We call on all government departments to work together in holding abusers accountable and implementing the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence, and Femicides. [Interjections.]

ILUNGU ELIHLONIPHEKILE: Be bengeke bayizwe bona kuqala?  
(*Translation of isiZulu sentence follows.*)

[An HON MEMBER: Wouldn't they have heard it first?]

Ms T E MAGAGULA: We also note the global challenges that affect the rights of marginalised groups. To this end, we stand in solidarity with the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, intersex, and asexual, LGBTQIA Plus, community in Uganda in the face of the Anti-Homosexuality Act of 2023 which imposes severe penalties for being part of the LGBTQIA+ community. We stand in solidarity with women across the world from the Middle East to sub-Saharan Africa where women's rights and access to reproductive

rights are hindered, either due to restrictive laws or cultural, religious and political instability.

International and regional treaties, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UDHR, and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, ACHPR, are essential in setting global goals and standards for protecting human rights and holding governments accountable.

We must continuously raise our voices to affirm that human rights should not be luxury afforded based on where you were born, race, class, gender or sexuality. Human rights are inherited from birth. We are all born equal and worthy of respect, dignity and a fair treatment. Hon Chair, we must also commend the government strides in prioritising the dignity of the poor and vulnerable through introducing the Social Relief Distress grant, SRD, during the COVID-19 pandemic. Owing to its position on positive socioeconomic impact, government has been investing in and extending this programme to continue supporting and empowering millions of South Africans.

However, given the criteria role delayed by this grant, we call for the SRD grant to be discontinued as a temporary measure and for the basic income grant to be introduced, which is a long-term comprehensive intervention. It is also essential to reflect that the 18 to 59-year age group that

receive such grants does not want to live on government assistance but wants to work and be self-sufficient.

To this end, we call on the government and the private sector to continue investing in small, medium and micro-sized enterprises, SMMEs and supporting economic growth to create opportunities and put our people to work. Democracy thrives on an active citizenry where individuals can exercise their rights to expression and participation, empowering citizens and building a robust nation that knows its rights and can hold the government and institutions accountable for demanding fair treatment and protecting its rights essentially.

Under the Bill of Rights, every person has a right to life, equality and human dignity. This includes the right to citizenship, security and protest. Movements, like the #TotalShutDown, #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall are examples of the power of active citizenry. These protests highlight the effectiveness of collective action in tracking system issues and achieving socioeconomic liberation. Through such efforts, we can dismantle cycles of inequality and foster long-term progress for all.

As we, as we commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Freedom Charter in June 2025, we remain true to ensuring that the rights of people shall be the same regardless of race, colour

or sex. We reaffirm the ANC's commitment to overcoming inequalities and building an inclusive society for all. The Bill of Rights and Constitution are the foundations of our nation, guiding all pursuit of a just society. I thank you.  
[Time expired.]

The MINISTER OF LAND REFORM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: Hon House Chair, we are here today because of the decision taken, 65 years ago, by the President of the PAC of Azania, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe to launch the Anti-Pass Campaign. This campaign sought to end the practice that the African majority had to carry a passbook that sought to control their movement and their access on the land that was stolen from them during the brutal wars of conquest and colonialism. The apartheid government response to the Anti-Pass Campaign on 21 March 1960 was equally brutal, resulting in the massacre of 69 people in Sharpeville and 21 in Langa, Cape Town.

The peaceful protesters who were killed and the hundreds who were injured were only advocating for a just and equitable society. They wanted to be treated as equal human beings in their land. The democratic order ended the dehumanisation of the African majority by introducing legislation based on equality, human rights and equity. Because people have different needs, it also actively promotes the participation of all individuals in all spheres of society. Most of all, the

values of the democratic order - respect and diversity. These core principles of social justice are so perfectly enshrined in the Constitution. That is considered the best in the world when it comes to the protection and promotion of human rights. But the majority of our people continue to experience a life of exclusion, unfairness, inequality, unemployment and poverty.

The restoration of the humanity and dignity of our people will only be complete if they have their land returned to them. Without land, that is yours, you will continue to be a second-class citizen. Without land, that is yours, you will continue to feel insecure in your place of residence. Without land, that is yours, your social status will continue to be in doubt. Without land, you will continue to be food insecure. Without land, your source of income and sustenance will continue to hang in the balance. But most of all, without land, your dignity is challenged.

Those crying about expropriation must get used to this term, restoration. As the rightful owners of the land our dignity will never be fully restored if our land is not restored. The restoration of the land is the way to deepen our culture of social justice and human rights.

Izwe lethu! (*Translation of isiXhosa sentence follows.*)

[Our country!]

This is the PAC I lead, the PAC that led in Sharpeville and I lead it with pride. [Applause.]

Mr L W MAHLATSI: Chairperson ...

Kgotso, Maafrika. (*Translation of Sesotho sentence follows.*)

[Greetings, Africans.]

As the UAT, we argue that human rights in South Africa remain a dream deferred for the majority of our people. Whilst our Constitution guarantees dignity, equality, and freedom, the reality tells a different story. The struggle for land, the vision for Pan-African unity, and the principle of Ubuntu compel us to critically assess whether the human rights are truly realised in our beloved country.

How can we speak of human rights when millions of South Africans remain landless? Land is not just the soil. It is a dignity, an identity, and an economic freedom. Section 25 of the Constitution that protects property rights has failed to undo the historical injustice of colonial and apartheid land dispossession. A prime example is the case of District Six in Cape Town. In 1966, thousands of black and coloured families

were forcibly removed from their homes under the Group Areas Act. Decades later, despite promises of land restitution, many are still waiting to return. Meanwhile, prime land remains in the hands of the privileged few. In rural areas, communities like Makhasaneni in KwaZulu-Natal face land grabs from mining companies, leaving them without access to farming and water. The government's failure to protect these communities undermines the right to dignity, self-sufficiency, and economic freedom. If human rights are real, the land must be returned to the rightful owners.

In 2008, 2015, and again in 2019, we saw violent attacks on African migrants in places like Alexandria, Soweto, and Durban. These attacks, fuelled by economic frustration, reveal how our leaders have failed to implement Pan-African economic policies that uplift all Africans. The African Continental Free Trade Area agreement is an opportunity to build unity. Yet, South Africa lags behind in fully utilising it. If we truly believe in human rights, we must impose African economic co-operation and stand in solidarity with our African brothers and sisters. Consider the Lily Mine disaster of 2016. Three mine workers – Pretty Nkambule, Yvonne Mnisi, and Solomon Nyirenda – were trapped underground when the shaft collapsed in Mpumalanga province. Their families continue to fight for their bodies to be retrieved, and justice remains elusive as the mine owners and the government have failed to take this

responsibility. How can we claim to respect human rights when the dignity of workers is disregarded, and their families are left in pain and uncertainty?

Khanimambo! [Nkarhi wu herile.] [Va phokotela.] (*Translation of Xitsonga sentence follows.*)

[Thank you very much! [Time expired.] [Applause.]]

Mof K L KHAKHAU: Ha ke lebohe, Modulasetulo. (*Translation of Sesotho sentence follows.*)

[Ms K L KHAKHAU: Let me thank you, House Chairperson.]

House Chairperson, the concept of social justice speaks to the very lifeline of the Constitution of this Republic. It speaks to the hopes and aspirations of ...

... bo nkgono le bo ntate-moholo, ... (*Translation of Sesotho sentence follows.*)

[... our grandparents, ...]

... whose grace exists today because of their relentless pursuit of a rising sun that shines equally for all South Africans, united in our diversity.

It speaks to the core of today's generation of young people's desire to experience this land and its economy as fruitfully theirs. It speaks to the very essence of President Ramaphosa's Cabinet and this House's mandate to serve.

The real question of today's debate is whether, in the last 31 years, the South African government has managed to deliver social justice to its people. My answer is: It tried but tripped over itself on its way to doing so, so no. There is nothing just and humane about living in a country where the ANC, a former liberation movement now turned our modern-day oppressors, thinks it makes sense to tax South Africans rather than to grow their economy and give them jobs ...

[Interjections.] ... a country where pop-up political parties like ActionSA are cruel enough to sell this country and its people to the cheapest and most useless bidders, the ANC, in exchange for one round of fame.

There is nothing just and humane about a budget that seeks to further rob our people of opportunities to put food on the table for themselves and their families. See, living in a country where the majority of its people are unemployed and depend on a below-basic grant to buy baby formula and school shoes ... [Interjections.] ... that the ANC wants to tax, where six out of 10 young people are unemployed, living in depression and forced into a life of substance abuse and

prostitution for survival is socially unjust and inhumane. See, to them, it makes sense to make the cost of food, electricity, transport, and basic living more expensive and more unbearable than it already is, instead of cutting the fat off fruitless and wasteful expenditure that has become second nature to what characterises the ANC's style of governance – corrupt, ineffective, and wasteful.

Mr N T TSHOTETSI: House Chair ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau, just take your seat for a moment. Hon member to my right, why do you want to be recognised?

Mr N T TSHOTETSI: I want to check if the speaker will take a question on when she is bringing ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): No, thank you. I will first enquire from her whether she is prepared to take the question. Hon Khakhau, are you prepared to take a question?

Ms K L KHAKHAU: Certainly not from a political party that mastered destroying the lives of South Africans.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: House Chair ...

Ms K L KHAKHAU: Hon House Chairperson ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau, please pause again. Hon Michalakis, why do you want to be recognised?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: House Chair, my apologies for interrupting our member at the podium. There are members of the ANC holding up placards, and I just want your ruling on whether that is allowed and parliamentary. Thank you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Thank you. Hon members, previously in this very same debate, House Chair Majozi dealt with the matter. She ultimately, in the face of some discrepancies between the ninth edition of the Rules and what seemingly was amended to Rule 64 thereafter, undertook to refer the whole matter to the Rules Committee again, so, at this point, I am not in a position to take it any further. Maybe, for the sake of the decorum of the House, let's just all listen to speakers and let's conclude this debate in an orderly fashion. Hon Khakhau, please continue.

Ms K L KHAKHAU: Instead of cutting the fat off fruitless and wasteful expenditure that has become second nature to what characterises the ANC's style of governance – corrupt,

ineffective, and wasteful – of course, theirs is a commitment to nothing else but the pockets of cadres.

Living in a country where a 39% political party is unintelligent and shameless to the extent of passing legislation that compromises any and all South Africans' right to own private property in the name of "public good" is the very antithesis of deepening a culture of social justice and human rights in this country. See, to them, it makes sense to tell me, as a young, black woman, that should I, by God's grace, be able to have a shopping complex that has multiple franchises in it, that employs young ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau, please pause for a moment and take your seat. Hon Deputy Minister, why do you want to be recognised?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES: I want to check if the hon member wants to entertain a question from me.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Thank you. I will check again. Hon Khakhau, are you prepared now to take a question?

Ms K L KHAKHAU: I will take questions from the media, hon Chairperson.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Thank you. I think the hon Khakhau has already ...

Ms K L KHAKHAU: By God's grace ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau, just pause for a moment. Hon members to my right, the hon Khakhau has already indicated twice that she is not prepared to take a question. Please do not interrupt her further by enquiring.

[Interjections.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES: So, should we just ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau, please continue.

Ms K L KHAKHAU: To them it makes sense to tell me, as a young, black woman, that should I, by God's grace, own a shopping complex that has multiple franchises in it, that employs young people who would be able to feed their families and live dignified lives in my hometown, Welkom in the Free State, that in the name of "public good", the state can take the land on which my establishment is built. If the state wakes up one day with the bright idea of wanting to turn my shopping complex into a government office, then, in all their brightness, they

can characterise their reason as "public good", for it is good for the people to have a government office. If I dare say no to the taking away of my future children's inheritance at a compensation rate of the state's liking, no to the disruptions of the lives of hundreds of families who will lose a breadwinner in the name of "public good", according to the ANC, it makes sense for it to be incumbent upon me to seek the counsel of the court at my own cost.

Any policy that seeks to undermine private property is a violation of South Africa's human right to private property, as enshrined in section 25 of this Constitution. [Applause.] The characterisation of a sober reason to take away people's private property as "public good" opens up the door for politicians to arbitrarily deprive us, the people, of our property.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau, please pause for a moment. Hon Deputy Minister, why do you want to be recognised now?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES: Hon Chair, I think the hon Khakhau is misleading the public about the land expropriation. [Interjections.] Is she interested in taking a question? You cannot continue to

mislead people about land expropriation. We will take the land.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Thank you, hon Deputy Minister. Hon Deputy Minister, that is an issue of debate. Previously in this debate ... Order, hon members!

[Interjections.] Previously in this debate, others have argued strongly about land to the other point of the scale. The hon Khakhau's right to now argue her case must be protected. Hon Khakhau, please continue.

Ms K L KHAKHAU: House Chairperson, today, the President of this country is Cyril Ramaphosa, but, if we wake up tomorrow to the horror of a Panyaza Lesufi, Jacob Zuma, Julius Malema, Gayton McKenzie, Herman Mashaba, and ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau, please take your seat. [Interjections.] Hon Skosana. Order! Hon members, order! I want to listen to the point of order.

[Interjections.] Order! Hon Skosana.

Mr D M SKOSANA: Chair, let me remind ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Order!

Mr D M SKOSANA: Chair, let me remind the speaker that president Zuma is not in this House. She must talk to us. Thank you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Yes, thank you. That is a point of debate, although, hon Khakhau, let me remind you of the Rule that says that we are to refer to fellow members in a respectful manner. So, therefore, when you refer to other members of this House, call them "hon" or at least "Mr", "Ms", or "Dr". I have a further point of order, so please stay put for now. Dr Letlape.

Dr T K S LETLAPE: Chair, on Human Rights Day, it is a gross violation of Ms Khakhau's human rights for her to be used as a scapegoat to present a position of white superiority.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Yes, hon Letlape ...

Dr T K S LETLAPE: She needs to be protected.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Letlape, that is an abuse of the Rules. That is not a point of order. I had a hand from the EFF. [Interjections.] I cannot ... As you see, I wear glasses, hon Ntlangwini, so I cannot see that far. Do you have a point of order? No, hon member. Don't abuse your hand to then raise a placard.

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: House Chair, I was just quickly showing this, but, nevertheless, the blue lights are gone. Chair, I know the member may be very heartbroken for her colleagues, but she must not attempt to invite us to her debate. Can she concentrate on the human rights debate and stop name-dropping our president and wanting to be famous by using the name of president Julius Malema?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Thank you. I dealt with this matter even before you raised the point of order. Hon members, we need to continue the debate. Unless you have a real and new point of order, I am going to ask you to allow the hon Khakhau the opportunity to continue. Hon Khakhau, you have been advised to debate within the Rules. Hon Khakhau, I see another hand here to my left. Hon member, why do you want to be recognised? [Interjections.]

Mr A NCHABELENG: Chair, we cannot allow the House to insult our president in his absence and allow the member to actually cast aspersions that are unfounded. It is not parliamentary. Please call the speaker to order.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon member, that matter has been dealt with before. This is part of the debate. Hon Khakhau, please continue.

Ms K L KHAKHAU: House Chairperson ...

Mr M G MAHLAULE: Chair, Chair! Chair, this side!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau ... Hon members, order! [Interjections.] Hon ... [Interjections.] Hon member to my right, do you have a point of order, or are you continuing in the same vein of just trying to criticise the speaker?

Mr M G MAHLAULE: No, Chairperson. On a different matter, I want to check whether it is parliamentary to vote together, and, after a few minutes, you fight.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): No, hon member. You are rising on a frivolous point of order. You know better. [Interjections.] Order! Hon Michalakis.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: Chair, it is nice to finally be recognised. I want to know if it is parliamentary for a member to refer to another member as a scapegoat for white supremacy, which is, firstly, misleading but, secondly, casts aspersions on her character. I would like your ruling, if it is possible, please. [Applause.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Thank you. I have ruled that that was not a point of order. I take your point of order under advisement and will come back. Hon Khakhau, please continue.

Ms K L KHAKHAU: ... the horror of Herman Mashaba, and anyone else who believes that the state should have unfettered power over the individual ...

Mr N T TSHOTETSI: Chair, Chair! House Chair!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Please, hon Khakhau, take a seat for a moment. Hon member, I am going to recognise you. It is now the third time you have interrupted this same speaker. I must advise you if this is not going to be within the Rules, then I will look into treating this as grossly disorderly. Do you want to proceed? Please proceed.

Mr N T TSHOTETSI: Chair, I want to check if the pseudo-Gogo Maweni is able to take a question.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon member, you have already asked that. She's already indicated she does not want to take a question. Any further intervention from your side that is not in terms of the Rules, I will deem as grossly

disorderly and ask you to leave the House. Hon Khakhau, please continue.

Ms K L KHAKHAU: ... the horror of Herman Mashaba, and anyone else who believes that the state should have unfettered power over the individual, then we will have a doomsday. Then ...

... re ntjeng [mathateng] ka nnete re le naha. (*Translation of Sesotho sentence follows.*)

[... we are really in big trouble as a country.]

Even if we wake up to a DA ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau, please take your seat. [Interjections.] Hon Reddy, why do you want to be recognised?

Mr V G REDDY: Chairperson, I moved from the front there to the back here near to the speaker, and I still find that my human rights are being violated because I cannot hear the hon Khakhau. I want to raise some points because she is obviously intimidating members here into hysteria, so, please, we need to hear her, and we cannot hear her. We are really disadvantaged. I would like to invite you ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Thank you, hon Reddy. I will ask the technical staff.

Mr V G REDDY: ... to come and sit here and see if you can hear. You are welcome to come and sit next to me.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Thank you. I take your point. I will ask the technical staff to again look into the sound quality.

Mr V G REDDY: Thank you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau, please continue.

Ms K L KHAKHAU: Even if we wake up to a DA-majority government with all our sobriety in government, as a matter of principle, no politician in democratic South Africa should ever have the same power as the apartheid government's power to forcefully remove any South African from their land, unless it is done as an act of justice and the correction of injustices of pre-democratic laws.

In conclusion, the unthreatened ownership of private property, accompanied by a title deed, is not only socially just, but it is one of the best protections ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Khakhau, take your seat. I see a hand there to my right. Hon member, why do you want to be recognised?

Ms T S SHIVITI: I want to check, House Chair, if it is parliamentary for a member to come here and tell us about the removal of land. Was it parliamentary for black people to be removed?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): No, hon member. Hon member, you are not raising a point of order. You are not intervening in terms of the Rules. I am going to mute you and allow the hon Khakhau to continue. This is a frivolous point you are rising on.

Ms K L KHAKHAU: It is one of the best protections of human dignity any state can give its people. This is a legacy a state President would want to leave behind. This, together with a pro-jobs and economic growth fiscal plan, is 100% pro the people. This the DA advocates for.

Ke a leboha, Modulasetulo. (*Translation of Sesotho sentence follows.*)

[I thank you, Chairperson.]

Mr T B MUNYAI: House Chair, what I want to raise as a first point is that the facts are not contested that the ANC has consistently championed the progressive policies that included the fundamental freedoms and human rights as enshrined in our democratic Constitution and our Bill of Rights as we celebrate today. The Article 1 of the Universal Declaration, broadly stated the following: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." The President of the Republic of South Africa His Excellency Cyril Matamela Ramaphosa reaffirmed the Universal Declaration when he said the following: "The Bill of Rights enjoins the democratic state to enact various pieces of the legislation to promote human rights between and amongst the people."

Hon members, this is your national duty to enact or to formulate legislation. As the ANC, we underscore the fact that we fought and respected the rights of workers, and indeed we remain unashamedly bias to the working class and the poor majority of our people, the majority of whom still remain trapped in the valley of despair, and poverty. Only the ANC cannot forget the poor, the homeless, the jobless, and the victims of crime, especially the gender-based violence and femicide because we have a huge obligation on our shoulders to protect the rights of all South Africans. The facts are not contested that our understanding for the international human rights should not be determined by our grasp of its

antithesis. This is the mechanism for national operation and liberation in the course of unwavering commitment to build a united, nonracial, nonsexist, democratic and more equal South Africa, otherwise referred to as a National Democratic Society. The facts are not contested that as the ANC we resolve to broaden the intellectual horizon in the debate for the advancement of socioeconomic rights, through the dignified manner rather than fabricating truths, playing to the gallery and causing a plague on public discourse.

Today, the character of some political parties was demonstrated to be antidemocratic with obsession, geared to liquidate and remove the ANC from power either by vote or through the court of law. A number of rhetoric speeches had no content, and exposed speakers. It would be incorrect for the ANC to dignify the hogwash rhetoric with the response because it lacks human rights, and ideological substance. We underscore that the people of South Africa have confidence in the ANC because we are committed to redressing the past racially and discriminatory laws and practices, rather than the backward rhetoric that fuels misinformation and the barrage of propaganda.

The people of South Africa, in the upcoming 2026 local government election, don't vote for those parties that are opposed to a budget to increase your social grant, to expand

public infrastructure, to increase our export capacity, to give water and sanitation, to create employment and grow the economy. Today's passed Fiscal Framework was a people's budget because it will be distributed amongst the people ... to address people's infrastructure challenges ... to create employment and grow the economy for the working class ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Munyai, please just pause for a moment and take your seat. Hon Manyi, why do you want to be recognised?

The CHIEF WIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): Chair, I just want to check if the member can take a question whether ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Just hold your question until we first hear from him. Hon Munyai, are you prepared to take a question?

The CHIEF WIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): That the budget is going to ...

Mr T B MUNYAI: Only a question with ideological content.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Munyai, please continue.

Mr T B MUNYAI: Hon House Chair, the facts are not contested ... that beyond the question of human rights, hon Moore ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Munyai, please pause for another moment. Hon Manyi, why do you want to be recognised now?

The CHIEF WIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): I am rising in terms of Rule 85.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Yes.

The CHIEF WIP OF THE OPPOSITION (Mr M Manyi): The member is casting aspersions. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Well, I've not heard any aspersions, but I'll look into it. Hon Munyai, please continue.

Mr T B MUNYAI: The facts are not contested, hon Moore that beyond the question of human rights, we are privileged to debate today that ANC made fundamental strides to serve the people of South Africa without a public glory. For the past 30 years, the ANC has made the fundamental progress in building millions of houses. Going forward, we are concerned about building the quality of houses, a right enshrined within our

Constitution. The facts are not contested, that for the past 30 years we have built many schools and ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon member, just pause again. Hon Skosana, why do you want to be recognised?

Mr D M SKOSANA: Rule 69, the hon member is creating a serious disorder and disruption.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): No, hon Skosana.

Mr D M SKOSANA: Yes, he's talking about the elections. We are going to win those elections.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Skosana, if you want to intervene, do so in terms of the rules. That is not an order that can be sustained. You know better than that. Hon Munyai, please continue.

Mr T B MUNYAI: The facts are not contested, that for the past 30 years we have built many schools. Going forward, the people will receive the quality of education through the Basic Education Laws Amendment, Bela Act, a right enshrined in the Constitution. The facts are not contested, that for the past 30 years the ANC has built many clinics and hospitals. Going forward, our people will receive a quality of health care

regardless of their socioeconomic status through the National Health Insurance, NHI Act, the right enshrined in the Constitution.

However, we understand the challenge to be economic literacy characterised by the failure to comprehend or appreciate South Africa's structural economic challenges in the context of widespread unemployment, inequality, job insecurity, poverty, and the rising cost of living. Why are the new liberal and pseudo-revolutionaries opposed to the fiscal Budget tabled by the hon Minister today? The core fundamental socioeconomic rights and fiscal instrument that will distribute the Budget to the working class and the overwhelming majority of poor South Africans.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Munyai, please hold on. Hon member, why do you want to be recognised?

Mr H D SELEPE: Chair, I'm checking whether the speaker is preaching or is he the pastor?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): No, hon member, that's not an intervention in terms of the rules. [Laughter.] Hon Munyai, please continue. Hon members, to my left, please refrain from frivolous interventions.

Mnu T B MUNYAI: Ningangichitheli isikhathi la ngimatasatasa.

*(Translation of isiZulu sentence follows.)*

[Mr T B MUNYAI: Do not waste my time; I am very busy here.]

The fiscal instrument is not merely a policy pledge. It is a critical giant step forward in achieving the economic justice and ensuring South Africa's economic benefits for all the citizens. Not just the privileged few that are opposed to this Budget. It will provide a safety net for the unemployed individual while they actively seek work, upskill, and engage in small ventures. Unemployed people of South Africa, don't vote for them. Those who own SMMEs and co-operative owners, don't vote for them because they oppose your Budget.

The Budget will further increase local demand, leading to more business activity and the job creation. It will encourage the entrepreneurs and financial stability that enables individuals to take economic risk without fear of immediate destitution. Therefore, those who will be employed by this Budget, especially those who are in Expanded Public Works Programme, EPWP workers, don't vote for them, as they are opposing funding. Guided by the Freedom Charter, the Lone Star and the Constitution of the Republic, we will not allow any form of economic sabotage of the country by pseudo-revolutionaries and unpatriotic bourgeoisie from the extreme right and left.

House Chair, our observation is that they will dismally fail as they did today. The ANC will prevail. The dictum that the ANC lives and leads is uncontested before the people of South Africa. [Applause.] The ones who oppose the Fiscal Framework are equally opposed to service delivery. They are opposed to a prosperous South Africa. They are opposed to economic growth and development. In final analysis, their argument is baseless, inaccurate, and incorrect because they lack substance. The facts are not contested. The ANC will remain the leader of society. Ngiyabonga. I thank you. [Applause.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Deputy Minister, why do you want to be recognised?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EMPLOYMENT AND LABOUR (Ms J Nemadzinga-Tshabalala): House chair, I wanted to ask if it is parliamentary for you to continue to chair this Parliament sitting when you have voted against its Budget that is appropriated? [Laughter.] I just want to understand if it is parliamentary.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Thank you. Deputy Minister, when you sit in this chair, your voting record is irrelevant. But let's see how it goes. Hon members, that concludes this debate and the business of the day. Hon members, including the

Deputy Minister, are requested to stand and wait for the ...  
[Interjections.] ... and the Mace to leave.

Debate concluded.

The House adjourned at 20:18.

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