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NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The House met at 14:01.

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

PASSING AWAY OF DAUGHTER OF CHIEF WHIP OF MAJORITY PARTY

(Announcement)

The SPEAKER: Hon members, before we start, I would like to make an announcement. As I am sure you are all aware by now, the Chief Whip of the Majority Party's eldest daughter, Ms Khwezi Mthembu, tragically passed away yesterday.

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As presiding officers and on behalf of the House, we wish to convey our deepest sympathies to the Mthembu family. Our thoughts and prayers are with our colleague the hon Jackson Mthembu, who I hope is watching as we convey our warmest, deepest sympathies at this very painful time. Thank you, hon members.

**SUSPENSION OF RULE 290 (2) (b) TO ALLOW FOR SECOND READING
ON NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE AMENDMENT BILL**

(Draft Resolution)

The DEPUTY CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Speaker, I move the draft resolution printed in the name of the Chief Whip of the Majority Party on the Order Paper, as follows:

That the House suspends Rule 290 (2) (b), which provides that the debate on the Second Reading of the Bill may not commence before at least three Assembly working days have elapsed since the Bill was introduced, for the purposes of conducting the Second

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Reading today on the National Minimum Wage Amendment Bill.

Motion agreed to.

**CONSIDERATION OF REPORT OF PORTFOLIO COMMITTEE ON LABOUR
- NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE AMENDMENT BILL**

Mr B L MASHILE: Speaker, I would also like to extend our condolences to the Mthembu family.

When the National Minimum Wage Bill was introduced, section 17(4) correctly, at the time, cross-referred to section 4(6). The committee however amended section 4 with two additional subsections being inserted so that the original section 4(6) became section 4(8). However, the required consequential amendment of section 17(4) was not effected.

The Portfolio Committee on Labour agreed to request permission in terms of Rule 273(1) of the National Assembly Rules to introduce a Committee Bill, the

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National Minimum Wage Amendment Bill. The aim of the Bill is to amend the National Minimum Wage Act so as to correct the incorrect cross-reference in section 17(4). It is envisaged that this amendment should be effected through the substitution of section 17(4) of the Act with a new subsection that reflects the correct cross-reference, namely "section 4(8)".

On 16 January 2019, the Portfolio Committee on Labour unanimously agreed to initiate the process of a Committee Bill. The committee resolved to develop a draft memorandum, as required by National Assembly Rule 273(1), and draft a Bill, if permission was granted by the National Assembly. The committee advertised for public comments in the national daily and weekly newspapers, on Parliament's website, on social media platforms, as well as in the *Government Gazette*. The closing date for written submissions was Friday, 15 March 2019. The committee received five submissions from the following stakeholders: Mr Elcort Matlala, in his own capacity, the Independent Municipal and Allied Trade Union, Black First Land First, the Congress of South African Trade Unions,

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and the Commission for Gender Equality. All submissions were considered, and none of them opposed the Amendment Bill. However, they raised issues that require further processing by the Portfolio Committee on Labour in the Sixth Parliament. The committee, of course, unanimously agreed with the Bill and the resulting committee report printed in the Announcements, Tablings, and Committee Reports yesterday.

The Portfolio Committee on Labour, having considered the subject of the National Minimum Wage Amendment Bill, recommends that the House adopts this report and approves the Second Reading of the Bill, as introduced. It is very important that this correction is effected to ensure protection of vulnerable workers from unscrupulous employers out there.

I need to thank all members of the committee for their active participation during the process of engagement and deliberations on the Bill. Furthermore, I wish to express my gratitude to the individuals, organisations, and stakeholders that participated in the process and

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contributed to the development of the Bill. The promulgation of the National Minimum Wage Act is a new high and one of the Fifth Parliament's legacies. South Africans should welcome and appreciate the effort by the ANC-led government to ensure protection of more than 6 million workers from poverty-level wages. South Africans are called upon and persuaded to vote for the ANC on 8 May 2019. [Interjections.] A vote for the ANC is a vote for real progress towards a better life. I thank you. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

Debate concluded.

The Deputy Chief Whip of the Majority Party moved: That the Report be adopted.

The SPEAKER: Are there any objections?

Mr M WATERS: Speaker, there is no objection, but the DA would like to make a declaration, please.

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Mr N PAULSEN: Speaker, the EFF rejects this scam of a R20 per hour wage Bill!

Declarations of vote:

Mr M BAGRAIM: Speaker, the Democratic Alliance hereby supports the amendments despite the embarrassment having to amend legislation within one month of having it being passed by our Parliament. Our hon Minister Oliphant has been so hellbent on rushing a national minimum wage through the processes and that the legal advisors to the Minister, legal advisors to Parliament and legal advisor to the Department of labour, all missed the obvious typographical error costing our Parliament enormous amount of time, money and effort.

The Minister boated out of the starting blocks to ensure that negative legislation was passed. She appeared to be like a wild mustang in open plans. [Laughter.] Minister "Mustang Sally" Oliphant should be ashamed that you are standing here today to correct an obvious error ...

[Interjections.]

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The DEPUTY CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Hon Speaker, the hon member of the DA is calling the Minister names - names that we don't know about. [Interjections.] So, we want him to withdraw that and also on the allegations that he's making, he should bring in a substantive motion. Thank you.

The SPEAKER: Am I correct that a mustang is an animal?

Mr M WATERS: No, no.

The SPEAKER: So, I am wrong.

Mr M WATERS: You are wrong.

The SPEAKER: It's a car.

Mr M WATERS: Speaker, may I address you.

The SPEAKER: The hon member of the ANC, the Deputy Chief Whip says the hon speaker on the podium is calling the hon Minister names. According to Rule 82(3), it is not

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allowed in Parliament. Therefore, I request the hon member of the DA especially on this day to withdraw calling another hon member names. Please, hon member!

Mr M BAGRAIM: I withdraw.

The SPEAKER: Thank you very much.

Mr M BAGRAIM: The Minister should be ashamed that we are standing here today to correct an obvious error because of her haste, like any motor vehicle which is a mustang. [Laughter.] The Minister should be worried. Another negative is that the nation was promised paternity leave which still is not being implemented by the tardy Department of Labour. I had a privilege of being hosted by both the senior Commissioners for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration, CCMA, in Cape Town and Johannesburg. Both centres have reported at least a 15% increase in referrals and have indicated that their staff is stretched to the limits. The staff have complained that they cannot afford to take tea breaks or lunch

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breaks and that the workload has created an enormous problem.

Prior to the advent of the national minimum wage, NMW, the CCMA was running like a well-oiled machine but at full capacity. With the Minister refusing to grant extra finances for the CCMA, it has been unable to employ more Commissioners, to train more Commissioners and put into place better systems. There is a dire need to ensure that the crown jewel of the Department of the Labour is not forced to grind to a halt.

The senior Commissioner, Mr Marajane projected the increase in workload and has been begging for extra funding for the past two years to ensure that they are up and running and able to handle the increase of the 15% workload. Unfortunately, this workload is set to increase beyond 15% as the CCMA has now able to handle disputes of the monetary value. These disputes were formally handled by the actual Department of Labour. That was far too cumbersome and nonfunctional. In fact, the department is none functional. Once the public realise that they are

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able to take all the monetary disputes such as nonpayment of wages, nonpayment of overtime and nonpayment of leave pay directly to the CCMA, it's expected that there would be a burgeoning of referrals and could even double the number of referrals to the CCMA. This doubling of referrals will completely destroy the service delivery and will lead to a backlash from all the users of the Department of Labour. The trade union movement has already referred to a bloodbath with regard to job losses and once they realise that they will not receive the same service delivery with the same limits, as it's likely expected in the past there would be a bigger problem.

Over and above the CCMA, I had meetings with the sister workshops for the disabled. The disaster that has met these workshops is unspeakable with a new definition of worker and the advent of the national minimum wage. Every single person who benefits from the workshop is by law entitled to R20 per hour, the minimum four hours a day, this despite the fact that the workshops are not profit institutions and are all running at enormous losses. These workshops across the country have reported that

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they are funding is from both the government and private sources. It is not allowed to keep them open, as expected. Already we have seen two large workshops closing down. These workshops exist to give the disabled dignity and a place to go.

Our government is hellbent on destroying the hopes and wishes of the disabled community. It is a crying shame Minister and you cannot see the good work being done by the various wealth fare institutions. The universal minimum legislation has acted as a sword to cut the disabled community from doing anything beneficial for their beneficiaries. Despite request on the various role-players and the disciplinary sector, the Minister has been wholly silent and heartless. President Ramaphosa mouthed good things to the disability sector, making all sorts of various promises, but actually doing nothing at all. The simple solution will be to exempt the workshops and the disability sector from this wage. Please vote DA, we will do that. We will support the disability sector. [Interjections.] Thank you. [Applause.]

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Mr M N PAULSEN: Speaker, the national minimum wage was from the very start rushed not properly thought through and did not take into account the opinion of stakeholders. As a result, the Bill is badly written as a number of mistakes which is why it had to be amended less than a year after the President signed it. Most importantly, this Bill does not guarantee a living wage and dignity for the South African worker. Anybody who thinks that a R20 minimum wage is acceptable is deluded and has never had to face a pain of working and giving all for 12 hours and yet you still end up seeing your family go hungry. That is nothing more than glorified slavery.

The National Minimum Wage Bill is a microcosm of the ANC rule for the last 25 years. The ANC with their fake communists, you talk left and you walk right. [Laughter.] You claim that this Bill and their original act will serve the interest of the working class, but in reality it will ensure that capital in South Africa will continue to have access, to cheap and expandable black labour under the guise of radical rhetoric. However, the ruling

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party and its alliance with capital has become so blinded by money and greed that it does not realise the workers of this country do not accept this minimum wage and they see it for what it is. That is why the unions with alliance are falling apart because they are so unable to represent the interest of the working class. Twenty rand is far too little. Remember that a R20 minimum wage was first proposed nearly five-years ago. Since then inflation, petrol prices and a general cost of living have devalued the R20 massively, which we even then objected to.

Secondly, the national minimum wage has far too many sectoral exemptions which will mean that the very workers with this Bill was meant to protect, will not even receive a mega R20 which government has promised them. These exemptions include farm workers and domestic workers - already two of the most exploited sectors in our society. This amendment Bill was a wasted opportunity. If the other members of this Parliament were as genuine as the EFF in the commitment to ensuring the economic liberation of our people, then we would have

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used this opportunity to amend the original wage Bill to radically change it and to ensure a living wage for all working South Africans.

The Constitution states that the Republic of South Africa is founded upon the human values, human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms. The national minimum wage clearly disregards the Constitution. It is a spit in the face of workers and instead of guaranteeing the dignity of the South African workers. It instead condemns all workers living on a wage clause which resemble modern day slavery and continue with exploitation and hyper exploitation by capital.

The only hope for the workers of this country is the EFF government where domestic and farm workers will earn a minimum wage of R5 000 and petrol attendants a minimum wage of R6 500. [Interjections.] Workers must note when we speak about a decent minimum wage, how the jeers and laughter from the ANC who are totally antiblack and antiworker and pro-capital are exploiting our people. You

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will suffer and you will pay the price on 8 May when the people of this country will vote you out of these benches and you are going to join the DA on the other side. We reject this Bill. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER: All other parties have three minutes to make their declarations.

Mr X NGWEZI: Hon Speaker, the IFP conveys its condolences to our colleague, hon Jackson Mthembu and his family for having lost their daughter. Hon Speaker, the position of the IFP about this Bill is known and we have debated in the previous debates. As the IFP, we still stand that if the government cannot lead by example by paying Expanded Public Works Programme, EPWP, workers a minimum wage and they are saying they cannot afford to pay R20 per hour to the EPWP people. Then, we feel that EPWP employees should not vote for the ANC but rather vote for the IFP because we have stood with the workers. [Interjections.] Although we support the technical amendments, but we urge all the EPWP workers not to vote for the ANC on 8 May rather vote for the IFP. We were prepared to give them a national

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minimum wage like it has been agreed. You cannot pass a Bill for others and leave the Bill for yourselves. As government, you must lead by example although we support the technical amendments. Thank you.

IsiZulu:

USolwazi N M KHUBISA: Ngicela ukubonga kakhulu Somlomo wale Ndlu, ngibingelele amalungu ahloniphekile. I-National Freedom Party iyaseseka lesi sichibiyelo. Sisasho ke mhlonishwa Somlomo ukuthi noma siseseke kodwa sibona ukuthi kube nephutha elikhulu ukuze kube nalesichibiyelo kulo Mthethosivivinywa emveni kwephutha elenzeka.

Okunye esakusho phambilini mhlazane ufika kule Ndlu sasho ukuthi uMthethosivivinywa lo ubalulekile kakhulu ukuguqula izimpilo zabantu bakithi kodwa sinako ukukhalaza ukuthi imali le abazoyithola incane ngosuku ukuba kuzoba yi-R120, R3 500 ngenyanga yonke incane. Sasho ukuthi asikwazi ukuthi sichithe amanzi nengane nobhavu konke sikulahle ngoba ikhona into ekufanele ibe setafuleni ukuze abantu bakithi kube khona abakutholayo.

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Sazi futhi ukuthi sebegqilazwe isikhathi eside bengatholi imihlomulo edingekayo. Somlomo sake sakhuluma ngonogada nabasebenzi basendlini nabasebenza futhi emapulazini kanye nabasebenza emigodini nabanye abaqashiwe abangaholi kahle ukuthi bodinga ukubhekelelwa.

Siqonde futhi Somlomo ukuthi umthetho yinto eqhubekayo ehambayo. Kuyoba khona isikhathi lapho kubuye kuchitshiyelwe khona ukuze kuqhutshekwe kulungiswe izimfuno zabantu bakithi bathole ukusizakala ezweni lakithi. Sazi ukuthi kufanele bavikelwe abasebenzi laba abasebenza emapulazini ngokuxhashazwa kwabo kanye nalabo abangabalimi bavikelwe ukuze nabo bangalinyazwa abasebenzi bakwazi ukuthola imihlomulo okuyiyona yona.

Sisasho kuthi ke siyakwemukela lokhu Somlomo siqonde ukuthi izwe lakithi lisathuthuka. Uyadingeka umhlaba, ziyadingeka izibhedlela nezikole nemitholampilo nakho konke, zonke lezi zinto kufanele zenziwe ezweni lakithi sakhile. Ukwakha indaba yomsebenzi kufanele siyiqhathanise nendaba yokudala amathuba emisebenzi ukuze abantu bakithi basizakale.

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English:

We said therefore we note the technical error in section 17(4) so that it correctly refers to section 4(8) as opposed to section 4(6). Then the NFP wants to put it on record that 2019 should be a year of dealing with all the challenges that affect the workers of our country, especially those who are at the bottom of the ladder or neglected when it comes to getting decent salaries. We support the amendments. Thank you very much.

Mr M L W FILTANE: The UDM has no objection to the Bill. This Bill is up for consideration at a time when South Africa is struggling to even achieve one percent of economic growth. This has been the case for the past couple of years. The initial focus, five years ago was set at 2,5% growth then it was revised down to 1,9% and then to 1,3%. With the entire downward spiral hundreds of thousands of jobs were continuously being shredded by the bleeding economy.

On the one hand the beneficiaries of big time corruption were bagging millions, milking our economy to the

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detriment of the employees. All of this disaster was happening under the watchful eye of this ANC which now wants to extend its part by another five years. Judging the ANC on its performance for the ending five years one is strongly persuaded to believe that it just does not make sense to vote them back into power unless you are a beneficiary of the corruption that has taken funds away from the service delivery programmes to the pockets of a few, Or if you are deliberately ignoring the reality that the ANC no longer cares for the struggling majority of South Africa.

In the midst of all this, that has been increased by this ANC thus putting more strain on the already lean pockets of the people, the proposed minimum wage. It is so small when judged against the rising inflation that it simply cannot even sustain a two-person family.

A UDM-led government would have created a far better environment for economic growth that results in far better wages. Straight cash is very vulnerable to inflation and depletes the operational funds of employers

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and is seen buy them as being unbearable. Rather a repackaged offering with the following benefits would work better for both employer and employee.

Now, this is where the ANC needs to listen very carefully. Good afternoon, Deputy President. Transport subsidy for employees. Already 40% of one's salary goes to transport. School fees for employees children. Employer negotiated grocery discount offered by strategically located outlets. Subsidised housing costs and packaged insurance benefits. We should avoid straight-jacketed approaches born out of in-boxed thinking rather we should think about integrated system that link the employer with other companies from which elements of these packages can be sourced. Examples of such are the following, the negotiated transport costs with the transport providers and housing local agreements with the locally based contractors.

Housing is the constitutional entitlement and these two examples are employer driven packages that can result in a better value for money. This is my last debate and the

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UDM is on the side of the workforce of South Africa. For dignity and prosperity vote nobody else except the UDM come 8 May you will see a better future. Goodbye South Africa.

Ms S R VAN SCHALKWYK: Hon Speaker, hon Deputy President, hon Ministers and Deputy Ministers, hon members, people in the gallery as well as South Africans out there, we as the ANC-led government support the National Minimum Wage Amendment correcting this technical error. We want to be upfront to say that if we could choose again the Minister who can lead this department we will choose hon Mildred Olifant again because she knows the strives of the workers, she knows the challenges that have been experienced on the ground and she continuously have efforts to better the conditions of our workers on the ground.

The EFF must note that it is a National Minimum Wage and not a national living wage but of course I pardon you hon Paulsen because you do not have any insight of or any clue of what happened in terms of reaching this

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conclusion of the National Minimum Wage because you were not part of the process. So, I will pardon you on this one.

Also, please recognise that we have done extensive work together with the portfolio committee as well as the stakeholders at National Economic Development and Labour Council, Nedlac throughout the process to ensuring the final Bill. Exemptions provide that people do not lose their jobs through retrenchments and that is where we want to go and protect the job security of the workers.

With EFF proposals, we have to be clear that there is just going to run this country into bankruptcy because they are making unrealistic promises to the people. They are also making unrealistic promises in terms of the social grants. We know very well that...

Mrs N P SONTI: Hon Speaker, on a point of order:

IsiXhosa:

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Ohloniphekileyo makangakhe alinge alahlekise le Ndlu.

Asoze thina sihluphekise abantu thina sisi. Musa

ukuthetha ubuxoki. Musa ukuthetha ubuxoki.

English:

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, that is not a point of order, take your seat.

Ms S R VAN SCHALKWYK: Hon Deputy Speaker that is exactly what we are talking about.

Mr P J MNGUNI: Hon Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: I do know that hon Van Schalkwyk did not hear the vernacular. Certainly, to call the member on the podium a liar is unparliamentary, unacceptable and it is name calling. She must withdraw saying:

IsiXhosa:

Musa ukuthetha ubuxoki...

English:

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... because that directly means that she is lying. We call that to order please Deputy Speaker.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Sonti, is that what you said?

IsiXhosa:

Nksk N P SONTI: Ewe tata, nditshilo kwaye ndicela uxolo kodwa makangayithethi into engekhooyo.

USEKELA SOMLOMO: Mamela sisi, sicela ukuba ungayibeki ngale ndlela uyibeke ngayo. Rhoxisa uze ungabeki mibandela ekungafanelekanga ukuba uyayibeka. Rhoxisa sisi.

Nksk N P SONTI: Hayi ndirhoxisa ke tatakhe.

USEKELA SOMLOMO: Ndiyabulela ke mama.

English:

Ms S R VAN SCHALKWYK: Hon Deputy Speaker, we know that the EPWP is the initiative of the ANC-led government and we do not want the other parties to come and hijack

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this initiative as if it is their own and act as if it is in the interests of the workers out there. We know the real reason is that we wanted to put food on the tables of the unemployed communities.

Already more than 6 million workers will benefit through the initiation of the National Minimum Wage. Extra finances have been approved including payroll auditors. You were present hon Bargrain where it was reported to the portfolio committee so do not come and mislead our members and the public out there. We know that there is more than 600 extra inspectors that will be appointed soon. We also know that there have been workshops and they got government tenders and turnaround would be felt soon.

The DA claims that they created half of the jobs in the past year. Let me give you some facts. It shows that in 2018 Gauteng created 172 000 jobs...

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Mr M WATERS: Hon Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: Is there any reason for the hon member to shout on the last Parliament?

Ms S R VAN SCHALKWYK: We can see they are getting desperate now neh? Gauteng created 172 000 jobs, KwaZulu-Natal 135 000, Limpopo 59 000 and then the fourth place Western Cape with 29 000 jobs. So, please do not come and mislead our people. It is not a surprise because we know that the DA is not good with numbers so we understand them.

The DA wanted Sectoral determination in terms of the National Minimum Wage to remain which we all that it is as low as R6 per hour and it is a total disgrace to our people. Note well that the DA wanted to insists that provision should be made for workers to opt out of the National Minimum Wage R20 voluntarily. This was another insult to the workers.

Only time was one hour of committee members and no other costs in terms of this technical amendment. So, do not

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come here opposition and again come and mislead our people and say that there were so many costs involved. We know that the ANC-led government takes care of the interests of our workers.

Afrikaans:

Ons weet byvoorbeeld dat die meeste mense wat vir die DA in die Wes-Kaap stem, kleurlinge is, maar as ons kyk na hulle benches, [banke] en hulle lys vir 2019, sien ons wie die persone is wat die coloureds [kleurlinge] in hierdie Huis gaan represent [verteenwoordig].

English:

What a shame! ...

IsiXhosa:

Nksk N P SONTI: Siyamcela athethele phansti ingathi uyalwa ngoku. Heyi uyangxola maan. Thethela phantsi mkhaya, haybooo!

English:

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I see you are competing.

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Ms S R VAN SCHALKWYK: We can see that they are very desperate hon Deputy Speaker. Hon members, let us be clear...

Afrikaans:

...ons sê vir ons mense in alle provinsies daar buite dat ons weet dat dit net die ANC is wat ons mense se lewens kan verbeter. Dit is die ANC wat voortdurend, deur die wette wat hulle in plek stel, bewys het dat hulle vir mense van alle rasse omgee.

Dit is weereens die ANC wat op 8 Mei victorious [oorwinnend] sal wees. Ons weet dat ons mense hulle nie sal laat mislei nie. Ons weet dat die belange van ons opposisie net is om meer geld te verdien, om meer mense te het. Ons weet, dat as ons kyk na die begroting, veral van die DA in die Stad Kaapstad, sal ons sien dat die meeste geld aan voorheenbevoordeelde gemeenskappe bewillig word.

As ons kyk na ons gemeenskappe in Khayelitsha en die ander swart en kleurlinggebiede, sal ons sien dat hulle

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die kleinste begroting kry, maar dan kom die DA en hulle gee voor dat hulle vir ons mense omgee.

Ons vra dus vir Suid-Afrika dat hulle hulle nie moet laat mislei nie en weereens op 8 Mei 2019 vir die ANC met 'n 70% majority [meerderheid] sal vote [stem]. Ek dank u.

QUESTION PUT.

MOTION AGREED TO.

SECOND READING - NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE AMENDMENT BILL

There was no debate.

Question put: That the Bill be read a second time.

Division demanded.

VOTING

Question agreed to.

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Bill accordingly read a second time.

**DEBATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS DAY: ACCELERATED SOCIOECONOMIC
TRANSFORMATION — THE KEY TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND A BETTER
FUTURE FOR ALL**

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Alright, I'm informed that the hon Minister of Defence and Military Veterans will start, instead of as it appears on the list.

An HON MEMBER: Why?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND MILITARY VETERANS: Thank you very much Chairperson ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Deputy Speaker.

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND MILITARY VETERANS: ... and thank you hon members. I want to start by passing my condolences to the Chief Whip Jackson Mthembu on the loss of his daughter. I also want to urge all of us as parents, as mothers and fathers, to begin to listen to

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what our children tell us. I don't know what may have happened to the child but I know as a mother who has lost a son that we parents must listen to our children.

Our democratic dispensation will be 25 years on 27 April this year. Quite a milestone, we must all admit. However, while our democracy's founding principles were hoisted on the strongest pillars of an ethos of human rights, our record on that question is very poor. South Africa still has some pockets of racism. Too many of our people, especially women and girl children, continue to be victims of violence which translates into murders in some instances and sexual harassment.

At the workplace, discrimination continues to define the workers' position on the basis of their complexion. It does not end with just black and white. The pay between white males and women is unequal and the pay between white males and black males is unequal. So too is the pay between black males and black females.

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Better basic services are mostly available to those who are in the urban areas. However, conditions in the black townships are worse than in the white areas, while those in the countryside are generally denied those rights.

Of course, as we have already experienced in the debates – the many debates which we have had in this House – it is very clear that indeed our human rights' culture is poor.

Originally, 21 March was one of the days that was adopted by the masses of our people. It showed the extent of the racist regime's determination to deny black people their human rights when on that day our people were mowed down for only demanding the right to vote.

The motivation for the changing of the name from Sharpeville Day to Human Rights Day was part of the project to reconcile and unify our nation, and move it towards the goal of a South African citizenry that would be united in its diversity, in keeping with what Archbishop Tutu called the rainbow nation.

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It is a pity that, when we had hoped to pull our people together from all our communities to adopt Human Rights Day and be part of the commemorative events relating thereto, most white people have consistently stayed away.

The ANC, the leader of the democratic project in South Africa, wanted to persuade all our people to buy in to the political effort to totally destroy apartheid and construct out of its ashes a new nation of people whose main objective would be to work together to produce a better life for the entire nation.

The ANC, right from its inception, was committed to usher in, in our country, a democratic political project whose cornerstone would be a human rights platform. In a statement he made on the occasion of the celebration of the 20th year of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1968, our president, Oliver Reginald Tambo said:

1968 sees the end of two decades of apartheid in South Africa. The Nazi ideology, which was the primary

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purpose of the declaration to combat, finds its resurrection in the policy of apartheid.

During the last two decades human values in our country sank to primitive levels as elementary human rights were trampled underfoot on a scale unparalleled in recent history ...

Naturally the people of South Africa have waged courageous struggles against the infamous system, for freedom, democracy and peace. The reaction of the regime has been a systematic resort to force and terror directed against the masses ...

Persistent contravention of human rights is a recipe for violent conflict and war. The people can clearly not tolerate the arrogance of the oppressors indefinitely. Already the people have decided to stand up and fight for their rights, arms in hand.

Our fight is for justice. We cannot cease until we have won, as we will in time. And in achieving human rights

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for all ... in Southern Africa, we will be making our contribution to the fight for human rights and freedom the world over.

What president O R Tambo was telling the world was that the ANC's struggle, even with arms in hand, was for human rights, democracy, peace and justice. The 16 December 1943 conference of the ANC, held in Bloemfontein, adopted, amongst others, as part of the Africans' Claims in South Africa document, a bill of rights. Presenting the Africans' Claims document, Dr Xuma had this to say:

We want the government and the people of South Africa to know the full aspirations of the African peoples so that their point of view will also be presented at the Peace Conference ... This is our way of conveying to them our undisputed claim to full citizenship. We desire them to realise once and for all that a just and permanent peace will be possible only if the claims of all classes, colours and races for sharing and for full

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participation in the educational, political and economic activities are granted and recognised.

As he was ending, Xuma asked all freedom lovers to close ranks and take their place in this mass liberation movement and struggle, expressed in the bill of citizenship rights, until freedom. [Time expired.] [Applause.]

Mr S C MOTAU: Honourable Speaker, a decade ago when I was inducted into the South African Parliament, I was shocked and dismayed to hear some ANC members insult their opponents in the House by calling them dogs.

Sadly, today as I bid you farewell - at the end of my ten years of national service - the situation has deteriorated. These days the slur of choice is racist or racists.

That is what the Chief Whip of the ANC, Hon Jackson Mthembu, recently called all the members of the Democratic Alliance, in deference of his bereavement, I

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shall stop right there. Racism is not a colour or power thing. Racism is an evil human failing that must be eradicated like all pestilences that frustrate our nation building efforts.

The falsehood that blacks or people who do not have political or economic power cannot be racist is a blatant lie. The 6th Parliament will have to work diligently to restore the lost dignity and to burnish the tarnished reputation of this House. This 5th Parliament has not covered itself in glory in this regard. Regrettably, many South Africans were psychologically damaged by Apartheid, some were brainwashed to believe that they were superior while some internalised inferiority. This must change.

We all agree that Apartheid was an abomination that had to be eradicated. Similarly, Black African Nationalism, which wants to be the flip-side of Apartheid, must be eradicated.

Mr P J MNGUNI: Point of principle, here is an unparliamentarily expression here, from the year 2000 to

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2015, it was ruled in the year 2000 that the word lie is unparliamentary. Now, the expression blatant lie is even worse, this is taken from the records of Parliament that I have here, I can forward it to the table staff.

According to this record, I therefore move that the hon member must withdraw the unparliamentary terms

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, No, you hold your horses, you hold your horses. Let me rule and then you can express your views. You can't now want to rule on my behalf until I hand over to you soon, don't worry, your time is coming. Hon members, I suggest that the hon member proceeds, if you refer to political a party that is fine, but if you refer to individuals then you are out of order. He hasn't done so, proceed hon member.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Awuvaleki umlomo wakho Nks, ayikho indlela yokuvala nje kancane. Siyacela bandla usuku lokugcina namhlanje.

Nks M S KHAWULA: Ngiyabonga Sihlalo

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THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, No hon member I haven't given you an opportunity to speak. Why are you rising now?

Nks M S KHAWULA: Bengisholo ukuthi sengathi ubungaphinda futhi nangethemu elandelayo ube nguSekela Somlomo ngoba hayi usuyibambe kahle. Ngiyabonga

SEKELELA SOMLOMO: Ngicela uhlale phansi Nks

I am a perennial optimist about the future of this country, but 25 years into our young democracy, my optimism is being sorely tested. My fears are growing that the country is drifting towards being a failed state.

My spirits sank even lower last night as I watched ANC Ministers and other members, together with their hangers-on, singing and dancing in this House at the prospect of amending Section 25 of the Constitution to impose expropriation of land without compensation.

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That ball has been kicked into touch until the next parliament. And that's where it should stay. Be warned: This country will rue the day the Bill of Rights is amended for electioneering and myopic, dangerous political expediency.

That will be a direct attack on our democracy. That will be to spit on the graves of the brave men and women of this country who sacrificed so much for our freedom: Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe, Albertina Sisulu, Steve Biko, Helen Suzman, Jafta Masemola, Winnie Mandela! The list is endless.

Rampant corruption, violent crime and extreme poverty are the daily staple of the media. Rape and gender based violence have become endemic.

The Zondo Commission on State Capture is a stark indictment of the ANC and how the country has fallen.

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The Massacre at Marikana in August 2012, described by some as the ANC's Sharpeville, is a horrific and painful blot on our nation building efforts.

The Esidimeni Tragedy of 2016 will forever haunt the failing ANC and the rest of the good people of this country. What has gone wrong? What is going wrong?

The ANC has gone wrong. The people of South Africa have kept the ANC in government for far too long

This is the sad end story of all failed African states. With about 10 million people - who want to work - unemployed in this country, the need to create jobs is the most serious problem facing South Africa. However, for as long as the ANC remains in power, the creation of 11 million jobs envisaged by the National Development Plan by 2030 will remain a pipe-dream.

Interestingly, South Africa seems to be the only country in the world without a single problem. Due to ANC double-speak, all the country's political, social and economic

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problems and crises have morphed into "challenges" - and people wonder why we cannot solve the country's problems. Eskom and its staged load-shedding is a mega problem. It aggravates most of the economic problems and crises facing the country. Billions of Rand are lost to the economy every day due to these black-outs. This can only mean more job losses and a violation of the human right of the people who lose those jobs

We must do all in our power to turn the tide against joblessness, homelessness and poverty. Time is of the essence. Restlessness and lawlessness are becoming pervasive in the country. The ANC government has gone wrong. The ANC has lost the way. The ANC cannot be redeemed. Come 8 May 2019, the ANC government must out.

Mr S P MHLONGO: Hon Deputy Speaker, as the EFF we would like to convey our undivided condolences to the Mthembu family for the tragedy they came across and we hope our almighty God will in time heal them.

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Hon Deputy Speaker, on 21 March 1960 thousands of African people responded to the call by that eminent leader of the African people by that eminent leader of the African people Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe; a call of the African people to let go of their chains and take their quest for freedom in their own hands.

Sobukwe fully understood that true the emancipation of our people will only come from the consciousness and actions of the people themselves, and not through endless dialogue with oppressors, not through concessions that will compromise the indelible right of African people to dignity in their own land. As echoed in his words by Chief Albert Luthuli, *Inkosi yase Groutville, amakholwa angakholwa, Inkosi yase world*, who said the following and I quote:

The time of oppression shall have to be determined by the oppressed masses of our people, not by their own oppressors.

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In response to this, the racist white minority government murdered 69 African people, injuring more than 300 of them. It has always being the response of the racist to kill those African people who stand up for themselves and their right to human dignity.

We know this because we experienced this violence every day in our lives. We know because we are the children of those killed and tortured by the supremacists who actually impose themselves as goddesses over our own destiny. Hence, we forgive them, but we shall never forget their evil actions.

So today, we cannot be taught about human rights by the closest racists who have been recycled through the years of apartheid tyranny such as the DA on my left. We cannot be taught about human rights and dignity by the ruling party which has overseen the deepening of the oppression of African people in this country since 1994.

In scenes reminiscent of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in 2012, thousands of mineworkers in Marikana stood up for

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their right to be paid a living wage just R12 000 and guess what was the response. The response was a brutal reaction by security forces, who mercilessly gunned them down, ordered by the one who has ascended to power as the President of this country, President Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mr X MABASA: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order.

Mr S P MHLONGO: His modern day oppression ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes, hon member.

Mr X MABASA: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. I rise on Rule 85. This is a very strong statement. The rule does not allow the hon Mhlongo to speak about the President in this manner.

Mr S P MHLONGO: Deputy Speaker, it is documented ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Mhlongo.

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Mr S P MHLONGO. ... that the President wrote a letter instructing the police to kill our people.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Mhlongo, hon Mhlongo!

Mr S P MHLONGO: It is documented and this will haunt him until he goes to his grave. Thank you.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Mhlongo, as I am talking to you, you are talking! Can you take your seat and keep quiet. Hon Mhlongo, you know what you should do. You cannot make those statements in this House without a substantive motion. You may assume as you do that is elsewhere, it does not exist in this House until you bring it by way of a substantive motion. So, you withdraw.

Mr S P MHLONGO: I do not know whether you are rewriting what is already documented.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, you withdraw! I have told you what you should do. So, you withdraw.

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Mr M N PAULSEN: Deputy Speaker. Deputy Speaker.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I am in the process of ruling. Do not interrupt me.

Mr M N PAULSEN: Deputy Speaker, no, you are being unfair!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I am ruling!

Mr M N PAULSEN: Hon Deputy Speaker, this is a known fact!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member!

Mr M N PAULSEN: ... [Inaudible.] ... denies facts!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, take your seat! I am talking to your fellow member here at the podium! Hon member, you withdraw!

Mr S P MHLONGO: Let me withdraw, because people know except ...

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Do not do it conditionally. Hon member, do it unconditionally.

Mr S P MHLONGO: Unconditionally!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes, you may now proceed.

Mr SP MHLONGO: Black people everywhere in this country, have no human rights to speak about. It is black people who stay in the infested and flea ridden shacks, because ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Your time has expired, hon member.

Mr S P MHLONGO: Oh! Three minutes just now. Deputy Speaker, you are very much ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Hlengwa.

Mr S P MHLONGO: Three minutes just now! Ah dammit!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Quiet, hon Hlengwa.

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Mr M HLENGWA: Hon Deputy Speaker, all the basic human rights as entrenched in our Constitution are all hard-earned. This against the horrific and grief-stricken history of this country is the very reason we commemorate Human Rights Day.

We do this precisely because our country, for much of the past 300 years and the nine wasted years in particular has not honoured people's right to dignity, freedom and safety. And one only has to look at the shocking statistics released every year by the SA Police regarding rape and other forms of gender-based violence to realise that human rights violations are not a thing of the past. Gender-based and sexual violence have become part of the fabric of our social climate in South Africa.

Lest we forget the bravery of the men and woman who selflessly dedicated their lives to protest against the pass laws in Sharpeville and all around the country on the 21st of March 1960, for which this day was marked. The IFP salutes these fallen heroes.

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Human Rights Day is observed in conjunction with water week which is an annual event that focuses public attention on the importance of water, one of South Africa's most limited resources and a basic human right. Water security is one of the biggest challenges facing South Africa and the world, especially the developing world in the 21st century and precisely for this reason why we must make sure that we have a Department of Water and Sanitation which is fully functional, adhering to the Public Finance Management Act and Treasury regulations, free it from corruption, clean it up and secure the sustainable livelihoods of our people.

Hon Deputy Speaker, economic growth in the absence of adequate measures to promote inclusive and participatory development is unsustainable. An absence of accountability and the rule of law in the economic sphere, inequality, corruption, mismanagement of public resources and austerity measures continue to trigger civil unrest in many parts of the world and this country in particular, which in turn undermine the sustainability of long-term development and growth.

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All efforts to accelerate socioeconomic transformation and economic justice are stunted in the main by the inability of the government to effectively promote and respect the doctrine of human rights. Human rights are indivisible and interdependent, and the consequences of corrupt governance are multiple and touch on the human rights of all South Africans whether is - civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights as well as the right to development.

Our country has been tainted by corruption, state capture, and self-enrichment by those in power, to the neglect of the higher mission and placing one's self-interest before the community's interests. All of which has a negative impact on the enjoyment of all human rights especially for the most vulnerable sections of society - the poorest of the poor. I thank you. [Time expired.]

Prof N M KHUBISA: Hon House Chairperson and hon members, the NFP convey the words of condolences to the Chief Whip of the Majority Party and the family for the loss of

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their daughter. The celebration of human rights gives us the memories of where we come from as a nation. We are a nation that was bruised, victimised and tortured before we could gain our democracy. It was not an easy journey.

On this day the 21st of March 1960, 5 000 to 7 000 marchers and protesters marched to the police station to submit a memorandum against the pass laws and 69 of them were massacred by the police. They were gunned down for a just and a peaceful cause for their land and some fundamental rights that they were deprived of by minority government.

So, today we are indebted to the founders of our democracy for what we are. We have to cherish this democracy and to ensure that we use it responsibly.

The former President Mandela rightly maintained and I quote:

Freedom should not be understood to mean leadership positions or even appointments to top positions. It

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must be understood as the transformation of the lives of ordinary people in hostels and the ghettos; in squatter camps; on the farms and in the mine compounds. It means constant consultation between leaders and members of their organisations; it allows us to be in constant touch with people, to understand their needs, hopes and fears; and to work together with them to improve their conditions.

We have to master that courage, attitude and potential which remind us that those we are leading are without some physical resources which they so direly need for the restoration of their dignity, identity and humanity.

I refer here to our brothers and sisters, who have no water, electricity, homes and still languish in poverty.

South Africa is not free until it achieves economic liberation. The war against poverty and unemployment must be waged from all fronts. We need to give our youth and children the best education that will make them globally competitive and not only that, but also introduce them to

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the digital and technological mode of the industrial revolution. We need to produce independent and creative thinkers who will seize the moment and maximise little opportunities at their disposal to create their own jobs and start their own businesses.

We need to focus on entrepreneurship development. We need to collectively master a resolve that says fraud, greed and corruption must be uprooted, exposed and shame those who are looting the purse of the state. They must be arrested, charged and put behind bars.

We need to revive, revamp and rebuild old infrastructure and unlock it to create jobs. We need well equipped and well-resourced educators. Thank you, House Chairperson very much. [Time expired.]

Ms G K TSEKE: House Chair and hon Members of Parliament, good afternoon. The Deputy President of the country, hon Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Members of Parliament, let me join other hon members in conveying our heartfelt condolences to the Chief Whip, hon Jackson Mthembu and

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his family on the passing on of their daughter. No parent can ever take the pain of burying a daughter. We ask God to give them strength and comfort during this trying time.

Setswana:

Maloko a Palamente a a tlotlegang, fa re keteka Letsatsi leno la Ditshwanelo tsa Botho mo nageng ya rona re tshwanetse re itekole gore re tswa kae e bile re ikaelela go isa naga ya rona kae.

Re tswa kwa Egepeta kwa go neng go na le matlhotlhapelo, moo basadi le bana ba neng ba se na ditshwanelo. Re tswa mo nakong eo Maforika Borwa a neng a tseelwa lefatshe ka dikgoka mmogo le maruo a bone; moo ngwana wa mmala wa sebilo a neng a sa tshwanela go bona thuto ya boleng jo bo kwa godimo.

Morago ga gore ANC e nne mokgatlo o o busang mo Aforika Borwa, matshelo a batho a ne a tokafala e bile re netefatsa gore moo re sentseng teng re tla baakanya, moo

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re tlhaelang teng re tla oketsa mme re ikaelela go tokafatsa matshelo a batho ba rona go ya go ile.

Re a ikana gore re tla busetsa lefatshe le dikungo tsa ona go beng ba lone. Re rata go raya багаetsho go re "Pelotshweu boela mannong, mmatla sa gagwe o se bone."
[Legofi.]

A re direng mmogo багаetsho gonne Motswana wa maloba o buile a re "Fifing go tshwaranwa ka dikobo."

English:

Since 1994, the ANC has proven that it is a capable and progressive organisation which aims at building an inclusive society in the economy in particular; and to realise shared prosperity, social justice and human solidarity. Over the past 25 years, the lives of the people of South Africa have changed for the better.

A total of 3,2 million free houses have been built and have benefited 14 million people; and more than 4,5 million people living with HIV receive ARV treatment

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while the overall rate of new infections is decreasing. We have made dramatic progress in the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV.

A total of 84% of South Africans have their homes electrified and 88,6% of South Africans have access to clean drinking water. We will never ever forget that the social grants that are benefiting the majority of our people have increased since 1994 from 3 million to 17,5 million, benefiting the children, our elderly people, people with disabilities and our veterans.

Under the ANC leadership, we have introduced the National Minimum Wage which, of course, will improve the dignity of 6 million workers who are currently being paid below the National Minimum Wage level of R20 per hour. We have advanced the cause and rights of workers to organise, collectively bargain, refuse dangerous work and strike, which is their democratic and human right.

Setswana:

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Re kopa batho ba rona gore fa ba lwela ditshwanelo tsa bone ba dire jalo ka go latela molao le ka go tlotla Molaotheo wa rona o o ratiwang ke dinaga tse dingwe,

Bomme ke digatlhamelamasisi tsa kgololosego ya rona. Lefatshe le le sa tseyengomme tsiya ke lefatshe le le sa goleng. Ke ka moo ANC e ikaelelang go dirisanammogo le mekgatlo e e lwelang ditshwanelo tsa bana le basadi go ema puso nokeng. Re ikaelela go dirisana le mafapha a puso go bona goreomme ba sirelediwa e bile disenyi, babeteledi le basotlakaki ba bana le basadi ba golegwa.

English:

Another key achievement for human rights is the announcement of the zero-rate VAT on sanitary pads from 01 April 2019. Many young girls and women are forced to miss school and other activities as a result of menstruation and not being able to afford the sanitary towels. The zero-VAT on these products will help ease the burden on impoverished women and girls who can't afford the necessity.

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We are also advocating for free sanitary products to the young girls and the Minister of Finance also announced that free pads will be given to girls in need in schools around the country. This is the achievement by the ANC-led government and thank you to all the stakeholders who have participated in this process; the multi-party women's caucus led by Mme Stori Rosalia Morutoa; the Chairperson of the Portfolio Committee on Women, Mme Thandi Memela; and also Mme Thoko Didiza who has been at the forefront in this programme.

Hon Chairperson, we call on South Africans to unite and reject those who claim to support human rights when it is time for election and after being voted out, they show their real colours. South Africans must reject the political party that is against the majority of South Africans having access to land. That political party advances the landlessness of the majority of people. Reject them!

South Africans must reject the party that still praises Bantu Education and claims to be building one country.

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Those people want to reverse the gains of democracy.
Reject them and their political party!

South Africans must reject political parties that call
people constitutional blacks. Reject them and their
political party! You know, she is one of you.

South Africans must reject the political party that
increases property valuations and rates in order to
alienate the majority of people from owning property and
staying in affluent places which were previously reserved
for certain racial groups. Those people advance racial
divisions. Reject them!

South Africans must reject praise singers and supporters
of apartheid Israel abuse on Palestine. Reject them!
These people want to reverse the gains of our freedom of
which people have fought and died for.

Since 1994, the ANC has proven to be the champions of
human rights. We wholeheartedly thank South Africans for
giving us the mandate to lead this country. We are indeed

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grateful. On 8 May 2019, we will enter into a new contract with the South Africans, a contract which has been confirmed by Ipsos survey.

We will grow South Africa together. We commit to: One, transform this economy to serve all the people; two, advance the social transformation by continuing education and health our priorities. Thank you very much. [Time expired.] [Applause.]

IsiXhosa:

Mnu N L S KWANKWA: Kusapho lakwaMthembu, sifuna ukuthi akuhlanga lungehliyo. Tutwini, menze aphumle ngonaphakade Thixo, umkhanyisele ngokhanyiso olungacimiyo.

English:

House Chair and hon members, despite having a Bill of Rights that protects the right of every South African and the significant progress made since 1994 with respect to first generation human rights which are civil and political rights, public confidence in government's willingness and ability to tackle second generation human

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rights such as socioeconomic rights has, to a large extent, eroded. Stressing the failure of South Africa to tackle socioeconomic rights, in December 2018 the SA Human Rights Commission said:

Lack of access to socioeconomic rights provides the clearest reflection of the levels of systemic poverty, unemployment and inequality in South Africa, and demonstrates the persistent recurrence of the cycle of poverty.

House Chair, bell's repeating that 25 years after freedom, South Africa is still one of the most unequal societies in the world because government's redistributive policies which promised a short-cut to prosperity for many have delivered that prosperity to a select politically-connected few, which has undermined the pact of a broad-based empowerment. The state resources that should have been used to eradicate poverty, reduce inequality, reduce youth unemployment and create jobs for our people have been appropriated, to a large extent, for private use. They have been used to

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enrich, especially over the past 10 years, the masters of state capture. While this occurs, our people's daily struggle for survival defies description.

Compare or contrast this with the opulent lifestyles of politicians who are not known for parsimonious living habits, especially the ruling party ones. Yesterday, the SA Human Rights Commission found that the Mpumalanga Department of Education violated learners' rights after 679 000 learners did not receive all their required textbooks in the financial year 2017-18. Add this to the number of learners who have to attend mud schools on a daily basis.

We must do everything in our power to root out the widespread and mostly under-reported violence against women and children in our country. One of the issues which we must consider seriously is that it is going to be impossible to realistically address socioeconomic challenges in the medium to long term without first addressing the crippling energy crisis which is due to

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the mismanagement of the economy by the ANC. One of the issues which we must consider ... [Time expired.]

Mr W W WESSELS: Hon House Chair, section 24 of the Constitution of the Republic of SA guarantees each citizen the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health and well-being. The residents of among others, Thabong, Welkom, Modimolle, Kroonstad, Sannieshof, Delareyville, Tswaing, Ditsobotla and everyone who lives near or make use of the Vaal and other rivers, are however not afforded this right by the ANC-led government.

Hon Tseke, South Africans should reject the ANC.

Afrikaans:

Dieselfde Grondwet bepaal dat elke mens die reg tot toegang tot water moet geniet, maar hierdie reg is vir die inwoners van, onder andere, Masilonyana, Mafube en Gariep beskore nie.

English:

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Section 9 of the Constitution guarantees the right to equality but under the ANC-led government discriminating legislation is imposed and equal opportunities for all are undermined by racial classification and quotas.

Section 31 affords citizens the right to cultural, linguistic and religious communities but those who strive for these rights are classified as racists.

Afrikaans:

Universiteite word verengels en Suid-Afrikaners se taalregte word vertrap. Artikel 10 belowe die reg op menswaardigheid, maar nie volgens die ANC nie. Onder hierdie regering word pasiënte in staatshospitale van hul menswaardigheid gestroop, omdat hulle soos drek behandel word.

Die ANC se idee van menswaardigheid is die van ou mense en kinders wat daaglik langs rou riool moet loop en dit tussen hulle huis moet verduur. Die ANC laat toe dat geld gesteel word en bestee word aan luukshede en die veiligheid van hul Ministers, terwyl kinderhuise se

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staatssubsidies so laag as R17 per kind per dag is. Dit is 'n skande. Die ANC moet verwerp word!

English:

Our Constitution guarantees the right to own property but once again, the ANC, in its power-hungry struggle for votes in the coming election, is willing to gamble with yet another human right for personal gain. Hon Mapisa-Nqakula, the ANC-led government is the new oppressors who feel nothing for human rights. It is your government whose nation-building recipe has failed.

Let us learn from the past; let us live in the present; and let us focus on the future. The struggle for human rights and dignity of all South Africans continues. Aluta Continua! I thank you. [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND CORRECTIONAL SERVICES: House Chair, let me join others before me in expressing our profound condolences to the Chief Whip of the Majority and his family on their unfortunate and sad loss of his daughter this morning. Hon members, comrades and friends,

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as we celebrate this Human Rights Month and in particular, this Antiracism Week, we recall the many strides that our forebears have hither to make and many laid their lives and shed their blood, for the liberation and freedom that we enjoy today.

Hon members, fellow South Africans, on 20 September 1909 and in the aftermath of the so-called Anglo-Boer War, properly construed at the South African War, the British Parliament passed the South Africa Act of 1909 which created the union of South Africa from British colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Orange River Colony and Transvaal.

The establishment of a white only union of South Africa to the exclusion of the black majority in 1910 missed a golden opportunity to build a united, prosperous, nonracial and nonsexist South Africa that we seek to create today. This would have been a society inclusive of all national groups that would have evolved and developed in a manner which today we could only envy had occurred.

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The result was to divide the people and meet up privileges solely on the basis of skin colour and to balkanise the country into so-called homelands. This was spearheaded with the passage of the 1913 Land Act which denied ownership rights to black majority with the consequence that thousands of people were forcefully removed from their ancestral lands which provided fertile ploughing grazing, hunting fields and places in which they have thrived and had called home for centuries.

The adoption of the apartheid policy by the National Party which came to power in 1948, which was used to intensify the racial exclusion and the oppression of the black majority resulted in the passage of several laws such as the Colour Bar Act, Influx Control Act, Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act, Immorality Act, Bantu Administration Act and many other laws to foster racial segregation and socioeconomic marginalisation of the black majority, especially, women.

With the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955 where over 3000 delegates from different parts of our country

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representing people from all walks of life who met at Kliptown to consider and map out a vision of the kind of South Africa they would like to live in, which today we have reason to celebrate for the forward thinking of our forebears on that occasion.

During the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1980, the longest serving President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, said the following:

The Freedom Charter contains the fundamental perspective of the vast majority of the people of South Africa of the kind of liberation that all of us are fighting for. Hence it is not merely the Freedom Charter of the ANC and its allies. Rather it is the Charter of the people of South Africa for liberation.

It was drawn up on the bases of the demands of the vast masses of our country and adopted at an elected congress of the people. Because it came from the

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people, it remains still a people's Charter, the one basic political statement of our goals to which all genuinely democratic and patriotic forces of South Africa can adhere.

It was therefore only natural that when the Constitution of the new South Africa was written, the Freedom Charter clearly serves as the foundation upon which our bill of rights was hinged. It clearly mapped out the work that needs to be done to undo the spectre of apartheid which continues to haunt us to this day, and to build a South Africa that truly belongs to all who live in it.

The preamble of our democratic Constitution contains the commitment to amongst others things: Establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; lay foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person.

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One of the methods used to achieve this objective, is the inclusion of enforceable socioeconomic rights in the Bill of Rights. We have made great strides in the deracialisation and unification of the delivery of services over the past 25 years of democracy. Millions of people, who were previously excluded, now have access to education, water, electricity, healthcare, housing and social security.

The people shall govern, so says the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter states that no government can justly claim authority, unless it is based on the will of the people. In exactly 48 days, the people of our country will exercise their will by participating in a general election where they will elect a government of their choice and we are certain, they will once again affirm their commitment and their confidence in the ANC as the leader of society by voting for ANC overwhelmingly.

South Africa is a participatory democracy with an active citizenry, a free and vibrant media, durable democratic institutions, including Chapter 9 institutions and an

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independent judiciary. Members of the public are able to give government their views, complaints and suggestions during the unmediated public engagements such as izimbizo and public hearings. ... [Interjections.] ... We are committed to the cause of advancing human rights in South Africa ... [Interjections.] ... and we are sure that our people will affirm that by voting for the ANC on 8 May. I thank you. [Applause.] [Time expired.]

Ms D CARTER: Chairperson, with respect, at the end of a quarter of a century since our political freedom one would have expected to find evidence of a congratulatory theme for this debate – that we have realised much in achieving our vision of a reconstructed and developed society – and not a cry that we need accelerated action, if we are to transform our society and realise our vision of a better future for all.

The fact is that, as the people, we entrust government to protect and respect our fundamental human rights, to heal the divisions of the past; to reconstruct our society, and to progressively realise our socioeconomic

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aspirations and our hope of better future for all. We are elected to represent the people and to ensure government by the people. Parliament is entrusted with the power to initiate and make laws to create the legislative framework and imperative for the transformation of our society, and the realisation of our national aspirations. So, the real matter that we should be debating and considering is, how have we done? Have we delivered on the trust that the people have bestowed upon us, or has it been abused and betrayed? Sadly, we have failed. Our abject failure - as a collective - is recorded in the High Level Panel report that we commissioned. It is mirrored in the sorry and deteriorating political and socioeconomic quagmire that we find ourselves in.

It is to be found in our failing and maladministrative systems and structures of governance. In our deteriorating delivery of services, in the systemic corruption that pervades government. In our stagnating economy, rampant unemployment, growing poverty and worsening inequality. In the growing despair and lack of hope that grips our nation, in the rise of populism,

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radicalism and naked racism, and in the increasing lack of faith in our political system, and in democracy itself. We face our gravest post-apartheid crisis, with no end in sight. With each passing day, the true extent of the abuse and betrayal of the trust and faith bestowed in us becomes more evident, stark and alarming. The only real and lasting solution to ensure the accelerated socioeconomic transformation of our society and the achievement of a better life for all is for our people, the electorate, to take back the power and trust given to the majority party and to place it in the hands of trustworthy and ethical representatives, reliable, accountable, incorruptible leaders. South Africa needs a new start. South Africans, the key is in your hands. I thank you. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, now we invite the hon Dudley to deliver her farewell speech ... [Interjections.] not yet?

Mrs C DUDLEY: Not yet. I am coming back. I mean in five minutes ... not next year.

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): You have got three minutes to do what you want to do hon Dudley.

Mrs C DUDLEY: Right! House Chairperson, The gender gap that exists in South Africa is a reflection of the systemic nature of exclusion and disadvantage faced by women, whether as a result of apartheid or of the broader patterns of patriarchy found in present-day South Africa. Now I use the word "patriarchy" here with much caution only too aware that gender advocacy has so often positioned itself as the enemy of a women' right to freedom of belief and their freedom to express that belief as they choose. As a Christian by choice and a feminist having lived my 65 plus years of life in a world with systems and traditions designed to sustain a male-dominated world, learning to appreciate the sacrifices and achievements of those who stood up for women on many fronts and now aware of the remaining strongholds in much of our thinking that still disempowers women. I am committed to doing what I can to ensure gender relations take on a healthier balance.

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What each of us holds to be true is a combination of our cultural and religious beliefs, our experiences, observations and learning in general. Through our successes and failures we build critical analytical skills which lead to greater self-confidence and success. As empowered as I have been - simply by virtue of the fact that I was born white in a colonised part of Africa - it has taken courage to confront gender equity issues on the home front and in the workplace and wisdom to know when and how to do it. The biggest challenge South Africa has in order to overcome the gender imbalance is the need for economic empowerment and transformation broadly in response to the legacy of apartheid. This makes the job so much bigger and gender equity can get lost in the enormity of the task. Women are only really empowered when they become financially independent. This begins with access to early childhood development, basic education and higher learning institutions. To succeed in business however, women need to be able to access and mobilise private and public investments, benefit from public procurement, access finance and business development support, improve their skills, participate in

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networks and organisations through which they can support each other; and enjoy equitable representation in both the workforce and in public-private dialogue processes and mechanisms.

As most institutions globally and locally tend - consciously and unconsciously - to serve the interests of men, gender mainstreaming - a process that recognises and encourages institutions to adopt a gender perspective in transforming themselves, is a necessary intervention. In closing I want to summarise by saying, women are empowered when they have access to resources and control over their own finances. I also want to remind myself that as women we have much in common but we are also uniquely crafted for many very different purposes and generalisations are not always helpful.

As a group we are made up of those historically disadvantaged, presently disadvantaged, previously advantaged, presently advantaged, young, old, differently abled, women living in rural areas, city women. We can be each other's worst enemy or we can purpose to champion,

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encourage and empower each other. Our minds also need renewing as much as anyone else's especially when it comes to our tendency to prefer men by default. When we recognise our own value and we give ourselves and each other permission to be ourselves, we will be empowered. As the always wise Dr Seuss once said, "Today you are You, that is truer than true. There is no one alive who is Youer than you." Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr G J SKOSANA: House Chair and hon members let me first take this opportunity and join other hon members in conveying our deepest sympathy and heartfelt condolences to the Mthembu family during these trying times. In this Human Rights Day debate, 20 years into democracy and the attainment of freedom and the adoption of our Constitution, I wish to start off by quoting the founding president of the ANC Youth League, Comrade Anton Muziwakhe Lembede wherein he said and I quote:

... the African people have been told time and again that they are babies, that they are an inferior race, that they cannot achieve anything worthwhile by

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themselves or without a white man as their "trustee" or "leader." This insidious suggestion has poisoned their minds and has resulted in a pathological state of mind. Consequently, the African has lost or is losing the sterling qualities of self-respect, self-confidence and self-reliance.

Even in the political world, it is being suggested that Africans cannot organise themselves or make any progress without white "leaders." Now I stand for the revolt against this psychological enslavement of my people. I strive for the eradication of this "Ja-Baas" mentality, which for centuries has been systematically and subtly implanted into the minds of the Africans.

This year marks 64 years since the Freedom Charter was adopted. The ANC entrenched the right to education as a human right which is the realisation that, "all doors of learning and of culture shall be opened" as stated in the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter further stated that, "education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children". Early childhood education has

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been proven to be the key driver in impacting on a country's future economic growth and improvement for the citizens of a country. In his

2019 state of nation address, His Excellency President Ramaphosa announced that the government will migrate early childhood education centres from the Department of Social Development to Basic Education Department and that from now onwards there will be two years of compulsory Early Childhood Development, ECD, for all children before they enter Grade 1

IsiZulu:

Senza kwenzeke ...

English:

... while the DA and the EFF are watching.

[Interjections.] Alive to the promise of the Freedom Charter, the ANC committed to strengthening measures to improve access to higher education with the ultimate goal of achieving free higher education for the poor and "missing middle". The ANC-led government, since it took

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power in 1994, has ensured that students coming from poor families with annual gross income of R122 000 are provided with financial aid through loans and bursaries in order to access both university and technical and vocational education and training, TVET. Funding allocation to support student financial aid increased from R21 million in 1991 during the time of Tertiary Education Fund of South Africa, Tefsa to R23,7 billion in 2018-19.

IsiZulu:

Senza kwenzeka ...

English:

... while the DA and the EFF are watching. In line with the resolutions of the ANC 52nd and 53rd National Conferences, the ANC government has ensured that it accelerates the implementation of a new financial support model to ensure that academically capable, poor, working class and middle strata students are supported to access higher education, and receive fully subsidised free

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higher education and training, I think that deserves an amen.

IsiZulu:

Senza kwenzeke ...

English:

... while the DA and the EFF are watching.

[Interjections.] TVET colleges ... [Interjections.]

Ms M S KHAWULA: Point of order Chairperson!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Skosana! Hon Skosana, will you take your seat please. Let me take this point of order. Why are you rising, hon member?

IsiZulu:

Nk M S KHAWULA: Sihlalo, nginephuzu lokukhalima okuphambukayo. Ungakwazi ukuthi uvimbe uSkosana ukuthi ayeke ukuphapha? Uyaphapha uSkosana manje. [Ubuwelewele.]

English:

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): No! Hon member, that's not a point of order.

IsiZulu:

Nk M S KHAWULA: Ya!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): And you know it's not a point of order.

IsiZulu:

Nk M S KHAWULA: Yebo kodwa uyaphapha lo.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): So please take your seat.

Ms M S KHAWULA: Can you leave the EFF alone.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Continue hon Skosana.

Ms M S KHAWULA: People of South Africa, vote EFF ... No!

This is not a church. We don't need any pastor here.

[Interjections.]

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Skosana! No! Hon member, will you just continue. That's not a point of order.

IsiZulu:

Nk M S KHAWULA: He-e! He-e! Sorry! Sorry! Sorry! Sorry Chairperson.

Mr G J SKOSANA: TVET colleges enrolments has increased ... [Interjections.] radically since the demise of apartheid from ... [Interjections.]

AN HON MEMBER: I respect you.

Mr G J SKOSANA: ... R154 688 in 1995 ... [Interjections.]

Ms N R SONTI: Point of order Chairperson!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Skosana, will you just continue ... I made a ruling. The hon member is not audible.

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Ms N R SONTI: Point of order Chairperson!

Mr G J SKOSANA: ... to 705 397 in 2016. This means that enrolment in TVET colleges increased by almost 5 times over 21 years. I hope the hon Wessels is taking notes because he does not know these figures ... he is still very young. Significant progress has been achieved with regard to artisan development from 20012-13 at 8 655 to 2016-17 at 21 188 artisans produced annually. Top trades are electrician, diesel mechanics, mechanical fitter, welder, automotive motor mechanic, plumber, boilermaker, millwright and rigger.

Ms N P SONTI: Point of order Chair! Oh Chair! Point of order Chair! [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Skosana! Hon Skosana, just take a seat. What is the point of order hon member?

Ms N P SONTI: Chair, on a point of order: I want to ask from you Chair.

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Yes.

Ms N P SONTI: Do you know the meaning of "ukuphapha"?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): No, that is not relevant now.

Ms N P SONTI: Chair, why do you say that the hon member must continue? It is because you don't understand "ukuphapha". Do you know what Ma'am Khawula is saying? She is saying that...

IsiXhosa:

... ubhuti omhle unxibe iqhina elibomvu lombala we-EFF.

English:

Yes.

AN HON MEMBER: Point of order Chair!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): It may be very helpful later but at the moment it is not helpful at all.

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In terms of this debate I am requesting the hon member to continue. [Interjections.]

Mr G J SKOSANA: Yes, I am wearing colours of the SA Communist Party. [Interjections.] [Applause.] Several instruments, such as National Skills Accord which was signed by the National Economic Development and Labour Council, Nedlac, social partners on 13 July 2011 are in place to ensure that these social partnerships yield positive results with regard to availing workplace-based learning opportunities for young persons, in various skills development interventions such as work integrated learning, internships, learnerships, apprenticeships etc. With these relationships in the financial year 2016-17 we have seen more than 148 000 workplace-based learning opportunities being provided, especially for our young people through sector education and training authorities, Setas.

IsiZulu:

Senza kwenzeke ...

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English:

... whilst the DA and the EFF are watching.

[Interjections.] Following the call by the National Youth Development Agency, NYDA, Public Service and Administration Minister, the hon Ayanda Dlodlo made an announcement that from 2019 job seekers will no longer need work experience to get an entry-level government job. [Time expired.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon member, red tie or not, your time has now expired.

IsiZulu:

Senza kwenzeke ...

English:

... while the DA and the are watching. Vote ANC on 8 May. Amandla! [Interjections.]

Mr L R MBINDA: Chairperson, mzala [my friend], I thought, you will lead a toyi-toyi to the Speaker's office for my return to this Parliament. On behalf of the PAC, I would

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like to convey our sincere condolences to hon Mthembu for the loss of his daughter.

March 21 is a very important historic day for the PAC and the African people, in general. Firstly, on behalf of the PAC, let me correct, in the strongest terms, the distortion of history by our ruling party that this day is Human Rights Day. When the PAC made this call, Sobukwe knew that African people can demonstrate genuine democracy in action to the world. It is a democracy that is founded upon the ruins of the material and spiritual conflicts and contradictions of the then existing social order. It is a democracy in which human personality shall blossom.

Fellow African men and women were murdered mercilessly by the apartheid regime, as a response to the clarion call by the PAC of Azania. We need to understand that when the PAC embarked on this call, at that time, it was a continuation of the programme of action of 1949. Our primary struggle at that time was for the restoration of land back to its rightful owners - the indigenous people.

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The land is not yet given back to the indigenous African people.

So, it is very important for us, as this Parliament, to ensure that we address those issues, including other issues like the unemployment rate, etc.

Tomorrow, this year, marks the 60th anniversary of the PAC. This organisation has been around for a very long time. So, it must be taken seriously, more especially, by the people of this country and those that we fought for during the time of apartheid. We also fought for the restoration of land. We are still fighting for the land to be returned. Thank you.

Dr A LOTRIET: Hon Chairperson, Human Rights Day is supposed to be a celebration and a recognition of the fact that, in South Africa, we have a Constitution firmly based on human rights. It is a day where we have to acknowledge that we come from a history where human rights were abused. But at the same time, we also have to

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assess what the state of human rights is in our country, 25 years since democracy.

The reality is that it cannot be a celebration today. In fact, we have to ask, why, in the year 2019, individuals around us still have to struggle to have the most basic of their rights realised.

For 25 years, this country under ANC government, a country that was supposed to be the beacon of hope, a country that was supposed to be the torch bearer for human rights, has had a dismal record of supporting human rights at the United Nations.

This country sides with countries with questionable human rights records where murder, extermination, forcible transfer, rape and torture of their own people occur. And the ANC supports them.

This is the same government, as we heard earlier, that supports Palestine, but at the same time, refuses to

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acknowledge the independence of Tibet. It is clear that Chinese money trumps human rights.

No wonder then that the human rights of the citizens of this country are treated with such contempt. In, fact, if I look at the benches of the ANC, It is proof. Human rights are not serious for the ANC.

Afrikaans:

Daar is geen hoop vir 'n veilige en voorspoedige toekoms vir die burgers van hierdie land, as basiese menseregte nie voorop staan in die lewering van dienste nie.

Hoe kan daar sprake van menseregte wees, as amper 10 miljoen mense werkloos is? Hoe kan daar sprake van menseregte wees, as mense so moedeloos is om werk te soek, dat hulle net eenvoudig opgee? Hulle word verdoem tot 'n lewe sonder waardigheid. Geen land kan vorentoe beweeg in sulke omstandighede nie.

Hoe kan daar sprake van 'n voorspoedige toekoms wees, as die basiese menseregte, soos vervat in artikel 27 van die

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Grondwet, nie nagekom word nie? Hoe kan daar sprake van 'n voorspoedige toekoms wees, as ma's met babas op hulle rue kilometres per dag moet stap met emmers om water te gaan haal?

Elke keer as 'n kind honger gaan slaap, is dit die regering wat gefaal het. Elke kind wat in 'n puttoilet by 'n skool sterf, is as gevolg van 'n regering wat nie omgee nie.

Elke keer as 'n pasiënt by 'n hospitaal weggewys word, omdat daar nie dokters, verpleegpersoneel of medikasie is nie, faal van die regering om menseregte te beskerm. Die gebeure van Life Esidimeni is 'n klad op die ANC-regering en 'n bewys van die minagting waarmee die regering die burgers van die land beskou en hanteer.

Elke verkragting, elke moord en 'n polisie wat nie kan of wil optree nie, is 'n skending van basiese menseregte.

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Elke keer as 'n kind onderwerp word aan swak onderwys, wat sy toekoms gaan benadeel, misluk die regering om die menseregte van daardie kind te beskerm.

Die miskenning van ons tale en kulture en die taalregte soos vervat in Hoofstuk 2 van die Grondwet, is 'n aantasting van ons menseregte. Elkeen van ons inheemse tale, wat Afrikaans insluit, het die reg op beskerming. 'n Taal is veel meer as net 'n middel tot kommunikasie. 'n Taal is jou identiteit. Die verskraling van enige taalreg, is 'n verskraling van die identiteit van daardie persoon.

Dit is egter duidelik dat die ANC-regering nie omgee nie. Ons menseregte word in Hoofstuk 2 van die Grondwet, die Handves van Menseregte, verskans. Hierdie hoofstuk is die hoeksteun van ons demokratiese bestel en moet die rigsnoer wees vir die regering. Dit is die die een hoofstuk in die Grondwet waaraan daar nie sondermeer getorring kan en mag word nie.

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Dit is waarom die besluit van die ANC en hul kornuite, die EFF, met wie hulle so knus saamgewerk het om artikel 25 te wysig, teen hierdie breër konteks gesien moet word. [Tussenwerpsels.]

Elkeen van hierdie menseregte in Hoofstuk 2 word nou blootgestel deur die populistiese, politiesgedrewe poging om een van die artikels wat juis sosio-ekonomiese voorspoed kan bewerkstellig, te wysig. Dit is 'n deur wat oopgemaak word, wat nie weer toegemaak kan word nie.

Die beskerming van menseregte vereis dat die regering respek vir mense, hul lewens en hul menswaardigheid moet hê. Dit is duidelik dat die ANC-regering dit nie het nie. Vryheid van spraak is 'n mensereg en weereens, vandag is dit duidelik dat die EFF en die ANC wil besluit wie wat mag sê.

Menseregte word beskerm en bevorder deur 'n regering wat vir almal staan, wat almal se belange op die hart dra, nie net 'n sekere groep nie. Daarom kan slegs 'n party wat inklusief en divers is, wat glo dat almal gelyke

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geleenthede moet kry, dat almal deel is van die land, Suid-Afrika red.

Daardie party is die DA. Op 8 Mei kan ons weer ons menseregte eerste stel, kan ons ons stem vir die party uitbring wat die beginsels van die Grondwet sal uitleef en beskerm. Die DA is 'n party wat mense saam vorentoe gaan neem, nie agtertoe nie. Stem vir die DA. Stem vir een Suid-Afrika vir almal. [Applous.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING: Hon House Chairperson, one of the things that I think the Sixth Parliament will have to consider is the obligatory clapping of hands by members when their fellow members have just spoken, even when they have just been so mediocre just as the previous speaker has done - just to prop them up to make them believe they have done their best.

This human rights debate takes place within a global context where human rights are being threatened and rolled back. The rise of right-wing extremism is

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advancing and becoming rampant in certain parts of the world. Our hearts go out, in particular, to the victims of the New Zealand terrorism massacre at mosques in Christchurch.

The Christchurch attack is indicative of the emboldened right-wing ideology and extremism that is on the rise but masking itself in various forms, including as political parties that follow a cult-like movement. South Africa cannot pretend that we are immune to this ideology. In fact, many of these ideologs draw their inspiration from our past and continue to be motivated by South African right-wing extremists masquerading under the guise of credible organisations.

If you listen closely to some of the views advanced by the opposition parties on human rights debates, especially for historically marginalised communities, you can almost feel the peppered fragrance of right-wing ideology being advocated. Whilst others are decent enough to sanitise their right-wing extremisms with accepted

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liberal jargon, others are even more overt especially now that we are headed to elections.

We could sample views of some of the political parties on the debates on land or on women emancipation or on employment or even on access to education, even better, the debate that exposed the schizophrenia within the DA which cost the then leader of the Parliament in the DA, Lindiwe Mazibuko, and now Gwen Ngwenya at the hands of the macho, Hellen Zille and James Selfe.

Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment is the viable economic empowerment of all in particular women, workers, youth, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas through diverse but integrated socioeconomic strategies. There have been challenges in the implementation of the policy - it has been riddled with perceptions of corruption or the empowerment for the politically elite and connected but it has worked and need to be supported.

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For instance, the Industrial Development Corporation, IDC, for the past five years, approved finance to Black Economic Empowerment, BEE, empowered companies of R40 billion and supported many black South Africans as shareholders.

The IDC has committed a further R25 billion to the Black Industrialist Programme, R5,2 billion to youth empowered enterprises and a further R9,6 billion to women empowered enterprises. This is what the DA and other political parties are opposed to but are disguising it as a promotion of equal opportunities for all whereas we know that the foundation from which we all start building can never be equal.

The same applies to opposition towards employment equity where our intention is to achieve equity in the workplace by promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment to the elimination of unfair practices. The workplace is still reflecting the old apartheid days because those who are in control of the economy refuse transformation with all their might and their getting political support from the

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likes of the DA and the Freedom Front as we heard in this debate.

The 2018 Employment Equity Report tells us that white people still occupy 67,7% of top management jobs in South Africa, blacks only occupy 83,5% of positions at unskilled level, females occupy 43,5% of semiskilled jobs, males occupy 66,2% in the positions of senior management. Where is the equity in this regard?

Yesterday, the hon Van Damme tweeted braggingly about how the DA parliamentary caucus will look significantly different from what it had looked like in the Fifth Parliament because it handed over to the IEC what comprises of 50,5%, and wait for it, what she refers to as "constitutional blacks".

I asked myself what is constitutional blacks. So, I imagined the hon Van Damme wearing a mascot branded with the Constitution as a black person dancing around and saying "Hey, I am a constitutional black".

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I also listened closely to what the hon Motau was saying earlier today in his farewell speech. I think we should all say good riddance precisely because of the views that hon Motau was representing earlier today. That is probably what a constitutional black represents.

It is probably someone who accepts the status quo in terms of land redistribution and the fact that there is no need for us to expropriate land without compensation. For the hon Van Damme, that probably is what a constitutional black is.

Perhaps a constitutional black would probably be someone who insists that even though apartheid disadvantaged the majority of South Africans, we should all imagine ourselves starting from an equal footing. That is probably what a constitutional black would be. Or a constitutional black would probably be, as the hon Motau came here to argue, that we do not need certain policies that help to give black people empowerments such as the black Economic Empowerment Policy, such as the affirmative action which seeks to transform the workplace

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and the economy. Probably that is what a constitutional black is and those are the kind of black people that the DA are willing to have on their list.

We think that to have black people as affirmative action just so that their list becomes representative and acceptable to the electorate is actually duping the electorate and is actually misleading the electorate because they do not believe in the fact that our society, our economy needs to transform so that it reflects the changes that are needed.

Essentially, the DA is willing to stretch the definition of black people into this constitutional black nonsense so that, as some of you may have suspected, some of their black leaders are not black enough. I mean you can think about a whole range of things that can be used in order to make some of them acceptable but I think the biggest parameter is for them to define themselves out of the black struggle. That is how some of them have made it into the black list. The DA can never and will never represent the agenda of transformation in our country.

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Finally, I think it is actually an insult for the last hon member who just spoke here on behalf the DA to suggest that there is any alliance between the EFF and the ANC when they are benefiting hand in hand from the EFF votes in Tshwane, in Johannesburg, when the EFF is smooching on Herman Mashaba. When you are happy to accept their vote in Tshwane, when you are in power and failing in those municipalities and yet you come here and disown you. Shame on you! The votes that you are pleading for on 8 May you will never get them. [Time expired.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms A T Didiza): Order! Hon members, that concludes the debate on the subject on Human Rights Day. [Interjections.] Order! Hon members, we have really walked a long journey - five years. We had to survive and make sure that at least all of us can still look at each other and laugh with all the differences in terms of our ideological standing, political persuasions and all the diversities that we have and we are still here.

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I know that this House ... members know how big this Parliament is. Others have been able to ensure that they go to minus two. There are members of the minus two club. Minus two colleagues ... I am sure they hear me very well. Next time in the Sixth Parliament I will give directions to where minus two is in this Parliament.

We now come to the last item on the Order Paper. Before I give you the chance, Madam Speaker, I must congratulate all the members who, in this past five years, developed themselves academically and achieved. I would like to say to all of you, you have been good students. Well done.

[Applause.]

Those of you who will be going to other areas of your deployment we want to wish you good as you go. Those that are coming back, be good next time because you may have a Speaker that won't do what Madam Speaker did - to be very patient with all of you all the time. Madam Speaker, I give you that platform to say farewell to this House which you have led for the past five years. [Applause.]

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FAREWELL SPEECHES

The SPEAKER: Chairperson, speaking of the Minus Two Club, I see some very bright faces across the room. I shall say no more. Hon members, sadly as the day started, we received news about the loss of one of us: A child that is exactly the same age as our democracy – 25 years – taking her own life. Like everybody else who has said words about this occurrence, it is very sad. It has been difficult for the Chief Whip because he is hardly done with the pain of losing his mother, and now he has lost a child. With all of these occasion though, you become stronger. So, Chief Whip, ...

IsiXhosa:

... yibambe mfowethu!

English:

You can only be stronger because it hasn't killed you as well. As a parent myself who has a child that suffers in a particular way, I know that one way or another, I know that the Chief Whip has also been a fellow traveller

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where we traverse the road of trying to maintain the balance in a family, looking after your children, making sure that they continue to survive while you carry on with your own life also. It is one of those things and we wish our Chief Whip very well under these circumstances.

We have come to the end of an eventful and robust fifth Parliament, which he is part of. We have had high, but we also have had lows. However, the point is that we have survived. We have held our hands together because we also had to work together on behalf of our people. So, it didn't matter where we came from, but we were all here at the behest of our people out there, who collectively expect that we will deliver services to our country.

Over the course of our term, we have marked a number of seminal milestones. Just recently, we did celebrate 20 years of our Constitution. Alongside that we were also celebrating the 20 years of the second half of Parliament - the NCOP. It is in the course of that year, that our colleagues in the NCOP came up with an understanding that maybe we would do better for South Africa if we relook at

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the arrangements of our Parliament in terms of the role of the two Houses.

When we formed the NCOP 20 years ago or little more years than that, we made it do the same things in terms of passing laws as we do in this House - the National Assembly. The attention they paid to this matter, in looking at the NCOP, has come up with some proposals which I think the sixth Parliament must continue to look into as well.

To summarise these reflections, their view where section 75 issues that are before Parliament are concerned was: Why do we make the second House go all over in looking at those Bills in exactly the same ground that we cover in this House?

In fact, this is a House we created specifically for purposes of looking at provincial issues as well as municipal-level issues and challenges that we have been faced with, to a point where from time to time, the NCOP had to go and intervene in provinces through certain

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sections of the Constitution and legislature in terms of sections 100, 139 and so on.

So, the proposal in a nutshell is that the NCOP must not necessarily have to spend as much time on section 75 matters as it does on section 76 matters. Section 76 consists of issues that we created the NCOP to focus on. We should make sure we have highly skilled people in that House who can assist us in being more seized, on an ongoing basis, on issues that face provinces and municipal communities. This means that in this term we have had the opportunity to take another look at our democracy.

Hon members, this is not a day for very serious speeches, but being a person who hardly speaks in this House, precisely because I am the Speaker, you will allow me to say what I need to say. We have, of course, prepared the Fifth Parliamentary Legacy report which we will hand over to the sixth Parliament.

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I am told that we did pass well over a hundred laws in this term. [Applause.] I am surprised because as time goes by, we no longer have those many laws to pass like we did 25 years ago, but we did in any case pass these laws.

As time went by Parliament also grew by robustness and we did become more and more activist and assertive. Some of that showed up when we formed certain structures and we were doing it through public participation. We did things very openly, like when were looking and recruiting for a Public Protector and the SA Broadcasting Corporation Board.

On issues of oversight, we are told that we posed over ten-gig thousand questions to the executive in the course of this term. [Applause.] Some of them were written; others were posed orally right here in this House. We also formed the Parliamentary Budget Office, which we believe is a very welcomed addition to Parliament.

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I remember that the former Minister of Finance, hon Nhlanhla Nene, was a chairperson of the chairperson of the Standing Committee on Finance when it was formed. When he was Minister, we reminded him while talking to him about the fact that the budget for Parliament was inadequate. One of the structure that we pointed out which was suffering and had not be allocated resources was actually the Parliamentary Budget Office. This is a very significant structure. I think it was correct that it should not report to Secretary to Parliament, and legislation affirms that too.

We know that the issue has not quite settled firmly in the minds of some senior management but we believe it is a correct thing to do. [Applause.] However, it became limited in the way we formed it - remember we said it must service only four committees - but we now have to strengthen it so that other portfolio committees can also be serviced by this very significant structure. We are still busy trying to replace the Director of the Parliamentary Budget Office.

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We would like to say that we hope that the sixth Parliament will continue to look at the issues that were left by the late hon Kader Asmal, in terms of the Institutions Supporting Democracy. We did start off in 2014 hoping that we would deal with those recommendations but we didn't complete that as you know how it is with politics: It takes forever to convince one another.

The Fifth Parliament, concluded the task of reviewing the rules but there are one or two areas that in my view need revisiting. [Interjections.] Not so much overalls!

[Laughter.] As it is, the makarapas! [Laughter.]

[Applause.] [Interjections.] You see, people on this side of the House are too gentle. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

This term, the National Assembly also completed a review of the Powers, Privileges and Immunities of Parliament and Provincial Legislatures Act. The Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act was also reviewed. These amendments were necessary to clarify certain provisions.

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As the Chairperson of the Programming Committee, let me commend the whips and parties for their co-operation – almost all programming decisions taken in the Programming Committee every Thursday morning were taken by consensus. So, we were not always fighting. [Interjections.] What about the IFP? [Laughter.] All Whips that were participating in the Programming Committee.

The Sixth Parliament should examine how more matters can be debated, especially in terms committee reports and motions. Also, remember a proposal we agreed on: To have mini plenaries, so that we can have more debates that are not necessarily about decision making. This is just to be able to share ideas and debate on issues without necessarily having to vote on them. Those mini plenaries must be taken forward as an important idea.

Transparency and ethics are matters that came up at the Speaker's Forum, which we believe the sixth Parliament must take forward. Political parties and members must maintain the highest ethical standards. [Interjections.] One of the highpoints for the National Assembly this term

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was the adoption of legislation to regulate funding for political parties. Transparency is one way in which we can build public confidence in the political system.

During this term, the Speaker's Forum, which was established to promote co-operation and best practices across the legislative sector, has carried forward a variety of important projects. This has included the development of standards for oversight and public participation.

The forum has also proposed legislation intended to further capacitate the sector, including amendments to the Financial Management of Parliament and Provincial Legislatures Act. On the basis of this Act, we formed the Standing Committee on Finance to ensure that they keep an eye on how Parliament itself is exemplary in how it uses money sources from the fiscus.

On the international front, Parliament has played a leading role in the Inter-Parliamentary Union, IPU, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, CPA, and SADC for

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a, which matter is now on the agenda of SADC and the executive, so that the parliamentary forum can transform to a regional parliament.

We did our international work. I am sure many hon members went to conferences abroad, based on the portfolio committees in which they participated. I will highlight the visit to Cuba. I see hon Singh is nodding his head and I am sure hon Steenhuisen, hon Chief Whip, if he was here, the Deputy Chief Whip and hon Shivambu who is not here right now, will attest. [Interjections.]

We did visit Cuba. [Interjections.] Yes, hon Waters and I spent many times at the IPU, but I am now talking about Cuba. Suffice to say, there is a lot for us to learn from the way they are so exemplary, especially in two respects: Their education system; and their health system. They have a near zero illiteracy rate, and their health system is the envy of many so called developed countries. Of course, they help us as South Africa in terms medical students studying there.

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The same medical students in Cuba have proposed to us that instead of having them study there for five years and coming back to South Africa for their sixth and last year of studies, we should leave them in Cuba for that one last year. Apparently, when they come back to South Africa, they experience many difficulties in terms of being absorbed back into the health system in South Africa, and the Hon Minister of Health knows. I also believe ... Yes you agree, hon Singh, you know.

I believe the Chief Whips also had a very fruitful visit to Ghana and the United Kingdom. I was telling hon Steenhuisen that I listened to their report which was debated by the House a few days ago.

Coming to the people who assisted us, I want to say to the management of Parliament: It is with your help that Parliament has been getting clean audits year-after-year. [Applause.] WE have a long way to go in terms of adequate resources for us to do our work, but we know that whatever money we get from the fiscus, we use very well.

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Whatever other challenges of Parliament, we continue to challenge them. We challenge the challenges! So, when we come back in the sixth Parliament, soon after 8 May 2019, we should continue to deal with those issues. The will of our people will of course be express on 8 May 2019. Let us have peaceful and successful elections.

We wish those that are participating in the list of their various parties good luck! We thank those members who will not be returning for their service and we wish you well in your future endeavours. Let me thank all those who have enabled us to serve our people.

First on the agenda is my dear husband ... [Applause.] ... and my family as well as all of our families, the Deputy Speaker and Presiding Officer, the President, the Ministers and Deputy Minister. A special word of appreciation to my office staff who endeavoured to make life easier at all times.

Hon Minister of Mineral Resources, order!

[Interjections.] It has been a privilege and honour to

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lead our Parliament, and to serve our people. I thank you very much, hon members for our collective service to our people. Thank you very much! [Applause.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms A T Didiza): Thank you very much, hon Speaker. One of those projects that you led, hon Speaker, in the Speaker's Forum was the commissioning of the High-Level Panel report which has continued to be made reference in this House. I am sure it is one of those achievements that you will leave to the sixth Parliament in your legacy report.

Other members did not understand why hon Waters wanted the Speaker to recognise the IPU meeting where they were together. That is the period when he knelt down in the Alps Mountains and said, "Will you?". [Laughter.] That is the secret!

Mrs C DUDLEY: Chairperson, this is not just another farewell speech for me, it really is going to be goodbye. I've blinked and 20 years has gone by and now its time for me to find out as Mario Ambrosini used to say;

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whether or not there is actually life after Parliament.
Just to reassure you, I am hoping to prove that there is.
[Laughter.]

Nothing I could say today will come close to conveying how incredibly grateful I am for the opportunity I have had to serve the people of South Africa as a member of this National Assembly. It has been an honour and a privilege to work along side every one of you, members, officials, and staff, thank you.

The first day I stood at this podium and thanked God for this opportunity was the day I met Prof Ishmail Mohammed. He had written me a letter of encouragement and we went on to work together on the minerals and energy and of course, that committee was chaired by Duma Nkosi and organized by Tanya Lyons who is an official today. Both of these people set the highest standard of excellence in their work which I benefited from.

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These were just some of my many heroes and mentors over the years who have both sat in these benches and served Members of Parliament and many who sit here today.

The first time I encountered Kader Asmal, the then Minister of Education, he had called out to me across the Old Assembly, inviting me to join the Education Portfolio Committee.

Unlike Prof Mohommad - a committed Catholic - Prof Asmal was by his description - a committed humanist. Of course, we bumped heads and exchanged words - which we both enjoyed - and became good friends in the process.

Ben Turock, another giant, got my attention by tearing my speech to pieces in those early days in the most eloquent way in a debate. I so wanted to respond with clever cutting words but managed to remember I would do better to learn from him - and we too - became fast friends.

I am also remembering people like Moss Chikane and Alf Mpontshane from our days in Zimbabwe in the year 2000,

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and so many other remarkable people who have left an indelible mark on my life through the years. Committee Chairs from Minister Pandor and Prof Myatula - who so wisely prefaced his sentences with the words, "seated where I am seated". To hon Masango and hon Cappa who have been an inspiration and really made me feel like I am part of ... what is going on here?

Speaker Mbete - in my eyes - was a champion of parliamentary oversight at a time when oversight in the ANC was seriously not popular. Also, unlike me, who competed in a man's world by playing down who I was as a female, Speaker Mbete by contrast, courageously embraced being a female in every detail in her work. I was at first alarmed but curious enough to try it - nothing short of revolutionary! I

I could go on and on about so many amazing characters like Joan Fubbs, Mike Waters, Kent Durr, Corne Mulder, hon Frolick, yes, and wait for it, even Jacob Zuma but I will stop there and write a book instead.

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I do just have to tell you quickly though, about my first day ever in committee. I walked in fairly self conscious and saw a space to my right, a row between white males and feeling a sense of being pigeon holed, I quickly sat in the space on my left, not realizing the seating protocol, I was right in the middle of the majority party. As they jumped away on either side of me, I realized that my white face was not just a disadvantage, but an offense. In that moment of rejection, I understood something very important, hateful angry words and actions, often aimed in my direction, came from a place where open wounds, rejection and deep hurts were buried.

I knew I had to have the courage to face and hear that pain and, not run from it. I grew to love you all, which in some ways made my job easier and in other ways so much harder. I really did not want to fight with you but you all love fighting so much. [Laughter.]

I want to thank my PA, Mongezi Mabungane, who has been a rare treasure and, all the other precious people who work, and have worked in our ACDP offices. Thank you also

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Steve Swart and Kenneth Meshoe for bravely putting up with me and allowing me to stretch your patience and your thinking - so much appreciated!

And now I leave you with these words and its not going to take me too long but please, Frank Sinatra Sinatra, Louis Armstrong, Ella Fitzgerald. I so apologise that I am differently abled when it comes to singing:

There are many many crazy things
That will keep me loving you
And with your permission
May I list a few
The way you wear your hat
The way you sip your tea
The memory of all that
No, no they can't take that away from me
The way your smile just beams
The way you sing off key
The way you haunt my dreams
No, no they can't take that away from me

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We may or may not meet again, on that bumpy road of
life

Still I'll always, always keep the memory of

The way you have your say

The way we danced till three

The way you changed my life

No, no they can't take that away from me

No, they can't take that away from me!

[Applause.] Hon Corne Mulder, I was going to ask you to
sing it for me but ... [Laughter.] I am sorry we wouldn't
have time. Thank you. Thank you everybody. [Applause.]
[Time expired.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Thank you very
much hon Dudley. If you checked your monitor, you will
realise that I didn't even want to disturb you. You had
extra two minutes and I am just asking those who are
coming, please check your monitor. I don't want to stop
anybody today. I am not ready to stop anybody.

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Ms D CARTER: Chairperson, today I am really going to refer to our Madam Speaker. At our last sitting of each year, we are, Speaker, afforded an opportunity to bid each farewell and season greetings. But today's farewell is different, it represents an end to this the 5th Parliament. The end of year platitudes will thus not suffice.

We need some introspection, as hard as that may be, I read from the poem called The Man in the Mirror:

When you get what you want in your struggle for self
And the world makes you king for a day
Just go to the mirror and look at yourself
And see what that man has to say.

For it isn't your father, or mother, or wife
Whose judgment upon you must pass

The fellow whose verdict counts most in your life
Is the one staring back from the glass.

He's the fellow to please - never mind all the rest

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For he's with you, clear to the end
And you've passed your most difficult, dangerous
test
If the man in the glass is your friend.

You may fool the whole world down the pathway of
years
And get pats on the back as you pass
But your final reward will be heartache and tears
If you've cheated the man in the glass.

I would like to think that Parliament and this
House, the National Assembly in particular, sits at the
apex of our Constitutional democracy. We are, after all,
elected to represent the people and to ensure government
by the people. On introspection, our mirror, as the 5th
Parliament, reflects in the sorry and deteriorating state
of our nation and its governance. Our final reward
reflects, Speaker, as heartache and tears.

Today's sitting represents the end of my second term.
It's been a humbling and onerous journey, it was made

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possible by my family right there, in the audience, Primrose, Emise and Roshay. [Applause.] My hope, Speaker, is that we stabilize and recover from the growing calamity that we face in this country. To my fellow citizens, I say, you hold the key to our future: it's your vote - use it. I do hope that future Parliaments will be better resourced and capacitated - given our mandate and central role in our democracy. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon members, can you allow the hon member to finish?

Ms D CARTER: May I add, that I am first and foremost beholden to the people of South Africa, those who put their trust, firstly in our party and us as individuals, as the 400 people sitting here today, affording us the opportunity to serve as servants of the people. I am indebted and grateful to our caucus staff. My sincere appreciation goes to Parliament's staff, all of you, from those in restaurant, house keeping, administration,

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Table, committee and support services, the researchers, and legal and legislative advisors. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Order! Hon members, please.

Ms D CARTER: I acknowledge and share your concerns and hope that a fairer, more caring, and progressive working environment will become the norm. To our K9 Unit, you hold a very special place in my heart. To my colleagues, all of you, I thank you from the bottom of my heart. I'm sure that we will at some stage, all have occasion to reflect on "The man in the glass" and, on our wellbeing or distress as a nation. Thank you. [Applause.]

Dr C P MULDER: Hon Chairperson, what we are experiencing today just indicates that in the end - although we are politicians from different political parties, we are all just human beings with our families, with emotions, with our own feelings and we should respect that.

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I want to start off by referring to the tragedy that besets the family of the hon Chief Whip of the Majority Party, the hon Jackson Mthembu. What happened in that family today - can we imagine what they are going through? I am also a father of two daughters, my one daughter is 25 and I can just imagine how they are experiencing this today.

I want to just come with a quote in that respect by Gloria Vanderbilt and she says the following "I have heard it said that the greatest loss that a human being can experience is the loss of a child. This is true. It doesn't just change you, it demolishes you. Is the pain less? No, just different. It is there forever, till the day you die."

I would like to express on behalf of FFP our sincere condolences to the hon Chief Whip and his family... The hon Minister of Energy, you are not doing your party proud at this moment. You are making fun of this, you have just now made fun of the hon Carter I was going to

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ignore that. It's an absolute disgrace! It's an absolute disgrace! [Applause.]

The MINISTER OF SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT: Point of Order, Chair!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Mulder, could you please take your seat.

The MINISTER OF SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT: Hon Chair, what hon Mantashe was doing was not what he thinks it was. And for him to be pointing a finger like that at him and telling us he is not doing our party right, there is absolutely nothing that hon Mantashe did. Actually, he should withdraw that.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Minister, thank you. Today, is the last day let's all respect each other please. Hon Mulder, will you please continue with your speech.

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Dr C P MULDER: Thank you mam. Hon Minister of Small Business and Enterprises, you are entitled to your own opinion but not to your own facts!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Mulder! Please can you leave the issue behind and continue. We are trying to be as calm as possible. Thank you.

Dr C P MULDER: Yes, let's do that.

Ms T V TOBIAS: Hon Chairperson, we need to put it on record - in fact, hon Mantashe said to us sitting here as the Whips on Duty that we cannot... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon member, I can't hear the member!

Ms T V TOBIAS: ... he even said its inhuman to allow somebody to cry and not attend to it. He was so touched by it and he came to us one by one and what we were trying to do was not to disturb hon Carter in her speech.

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I wish hon Mulder could have known the humility of hon Mantashe. He will regret what he just said.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon members, please allow me to chair. Hon Steenhuisen, please. Hon Mulder, please continue. As it was explained you didn't know why the hon member was here but I don't want to go into that. I want you to go into the farewell speech.

Dr C P MULDER: ... we are at the end of the Fifth Parliament and it was a tumultuous Parliament. We experienced many things good and bad. And now we are going away and we are going into the election. Some of us will return and some of our parties will return. If there is one thing today that I would like to ask from all of us ... [Interjections.]

Mr P J MNGUNI: House Chair, I rise on a point of order. Can we ask the hon member brandishing cameras there to please desist from doing that, it's not allowed in the House.

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): What is happening?

Mr P J MNGUNI: The Hon member seated there is taking pictures.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon members, please let's respect the House. You know the rules. I am not going to go back to the rules. You know that is not allowed, please! Continue hon Mulder.

Dr C P MULDER: ... the one thing I would like to ask all of us is that, when you return in the Sixth Parliament, let all of us continue to make us and the electorate out there proud of this institution called Parliament. The people are looking up to us as leaders in country and to represent them. Therefore, it is absolutely important that we uplift the image of this institution. We have succeeded in the last couple of months and maybe the last year or so to do so. Let's continue to do that.

In the limited time I have got left, I would to say thank you to all my colleagues. Those who are retiring, I wish

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you well in your retirement. For those that come back, when we come back our parties are important but, the interests of our country and the people are a little bit more important than our own personal factional interests. So, I want to say thank you to each and every one of us. I would like to end off with that quote I think it's terminated that says "I will be back." Thank you.

Mr N L S KWANKWA: House Chair, hon members and fellow South Africans, for those of you who are artistic with words, writing farewell speeches is easy-peasy. However, for the rest of us who are unremarkable with words such speeches are no mean feat. Due to this weakness, I have unavoidable used William Shakespeare's my crush, in thanking you by borrowing his words when he says "*I can no other answer make but thanks and thanks.*"

Hon members, it has been a privilege for me personally, and for us in the UDM working with you over the past five years. Special thanks go to all my colleagues in the whippery, the executive authority of Parliament, Presiding Officers, our caucus staff members and all the

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parliamentary employees who have served us diligently for what has been a remarkable five years. Thank you very much. Indeed, I am much obliged to you.

As I bid you farewell, my heart is filled with dialectical emotions which are best captured by the self explanatory words of William Shakespeare from the play Romeo and Juliet where he writes "Partying is such sweet sorrow." As we part ways, we should take pride in having demonstrated utmost respect for the magnitude of the work we were entrusted by our people at the beginning of the term. In 2014, we knuckled down and worked hard to make laws that will improve the lives of our people, debate government policies, plan oversight role over the work of government among other issues.

I am sure most of you will agree with me when I say, it has been a five years full of fun times, challenging times and everything in between. Yes, there were instances where we might not have covered ourselves in glory, for that we should request the citizens of our country to grant us atonement. However, even in those

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difficult moments, I can confidently say that most of us never lost sight of the bigger picture of building a South Africa where we all look forward to the sunrise of our tomorrow.

Nevertheless, in the final analysis, it is up to South Africans to judge who among us have been the vanguards of their democracy and who among us have handled their affairs in a cavalier way. To you my fellow South Africans, it has been a great privilege to serve you.

Colleagues, I also wish to take this moment to wish all of you the best for the forth coming elections. We go to these elections fully cognisant of the fact that some of us will be re-employed for another five year term, while some of us will not make it back. Whatever the outcome, we must be ready to accept the will of the people. To those of you who would not come back, good luck with all your future endeavours.

In conclusion, as we traverse the sometimes challenging and often difficult road to elections, we call on leaders

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and politicians to exercise maximum restraint and show tolerance. Confident of and assured by the presence of the spirit of our forebears as we trudge on to elections, battle battered by our seemingly stubborn social pathologies which are by no means insurmountable.

I invoke the words of former President Thabo Mbeki in his farewell speech to former President Nelson Mandela delivered in this very House in 1999 when he said "We have you Madiba as our nearest and brightest star to guide us on our way we will not get lost." I thank you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Thank you hon Kwankwa. Hon members, before I call up on hon Khubisa as I will be leaving this Chair after he speaks, I just want to say to say to hon members that from the Parliamentary Group on International Relations, PGIR, we want to thank all the members of this House for being the good ambassadors for the Parliament of South Africa.

From all the delegations that represented us in international forum the message we got on their return is

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that they all went out as the South African Parliament and not as parties. I can attest to that as the convenor of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, IPU, and I wish to thank all the convenors of all the focus groups and we hope that in the Sixth Parliament you will have Mini Plenaries, because most of the issues that are discussed at international forum are not for decisions but so that members are aware of what our members are doing in their engagement outside. Thank you for representing the Parliament of South Africa when you are out there and not as parties. Thank you very much.

Prof N M KHUBISA: House Chairperson, hon members, this is yet another monumental day in the history of the National Assembly. It is, indeed, an awesome day. We have come to the end of the Fifth Parliament.

It has been a journey of hard work, resilience, discipline, and focus - and we have had both highs and lows. In spite of all that has happened, all of us came here with the resolve to serve our people and bring pride

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to the electorate as we passed laws that changed their lives for the better.

Like Apostle Paul, today we say we have run the race and we have kept the faith. We say this, based on the understanding that, as Madiba said, there are still more mountains to climb. The masses of our people have not yet received total liberation because they don't have economic liberation.

It is at this moment that, on behalf of my leader, the hon V Z kaMagwaza-Msibi, I wish to convey my heartfelt gratitude to the presiding officers, all hon members, the Table staff, the Chief Whips, and staff members we have rubbed shoulders with during the past five years. It has been an enriching experience, indeed. It was informative and educative. As we look back, we cherish the incisive ideas that were engendered and cultivated in this House as we discussed laws and Bills, as we conducted oversight over the executive, and as we engaged in debate and on other platforms of a dialectic discourse.

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We may not have achieved it all, but it was good that, at times, we had to fight on the altar of ideas and had to agree to disagree - which, I believe, is the cornerstone of any discourse. We came out better than before. We have learned a lot from one another. I have personally learnt a lot through interacting and engaging with you, colleagues.

There is a lot that the Fifth Parliament has achieved. There are so many laws that we have passed. There are so many inquiries that we have set up. There are so many oversights that we have conducted. The aim, of course, was to put our country on the right track through these inquiries. This Parliament gained and restored its image - and respect - in the hearts and minds of the entire populace.

We are not done yet. We have many of our youth who have qualifications but they are on the street. We still have women and children being raped every day. Crime is still a major issue and disrespect of law and order in certain circles of our society is the order of the day.

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As we part today and go out there for the elections, let us conduct ourselves with respect and dignity. Let us tolerate one another so that we have free and fair elections. Let there be no bloodshed in our country at this very important time in the history of our democracy.

We are masters of our own destiny. Hence, we need to deal decisively with any culture of entitlement that some of our people are still imbued with. Let us not burn and destroy schools, libraries and laboratories, or the administrative buildings of our country.

Let us teach the upcoming generation to seize the moment and work hard to change their own destiny. Let us inculcate in them the spirit of self-help and self-reliance. Let us teach them to maximise their potential and assert their self-esteem.

I hope the next Parliament will intensify every opportunity to deal with fraud and corruption.

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It is our duty and responsibility to lift up those of us who cannot lift themselves up. Let us skill and upskill our people to meet the demands of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

It was, indeed, the best of times and the worst of times. Only on the day when South Africa has plenty of jobs, booming businesses, literate majorities, and minimised poverty and inequality, will we be able to say we have achieved.

Other than that, the struggle continues. A luta continua! Thank you so much. [Applause.]

Mr N SINGH: Hon Speaker, hon members, firstly, allow me, on behalf of my leader, Prince Buthelezi, and caucus to express our most sincere condolences to the Chief Whip of the Majority Party, the hon Jackson Mthembu, and his family on the sudden and tragic loss of his daughter, Ms Khwezi Mthembu. Hon Mthembu, you and your family remain in our thoughts and prayers.

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When the hon Minister of Defence and Military Veterans spoke earlier on during the debate on human rights, and when the Speaker also delivered her farewell message, she said, "Listen to your children". This raises the question of our role, as Members of Parliament, inside and outside of Parliament, and what the communities we represent expect of us.

Are we expected to be available 24 hours a day, 365 days a year? Do we give ourselves enough time, officially, to take leave and spend that time with our family? Many of us in this House have challenges with family members, with relatives, with friends, but do we really have the time because of the pressures that are brought to bear on us by our political parties, by this Parliament, by our constituents, to deal with that? [Applause.]

I think that is something we earnestly need to look at in the Sixth Parliament, particularly for our colleagues, the women in this House. Many of them have young children and they have to look after those children and care for them. I have seen young children left alone in Acacia

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Park when their mothers, Members of Parliament, have to go out and do constituency work. What happens to those young children? We know about drug problems and all the other problems in our parks. We blame our children. We blame everybody else - but let us introspect. That is a message from me for us to really look at in the Sixth Parliament.

Having said that, it goes without saying that South Africa has witnessed, arguably for the first time since the dawn of our democracy, its most robust and at times, most unparliamentary, Parliament. It is certainly a story to be remembered. Whether good, bad, ugly, or just a tall story, it is now inscribed into the Hansard and also deeply etched into the national psyche of this nation.

This Fifth Parliament has witnessed members being physically removed on more than one occasion. It has witnessed the election of two Presidents in one term. It has had a state of the nation address postponed and then hurriedly reinstated. It has seen the parliamentary precinct overrun by angry students in protest of the

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promised fees-will-fall statement and the police respond with stun grenades and teargas. Members have come and gone, and Cabinet reshuffles have been a regular occurrence. As we speak, the lights have all but gone out on our national grid.

Unfortunately, grand corruption is evident in many of our departments and entities. Hard-earned taxpayer money remains under siege: VAT has been increased and the fuel price is at almost R20 per litre.

These are the stories we can tell - the ones that we have all personally witnessed, and continue to witness, as this fifth parliamentary term draws to an end. It will now be up to the voters, the final democratic check and balance in any democracy, to decide if they want more of the same, or a new and better story for the future of this country to be written - and this decision will be made on 8 May.

On a more positive note, though, this Parliament has also successfully passed legislation which will, undoubtedly,

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improve the lives of South Africans. We are proud to say that the Medical Innovation Bill, introduced by the IFP, came to fruition, with the department accepting a Bill that allows cannabis for medicinal use. As we move forward, we will look at other items, like hemp, and other products, with the Department of Trade and Industry.

This Parliament has witnessed the forging of strong relationships across party lines, with representatives from all parties striving together for the common good of this country. We hope these continue, that we build upon such relationships, and take our country forward.

We have had members of this House and of the administration who were called to rest. May their souls be blessed.

Thank you very much, and good luck to everybody. [Time expired.] [Applause.]

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Mr M N PAULSEN: Hon Speaker, presiding officers, members of the ruling party, members of the opposition, commissars and members of the EFF, I have the utmost regard for all of you - many of you - for your sacrifices and your contribution to our democracy. Although we may have disagreed robustly, I think we must not forget that whoever we disagree with is someone's father, mother, sister or brother. We must never dehumanise people, and where I have failed, I humbly apologise.

The EFF has served this beautiful country, while the ANC has led it.

When the EFF contested the 2014 elections a few months after its launch on 26 July 2013, very few of you, if any at all, thought of the eventuality of ours being the dominant voice of this Fifth Parliament ...

[Interjections.] ... a voice that has resonated not just with the marginalised and working class, but with all those who now are beginning to believe that we, Africans, can steer our lives towards a better tomorrow, a brighter future.

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We remain unapologetic in our approach as black and as African people. We are not another ANC whose 1917 constitution begins, "We, the loyal subjects of the British Empire ..." Fast forward to 2019, and it doesn't surprise us that the ANC comes here and speaks glowingly of the Chief Whip's visit to the UK and how they even want to strengthen how we simulate the customs and practices of that Parliament. [Interjections.]

There is not a week that goes by that South Africans are not subjected to a quotation by some or other British author. Africans must entrust their futures to people who are not ashamed of their Africanness. In his book, *Things Fall Apart*, Chinua Achebe, the Nigerian novelist, writes:

The white man is very clever. He came quietly and peaceably with his religion. We were amused at his foolishness and allowed him to stay. Now he has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart.

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[Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order, hon members!

Mr M N PAULSEN: From both the majority party and the current Official Opposition, we have heard these words uttered: the EFF's pie-in-the-sky policies. Yesterday, again, Uncle Ebrahim Patel uttered those words. Uncle Ebrahim, look at our contribution to humanity, as Africans. Hamilton Naki's first heart transplant in the laboratories of Groote Schuur Hospital gave so many people another chance at a productive life.

The SPEAKER: Don't forget to say your farewells.

[Laughter.] [Applause.]

Mr M N PAULSEN: Let's look back, ever further.

Thirteenth-century Mali boasted impressive cities, including Timbuktu, with grand palaces, mosques and universities. [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order! Order, hon members!

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Mr M N PAULSEN: The first gold mine was in Swaziland ...
[Interjections.] ... and carbon-dates back 43 000 years.
You don't want to hear about Africa's contribution to
human advancement. I am not surprised. [Interjections.]

South Africa is at a crucial crossroads, given where we
are, politically, socially, economically, and in terms of
the morale of our people. The people of our country feel
defeated, powerless, invisible, and disrespected by the
very people they entrusted with our national assets, our
wellbeing, and our futures. The EFF knows this, because
that is where we have been in the past six years - in the
villages, in our communities, in our institutions of
higher learning, among the working class, fighting side
by side with them for lives of dignity. [Interjections.]
We will continue to fight for them in a way that only we
are courageous enough to do.

Many have referred to the EFF's manifesto as pie in the
sky. Have you considered that your response is within
your current frame of what's possible and how you
perceive the challenges, not to mention your limited

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assumptions about the passion and willpower of the average man in the street? Have you considered that you undervalue and underestimate the power of solidarity and the willpower of the people to live in our context, the country with the greatest level of inequality in the world - thanks to you, mainly? [Interjections.]

I appeal to fellow South Africans, young, old, from every walk of life, to open their hearts, minds, and spirits to embrace a new way of thinking, a new way of being, in a society defined by solidarity and hard work, where a spirit of equality and humanity reigns supreme, and entrust the EFF with their vote on 8 May 2019.

[Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Hon Paulsen, farewell. Thank you very much.

Mr M N PAULSEN: Goodbye, ANC. Goodbye, EFF. Amandla!

[Interjections.] [Applause.]

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY: Madam Speaker, let me begin by extending our deepest condolences to the

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right hon Jackson Mthembu, the government Chief Whip and his family on the tragic loss that they suffered in the early hours of yesterday. There can be nothing that prepares a parent for the loss of a child. It is a complete reversal of the natural order.

In times of tragedy, it's sometimes good to turn to the writings of the Ancient Greeks and in this instance the writings of Aeschylus, and I quote: "And even in our sleep, pain which cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart, until in our own despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful grace of God."

The SPEAKER: Order, hon members.

IsiXhosa:

Nksz N P SONTI: Uxolo, uxolo kakhulu Somlomo ohloniphekileyo.

English:

The SPEAKER On what point are you rising, hon member?

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IsiXhosa:

Nksz N P SONTI: Nankuya umhlola usenzeka phaya. Imbi kakhulu laa nto yenzekayo, siyayinqanda kwaye asifuni nokuba siyixele. Imbi kakhulu.

The SPEAKER: Please take your seat, hon member. Hon members, please, can we respect the House.
[Interjections.] Can we just respect this last sitting in this term? Please proceed, hon Steenhuisen.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY: The Chief Whip and his family remain in our thoughts prayers at this difficult time. Just like that, here it is the end of the Fifth Parliament. So, Madam Speaker, to you, I start with the confession. It was the first sitting of the Fifth Parliament and the hon Waters and I have newly been installed into the Office of Chief Whip and Deputy Chief Whip respectively. The Order Paper dully arrived at our office and much to our horror; there were about 16 or 17 items on the Order Paper for which we had not prepared speakers. Well, you can imagine the set of an excuse panic in the Chief Whips Office, running around, phoning

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members, telling them to urgently prepare speeches with two hours to go before the outset. We run around like that for about 30 to 40 minutes before one of the staff members in my office put us out of our misery when I pointed out that 17 of those items were below the line. [Applause.]

You never stop learning in Parliament and only that's one of the great things, no matter how much you think you know the Rules, no matter how much you think you know the traditions, you learn something new every single day. I think it has been a tumultuous five years, but I think it has also been an exciting five years. It has been an interesting five years. Yes, there have been a number of negatives. One of my greatest regret is to see the violence that has permeated Parliament, the use of fists rather than the force of argument.

Madam Speaker, you spoke about ethics and I think that you are right to do so. I think the biggest disappointment for me was to watch out the Ethics Committee in this Fifth Parliament collapsed. It's

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something that we need to ensure is re-establish very firmly in the Sixth Parliament to ensure that we can have the ethics and accountability by members of which you speak about.

Ministerial accountability is also important. I think there were far too many Ministers who were absent for oral questions who have not responded to written questions and the attendance for important matters to help to bring the people's business to the floor of Parliament, member's statement, motions, etc, has been very poor. A lack of legislative agenda and the way in which we introduce process and get through legislation need a complete overall into the Fifth Parliament.

We have passed the 100 Bills as you have said. I think this is probably one of the lowest legislative outputs since post democratic Parliament was established. It's one of our key constitutional obligations according to the matter that's going to require.

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Also, there has been far too much focus in the Fifth Parliament on processing the business of the executive and far too little attention focused on processing the people's business, the work that comes through from committees, from constituencies making it to the floor of this House.

But warts and all, I think that the Fifth Parliament has done a number of excellent things. I think it has re-established this House is the arena of executive accountability. It's again become the crucible of the national debate. It is no longer the boring place where people tune out to - or tune into - when they are trying to get to sleep at night.

People are excited to see what is happening in Parliament. They are excited to see the debate and that's a good thing. The more of our people we can involve in our process get interested to see how this House can be used as an instrument for their aspirations and their dreams. The better is going to be for us establishing truly a people's Parliament. We will see some great

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highlights, we saw of a President. The DA put on eight motions of no confidence before it became fashionable to do so. But nonetheless, I think at the end of the day, one of the highlights it will stand out for me is the day in which we closed the chapter on the Zuma era and started to write a new chapter for our country.

To my members in the DA, it has been a real privilege to serve as a Chief Whip of our caucus – to work with the 86 brave men and women who sat on these opposition benches, leading the debate, putting the people's business forward. I want to say thank you to each and every one of you for your work and the support that you have shown us. [Applause.]

I want to say thank you to the Chief Whips of all parties. I think the Chief Whips Forum and the Programming Committee particularly have been centres of excellence in this Parliament, where the parties and rankles have been able to be part to one side and we have come together to act in the best interest of a Parliament and the people. No Parliament, no place like this can

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operate without some measure of corporation between parties. It must be something we nature and foster going forward to ensure that our Parliament works better and get through its work. So, thank you to all of those who have trade their enrolment.

I think that the Sixth Parliament is going to offer a number of challenges. We have to learn from the things that we have experienced and the lessons in this Fifth Parliament. They mustn't be lost. They must be carried forward into the Sixth Parliament. I think we are going to have to resist certainly in this next Parliament, a retreat from Parliament into a far more executive style of office as the executive start to try to claw back some of the ground that this Parliament has been able to make in the Fifth Parliament. We must resist that as Members of Parliament with all that we have. We have to keep this place as that arena of executive accountability.

I also think that there is far more work we can do with regards to oversight. Whilst both the hon Didiza and the Speaker have mentioned the high level panel report, other

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in the high level report should actually be a low point for Parliament because essentially what that panel entirely did is the work that we as Members of Parliament should have been doing over the course of this last period. We should have tasted the legislation that we have offered. I definitely think that we need to ensure that there is great signage between what we do here and the National Council of Provinces, where we don't turn the upper House into a mini NA, but rather unleashed them to be able to do the work that they need to do particularly that of oversight.

But for me the biggest question is simply this as I stand here at this podium on the last day of the Fifth Parliament, is that should we really be rising today at all? Our country today is facing a massive process; load shedding is posing one of the biggest risks to our economy and to our advancement as the people going forward. None of the targets that we have set at committees, none of the lofty ideals of the President outlined in the state of the nation address, none of those ambitious programmes and policies are going to come

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to come to anything if the lights are off, the factories are closed and the shops are shut, it means waiters and waitresses who don't have restaurants open, it means factory workers who are going to be put on short time.

We should not be going home. We should be keeping this Parliament open until we have answers to this crisis. We can do these things before we pass the Ismo Bill. We could be amending legislation to unleash solutions for this electricity crisis.

The people are looking to us for leadership. I think it's wrong that the people's House is going to lapse, is going to be off here in the people's House when we should be lighten that way forward for our nation as the people's representative. [Applause.]

Yesterday, the President unveiled the values on the steps and I hope all members have seen them, freedom and democracy, equality and diversity, unity and reconciliation, openness and participation, oversight and accountability, reconstruction development and co-

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operative government. I think they are great new addition to our precincts.

As we descend the steps as we leave today, we must reflect on our shortcomings. Have we really lived up to every one of those values over the course of the last five years? But as we ascend those steps, when we return into the Sixth Parliament, we must everyday work as hard as we can to internalise them, to carry them through into everything that we do whether it's in the committee or on the plenaries or in many plenaries as we are going to be having. Are we living up to these values? Are we placing those values that proudly are down the steps now of the NA and the NCOP in the work that we do as the people's representatives?

To all Chief Whips of all parties, thank you very much for your co-operation. Madam Speaker, I know we have our moments, but it's really been great for working with you and getting to know you over the course of the last five years. I think we leave today a bit friendly than we were

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when we started in the Fifth Parliament. So, I look forward to go to Cuba again with you. [Laughter.]

To the chamber staff, the NA Table, all the people who worked behind the scenes, thank you for the work that you do on a daily basis, making this wonderful institution work. [Applause.] This is a special place and where all so proud and privileges to serve here in the last five years, it really is an honour. So, we look forward to seeing you after the election, where we come bigger, bolder, braver and stronger than ever before, farewell. [Applause.]

Siswati:

LISEKELA LESIKHULU LASOSISWEBHU LENHLANGANO YELINYENTI:
Ngiyabonga Somlomo waLendlu, angicale ngekundlusa emavi
endvudvuto emndenini wakaMthembu, umndeni weSikhulu
Sasosiswebhu ngekushiywa indvodzakati yabo, Khwezi
ngesihluku lesingaka. Sitsi kuBomthembu dvudvu,
akwehlanga lolungehli, ningesabi ningetfuki ngoba ngaloku
lokwentekile akusho kutsi Nkulunkulu unishiyile, kepha
unani futsi uyanitsandza. Sinani emkhulekweni.

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Ngime la Bekunene, endzaweni lapho bekufanele kume khona Sikhulu Sasosiswebhu njengoba bekufanele kube nguye lobekufanele ente lenkhulumo yekuvalelisa. Nami emadvolo ayaceka ngoba njengemtali kubunhlungu kubona umtali alahlekelwa umntfwana wakhe ngesimo lesibuhlungu, kepha Inkosi itasancedza, sitawukhona kutsi sichubeke silicedze lelilanga. Angindlulise futsi emalungeni e-ANC kutsi loku besikuhlelile, Sikhulu Sasosiswebhu sicelile kutsi asichubeke nako namuhla njengendlela yekumhlonipha, kulesikhatsi labukene naso. Ngako ngiyatse kutsi sitawuvisisa uma sichubeka.

English:

The DEPUTY CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: As we close the curtain of the 5th Term of Parliament, and taking the last 25 years of our democracy into account, we must be proud of the road we have travelled as a country. Today, South Africa is indeed a better country than what it was in 1994, and it is even better than what it was when we arrived in this Parliament in 2014.

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As the legislative arm of the State, we have had a very successful term of office where our Parliamentary democracy was tested and strengthened. As our democracy is maturing the people of South Africa have over the past five years taken a keen interest in our work as Parliamentarians, thereby rightfully holding us accountable.

We have seen massive interest in our legislative and public participation processes. We have had marches to Parliament and protests. All these actions of popular struggle by the masses of our people are indicative of a working, fully functioning parliament within the context of a maturing democracy.

As the ANC, we are particularly proud of the fact that we have been able to improve the lives of our people through passing very historic and progressive legislations. We can applaud ourselves as the collective of legislators for having processed 107 pieces of legislations from 2014 to date. Among these, is the historic National Minimum Wage Bill, which sets the wage floor of R20 per hour,

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thus, improving the wages and the living conditions of 6 million workers who earn slave wages which are far below the prescribed national minimum wage. Another historic piece of legislation passed in this term of Parliament is the political party funding.

Siswati:

Lena siyati kutsi yentelwe kutsi vele kungabi nebantfu lebatawutama kutsi babuyisele emuva tonkhe letintfo lesiye satizuza ngalentsandvo yelinyenti yetfu, ngekutsi lamanye emave angakhoni kungenelela abese achase labanye ngetimali labangafuni kutsi sichubekele embili silive laseNingizimu Afrika. Ngitsandza kusho futsi kutsi siphasise nalomunye umtsetfo lokunguMtsetfosivivinyo Losichibiyelo Wekwengamela Timali, lotawenta kutsi hulumende abe nelibhange lakhe.

Lelingeke lizuzise yena hulumende kuphela kepha bantfu balapha eNingizimu Afrika. Siphindze futsi siphasise neMtsetfo wePublic Audit Amendment Bill, loniketa Auditor General emandla kutsi akwati kuhamba atsatse timali nome imphahla yalabo bantfu kute abuyisele imali yahulumende.

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Ngako-ke lena ngulemitseshwana lesiya sakwati kutsi siyiphasise.

Siphindze futsi sibonile singuLendlu Yesishayamtsetfo Savelonkhe, siyekwenta kutsi sibe nelikomiti, iConstitutional Review Committee, leliye laba khona emva kwenkhomfa ya-ANC, laphe kuye kwatsiwa umhlaba uwayubuyele ebantfwini ngaphandle kwekuncesheteliswa. Siya saba nalelokomiti leliye lahamba iNingizimu Afrika yonkhe, lenta kulalelwa kwesive. Sabuya futsi saba ne-Adhoc Committee lekungiyi letawubuyeketa umtsetfosisekelo wesigatjana 25. Lesitawuvule kutsi sibuyisele umhlaba ebantfwini njengoba kufanele...wantjontjwa angitsi siyakwati loko. Siyavalelisana kodvwa kufuna sikhumbutane.

Kuloku uye wakusho ngahulumende lophetfwe ngu-ANC ngaMongameli washo-ke kutsi umhlaba lophetfwe nguhulumende, utawukhululwa ngenhloso yekutsi kuhlale bantfu njengoba sati kutsi kunebantfu labahleti emapulazini, emhlabeni lophetfwe ngasese, laphe kungakavunyelwe kutsi hulumende angaletsa tinsita akhele

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bantfu tindlu....Sikubonile njengoba sihamba
sikhankasa... njengoba leto tindzawo tikhona- kepha
ukhona umhlaba wahulumende lohleti lapha - sitsi lowo
mhlaba njengoba ashilo Mongemeli, awukhululwe kute bantfu
bakitsi batawukhona kutsi bawusebentise, bakhelwe tindlu,
bafakelwe emanti, bafakelwe nagezi kute sichubeke siye
embili.

English:

One of this Parliament's many watershed moments in the
last five years was the adoption and implementation of
the new and overhauled rules of the National Assembly.
The adoption of the new rules was a culmination of a
lengthy process intended to enhance the governance of the
business of the House, and to align it firmly with the
Constitution, current conventions and practices. We
tightened the rules of debate and rules of conduct of
members in the House to ensure consistency and order
during sittings of House.

We are witnesses to what have been happening for the past
five years, we do have to rehash that. It is for the

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first time since this democratic Parliament was convened in 1994, that parliament has an avenue to remove any person who acts in a gross disorderly manner using the rules. This ensures that the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa maintains its dignity as the legislative arm of state representing the people of South Africa.

Moving forward, we must as a country start to prepare ourselves for the next five years and we must start with architecture of our next parliament. We must start thinking about the kind of a new Parliament we would like to have. What kind of infrastructure it must have; the culture and proceedings we want to introduce and where its location ought to be.

Our current infrastructure does not adequately cater for our needs as a legislative arm of State. Joint Sittings of the two Houses of Parliament are impractical due to space constraints. Often committee rooms are not big enough for us to hold meetings and host members of the public for public hearings.

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The institution is also forced into leasing space from nearing hotels at exorbitant costs. The discussion around the location of the seat of Parliament as previously announced must be concluded. The financial resources used to fly Members Parliament, Members Executive and their support staff in and out of Cape Town on a weekly basis, could in the long run be redirected towards the delivery of services for our people.

Our Parliament must also have better offices; we have a responsibility to build this Parliament to be consistent with our democracy including our rest room. During apartheid Parliament was meant for males, white males to be précised. As a democratic State we thus have the responsibility to build gender sensitive Parliament. A Parliament which recognises the needs for child rearing facilities for members of Parliament who are care givers.

For parliament to do its oversight work adequately, it must have world class research, legal and other professional capacity assisting committees of Parliament with content in order for the oversight work not to

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depend on those we are overseeing. We must have an independent ability to do oversight over the executive. This requires adequate investment in human resources. Therefore, the manner in which Parliament is funded as an arm of State must also seriously be reviewed.

On behalf of the Office of the Chief Whip, we thank the ANC for having given us the opportunity to learn, grow and lead. We also thank the members of the ANC Parliamentary Caucus for their support. Our Thursday Caucus meetings were characterised by robust debates and sharp political engagements. Though sometimes we differed on political matters, we remained true to the policies of our glorious movement.

The task to lead in the ANC is never one, which is carried out by one individual. Hence in the ANC, we do not have "I" in our vocabulary, we speak of "we" precisely because we have an appreciation that the "collective" takes precedents over the "individual". We therefore thank our comrades in the different leadership structures of our caucus for their collective their support, wisdom

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and dedication in service of our movement and the people of our country.

We thank comrades in the Political Committee of Caucus, led by Speaker, the ANC Strategy, our Whips and Chairpersons of Committees and ANC Study Groups. We also thank our colleagues from other political parties for their comradely over the past five years. Our engagements in the Chief Whips Forum, the National Assembly Programming Committee Meeting and even the chamber floor have always been honest and robust.

I therefore thank my colleagues from other the parties who regularly participated in the Chief Whips Forum ensuring that we collectively go about the business of Parliament through consultations and consensus. Though we all carried a different political mandate, it has been through our collective efforts that Parliament has been a functioning Parliament.

Over the past five years, some among us have fallen prey to cheap political point scoring stunts often leading to

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totally unacceptable and parliamentary behaviour. Those who will be fortunate enough to be given another opportunity to return to Parliament as a public representative must always remember that you are not here representing your jacket, but the electorate who gave you a political mandate to be here.

We thank the executive leadership of Parliament as led by Speaker Mbete in the National Assembly and Mme Thandi Modise in the National Council of Provinces for having demonstrated astute leadership over the past five years. The exceptional leadership of these two outstanding women bares testimony to the saying "wathinta umfazi, wathinta imbokodo" (you strike a woman, you strike a rock). Though our conduct as MPs has sometimes given our Presiding Officers greys hairs, they continued to conduct themselves in the most professional manner.

Over and above our sharp contradictions as parties, we have also had very funny moments in the last five years. We remember humorous moments such as "honourable member withdraw delela" and "honourable member, I do not

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recognise you where do you come from" which have become social media jokes with the faces of our presiding officers. We can also be proud that our Parliament was this week featured in the internationally acclaimed "The Daily Show with Trevor Noah" where Trevor relayed his experience of receiving a warm welcome when he visited our Parliament as President's guest.

As Parliamentarians, we are nothing without the support of the individuals who are employed in our political party caucuses and Parliament as an institution. We thank the h hard- working patriots who have served this Parliament with absolute distinction. We want to especially thank the staff of the ANC Parliamentary Caucus who is the bedrock of the ANC in Parliament. We would not have had all these achievements had we not had a dedicated cadreship serving the movement here in Parliament.

As this Parliament rises today, we rise missing 19 members whom we started this journey with us five years ago. May we rise for a moment of silence to remember;

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Umama Nosipho Ntwanambi (ANC - NCOP), Dr Mario Oriani-Ambrosini (IFP), Yolanda Botha (ANC), Hlakudi Nkoana (ANC), Minister Collins Chabane (ANC), Eugene von Brandis (DA), K S Mubu (DA), Raesibe Nyalungu (ANC), Bonisile Nesi (ANC), Trevor Bonhomme (ANC), Timothy Khoza (ANC), Tarnia Baker (DA), Beatrice Ngcobo (ANC), Fezeka Loliwe (ANC), Mam Winnie Madikizela-Mandela (ANC), Sbusiso Radebe (ANC), Zelda Jongbloed (DA) Nokhaya Mnisi (ANC), Minister and lastly Minister Edna Molewa (ANC). May their souls rest in peace.

The contributions of these hon members of Parliament in service of the people of South Africa will always remain in our hearts. May they continue to rest in peace. As we go back to our constituencies to seek a renewed mandate on 8 May, we remind the people of South Africa that it is only the ANC which carries the people's plan, for a better life for all vote ANC on 8 May 2019. I thank you.

The SPEAKER: Thank you very much hon Deputy Chief Whip, hon members that concludes the farewell speeches and before I adjourned the House, I would like to take this

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opportunity to remind you that, even as we will adjourn the House and go wherever we go, we must remember the House and in fact Parliament remains adjourned but competent to do its work, meaning don't be surprised if we have to call you back urgently, for whatever it might be necessary for us to come and consider. So Parliament remains competent to function until the day before the elections. Hon members, we have completed the business we have planned for ourselves and therefore for the last time in this term, this House is adjourned [Applause].

The House adjourned at 17:43.