

**TUESDAY, 15 NOVEMBER 2016**

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***PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY***

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The House met at 14:03.

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

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

**WELCOMING OF NEW MEMBERS**

(Announcement)

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, before we proceed with today's business, I wish to make the following announcement. The vacancies which occurred in the National Assembly owing to the resignations of Ms Z B N Balindlela and Mr S M Gana have been filled by the nominations of Mr R K Purdon and Mr M R Bara respectively with effect from 14 November 2016.

The members have made and subscribed the oath and affirmation in the Deputy Speaker's office. I welcome you, hon members.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: Deputy Speaker, sorry to interrupt proceedings. I would like to take a point of privilege, if I may? It relates to section 59(2) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

Now, I had written previously to the House Chair Frolick on this particular matter. It refers to the decision today by the Portfolio Committee on Energy to close their meeting to the public and media for the purpose of discussing the PetroSA forensic report.

As you know, this involves a huge sum of public money. An amount of R14,5 billion has gone missing, and I really would like your Office to please institute an investigation into whether the reasons advanced for closing that meeting do in fact pass the muster of section 59(2) of the Constitution, and, if not, whether the chairperson would please be spoken to in order to ensure that this Parliament continues to conduct its business in terms of the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Alright. We will do that. Thank you. Go ahead, hon member.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Should I go ahead and respond to that or on the motion?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, no, no, to the motion, sir. This was a request to be attended to.

**SUSPENSION OF RULE 290 (2) (a)**

(Draft Resolution)

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Deputy Speaker, I move the draft resolution printed in my name on the Order Paper, as follows:

That the House suspends Rule 290(2)(a) which provides, *inter alia*, that the debate on the Second Reading of a Bill may not commence before at least three working days have elapsed since the committee's report was tabled, for the purposes of conducting the Second Reading debate today on the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: I now put the motion. Are there any objections? Yes, hon member?

Mr M Q NDLOZI: Thank you, Deputy Speaker. Rule 4 says we can't suspend any Rule unless one-third of all members are present.

So, before we make this decision, I just wanted to check whether we have the numbers here. Anyway, since it's a motion of the Chief Whip, did you bring your members to come and suspend the Rule? [Interjections.] That's what Rule 4 says.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: The only way to determine that is to invite members by way of ringing the bells and then determining the numbers.

An HON MEMBER: There's no call for a division.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: That's the only way to determine the required numbers. I can't make that assessment myself, hon members.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: Deputy Speaker, I think you are correct that you do have to call for the bells to be rung to determine whether the quorum is met. However, I am absolutely

sure we are going to have a quorum in the House today because I got an SMS earlier. It says: Dear Members of Parliament, kindly be advised of the three-line whip scheduled for Tuesday, 15 November at the National Assembly Chamber from 14:00. All members are requested to attend and remain in the House until it is adjourned. Enquiries: Office of the Chief Whip. No doubt, we will have a quorum today. [Laughter.]

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Deputy Speaker, you will know that before we make such motions in the House, we would have consulted with the parties in the House. In fact, we will not make such motions under spurious attempts or under spurious motives.

Everybody, particularly those who are serving on this committee, knows how much work this committee has put into this. However, Deputy Speaker, if indeed you have to divide the House on the basis of voting, we have no problem. We will know that we will carry the vote. This is what we have done in the course of doing our work here after having consulted with all parties in this House.

Mr M Q NDLOZI: I think that response is very problematic. It is not being asked that Rule 4 be suspended, even if the Chief

Whips' Forum can agree. You have to bring your members. That is what it is really about. Have you brought your members to Parliament to come and vote? So, if they are here, you shouldn't have a problem. You shouldn't be patronising us that we have agreed in the Chief Whips' Forum. We didn't agree to suspend Rule 4.

An HON MEMBER: How many members do you have?

Mr M Q NDLOZI: We need proper membership of those who are proposing in particular for the suspension of Rules to attend Parliament.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, I will ring the bells for five minutes.

I now put the question. The question is that the motion moved by the Chief Whip of the Majority Party be agreed to.

Motion agreed to.

**DIVISION OF REVENUE AMENDMENT BILL**

(Consideration of Report)

There was no debate.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Deputy Speaker, I move:

That the Report be adopted.

Motion agreed to.

Report accordingly adopted.

#### **DIVISION OF REVENUE AMENDMENT BILL**

(Second Reading debate)

Ms Y N PHOSA: Hon Deputy Speaker, hon Ministers and Deputy Ministers, hon members of this august House, and fellow South Africans, I greet you all. I would like to take this opportunity to table the report of the Standing Committee on Appropriations on the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill, 2016. The report was unanimously adopted by the committee, and it is available in the Announcements, Tablings and Committee Reports, ATC, of Parliament for hon members' perusal. However, the DA indicated that they reserve their right to decide in the House whether they will support the Bill or not.

While the amendment of the Division of Revenue Act of 2016, enacted earlier this year, is what this debate is about, we are today debating before this House amendments in the form of adjustments to this Act - changes that are permitted in terms of the Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act, which may be significant in terms of its intended adjustment, but not macro in terms amounts. Generally, the adjustments reflect unforeseeable and unavoidable expenditure, emergencies, utilisation of unspent funds, and rollover of unspent funds, and it affects provincial and municipal spheres. I say this because we should not wish to believe that we have the powers to suggest all sorts of changes to this amending Bill that we are not legally empowered to do. This belongs elsewhere within the money Bills cycle.

The amending Bill makes adjustments within the political policy paradigm. It reflects the progress we have made over the past 20 years as a result of conscious planning and economic management of the economy informed by the ANC economic policy. These financial principles have led to our international recognition as having one of the best-managed financial sectors in the world, as well as a comprehensive and sophisticated legislative framework for financial management of the economy and a comprehensive regulatory financial environment. It is

precisely these financial principles that one sees reflected in this year's amending Bill. It is underpinned by, amongst others, the ANC's and constitutional imperatives to achieve an inclusive society through an efficient developmental state that builds the capabilities of the society and the economy and, in doing so, robustly intervenes to redress the imbalances of the past. This means building an inclusive economy in which specific adjustments are located.

The measurable objective of the specific adjustments we are being asked to agree in this amending Bill promotes growth, social development, and poverty reduction through the effective, efficient, and appropriate allocation of public funds. The specific aim of these adjustments is to give effect to government's economic, fiscal, social, and developmental objectives and goals reflected in an outcomes-based approach. The central message of these adjustments is one of assisting in the promotion of and financing of an inclusive growth path.

The ANC's 53rd national conference in Mangaung in December 2012 resolved to strive for an economic outcome that, amongst others, ensures long-term stability, sustainable growth, and development. In other words, the conference strengthened the resolve towards the New Growth Path now located under the

umbrella programme of the National Development Plan, NDP, that pursues economic growth through job creation in line with the ANC's priority to create decent jobs and sustainable livelihoods.

The resolve to create a better life for all and eradicate poverty is reflected in these adjustments of the amending Bill. The certainty of meeting a priority is strengthened or weakened by the quantity and quality of resources allocation towards its realisation. The Division of Revenue Amendment Bill is a financial instrument to ensure that policy programmes are given the required adjustments through the provision of the necessary additional financial resources across the three spheres.

In terms of the broader economic paradigm, this amending Bill fits into the stabilisation programme of the national Budget, stabilising our finite revenue resources but protecting the real values of these resources through strategic adjustments. In addition, growing the productive sectors of the economy is done alongside increasing the social wage, which is not just social grants but much more than that.

What characterises the 2016 Budget delivered in February was the commitment, even in a difficult domestic and international

economic environment, to protect the most vulnerable and the poor and that these should be protected, guarded, and advanced in any adjustment across the three spheres.

Provinces provide key social services, and any adjustment must ensure that social spending is protected. Let us remind ourselves that social spending has more than doubled over the past decade. The ANC is promoting and sustaining social gains and promoting progress, protecting the most vulnerable in society and, at all times, looking to unlock new sources of revenue.

All research indicates we have dented poverty. The adjustments in this amending Bill confirm the political and economic paradigm of the developmental state. All the provincial spheres where adjustments are made are related to provincial roads maintenance grant funds; additional funding to the national health insurance, NHI, grant as part of piloting the diagnostic-related groups; additional funding to the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme, Casp, to enable the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries to provide relief to farmers affected by the ongoing drought; additional funding to the education infrastructure grant for the rehabilitation of damaged school infrastructure; additional funding to the

National School Nutrition Programme, NSNP, grant to cover the shortfall in the National School Nutrition Programme grant caused by high food price inflation; and the conversion of allocations from the school infrastructure backlogs grant to the education infrastructure grant.

Proposed changes to the conditional grant framework and allocations that accompany this amending Bill are for the purposes of correcting an error or omission. The corrections to the following conditional grant frameworks are also submitted for our approval and are all in line with the ANC-led government policy priority: Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme, the national health insurance grant, and the municipal infrastructure grant, Mig. The total amount of rollovers is substantially lower in 2016-17 than last year, which is positive.

As part of the economic stability programme, the actual division of revenue between the three spheres is broadly stable over the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework, MTEF. Strong growth in local and provincial allocations in the outer years reflects the priority placed on meeting the basic services of the masses of our people. We welcome the fact that the Fiscal and Financial Commission, FFC, has begun an in-depth review of the provincial

equitable share formula. This will assist in aligning policy imperatives and revenue with provincial needs. The additions to the provincial and local government equitable shares in the outer years of the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework are welcomed, and this reflects a strengthening of revenue and growth in our economy.

On the vexed matter of reductions to grants and how these are determined, the Fiscal and Finance Commission proposes that reductions should be based on an analysis of the historic performance of each grant. What we would also like to add is that capacity to spend the grant is critical. This means we must have built the capacity to spend, supported and monitored by Treasury, and not just consider a reduction due to the inability to spend. In this regard, we welcome several well-funded programmes to assist provinces and municipalities to improve their capacity. Clearly, where there is a need to shift, then obviously reductions must be considered, and, where grant reductions are effected, the impact on service delivery areas should be protected.

Generally speaking, from the submissions we have received, reforms to conditional grants are supported as well as the conversion between direct and indirect grants. The Act allows

for the in-year conversion of allocations, though it is preferable for funds to be allocated as either direct or indirect prior to the start of the financial year, to allow time for planning and spending.

The National School Nutrition Programme has continued to be a policy success with challenges in implementation. The flexibility provided for between the use of national quintiles and provincial quintiles for provinces to fund meals in schools, is welcomed. Surely, we have to have a manageable arrangement where pupils from poor families can apply for a fee exemption at any school, and Basic Education is reviewing the school funding model.

We welcome the positive outcome which includes the reduction in the overall rollover of the previous financial year. This is indicative of the fact that government has introduced stricter controls to improve systems of managing and monitoring of expenditure as well as rollover requests.

During this phase of our transition, government is called upon to accelerate the pace of social and economic transformation by implementing radical programmes that will place our country on a qualitatively different economic development path. The amending

Bill assists in this process. The adjustments of the 2016 Division of Revenue Amendment Bill are in line with the 2014 ANC manifesto commitments to the masses of our people and therefore strengthens the ability to serve their needs.

In conclusion, the ANC fully - fully - supports the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill for 2016 without amendments. I thank you. Ngiyabonga. Ndiyabulela. Inkomu. Dankie. [Applause.]

Dr M J FIGG: Deputy Speaker, the net effect of the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill is a budget adjustment to the main allocation from R1,318 trillion to R1,313 trillion. The national allocation has been adjusted downwards by R5,4 billion. In the adjustments to national allocations, there is an amount of R212 million that will be added to a new indirect component of the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme to enable the national Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries to provide relief to farmers affected by the ongoing drought just before the flood.

While the allocation for the Bucket Eradication Programme grant has been increased by R72 million, the DA raised concerns about the reductions in allocations for the bucket eradication grant

in some municipalities, as the grant is viewed as critical in ensuring the eradication of the bucket sanitation system.

There are also several municipalities in financial distress. We understand that government has a strict policy of not providing bailouts to municipalities, as this would create a perverse incentive for the mismanagement of funds in the hope of receiving additional allocations. However, it is a constitutional obligation on the national and provincial spheres of government to support and assist municipalities to enhance their capacity to generate their own revenue and spend allocations effectively and efficiently in order to deliver quality services.

Why are we experiencing tough times? Firstly, we are at near 0% economic growth. The result of a stagnant economy is that revenue grows at a slower rate than expenditure, which places additional pressure on the fiscus. There has been a substantial decline in the growth of gross revenue from 12,2% to 8,5%, VAT has decreased in growth from 24,1% to 7,7%, and personal income tax from 13,8% to 11,1% in 2015. Debt service cost for the 2016 financial year is estimated at R147,7 billion and, growing at 11,4% annually, is the fastest growing expenditure item.

The decrease in revenue is coupled with increasing national expenditure, and it compromises government's ability to meet its fiscal policy expenditure obligations to deliver basic services, address poverty and inequality, and create conditions for economic growth and job creation.

Tax collection for the 2016 financial year will be R23 billion less than originally forecast. Minister Gordhan's solution to this issue is to increase taxes, further burdening the already stretched taxpayer. Of the 13,7 million registered taxpayers, fewer than 1 million contribute 64% of personal tax revenue.

South Africa also needs an extra R43 billion in tax revenue over the next two years. In addition to possible tax hikes, government's spending growth needs to be cut. There will be extra cuts to government expenditure, or spending growth, of R26 billion over the next two years. This means that there will be less money for national, provincial, and local governments, likely affecting service delivery.

What we are saying is this. Firstly, this country, governed by the failing ANC, is heading towards a fiscal cliff. Secondly, the Minister of Finance has a straightforward task, one of fiscal consolidation - a task that he seems unable to perform

effectively, and our debt gap continues to widen as a result. National debt has risen from 28% of GDP in 2008 to 47% in 2016 and is projected to continue increasing, resulting in further increases to debt service costs. Thirdly, South Africa ranks low in the world in terms of economic freedom. Temba Nolutshungu states:

It is tragic that a country ranked 42nd in the world in 2000, just outside the top 25 per cent of countries in the world, should have fallen 63 places in the rankings in 15 years to a point where it now ranks in the bottom 35 per cent.

Within the sub-Saharan African sphere, South Africa is now behind the Seychelles, Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Lesotho.

The Minister stated in his Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement, MTBPS, speech that world economics is in a state of flux. He further stated that growth and investment in the global economy are slow. The truth is that economic growth in South Africa is in a state of flux. While South Africa has a forecasted GDP growth rate of 0,5% in 2016, other developing African countries are expected to have the following growth rates: Tanzania, 7,2%;

Rwanda, 6%; Kenya, 6%; Seychelles, 4,9%; Uganda, 4,9%; and even Lesotho, 2,4%.

Fourthly, public employment has increased by 20% from 2006 to 2011, but the cost of consultants is unacceptably high. The reason is that many of those appointed are cadres and officials who cannot do the jobs, hence the need to hire consultants to do the job. Twenty-five national departments spent R2,2 billion on 2 189 consultants in 2015. Of the 44 national departments, 17 have acting directors-general, and nine departments did not submit performance agreements by the due date. There has also been a significant decline in the finalised cases of financial misconduct reported by national departments - from 660 in 2011 to 238 in 2016.

We gave you a solution last week. We asked you to support our motion of no confidence in Mr Zuma. You chose not to. So, while you continue to protect Mr Zuma, our people out there are suffering. Nearly 9 million people do not have jobs. The health system is failing our people. Our poor university students are fighting for free education - which is their democratic right.

In the end, while you sit here comfortably and assist your corrupt President to enrich himself, his family, his many wives

and friends, the people are suffering. 2019 is coming, and the voters will express their feelings by casting their votes for the DA.

In conclusion, the DA will not support the Bill in its current form due to the low allocation of only 9% to local governments that are already struggling to deliver key frontline services. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mr B A RABEDE: Hon Chairperson, on a point of order: I am rising in terms of Rule 84. The member has just said that the President is corrupt, instead of addressing the issue by bringing a substantive motion. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes. Hon members, the Rules apply in the House. They have not been amended. They will be applied ruthlessly. [Interjections.] Proceed, hon Shivambu.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: Deputy Speaker, if I were you, I would have said that the point of order is out of order itself because what we are seeing here is a reflection of reality. However, I am not here for that. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Shivambu, the Rules require you not to debate the rulings of the Chair once made. Proceed.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: Yes, I am not here for that. I am here to debate the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill. However, I think we should have a discussion as Parliament and as all of South Africa around the whole division of revenue principles and processes because the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill basically allocates money that is available from the National Revenue Fund to the three spheres of government - the national, provincial, and local spheres. However, in terms of how it is now, the local sphere is the direct recipient of less than 10% of the National Revenue Fund in terms of direct allocations.

Of course, there is money that is expected to go to the local sphere through rates and taxes and through conditional grants. However, in terms of direct allocations from the National Revenue Fund, the local sphere is directly given less than 10% of the National Revenue Fund. That explains the permanent, inherent incapacity of the local sphere to deal with developmental questions. It explains why the people of uMhlabuyalingana, Jozini, uMkhanyakude, and Zululand do not have water permanently because the manner in which the local sphere

is financed means they are unable - and they will never be able in the immediate future - to deal with the water question.

We should also ask other developmental questions to drive economic development in the manner that will create jobs for the majority of the people there. So, we need to have a discussion on where we should expend most of our resources, where we should build most capacity. This is because if we take most of the money and give it to the national sphere of government, what will happen will be a nuclear build programme which might cost us R1 trillion, and which has already been decided upon - in the current context - that it is going to be given to the Russian mafia linked to a criminal syndicate controlled by the Gupta family that is going to take over the ANC very soon.

[Interjections.]

So, we need to have a thorough discussion around the whole division of revenue process so that we empower the local sphere to deliver basic services to our people. It's more important because local government is at the coalface of service delivery to our people. Instead of giving money to the national level, let us agree in principle that at least a third of the National Revenue Fund must directly be given to the local sphere to

deliver basic goods and services and also activate economic activities.

At this time, the local sphere cannot implement industrial policy. It cannot initiate it because, in the majority of instances, municipalities utilise between 50% and 80% of the money they receive directly on salaries, administration, and on things that do not have a direct impact on the people. So, we need to rethink that. It's a genuine discussion we must have here in Parliament in terms of who we give the money to that is collected from taxpayers for all of us to develop our country. In the manner it is now, we are going to reproduce apartheid spatial inequalities. We are going to reproduce the poverty that defined the black majority for a very long time under apartheid - and it continues to do now. It is a necessary discussion that we must have, and the EFF will give you free education and advice on how we will deal with it much more appropriately. Thank you very much.

We don't agree with the division of revenue as proposed because it doesn't deal with the principal questions. Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr M HLENGWA: Hon Deputy Speaker, the premise which states that all development is local needs to be taken into serious account. If the municipalities themselves are unable to generate their own income and revenue - especially with the problem that we have that for a very long time we are going to have subsidised municipalities - this means we need to find niche economic opportunities for municipalities, build around them and beneficiate around them. In this way, the economies of those municipalities can grow, begin standing on their own two feet and be able to be sustainable.

The fact that the economy is not going to grow beyond 0,5% this year and not be on 1,7% next year points to the problem around the state of health of the economy and that, perhaps, the economic direction that is being proposed by the ruling party is actually not delivering the results necessary for what South Africa needs right now.

Unemployment has continued to increase. We have 9 million people who are unemployed. That speaks to the problem that interventions are being put in place, but, at the end of it, the results do not speak to those interventions. This either means that the interventions are misplaced or that the political will which is expected of the government is virtually absent.

Therefore, we need pragmatic interventions, in this regard, which will be able to deal with these problems.

We must not throw financial solutions at nonfinancial problems. I've said it before, and I maintain it, again.

We welcome, of course, the fact that KwaZulu-Natal gets an increase for road maintenance. On the other hand, if the tender processes and the supply chain management processes are not going to be followed, then it means that that becomes wasteful expenditure. Look at the roads, and you'll actually see that we have tenderers with substandard expertise who are giving us shoddy roads. That, on its own, means that the state is actually wasting money.

So, whilst the money is being dished out for these interventions - whether it is the rebuilding of schools or ensuring that the food and nutrition programme in schools is being rolled out - if we do not deal with the issue of the shortcomings in the tender processes, the jobs for pals, the abuse of the supply chain management processes, or the failure to follow the Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act, Public Finance Management Act, and National Treasury regulations, every time and every year, we will continue making these allocations. We

will continue throwing money at these problems. So, we need to get to the root cause of these problems - and the absence of consequences to deal with it means that half the job has been done.

The conditional grants should not be used for fiscal dumping just for people to say that they've actually dispensed the funds, and the funds have reached the municipalities. That, on its own, means that the service delivery is not going to be done.

Finally, we want to stress and reiterate that the issues of drought relief should not just go to giving people feed and so on. If the water infrastructure is not being taken care of now to stomach the rain that South Africa is getting, all the money that we are throwing out there is going to be a waste. So, we need to go back to basics and ensure that due process is followed to ensure that this money is used effectively and efficiently. I thank you.

Prof N M KHUBISA: Deputy Speaker and hon members, the NFP has always said this is a time when our economy is ailing. As such, it is important that the government does its bit to ensure fiscal consolidation and the boosting of investor confidence in

our country. Of course, as the NFP, we support the fact that we need more entrepreneurship, especially when it comes from the youth and women of our country, so that we can boost the economy of our country.

However, we also note that the national allocation has been adjusted downwards by R5,4 billion. While this is not an ideal situation, we accept that austerity measures are bound to result in reduced government spending.

We welcome, in particular, the amount of R9 million which will be added to the direct health insurance grant to fund the strengthening of the health information system in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape. We are also encouraged by the additional amount of R12 million, which will be added to the Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme. This will enable the national Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries to provide additional relief to farmers affected by the ongoing drought.

While I am still speaking on drought, our country faces a water problem. Of course, there are other measures that we can take. When one goes up to the rural areas, in particular, there are places that have got damp forests. Perhaps the government can go to the extent of ensuring that, in those places, we try to check

whether people can get water, other than ensuring that salt water can be recycled or turned around so that the people can get some water. Over and above the boreholes, I think there are creative measures that we can adopt to ensure that people ... we go to those areas where people can get water.

The NFP also welcomes the allocation for the Bucket Eradication Programme grant, which has increased by R72 million. This increased allocation will allow the Department of Water and Sanitation to complete the eradication projects that it has already identified and committed to implementing. We express the sincere hope that the department will move swiftly to eradicate this shameful sanitation practice, once and for all. We support the budget. Thank you.

Adv A D W ALBERTS: Deputy Speaker, the Minister of Finance is correct in stating in his Budget Speech that South Africa is at a crossroads and that we should take a serious look at what works and what does not work. Ironically, this Division of Revenue Bill is tabled at a time when this country itself is deeply divided on many levels. So, now is the time to be bold, to show leadership and to do what is right for long-term growth and employment creation.

Die meeste mense sal saamstem dat die insameling van belasting deur die ANC-regering 'n immorele oefening geword het, omdat die spandering van die belasting in sonde geskied. Die meeste mense weet ook dat waar daar wapens verskaf word vir immorele dade van terreur, die voorsiening van wapens ook gestaak moet word. Insgelyks, bestaan daar iets soos monetêre terreur, waar belastinggeld gebruik word vir immorele en twyfelagtige doeleindes. Indien die terreur 'n sekere vlak van staatskaping bereik, mag die belastingbetalers moontlik hulle steun onttrek aan die stelsel. *(Translation of Afrikaans paragraph follows.)*

[Most people will agree that the collection of revenue by the ANC-led government has become an immoral exercise because the spending of the revenue happens in sin. Most people also know that where weapons are provided for immoral acts of terror, the provision of weapons has to be ceased. Similarly, economic terrorism exists, where tax money is used for immoral and dubious purposes. If the terror reaches a certain level of state capture, the taxpayers may well withdraw their support of the system.]

Economic terrorism is insidious and kills its victims over a protracted period of time by visiting upon them hopelessness, poverty, and hunger. The weapons of choice in this style of

terrorism are well known to us in South Africa - for instance, by appropriating and dividing revenue to dysfunctional provincial and local governments; by allocating revenue to parastatals that are bankrupt and that create little value, if any; by allocating, in general, resources to those who do not create anything but thin air and line their own pockets; by allowing a family to weave its tentacles around the state; by not paying service providers within 30 days, as mandated by law, thus pushing them into bankruptcy; and by taxing the productive sectors more in favour of the ruling class that produces nothing.

Om die probleem te herstel, gaan moed verg. Die Minister kan begin deur nuttelose departemente, soos die Departemente van Arbeid en Sport en Ontspanning, heeltemal te ontbind. Voeg die Departemente van Basiese Onderwys en Hoër Onderwys en Opleiding saam. Amptenare wat nie diensverskaffers binne 30 dae betaal nie moet persoonlik daarvoor boet deur hulle salaris te verbeur totdat betalings wel geskied het. Hersien die nywerheidsbeleid wat nie werk skep nie en kom weg van ras as 'n merker vir ekonomiese ontwikkeling. Daar is talle ander voorstelle, waarvoor daar ongelukkig nie vandag tyd is nie. *(Translation of Afrikaans paragraph follows.)*

[Fixing the problem will require courage. The Minister can start by completely dissolving useless departments, such as the Departments of Labour and of Sport and Recreation and combining the Departments of Basic Education and Higher Education and Training. Officials who do not pay service providers within 30 days should be penalised personally by foregoing their salaries until payment is made. Revise the industrial policy that does not create jobs and move away from race as a marker for economic development. There are many other proposals for which there is unfortunately no time today.]

Lastly, the white minority has sufficient reason to ask why they must keep financing the ANC-led government that is very quick to prosecute a frail, old lady for racism while they are merely staring into space when a prominent member of this House has called for the eventual and ultimate extermination of whites. If you value those taxpayers, you will also take drastic action against this person.

Mr M Q NDLOZI: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: Is it parliamentary to say, or could it be language that we accept in this House, that the white minority is the one that is funding this country? I pay tax, too. It can't be. That is very racist. Even if I buy ...

... mosamo wa tsotsi wa phofo ... [... a small packet of mealie meal ...]

... I pay tax through value-added tax. It is not only white people!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, hon member, please ...

Mr M Q NDLOZI: So, it can't be parliamentary that we take to this platform and say that the white minority is the one that is funding the ANC-led government to prosecute people.

[Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, no.

Mr M Q NDLOZI: That's racist!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, we'll come back to you. My immediate ... [Interjections.] [Laughter.]

Mr M Q NDLOZI: The ANC people are quiet. I mean, really?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, my immediate reaction is that this is a political statement that must be dealt with

politically. That is my immediate reaction to that. Proceed, hon member. [Interjections.]

Adv A D W ALBERTS: We think the Minister of Finance knows what is wrong in this country and what is right for this country.

Mr M Q NDLOZI: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: The hon member is casting aspersions on a member of this House, arguing that there is a member here who has called for white people to be slaughtered. That is casting aspersions. He must tell us who that person is so that we can clarify it. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Take your seat, hon member.

Mr M Q NDLOZI: He can't cast aspersions on Members of Parliament!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, hon member. Take your seat. Until the hon member mentions people's names, he is not talking about us. Take your seat. [Interjections.]

Mr M Q NDLOZI: Ah!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Proceed, hon member.

Adv A D W ALBERTS: Thank you, Deputy Speaker. I would like to answer the hon member, but I don't have enough time.

I do want to say that the Minister must convince the members in his own party of the right thing to do.

As for the hon member's complaint, I never said it is only white people paying tax. I said they are a portion of those people or a part of the tax-paying community. So, don't put words in my mouth. In addition, I would like to say to him: If the shoe fits, wear it! [Time expired.] [Interjections.]

Mr S N SWART: Deputy Speaker, this Bill addresses the equitable share of nationally raised revenue among the different spheres of government, and the ACDP shares concerns about, again, the rollovers. Whilst the amount is R412 million, which is substantially less than the R1,6 billion rolled over in previous financial years, rollovers should, wherever possible, be avoided. In this regard, the R275,7 million rollover on the KwaZulu-Natal provincial roads maintenance grant is unacceptable. The importance of regular maintenance of roads and road networks cannot be overemphasised. Not only is it crucial for road safety, but it also contributes to economic growth and development.

We also share the committee's concerns that only eight out of nine provinces have been allocated drought relief funds. How is it that Gauteng was not declared a disaster area at the time funds were allocated? Now, the additional amount of R212 million to provide additional drought relief to farmers is welcomed but appears to be too little too late, given the severe losses suffered by farmers. We do however welcome the additional allocation of R50,6 million emergency water supplies to drought-affected communities for water tankers and to fill storage tanks. It is however disgraceful that an additional amount of R177 million must be spent on providing mobile classrooms and repairing damaged school infrastructure. This follows violent protests over municipal demarcation disputes in Vuwani and other areas, leading to more than 24 schools being torched or severely damaged.

As some people have said, if one burns schools and universities, you are burning your own future. More disconcerting are allegations that those behind that wanton destruction were those unscrupulous persons who were set to lose out on patronage of certain municipalities due to the new demarcation. The Police Service has said it was a very well-orchestrated campaign, and we from the ACDP commend those brave community members who refused to be intimidated and protected their schools. However,

we sit with this loss, and those funds could have been used for job creation and poverty alleviation rather than having to rebuild burnt down schools. Lastly, the ACDP looks forward to the review of the provincial equitable share formula. Whilst the first phase of this process is complete, the review is only expected to be finalised in 2018. That having been said, the ACDP will support this Bill. I thank you.

Dr C Q MADLOPHA: Hon Deputy Speaker, Ministers and Deputy Ministers present, hon members, guests in the gallery, as part of its work towards the installation of our democratic dispensation, the ANC developed the Ready to Govern document with its four pillars being the following:

- To strive for the achievement of the right of all South Africans, as a whole, to political and economic self-determination in a united South Africa;
- To overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by colonialism and apartheid, in a swift, progressive and principled way;
- To develop a sustainable economy and state infrastructure that will progressively improve the quality of life of all South Africans; and,

- To encourage the flourishing of the feeling that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, to promote a common loyalty to and pride in the country and to create a universal sense of freedom and security within its borders.

There have been internationally recognised and acknowledged achievements in governance, accountability, capacity-building, development, financial and administrative management, and service delivery over the past 22 years especially in the provision of basic needs such as water and sanitation, electricity, roads, and human settlements. The Division of Revenue Amendment Bill for 2016 indicates the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework, MTEF, allocation to local government has grown from 8,8% to 9,1%. Since 2000, the allocation has grown from 3% to 9,1% by 2017's MTEF.

Most importantly, local government is at the forefront of service delivery. This allocation in terms of the amending Bill includes a substantial annual average growth of 9,6% in the local government equitable share allocation, as well as a small reduction in some conditional grants, and this will not affect delivery of basic services negatively. The 5% growth in some of the major conditional grants in local government is welcomed and reflects progress. This will assist in enhancing basic service

delivery offered by municipalities to our people. These grants include the municipal infrastructure grant, urban settlements development grant, water services infrastructure grant, and public transport network grant. Most importantly, these grants are meant to improve the lives of the people on the ground, and we must begin to see the impact of these resources that are being allocated by the government.

Therefore, the level of oversight and accountability should be enhanced to ensure that these funds are put to good use for the betterment of our people. The ANC is pleased and appreciates the Minister of Finance for the additional funding of R50,6 million for the water services infrastructure grant, particularly for rural municipalities where the drought has been devastating. I agree with the NFP that the drought is a challenge in our country these days. This forms part of the wider range of interventions that our government has initiated to tackle the unprecedented drought.

We welcome the additional amount of R72 million for the eradication of the bucket system which aims to restore the dignity of our people. We will continue to monitor the performance and expenditure patterns of the grants. We also call

upon the municipalities to strengthen their financial management and conduct stronger oversight.

We firmly believe that given the budgetary constraints, all municipalities need to focus on more efficient spending and value for money to improve basic services to the South Africans. Most importantly, improved financial management, including transparent procurement practices, payment of suppliers within 30 days, effective billing, and revenue collection, becomes a prerequisite for better financial management. We welcome and support measures that will be taken to strengthen municipal support and compliance. We have noted, and we encourage the fact that national government plans to work with municipalities to plan their infrastructure investments in ways that ignite economic growth and reverse apartheid spatial planning patterns.

Njengoba kwenzeka lapha eKapa, othola khona ukuthi abantu bakithi ... [As is happening here in Cape Town, where you find that black people ...]

... are taken away from the city and being thrown far from the city in areas without opportunities. We want to continue to correct that as the ANC. [Applause.]

We also welcome the proposed measures to improve the co-ordination of urban public transport systems which will be introduced and complement the ongoing investment in commuter rail and Bus Rapid Transit, BRT, system.

Furthermore, we must encourage government to work with financially sound municipalities to expand their investment programme based on the strength of their balance sheets. Of note is that the government budgets are a blueprint for how resources are going to be spent, and therefore it is important that the budget information is transparent and accessible for the people to understand how public funds are being utilised.

It is for this reason that, as the ANC, we welcome the introduction of the Municipal Standard Chart of Accounts, mSCOA, framework and Municipal Money website as part of the critical instruments to ensure that people have access to verified financial and nonfinancial information of municipalities. We are looking forward to using these tools for us to analyse and assess municipal finances and performance.

We agree with the concerns of the SA Local Government Association, Salga, about the poor state of financial health of some of our municipalities. That is why our government continues

to ensure that extra measures are taken to address the systemic challenges in some municipalities with Treasury intensifying its support. These include but are not limited to debtors' collection, the late payment of creditors, and the inability to generate revenue and capacity to manage and account for the public purse.

Whilst we welcome and support the absorption of the national Integrated Energy Plan into the urban settlements development grant, we have however noted Salga's concerns around the treatment of the urban settlements development grant as a human settlements grant. It is our considered view that whatever changes that happened in the conditional grant allocation space or framework must be informed by the division of revenue provisions and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

In conclusion, the ANC is and always has been determined to heal the divisions of the past, to establish a society based on democratic values, social justice, and fundamental human rights, to improve the quality of life of all citizens, and to free the potential of each and every person. We continue to do so to change the lives of the people for the better. The ANC supports the 2016 Division of Revenue Amendment Bill. I thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr A R McLOUGHLIN: Deputy Speaker, the 2016 Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement, MTBPS, process will be remembered as one of the most pressured and confused processes the National Treasury and Minister of Finance have had to contend with. I suspect that there were times when the Minister himself was wondering who would deliver the MTBPS speech. I know I did!

The division of revenue is an arduous annual process. It decides how much money is made available to national government, on the one hand, and our nine provinces and 257 municipalities, on the other. It is this process that, to a greater or lesser extent, decides how much money is allocated to the provision of services to citizens and how much could, potentially, be misappropriated, keeping the very popular and profitable business of corruption thriving in this country.

Halfway through the financial year, adjustments to the national Budget have to be made to cater for unforeseeable and unavoidable expenses and emergencies and to deal with any unspent funds. In this financial year, Treasury is taking a little less than R5,5 billion from national government and giving it to provincial and local government for certain, specified purposes.

If one looks at the various allocations, it fairly quickly tells one which departments are failing us. For example, an amount of R212 million has been allocated to the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries to enable it to come to the aid of farmers affected by the drought. My colleague the hon Annette Steyn has been calling for the government to declare the drought a national disaster for almost a year. She repeatedly warned that, unless drastic steps were taken, the effect would be a dramatic rise in food prices, making life even harder for the 8,9 million unemployed people in this country. The government ignored her calls and the plight of those affected by it, until now.

Now that the price of food has gone through the roof, and the rain is again falling in copious quantities throughout the land, government decides it's a good time to help farmers. While I know that many farmers will be very pleased, many will be asking, with very good reason: Where were you when we needed you? As a direct consequence of that failure on the part of government, an additional allocation of R53,6 million had to be made to the Department of Basic Education to cover the shortfall in the National School Nutrition Programme grant as a result of - you guessed it - higher food prices.

It doesn't stop there either. My old favourite, the worst performing department in the national realm, the Department of Water and Sanitation, is also receiving additional money. Firstly, it gets R50,6 million added to its indirect water services infrastructure grant to provide for emergency water supplies to drought-afflicted communities. Once again, too little, too late, I would suggest. If any of those communities were depending on the hon Nomvula Mokonyane to come to their aid, they would probably have died of thirst while waiting.

On top of that, this same department is receiving an additional R72 million for the Bucket Eradication Programme grant to allow the department "to complete bucket eradication projects that the department had already identified and committed to implementing". When did the Minister identify these projects? Certainly, not recently.

Now, I know that I am getting old, and my memory isn't what it used to be, but I seem to remember this same Minister, when she was the Premier of Gauteng, boasting that bucket latrines had been all but eradicated. She was obviously wrong. She also told this House, in 2014, that bucket latrines would be eradicated by the end of 2015. She was obviously wrong, then, too.

Is the Minister aware than when she defended her President in this House, last Thursday, not once did she deny any of the charges against the President that the DA based its motion of no confidence on? It is just as well, because if she had, she would have been wrong there, too.

I often sit here in this House and hear ANC members, such as the hon Minister Gigaba, last week, complaining that the DA are negative about everything government does - prophets of doom, never coming up with any decent suggestions or ideas of our own. Well, how would the hon Gigaba know if any of our ideas or suggestions are any good? We have submitted plenty of them, but you've never tried any of them.

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Hon Deputy Speaker, the hon member is misleading the House. I never said what he claims I did. I never mentioned the DA or said they were negative about everything. He can go to the Hansard and check my speech there. He is misleading the House. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Take your seat, hon member. That is a political statement.

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: I only spoke about the ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, hon Minister, take your seat.

[Interjections.] Take your seat. Proceed, hon member.

Mr A R McLOUGHLIN: Deputy Speaker, my colleagues the hon Leon Basson and the hon Tarnia Baker, for example, have spent two years travelling the length and breadth of this country, inspecting water and sanitation facilities. They have submitted many ideas on how these may be improved and maintained, but to no avail. The ANC is too scared to try out any of the DA's ideas because they might actually be good ideas that work!

However, to get back to the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill, the most concerning aspect of all, for me, is the situation relating to local municipalities. Although the Auditor-General is of the opinion that 92% of our municipalities are in, or approaching being in, financial difficulties, National Treasury is more optimistic and estimates that only about 33% are in serious trouble. Whichever figure you accept, the fact remains that many municipalities, where most citizens experience government and where most citizens derive their services from, are in serious trouble, both in the financial sense and in the management sense.

Government has allocated over R2,4 billion to municipal capacity support. This implies that the reason why so many municipalities are in trouble is that they are staffed by people who have little idea of what their job is or how to do it. Twenty-two years of cadre deployment is proving to be very costly - a cost that this country can no longer afford to pay.

The DA does not support the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill because these amendments should not be necessary. They only serve to fix ANC mistakes, and they do nothing to encourage job creation. We call upon government, as a whole, to urgently fix the underlying causes of the problems: corruption, state capture, and cadre deployment - because if you don't, come 2019, we will. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mr N E GCWABAZA: Hon Deputy Speaker, hon Ministers, hon Deputy Ministers, and hon members, the ANC supports the 2016 Division of Revenue Amendment Bill. The Bill prioritises spending on education, health, infrastructure, inclusive growth, and social security. We support the Bill because it reaffirms the ANC-led government's commitment to continue to protect and advance the socioeconomic needs of the working class, the poor, and the vulnerable sectors of our society. The Bill reaffirms the government's fee-free basic education, affords school nutrition

to more than 9 million learners, and expands early childhood development so that all children benefit from an early start to education, as the Freedom Charter asserts that "education shall be free, compulsory, universal, and equal for all children".

We support the addition of R9 billion for the National Student Financial Aid Scheme, NSFAS, to the R16 billion already allocated in the Minister of Finance's Budget Speech in February of this year. Also, we support the allocation in the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill of over R8 billion to meet the costs of the capped 8% university fees increase for the students from households earning up to R600 000 per year.

The Division of Revenue Amendment Bill recognises an urgent need to fund free Technical and Vocational Education and Training, TVET, and community education and training colleges in order to rapidly increase the vocational and technical skills which are in high demand in our economy.

Again, the Freedom Charter says:

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit.

The 53rd conference resolution of the ANC referring to the implementation of free higher education for the poor says that academically capable students from working-class families and lower middle-class families should be subsidised. I dare say that the ANC-led government has progressively implemented the provisions of the Freedom Charter.

Notwithstanding the subdued economic growth and reduction in government revenue, the ANC remains committed to the implementation of the Medium-Term Strategic Framework, MTSF, which is a vehicle for the attainment of the national developmental goals. Among the priorities identified in the Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement, the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill reflects sustained public spending in infrastructure projects amounting to R987,4 billion over three years in transport, energy, human settlements, and water and sanitation, aimed at stimulating inclusive economic growth. The allocation of R45 billion promotes industrialisation, trade, and economic transformation.

The ANC welcomes the government's resolve to address the legislative and regulatory framework to encourage investment in mining beneficiation and value addition in agriculture and agro-processing and in key technologies such as broadband and

telecommunications. The envisaged legislative and regulatory reforms should also remove barriers to economic participation and open competition in support of growing sustainable small, medium, and micro enterprises, SMMEs, co-operatives, and the township economy sector so that big monopoly companies do not continue to be the only players in South Africa's economic sun. In the same vein, these reforms should facilitate further a growing and visible presence of the black industrialists, consistent with the goal of transforming the ownership, control, and management of the means of production. We believe that this is what the Minister of Finance meant when he referred to inclusive growth and inclusive transformation.

This resonates with the Nine-Point Plan the President announced in the state of the nation address of February 2015. The major objective of this plan is to drive economic growth in pursuit of the National Development Plan goal of creating 11 million decent jobs by 2030. The NDP itself states, "Transforming the economy also means changing patterns of ownership and control."

It goes on to say that a bolder plan and clearer targets are required to achieve this goal.

In a drive to increase revenue to fund government priorities, legislative reforms must also address the problems associated with illicit flows through price shifting and tax evasion. Such funds at the disposal of tax authorities would greatly increase government capacity to finance inclusive economic growth, inclusive transformation, the creation of decent work, and the eradication of inequalities. This will ensure that we move from a welfare nation to accelerating the creation of a developmental state capable of achieving a truly prosperous nation.

The Minister, in his Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement, points out that there are green shoots in the economy which we should take advantage of to turn the economic fortunes of our country around. We get worried therefore when the DA keeps on telling our people that we are on a fiscal cliff, and the economy is going down and so on. In fact, the patriotic men and women of our country should actually spare no effort in ensuring that we turn the economy around for the benefit of our people. Of course, it is in your behaviour to always paint a negative and gloomy picture about our country, when even people from outside the country say that the country has done well, and it has the potential to turn the economy around for the better.

Hon Alberts, indeed, we must affirm that all South Africans, black and white, do pay tax, and they fund all programmes of government. It therefore borders on racism to suggest that only white people are funding the government, as you allege. Perhaps it would be in the interest of this House to debate the issue of racism to assure our people that none of us here will allow tribalism and racism to again plague this nation. The ANC recommends that the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill be passed by this House. Thank you. [Applause.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE: Madam Speaker, hon members of this august House, the Deputy President, and everybody in this House, I know that the discussion on the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill tends to cover all sorts of things that normally are more appropriately covered in a discussion on fiscal policy.

The Division of Revenue Amendment Bill was tabled on 26 October 2016. It makes small amendments to the Division of Revenue Act that was adopted by this House earlier this year to provide for unforeseeable and unavoidable expenditure, emergencies, rollover of unspent funds, and shift of funds to respond to urgent needs and changed circumstances. It does not alter the policy direction that was set out in the 2016 Budget

and that was also reaffirmed a couple of weeks ago in the Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement.

The government is committed to implementing a measured and balanced fiscal consolidation over the period ahead, with the budget deficit declining from 3,4% this year to 2,5% in 2019-20. The Division of Revenue Amendment Bill supports this objective by remaining within the fiscal ceiling adopted by the government. In fact, it shows a reduction in planned expenditure of national departments relative to figures tabled earlier in the February Budget.

At the same time, the government is committed to maintaining the delivery of social services and making the investment needed to lay the foundation for higher levels of growth in the future. The commitment is reflected in the fact that the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill makes no reduction to the provincial and local government equitable share, and many people who stood here suggested that there are major reductions in that area, or to infrastructure grants.

Furthermore, over the Medium Term Expenditure Framework, MTEF, period ahead, consolidated government expenditure will rise by 7,6% a year, with additional allocations to postschool

education, health, basic education, basic services, and social protection. An infrastructure investment mainly in energy, transport, and telecommunications will amount to over R900 billion over the next three years. Again, if you look at the general economic atmosphere in the country, it shows something completely different from what has been articulated by many who came to this podium.

In the first instance, we've seen a huge investment in the auto sector recently of more than R15 billion. Our garment and manufacturing sector is stabilising very fast as a result of government intervention. Broadly speaking, we also see our Manufacturing Competitiveness Enhancement Programme incentives increasing investment in manufacturing by almost R28 billion in recent times. So, if you look at that and counterpose that with the statements that have been made here, you'll actually think that there is doom and gloom in the country.

There is also ongoing conversation between the government, business, and labour that seeks to address some of the constraints we face. Through those initiatives, we are now working towards an agricultural growth initiative which looks at unlocking growth in the agriculture sector, in particular focusing on issues of investment in agriculture infrastructure

and water infrastructure through private and public investment, as well as looking at a funding formula and funding options for commercial agriculture and commercialisation in agriculture.

There are also huge initiatives in the tourism sector that are seeking to increase the number of tourists into the country and will continue to improve the performance of that sector. We could and should show some of those things that are happening. Clearly, we need to scale up all of these, and that is the point probably that we were trying to make in all the statements that we have made from this podium and away from this podium.

Can I tackle one or two issues that have been raised here? The first is that, continuously, the speakers try to create an impression that South Africa is going through an austerity period. The facts show that we are not in austerity. The members should be reminded that while in the other countries, particularly after the great economic decline, they went into major cuts in different areas like social spending, infrastructure spending, etc, South Africa has managed to maintain real per capita spending at the same level since 2009. Over the 2017 MTEF period, government expenditure will still grow faster than inflation. The transfers to provinces and local government will grow even faster. Allocations to provinces grow

at an average rate of 7,5% over the 2017 MTEF, while allocations to local government grow at an average rate of 8% over the MTEF. So, the argument that we are in austerity cannot be supported by real numbers, and I know that people continue to try to sell this.

The second area which probably is important that was raised by the hon Shivambu is around the equitable share formula. The government shares the view that we do need to review the equitable share formula. In fact, there is a process that has been started already to do that, involving provincial Treasuries, key sector departments such as Health, Basic Education and Higher Education and Training, and, in particular, the FFC. The review includes exploring whether it is feasible and desirable to incorporate additional measures into the formula to account for the possibly higher cost of delivery of services in rural areas. At the core of the argument that has been raised by many people is that to deliver particular kinds of services in certain parts of the country is more expensive compared to other parts. What we cannot rule out, of course, is the reality that the pressures in the provinces that are currently receiving higher allocations are indeed higher, but it does open up a new discussion about how we ensure that we increase allocation in provinces that are needy.

The local government equitable share was reviewed in 2012, and the new formula has been phased in over the past four years. The new formula provides a monthly subsidy for provision of free basic services to the poorest 59% households in the country. It provides more resources to the poorer rural municipalities that have less ability to raise their own revenue. In this way, the formula redistributes national tax revenue raised mainly in urban areas.

Again, the point to be made here, which responds to the argument that the apartheid spatial patterns remain intact, is that we adopted the Urban Development Framework, UDF, as a country. Through our municipal and city support programmes, we have also been focusing on better integration of our cities. So, some of the points that have been raised around apartheid spatial patterns that are continuing - yes, they are - but we must also recognise the fact that there are huge programmes that government is embarking upon to deal with some of these issues.

There are a number of other inaccuracies - some deliberate and others not - that have been articulated here. Probably for lack of time, I would avoid dealing with them, but I will urge members to go back to the amending Bill and read it quite closely. The members should also read it in conjunction with our

budget statement and the Budget Review because most of the issues that the members have raised here are important.

We are currently in the process of rating agencies reviewing South Africa's rating status. Today, we had a meeting with Fitch that focused on what we see as the critical way forward. It's very clear that our stance remains that fiscal consolidation and inclusive growth are going to be the two central platforms, moving forward. I thank you. [Applause.]

Debate concluded.

Division demanded.

The House divided.

AYES - 193: Abrahams, B L; Adams, F; Adams, P E; Bam-Mugwanyana, V; Bapela, K O; Beukman, F; Bhengu, N R; Bhengu, F; Bhengu, P; Bongo, B T; Booi, M S; Boroto, M G; Buthelezi, N S; Capa, N; Capa, R N; Carrim, Y I; Cele, B H; Cele, M A; Chauke, H P; Chikunga, L S; Chohan, F I; Chueu, M P; Cwele, S C; Dambuza, N B; Davies, R H; Dirks, M A; Dlakude, D E; Dlamini-Dubazana, Z S; Dlomo, B J; Dlulane, B N; Dudley, C; Dunjwa, M L; Ebrahim, E I; Esterhuizen, J A; Filtane, M L W; Fubbs, J L; Galo, M P; Gamede,

D D; Gcwabaza, N E; Gigaba, K M N; Gumede, D M; Gungubele, M;  
Hanekom, D A; Hlengwa, M; Holomisa, S P; Jeffery, J H; Jonas, M  
H; Kalako, M U; Kekana, C D; Kekana, M D; Kekana, E; Kenye, T E;  
Khoarai, L P; Khoza, M B; Khubisa, N M; Kilian, J D; Koornhof, G  
W; Koornhof, N J J v R; Kubayi, M T; Lesoma, R M M; Loliwe, F S;  
Luyenge, Z; Luzipo, S; Maake, J J; Mabasa, X; Mabe, P P; Mabilo,  
S P; Mabudafhasi, T R; Madella, A F; Madlopha, C Q; Maesela, P;  
Mafu, N N; Magadla, N W; Magadzi, D P; Magwanishe, G;  
Mahambehlala, T; Mahlalela, A F; Mahlangu, J L; Mahlangu, D G;  
Majola, F Z; Makhubela-Mashele, L S; Makondo, T; Makwetla, S P;  
Malgas, H H; Maloyi, P D N; Maluleke, B J; Manana, M N S;  
Manana, M C; Manana, D P; Mandela, Z M D; Manyoni, T M ;  
Maphanga, W B ; Maphatsoe, E R K; Mapisa-Nqakula, N N; Martins,  
B A D; Masehela, E K M; Mashego-Dlamini, K C; Mashile, B L;  
Masondo, N A; Masuku, M B; Maswanganyi, M J; Mathale, C C;  
Mathebe, D H; Matlala, M H; Matshoba, M O; Matsimbi, C; Mavunda,  
R T; Maxegwana, C H M; Mbalula, F A; Mchunu, S; Mdakane, M R;  
Memela, T C; Mjobo, L N; Mkongi, B M; Mmemezi, H M Z; Mmola, M  
P; Mncwabe, S C; Mnganga-Gcabashe, L A; Mnguni, P J; Mnisi, N A;  
Molebatsi, M A; Mothapo, M R M; Motimele, M S; Motshekga, M S;  
Motsoaledi, P A; Mpumlwana, L K B; Mthembu, J M; Mthethwa, E M;  
Muthambi, A F; Nchabeleng, M E; Ndaba, C N; Ndabeni-Abrahams, S  
T; Ndongeni, N; Nel, A C; Newhoudt-Druchen, W S; Ngcobo, B T;  
Ngwenya-Mabila, P C; Nkadimeng, M F; Nkwinti, G E; Nobanda, G N;

November, N T; Nqakula, C; Ntombela, M L D; Nxesi, T W;  
Oosthuizen, G C; Patel, E; Peters, E D; Phaahla, M J; Phosa, Y  
N; Pikinini, I A; Pilane-Majake, M C C; Plouamma, M A; Radebe, B  
A; Radebe, G S; Radebe, J T; Ralegoma, S M; Ramaphosa, M C;  
Ramatlakane, L; Ramatlhodi, N A; Rantho, D Z; Raphuti, D D;  
Senokoanyane, D Z; Shabangu, S; Shelembe, M L; Shope-Sithole, S  
C N; Sibande, M P; Singh, N; Sithole, K P; Siwela, E K; Skosana,  
J J; Skwatsha, M; Smith, V G; Sotyu, M M; Surty, M E; Thabethe,  
E; Tleane, S A; Tobias, T V; Tolashe, G N; Tom, X S; Tongwane, T  
M A; Tseke, G K; Tseli, R M; Tsoleli, S P; Tsotetsi, D R; Tuck,  
A; Van der Merwe, L L; Van Schalkwyk, S R; Williams, A J; Xasa,  
T; Xego, S T; Yengeni, L E; Zokwana, S; Zulu, L D.

NOES - 5: Figg, M J; Mcloughlin, A R; Steenhuisen, J H; Stubbe,  
D J; Waters, M.

As the result of the division showed that there was not a  
majority of the members of the National Assembly present for a  
vote to be taken on a Bill as required by Rule 96(a), decision  
of question was postponed.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: Hon Speaker, I think we should ...

[Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT: Hhayi, unikwe ubani isikhathi sokhuluma wena? [Who gave you time to speak?]

An HON MEMBER: You, sit down!

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

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: As Parliament, particularly on the part of the ruling party, I think we must take exception that you have been given the majority by the people of South Africa, and you handle it with such levels of irresponsibility. How do you not come to pass a Division of Revenue Bill?

The SPEAKER: Hon Shivambu ...

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: It's irresponsible, and we must take exception that you are not governing seriously. [Interjections.] The people must reject you.

The SPEAKER: ... please take your seat! The Secretary ...

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: When the Guptas were being defended here, you came in numbers. [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: The Secretary will read the Third Order of the day.

**CONSIDERATION OF REPORT OF PORTFOLIO COMMITTEE ON JUSTICE AND  
CORRECTIONAL SERVICES - RECOMMENDATION OF PERSONS FOR  
APPOINTMENT TO SA HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION**

There was no debate.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Madam Speaker, I move:

That the House—

- (1) approves in terms of section 5(2) of the SA Human Rights Commission Act, Act 40 of 2013, the recommendation of the following persons to the President for appointment as commissioners on the SA Human Rights Commission for a fixed term of seven years:

- (1) Adv Andrew Hurtle Gaum (full time);
- (2) Ms Devikarani Priscilla Sewpal Jana (full time);
- (3) Prof Bongani Christopher Majola (full time);
- (4) Ms Matlhodi Angelina Makwetla (full time);
- (5) Adv Joseph Bokankatla Malatji (full time);
- (6) Mr Andrew Christofell Nissen (part time);

(7) Mr Jonas Ben Sibanyoni (part time); and

(2) further that Prof Bongani Christopher Majola be appointed as Chairperson and Ms Devikarani Priscilla Sewpal Jana as Deputy Chairperson of the Commission.

Question put: That the motion as moved by the Chief Whip of the Majority Party be agreed to.

*Declarations of vote:*

Adv G BREYTENBACH: Madam Speaker, we rise in support of the recommendation of the Portfolio Committee on Justice and Correctional Services on the appointment of seven commissioners to the SA Human Rights Commission. Those members who read this report would have seen that the seven vacancies that are to be filled today did not occur overnight or even recently. The history of the different vacancies shows that we had ample opportunity to fill the initial one and later two positions which would have prevented the current situation where the SA Human Rights Commission, as we meet, comprises of a single commissioner.

The lackadaisical approach of the ANC to the appointment of these commissioners clearly illustrates not only an inability to

grasp the consequences and impact of these vacancies on the efficacy of the commission but also the growing trend to question the work and function of our Chapter 9 institutions. This was clearly illustrated by the questions asked by the ANC members to those interviewed for these positions - questions indicating that the governing party is becoming more uncomfortable from day to day with being subjected to oversight and with being held accountable.

Ultimately, this clearly illustrates the challenge this virtually all-new commission faces to perform its functions devoid of any political influence and in the independent and impartial manner our Constitution demands. We believe the commission, in its totality, has the potential to do this. Time will tell whether this potential will be realised or not. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mr N S MATIASE: Speaker, the EFF stands here today to highlight that the current state is in many ways a semicolonial state in some different guises. It is semicolonial because it uses the template of apartheid colonialism to respond to social challenges facing our people. It is for this reason that the SA Human Rights Commission is mandated by our Constitution to investigate and report on the observation of human rights

violations, to take steps and secure appropriate redress where human rights have been violated, to carry out research, and to educate society.

Each year, the commission must require relevant organs of state to provide it with information on measures appropriate to take forward the realisation of the Bill of Rights. We also do this to highlight that the SA Human Rights Commission has, for a very long time, been operating below its constitutional mandate.

Although we support the names put before us today for the commission, we do so conditionally, and the condition is that the new commissioners must do to the SA Human Rights Commission what the Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela, did to the Office of the Public Protector: Make the commission a sanctuary for people whose rights to land, food, shelter, water, and education are trampled upon by the state and through the ANC and white right-wingers.

They must investigate the conditions of farm workers, particularly in the vineyards of the Western Cape where it has been shown that white farmers treat workers as slaves and subject them to inhumane conditions. They must investigate the plight of sex workers, the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and

transgender, LGBTI, community, people with disabilities, and fellow Africans who come to South Africa, who are refused permits by the Department of Home Affairs under Minister Gigaba, to find a better life and greener pastures in South Africa, as South Africa is part of the African continent.

We are also happy that Prof Bongani Majola, who made a bid to become the Public Protector and failed, has successfully been nominated to become the head of the SA Human Rights Commission. We hope that he will use his knowledge of the law to ensure that our people's human rights are protected. The EFF supports the recommendation of the committee and wishes the new commissioners success. I thank you.

Mr N SINGH: Hon Speaker, as we consider the committee recommendations for the appointment of five full-time and two part-time commissioners of this very important Chapter 9 institution, we must pause and reflect on how the culture of human rights, respect, and protection is slowly eroding in South Africa. Social division along racial, cultural, and religious lines is on the increase. Racial intolerance and hate speech fill our social and traditional media platforms on an almost daily basis.

As I recently sat at the 2016 International Conference of Parliamentarians on Religious Freedom in Berlin, I asked myself this unthinkable question: Have we as South Africans taken our hard-won freedom for granted? Are these enshrined rights that we all purport to hold so dear under attack? Discrimination on the basis of skin colour, ethnic origin, religion, or culture cannot be tolerated.

Political leaders and Members of Parliament have a solemn obligation to ensure that they do not make utterances that only fuel and entrench racism and xenophobia on deeper levels in our already divided society. This Chapter 9 institution and the commissioners we are appointing today are our constitutionally enshrined protectors of human rights in South Africa. They must not only protect but must also promote and develop human rights in our Republic. They are the guardians of human rights in this country, and we expect nothing less from each and every one of them.

In conclusion, the IFP supports the report and recommendations and wishes each and every newly appointed commissioner well during their term of office. I thank you.

Mrs C DUDLEY: Madam Speaker, ACDP Member of Parliament Steve Swart participated in this lengthy process of selecting five new full-time and two new part-time commissioners. On his behalf, we wish to commend the chairperson for the open and transparent manner in which the process was conducted.

As other speakers indicated, the public was invited to comment on the list of nominees as well as on the shortlisted candidates. The information forwarded to the committee assisted us in conducting thorough interviews. What is regrettable however is the time that it has taken to fill these vacancies, given that the very first vacancy occurred in March 2015, more than 18 months ago. The ACDP is satisfied with the process and is grateful that the final deliberations were postponed to accommodate us. Our nomination, Ms Makwetla, a social worker and community activist, was also accepted - an acknowledgement that we don't always need lawyers to be part of these commissions.

The SA Human Rights Commission faces, of course, many challenges, mainly related to limited resources. In this regard, we caution against following up on frivolous complaints such as church policy on moderate chastisement which is legal, something that is clearly not the best use of limited resources. I thank you.

Mr S C MNCWABE: Speaker, the SA Human Rights Commission is a valued Chapter 9 institution and has a proud history of executing its mandate, which is to promote respect for human rights and a culture of human rights, promote the protection, development, and attainment of human rights, and monitor and assess the observance of human rights in the Republic. In essence, the SA Human Rights Commission is the keeper of our Bill of Human Rights and an institution which we, as South Africans, should respect and appreciate at all times.

Driving this institution, we have our commissioners, the men and women who have the daunting task of protecting and developing our human rights. Furthermore, it is expected of the commissioners to provide guidance in developing the vision of the institution by setting its priorities and ensuring that its policies, programmes, and allocated resources are consistent with their vision. This has to be done through exercising good corporate governance and providing leadership and guidance on the professional work of the commission.

Having studied the report of the portfolio committee presented here today, we are satisfied that the process was transparent, and the nominated names are all fit and proper for the positions. Therefore, we fully support the report.

Dr S M MOTSHEKGA: Hon Speaker, hon Deputy President, and distinguished members, the ANC wishes to congratulate the distinguished men and women recommended for appointment as human rights commissioners. The ANC has no doubt that these men and women will be adequate to their tasks.

The greatest challenges facing our society are constitutional illiteracy and the inaccessibility of justice and human rights in rural and urban areas. It is imperative that we deepen and entrench our constitutional democracy. This cannot be achieved without constitutional literacy, access to justice, and enjoyment of human and people's rights by the majority of South Africans.

The legitimate expectation of the majority of South Africans is that the SA Human Rights Commission should support and strengthen our constitutional democracy through human rights education and access to justice programmes rather than endless investigations that lead to no actions that create a better life for our people.

South Africa is an African state at the southern tip of the continent and not a European country. Therefore, we expect the

SA Human Rights Commission to focus on indigenous African human rights instruments. Thank you very much.

The SPEAKER: What is the issue, hon Ndlozi?

Mr M Q NDLOZI: I wanted to ask the hon Motshekga a question.

The SPEAKER: No, he is done. He is done.

Hon members, in terms of section 193(5) of the Constitution, persons nominated for appointment to serve on the SA Human Rights Commission must be approved by a majority of members of the Assembly. Although a division has not been demanded, members are required to record their support for the nominations. Therefore, the bells will be rung for five minutes.

AYES - 262: Abrahams, B L; Adams, F; Adams, P E; America, D; Atkinson, P G; Bagrain, M; Baker, T E; Bam-Mugwanya, V; Bapela, K O; Basson, L J; Bergman, D; Beukman, F; Bhengu, F; Bhengu, N R; Bhengu, P; Bongo, B T; Booi, M S; Boroto, M G; Boshoff, H S; Bozzoli, B; Brauteseth, T J; Breytenbach, G; Bucwa, H; Buthelezi, N S; Capa, N; Capa, R N; Cardo, M J; Carrim, Y I; Cele, B H; Cele, M A; Chance, R W T; Chauke, H P; Chikunga, L S; Chohan, F I; Chueu, M P; Cwele, S C; Dambuza, N B; Davies, R H;

Davis, G R; De Freitas, M S F; Dirks, M A; Dlakude, D E;  
Dlamini-Dubazana, Z S; Dlomo, B J; Dlulane, B N; Dudley, C;  
Dunjwa, M L; Ebrahim, E I; Esau, S; Esterhuizen, J A; Figg, M J;  
Figlan, A M; Fubbs, J L; Galo, M P; Gamede, D D; Gcwabaza, N E;  
Gigaba, K M N; Groenewald, H B; Grootboom, G A; Gumede, D M;  
Gungubele, M; Hanekom, D A; Hlengwa, M; Holomisa, S P; Hoosen, M  
H; Horn, W; James, L V; Jeffery, J H; Jonas, M H; Jongbloed, Z;  
Kalako, M U; Kekana, P S; Kekana, E; Kekana, C D; Kenye, T E;  
Khoarai, L P; Khoza, M B; Khubisa, N M; Kilian, J D; King, C;  
Kohler, D; Koornhof, G W; Koornhof, N J J v R; Kopane, S P;  
Kruger, H C C; Krumbock, G R; Kubayi, M T; Lesoma, R M M;  
Loliwe, F S; Lorimer, J R B; Lotriet, A; Luyenge, Z; Luzipo, S;  
Maake, J J; Mabasa, X; Mabe, P P; Mabilo, S P; Mabudafhasi, T R;  
Mackenzie, C; Macpherson, D W; Madella, A F; Madlopha, C Q;  
Maesela, P; Mafu, N N; Magadla, N W; Magadzi, D P; Magwanishe,  
G; Mahambehlala, T; Mahlalela, A F; Mahlangu, J L; Mahlangu, D  
G; Majola, F Z; Majola, T R; Makhubela-Mashele, L S; Makondo, T;  
Makwetla, S P; Malatsi, M S; Malgas, H H; Maloyi, P D N;  
Maluleke, B J; Manana, D P; Manana, M C; Manana, M N S; Mandela,  
Z M D; Manyoni, T M ; Maphanga, W B; Maphatsoe, E R K; Mapisa-  
Nqakula, N N; Marais, S J F; Martins, B A D; Masango, B S ;  
Masehela, E K M; Mashego-Dlamini, K C; Mashile, B L; Masondo, N  
A; Masuku, M B; Maswanganyi, M J; Mathale, C C; Mathebe, D H;  
Matlala, M H; Matsepe, C D; Matshoba, M O; Matsimbi, C; Mavunda,

R T; Maxegwana, C H M; Maynier, D J; Mazzone, N W A; Mbalula, F A; Mbhele, Z N; Mchunu, S; Mcloughlin, A R; Mdakane, M R; Memela, T C; Mhlongo, T W; Mileham, K J; Mjobo, L N; Mkongi, B M; Mmemezi, H M Z; Mmola, M P; Mncwabe, S C; Mnganga-Gcabashe, L A; Mnguni, P J; Mnisi, N A; Mokgalapa, S; Molebatsi, M A; Motau, S C; Mothapo, M R M; Motimele, M S; Motshekga, M S; Motsoaledi, P A; Mpumlwana, L K B; Mthembu, J M; Mthethwa, E N; Mthethwa, E M; Muthambi, A F; Nchabeleng, M E; Ndaba, C N; Ndabeni-Abrahams, S T; Ndongeni, N; Nel, A C; Newhoudt-Druchen, W S; Ngcobo, B T; Ngwenya-Mabila, P C; Nkadimeng, M F; Nkwinti, G E; Nobanda, G N; November, N T; Nqakula, C; Ntombela, M L D; Nxesi, T W; Ollis, I M; Oosthuizen, G C; Patel, E; Peters, E D; Phaahla, M J; Phosa, Y N; Pikinini, I A; Pilane-Majake, M C C; Plouamma, M A; Purdon, R K; Rabotapi, M W; Radebe, B A; Radebe, G S; Radebe, J T; Ralegoma, S M; Ramaphosa, M C; Ramatlakane, L; Ramatlhodi, N A; Rantho, D Z; Raphuti, D D; Redelinghuys, M H; Robertson, K P; Robinson, D; Ross, D C; Schmidt, H C; Selfe, J; Senokoanyane, D Z; Shabangu, S; Shelembe, M L; Shinn, M R; Shope-Sithole, S C N; Sibande, M P; Singh, N; Sithole, K P; Siwela, E K; Skosana, J J; Skwatsha, M; Smith, V G; Sotyu, M M; Stander, T; Steenhuisen, J H; Steyn, A; Stubbe, D J; Surty, M E; Tarabella Marchesi, N I; Thabethe, E; Tleane, S A; Tobias, T V; Tolashe, G N; Tom, X S; Tongwane, T M A; Topham, B R; Tseke, G K; Tseli, R M; Tsoleli, S P; Tsotetsi, D R; Tuck, A; Van Damme, P T; Van der Merwe, L L;

Van der Walt, D; Van der Westhuizen, A P; Van Dyk, V; Van Schalkwyk, S R; Vos, J; Waters, M; Williams, A J; Wilson, E R; Xasa, T; Xego, S T; Yengeni, L E; Zokwana, S; Zulu, L D.

ABSTAIN - 1: Filtane, M L W.

Question agreed to.

Motion accordingly agreed to.

Nominations accordingly agreed to in accordance with section 193(5) (b) (ii) of the Constitution.

The SPEAKER: Hon Chief Whip?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Hon Speaker, it is on a matter of national importance. Our Rule 103 says that members should vote, as you will know, by pressing a "yes", "no", or an "abstain" button. When we voted on the order of the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill, the three members of the EFF did not press any. They are here. They were here on that vote, but they did not vote at all. That is Mr Ndlozi, Mr Shivambu, and the hon Hlophe.

The other issue is the hon Carrim was recorded as not having voted by this system. It is here on record. If we are to include all those and yourself, hon Speaker, because you are also a member of this House, we would have 202 people in this House and therefore meet the quorum. [Interjections.]

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: Madam Speaker, our Rules are also very specific that a point of order can only be raised when the transgression occurs. We have now dealt with a completely separate matter *vis-à-vis* the SA Human Rights Commission. We have moved on. The Chief Whip of the Majority Party knows that if there is a problem with the announced ruling, he will have to address that in writing to you. We have since moved on to the next item.

The SPEAKER: Hon members, in actual fact, the issue of how we voted and the anomaly the hon Mthembu is pointing to were brought to my attention by the Table Staff. Therefore, it is a matter I will still attend to when I have time to focus my mind, after we are finished with the Orders we are still dealing with. Therefore, I will ask the Secretary to read the Fourth Order.

Mr M Q NDLOZI: Hon Speaker, I want to rise in terms of Rule 31, which allows me to raise an urgent motion without notice. I want

to sincerely, on behalf of the EFF, at least, congratulate you on your new marriage. [Applause.] We believe in love, and we believe that we must celebrate people who find love. We wish you success and happiness, sincerely and genuinely. I mean that from the bottom of my heart. [Applause.] All of us can perhaps join and associate ourselves with the motion. It is an urgent motion. Let us celebrate love, comrades. Thank you. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER: Hon Ndlozi, thank you very much. However, if I were you, I would have chosen a different time. Now that you have done that, I will take the opportunity to congratulate the hon Hlophe. [Laughter.] [Applause.]

**CONSIDERATION OF BUDGETARY REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATION REPORT OF  
PORTFOLIO COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ON DEPARTMENT OF  
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

There was no debate.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Madam Speaker, I move:

That the Report be adopted.

*Declarations of vote:*

Mr N SINGH: Speaker, the IFP supports the budgetary review and recommendation report, BRRR, and would like to recommend that the Minister of Science and Technology facilitates discussions to encourage government to prioritise its commitment towards allocating 1,5% of GDP to invest in research and development.

There also needs to be an investigation to develop a policy to establish a centralised research and development budget allocation. This would ensure sufficient allocation and spending on science, technology, and innovation across all government departments to avoid duplication.

Further, we believe there is a need for more collaborative efforts by all departments to implement technology solutions that address service delivery, planning and growth issues. What is notable in the report is the regression in the 2015-16 audit outcomes of the department and the commitments made by the Minister to implement plans to address the identified shortcomings.

The committee has also requested the department to furnish it with an update on progress in implementing the recommended action plans and status of key controls. We support this request and the report. Thank you, Speaker.

Dr A LOTRIET: Hon Speaker, the department and all its entities appeared before the committee, and they have to be congratulated as, in most instances, they received either clean or unqualified audit reports. There was, as has been mentioned, a slight regression in the department as it went from a clean audit to an unqualified audit with findings, but, true to form, the department put corrective measures in place immediately.

The department was able to spend 99,6% of its budget allocation and achieved 84% of its targets. The reason for not achieving all of them was in many instances due to the factors beyond the department's control and in some because of a lack of capacity, to which I will come in a moment.

Hon Speaker, there is a real danger that we pat the department and its entities on the back and say job well done and all is well, but that will, in reality, be a disservice to the department, the entities, and the country. The good performance must be judged against the real challenges this department and its entities face. The erosion of baseline funding of existing public research institutions negatively affects their ability to retain or attract skilled staff and to fulfil their growing mandates.

We have an inadequate level of science, engineering, and technology skills. Added to this is the decrease in the gross expenditure on research and development. The lack of funding is slowly chipping away at the department's capacity. Now, although we are quite aware of the current economic situation, the truth is that the investment in science, technology, and innovation, STI, is a driver we need to grow the economy and create jobs.

We also have to factor in that we compete at a global level and cannot afford to be left behind. The cost to catch up is incalculable as it includes a loss or lack in critical knowledge and skills. This report contains important recommendations, and the DA supports the report. I do however honestly hope that this report would not be just another document tabled and approved, only to gather dust. The industry and the country cannot afford it. [Applause.]

Prof N M KHUBISA: Hon Speaker, the NFP supports this Budgetary Review and Recommendation Report, BRRR, where we congratulate the department for having consistently performed well thus far. The reports of the Auditor-General show that they can spend their allocated budget and achieve a significant percentage of their performance targets. All the while, the department and its entities managed to ensure that they closely adhered to

legislative prescripts in managing the allocations received from the public purse. We commend the department for this performance, hon Speaker.

As the NFP, we want to say the department needs to undertake more robust actions to ensure that our youth gets into science and technology and, of course, that they do not just end up getting their BSc degrees, but that they go on and get their master's and PhD degrees. We especially are noting the fact that more women are getting awards in this department from universities. We are encouraging the department to do even more in that regard. We need more people to become pilots, engineers, doctors, artisans, etc, and that calls for a strong partnership between this department and the Departments of Basic Education and Higher Education and Training. We would urge the department to ensure that such ties are strengthened.

Of course, we call upon the department to ensure that in the rural areas, in particular, we have more science centres. We note that most of the schools in the rural areas and the people generally do not have access to the resources that would normally be found in urban areas. Therefore, it is imperative that these science centres be erected in rural areas as well. Thank you, hon Speaker, and we support the budget.

Ms N V MENTE: Hon Speaker and hon Minister, science is innovation. Since the Minister of Science and Technology, Naledi Pandor, refuses to transform science and technology to revolutionise our society, we as the EFF have concrete proposals for her. We call for the complete decolonisation of the science and technology environment. Our science and technology must not be there to sustain the supremacy of white people as a race but to develop humanity as a whole.

We should, through entities like the National Research Foundation, NRF, Human Sciences Research Council, HSRC, and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, CSIR, invest more in research that addresses our service delivery challenges of water and provision of energy and alternative building construction methods.

The outcome of this research should be practical artefacts that would ideally be working models that demonstrate practical solutions to these challenges. We must as a matter of urgency fast-track the establishment of state pharmaceutical companies to ensure the availability of quality medicines for all the people in South Africa.

We must develop our own television sets that are compliant with the standard of the digital terrestrial television, DTT, transmission technology. We must develop our own environmentally friendly refrigerators, cars, and sustainable agricultural practices.

The current Protection, Promotion, Development and Management of Indigenous Knowledge Systems Bill will usher in the third wave of dispossession of South Africa's resources. The Bill will now allow multinational pharmaceutical companies to get their hands on our indigenous knowledge. Already university research on indigenous knowledge is funded by pharmaceutical companies. Indigenous communities will only hold patents for 20 years whereafter it becomes available to these companies who will stop at nothing to completely monopolise our indigenous knowledge.

It is as though the Minister of Science and Technology has been captured by the pharmaceutical companies and is determined to have our sciences further colonised. The EFF does not support this report. [Applause.]

Mr C C MATHALE: Hon Speaker and hon Deputy President, I think we will all agree that the department is doing very well.

[Interjections.] All, without exception, have agreed to this

fact - except for the rhetoric that was passed just now here about the Protection, Promotion, Development and Management of Indigenous Knowledge Systems Bill which is not a point for discussion today but for another day. Today is about the budget.

The first comment is about decolonisation. I think we all agree that transformation must take place, but if you listen in terms of what was said here, it is reiterating what we have been saying as a department and as the ANC-led government.

The committee understands and acknowledges the importance of science, technology, and the initiative to create an enabling environment to address economic and developmental challenges. The committee commends the research, development, and innovation work of the department and its entities. The committee further acknowledges that the work done by the Department of Science and Technology and its entities is of the highest international standard as is being used globally. The department and its entities require additional funds to effectively fulfil their mandates and continue delivering on some of the key priority areas for social and economic development, in line with the goals of the National Development Plan.

Hon Speaker, we fully agree as a committee that the budget should be increased from the 0,73% of GDP, which is currently spent on research and development, to 1,5%. As a committee, we believe if government can allocate 1,5% of the GDP to be spent on research and development, this will make a meaningful contribution because it is through research that we can make a difference in terms of transforming the economy of the country and creating a better life. As the ANC, we support this budget, hon Speaker. [Applause.]

Motion agreed to (Economic Freedom Fighters dissenting).

Report accordingly adopted.

**CONSIDERATION OF BUDGETARY REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATION REPORT OF  
PORTFOLIO COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING**

There was no debate.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Madam Speaker, I move:

That the Report be adopted.

*Declarations of vote:*

Prof B BOZZOLI: Speaker, we support this valiant department in its efforts to keep things going in the face of all that confronts them, but we must express our absolute outrage at what has come to pass in higher education in the past year. The department is grappling with low budgets, with the difficulties of absorbing and trying to improve the ineffective Technical, Vocational, Educational Training colleges, TVET colleges, 12 of which had disclaimers in their audits this year, with managing the perennially troubled Sector Education and Training Authorities, Setas, many of which are dysfunctional, and with the severe challenges coming from universities.

The ANC-led government's self-confessed neglect of higher education has come back to bite it and all of us in a spectacular manner this year. We have seen nearly R1 billion worth of physical destruction of property, desperate and unhappy students, frightened staff, shattered vice chancellors, and parents who feel entirely helpless.

The deep unhappiness of our students has many causes, but there is no doubt that the financial neglect of universities has played a massive part in the uprisings that we have seen. Without a bigger budget, the department can itself do little to remedy this. The R17 billion of extra funding announced in the

MTBPS will thankfully help students pay their bills, but the problem of the underfunding of the universities, the TVET colleges, and the department will remain and is not being addressed at all.

We will see the same round of protests again next year as fees again will have to increase to pay for the high cost of a university education. Until universities themselves are given financial assistance to make it possible for them to keep these costs down, the spiral of annual protests will continue. Expect the same to happen again next year. The R17 billion will not do the trick. Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr M S MBATHA: Madam Speaker, this department is the one that does not need anyone's support. This year alone, we saw universities becoming war zones. This year alone, we saw students for the first time getting killed in jails because they were arrested and detained for fighting a noble course.

The system of higher education in this country is antiblack, and it is antipoor. It needs to be fixed as quickly as possible. The fact that universities have been getting less money means that they have been victimising the poor people by hiking their fees. Who then comes in? The ANC backs the universities. The

universities, particularly those that were Afrikaans and English, are still untransformed.

The sector education and training authority, Seta, system is a mess. The TVET colleges are just glorified colleges, post high school. The #FeesMustFall movement is not going to disappear. The only solution is free higher education now. Our country can afford it, but you can't deliver it because you do not want an educated nation, as an educated nation would take you out of power. You want rural people to continue to suffer so that they would always rely on you. If you love your people - if you claim to love your people - you must educate them. Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr K P SITHOLE: Hon Speaker, the IFF supports the BRRR. Higher education in South Africa has been at the coalface of social economic unrest and protest for the past two years. In fact, this is a wound that has been festering since the ruling party propagandists promised, upon its accession to power, free education for all.

Failure to deliver on this promise is just about to collapse the tertiary education system in our country, and this critical issue still remains unresolved. This is a very fine time bomb,

as our youth is becoming more and more frustrated as government strings them along without any real answers to the crisis. As stated before, its resolution must remain a top priority for this department.

In terms of departmental issues, beside those of leadership, we are concerned about internal control of deficiencies and findings which suggest that these recur on a yearly basis and are not corrected. One cannot continue to repeat the same foolish actions and expect different results. This department has never received a clean audit since its inception in 2009. The National Student Financial Aid Scheme, NSFAS, debt of beneficiaries is not being collected, which is retarding the funding cycle for new applications, as projected funding is not readily available.

Irregular expenditure at Sector Education and Training Authorities, Setas is a concern, and we accordingly support a call for consequence management to be implemented and look forward to the report thereon.

In conclusion, we once again call for the most urgent departmental attention in addressing the legitimate and genuine demands of students in respect of the no-fees model. A solution

must be found, but the first step was a broken compromise. I thank you.

Prof N M KHUBISA: Hon Speaker, we cannot deny that the recent violent #FeesMustFall campaign has rocked the state of higher education in South Africa to its core. The ripple effects of this popular student uprising - students who were fighting for their democratic right to have free, quality education - will change the landscape of education in our country forever.

The lesson that has been learnt is that things should not take so long before they are attended to. This department has been there for nine years, and this has been simmering. It seems to be that there has been some kind of inertia in attending to the challenges that are facing higher education. So, students were fighting for their democratic right.

What we want to say as the NFP also is that it is not proper to militarise universities and see students being sjambokked and injured at the same time. We should also say to ourselves in this country that the destruction of property is not on. We need those laboratories, we need those libraries, and we need education in our country. In as much as we fight for the democratic right to education, we must not destroy property.

The department has a responsibility to ensure that it also attends to the Technical and Vocational Education and Training, TVET, area because there are pressing needs with regard to TVET education as well. We need more artisans. We need technicians in our country. Also, we do note that this department has consistently got an unqualified audit opinion with findings. I think a lot needs to be done with regard to ensuring that there is tight fiscal discipline in this department. This has been so since 2009, and that is disappointing.

We question also the surge in travel and subsistence expenditure in the department, which has increased from R48,5 million in the 2014-15 financial year to a staggering R88,5 million in the current financial cycle. At the same time, when the resources of the department are under strain like never before, we believe it is untenable that such expenditure could increase so dramatically.

Equally disturbing is the irregular expenditure which has increased from R1,3 million in 2014-15 to R31,3 million in the current financial cycle. Hon Speaker, we support the budget. Thank you. [Time expired.]

Mrs C DUDLEY: Hon Speaker, as the committee pointed out in the report, subsidies to universities, TVET, and community education and training, CET, colleges are grossly inadequate, with the number of students accessing higher education increasing and the cost of running these institutions escalating - a situation which contributed significantly to university fee increases that triggered protests demanding fee-free higher education.

For the ACDP, the greatest concern remains the disruptions in higher education and the intimidations and criminal acts which disrupted the academic programme and resulted in the destruction of university property. For the longest time however, and especially since the #RhodesMustFall campaign, reference to decolonising universities and the curriculum have been growing louder and more demanding, yet the concept has not been well articulated or unpacked in terms of exactly what it means. Now could be a good time to pick up on those conversations.

It seems that with the massive expansion of higher education in the past two years across race and class, the issue is whether or not the curriculum is relevant for these new students - students who don't fit the profile of the typical university and school entrants of two decades ago.

There is also the question of a rapidly changing world and the fact that universities around the world are daring to revamp their undergraduate curricula to address the changes and be more relevant to the future world in which today's students will participate. To put it bluntly, the concerns of the decolonising movement seem to be that curriculum content is dominated by white, male, Western, capitalist, heterosexual, European world views. In other words, the content underrepresents and undervalues the perspectives, experiences, and philosophies of those who do not fit these categories. Now, those with a Biblical world view have in fact also expressed similar concerns over time. Sadly, these valid concerns have not been well represented by student leaders who have led by intimidation, violence, and imposing their views and agendas on others.

The ACDP calls on the department to initiate research into the role of the curriculum in generating inequality and disregard for those who hold views that do not mirror the popular or politically correct view and to find ways that this can be effectively done where found to be necessary.

The ACDP also recognises the value of students having a say in curricular matters that affect them and the need to find mechanisms to ensure meaningful representation of students on

departmental and programme governance structures. I thank you.

[Time expired.]

Mr C D KEKANA: Speaker, though I can walk to the podium, I will indeed speak from the floor because of the two minutes of time allocated. We, in the ANC, support the BRRR.

This is because we have received an unqualified audit opinion, and this is 99% achievement out of the allocated resources in the period 2015-16. This is according to the ANC mandate for higher education, the ANC white paper, and, lastly, the National Development Plan. We also acknowledge that there is still a lot of room for improvement in areas of monitoring and evaluation in internal controls. For example, the funded posts of deputy directors-general must be filled.

A very important point is about youth in this budget - that we want to create an environment where our youth are trained, especially in critical and scarce skills like engineering - somebody said this - accounting, and others, including the technical and artisan occupations that go with those scarce skills.

According to the National Development Plan, by the year 2030, we are supposed to each year produce 30 000 artisans. This is the target of the National Development Plan. In relation to all protests that are taking place, the presidential commission is working at finding a way for feasibility and sustainability of funding for higher education. We know this will be successful. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Division demanded.

The House divided.

AYES - 165: Abrahams, B L; Adams, F; Adams, P E; Bam-Mugwanyana, V; Bapela, K O; Beukman, F; Bhengu, N R; Bhengu, F; Bongo, B T; Boroto, M G; Buthelezi, N S; Capa, N; Capa, R N; Carrim, Y I; Cele, B H; Cele, M A; Chauke, H P; Chikunga, L S; Chohan, F I; Chueu, M P; Dambuza, N B; Davies, R H; Dlakude, D E; Dlamini-Dubazana, Z S; Dlomo, B J; Dlulane, B N; Ebrahim, E I; Esterhuizen, J A; Fubbs, J L; Galo, M P; Gamede, D D; Gcwabaza, N E; Gigaba, K M N; Gumede, D M; Gungubele, M; Hanekom, D A; Holomisa, S P; Jonas, M H; Kalako, M U; Kekana, C D; Kekana, E; Khoza, M B; Khubisa, N M; Kilian, J D; Koornhof, G W; Koornhof, N J J v R; Kubayi, M T; Loliwe, F S; Luyenge, Z; Luzipo, S; Maake, J J; Mabasa, X; Mabe, P P; Mabilo, S P; Mabudafhasi, T R;

Madlopha, C Q; Maesela, P; Magadzi, D P; Magwanishe, G;  
Mahlalela, A F; Mahlangu, J L; Mahlangu, D G; Majola, F Z;  
Makondo, T; Malgas, H H; Maloyi, P D N; Maluleke, B J; Manana, M  
C; Manana, D P; Mandela, Z M D; Manyoni, T M ; Maphanga, W B ;  
Maphatsoe, E R K; Martins, B A D; Masehela, E K M; Mashego-  
Dlamini, K C; Mashile, B L; Masondo, N A; Masuku, M B;  
Maswanganyi, M J; Mathale, C C; Matlala, M H; Matshoba, M O;  
Matsimbi, C; Mavunda, R T; Maxegwana, C H M; Mbalula, F A;  
Mchunu, S; Mdakane, M R; Memela, T C; Mkongi, B M; Mmemezi, H M  
Z; Mmola, M P; Mncwango, M A; Mnganga-Gcabashe, L A; Mnguni, P  
J; Mnisi, N A; Molebatsi, M A; Mothapo, M R M; Motimele, M S;  
Motshekga, M S; Motsoaledi, P A; Mpumlwana, L K B; Mthembu, J M;  
Mthethwa, E N; Mthethwa, E M; Muthambi, A F; Ndaba, C N;  
Ndabeni-Abrahams, S T; Ndongeni, N; Nel, A C; Ngcobo, B T;  
Nkadimeng, M F; Nkwinti, G E; Nobanda, G N; November, N T;  
Ngakula, C; Nxesi, T W; Oosthuizen, G C; Patel, E; Peters, E D;  
Phaahla, M J; Pikinini, I A; Pilane-Majake, M C C; Plouamma, M  
A; Radebe, G S; Radebe, B A; Radebe, J T; Ralegoma, S M;  
Ramaphosa, M C; Ramatlakane, L; Ramatlhodi, N A; Rantho, D Z;  
Raphuti, D D; Senokoanyane, D Z; Shabangu, S; Shelembe, M L;  
Shope-Sithole, S C N; Sibande, M P; Singh, N; Sithole, K P;  
Siwela, E K; Skosana, J J; Skwatsha, M; Smith, V G; Sotyu, M M;  
Surty, M E; Thabethe, E; Tleane, S A; Tobias, T V; Tolashe, G N;  
Tongwane, T M A; Tseke, G K; Tseli, R M; Tsoleli, S P; Tsotetsi,

D R; Tuck, A; Van der Merwe, L L; Van Schalkwyk, S R; Williams, A J; Xasa, T; Xego, S T; Yengeni, L E; Zokwana, S; Zulu, L D.

NOES - 89: Alberts, A; America, D; Atkinson, P G; Bagraim, M; Baker, T E; Basson, L J; Bergman, D; Boshoff, H S; Bozzoli, B; Brauteseth, T J; Bucwa, H; Cardo, M J; Chance, R W T; Davis, G R; Dlamini, M M; Dreyer, A M; Dudley, C; Esau, S; Figg, M J; Figlan, A M; Groenewald, P J; Groenewald, H B; Grootboom, G A; Hlophe, H O; Hoosen, M H; Hunsinger, C H H; James, L V; Jongbloed, Z; Ketabahle, V; Khawula, M S; King, C; Kohler, D; Kopane, S P; Kruger, H C C; Krumbock, G R; Lorimer, J R B; Lotriet, A; Mackenzie, C; Macpherson, D W; Madisha, W M; Majola, T R; Malatsi, M S; Marais, S J F; Marais, E J; Masango, B S ; Matiase, N S; Matsepe, C D; Mazzone, N W A; Mbabama, T M; Mbatha, M S; Mbhele, Z N; Mcloughlin, A R; Mente, N V; Meshoe, K R J; Mileham, K J; Mokause, M O; Mokgalapa, S; Mokoena, L G; Motau, S C; Moteka, P G; Mulaudzi, T E; Mulder, P W A; Mulder, C P; Ndlozi, M Q; Ollis, I M; Purdon, R K; Rabotapi, M W; Rawula, T; Redelinghuys, M H; Robinson, D; Ross, D C; Schmidt, H C; Selfe, J; Shinn, M R; Shivambu, N F; Sonti, N P; Stander, T; Steenhuisen, J H; Stubbe, D J; Tarabella Marchesi, N I; Topham, B R; Van Damme, P T; Van der Walt, D; Van Dyk, V; Volmink, H C; Vos, J; Waters, M; Wilson, E R; Xalisa, Z R.

Motion agreed to.

Report accordingly adopted.

**PARLIAMENT'S MANDATE TO HOLD THE EXECUTIVE TO ACCOUNT**

(Subject for Discussion)

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: Madam Speaker, we are all privileged to work in this very special place - the sound that your footfall makes as you cross the grand lobby in the NCOP Wing, the musty fragrance and dim lighting of the Old Assembly Chamber, the magnificent view and natural splendour of the mountain as you make your way to the Good Hope Chamber, and the excited hustle and bustle in this House before the start of a sitting.

It is a deeply significant place for our country. Here the cruellest laws of the apartheid regime were enacted. Here the most vicious nationalism held court and kept our country hostage from democracy for so long. However, it is also the place where good triumphed over evil, where the brutal system of apartheid capitulated and its laws were dismantled. It is also where our Constitution was birthed, ushering in a new era of

constitutional sovereignty and a Bill of Rights that sought to prevent the abuse power by the executive.

Parliament was restored to its rightful place as the heartbeat of our new democratic model of accountability and oversight, but this Parliament has to be far more than just bricks and mortar, and thus it is right, as we celebrate 20 years since the passing of our Constitution, to reflect on whether this House is living up to the mandate of those who framed this Constitution and who bequeathed to us the enormous responsibility set out in Chapters 4 and 5 of the Constitution.

Perhaps the most relevant for the discussion today is contained in section 55, detailing the powers of the National Assembly, which tasks us with providing mechanisms to ensure that all executive organs of state in the national sphere of government are accountable to it and maintain oversight of the national executive and the exercise of national executive authority.

So, the question we should be asking ourselves in framing this debate is whether these mechanisms are working, and, if not, what can be done to fix the situation. Former United States President Lyndon B Johnson who used the US Congress and Senate

to pass the civil rights act, famously said, "Power is where power goes."

The truth is that too much power has been allowed to slip away from this House and towards the executive. On some days, it's actually difficult to determine who is accountable to who, and that is why Minister Mahlobo, for instance, felt nothing when his agency deployed a signal jammer in this House in some bizarre, Orwellian attempt to somehow control the flow of the thoughts, views, and opinions of members of this House and the media.

It is why Minister Nhleko felt no shame whatsoever when he tried to hoodwink this House into believing that a swimming pool was some elaborate fire-fighting mechanism.

It is why Minister Zwane felt impunity to arrive in this House, barely a month ago, to answer a question from a Member of Parliament, with a preapproved Gupta script, no doubt hatched in the very bowels of the Saxonwold shebeen, and simply kept reciting the same hackneyed lines over and over and over like a stuck compact disc, or CD.

It is why Minister Masutha can announce to the world that we are selling out our principles and leaving the International

Criminal Court, ICC, and then only bother to inform the House as some afterthought.

It is why Minister Nhleko can address a letter excoriating and demeaning this House and its presiding officers only because it simply wouldn't process his political vendetta against Robert McBride.

It is also why certain members of this House obsess themselves with more about what the President's title in this House should be than his actual misdeeds.

These are just a few of the many examples where the executive had shown complete contempt for this House. The tragedy is that this House, like some battered spouse in an abusive relationship, just carries on regardless, continuously turning away from dealing with the problem or trying to explain it away with a myriad of excuses. Just like that type of relationship, a brokenness has settled into this Parliament.

The emasculation and weakening of this House began a long time ago. Its key oversight role and the undermining of it had its genesis in the now infamous Arms Deal where the executive first started to dictate to this House how and when it would be held

accountable, picking off, one by one, the bastions of accountability: the Standing Committee on Public Accounts, Scopa, the House, and debate. This assault on the House has found its result in the unprecedented constitutional court judgments, and it will have its finale, if we do not arrest this slide, in complete irrelevance.

For far too long, this Parliament has allowed the executive to get away with this behaviour, and, at every turn, the executive is cosseted and protected from having to face the full blast of proper accountability, and the Speaker needs to bear a great deal of responsibility for this brokenness. Our Rules, procedures, and conventions make it clear that the Speaker is the head and representative of the legislative arm and, although affiliated to a political party, must perform the functions of that office fairly, impartially, and in the interests - this is the most important part - of the Assembly and Parliament. She is not responsible to the executive government and must seek to preserve the House's independence from it.

So, we have to ask ourselves why, at every single major test this House has faced since the Fifth Parliament began, has the Speaker continuously erred on the side of protecting the executive and taking their side over this Parliament. It is why

the Nkandla debacle was allowed to drag on endlessly. It is why the SABC fiasco was allowed to escalate so prolifically. It is why Ministers don't even bother to prepare to answer questions in this House properly - because they know full well that they will never, ever be compelled to actually provide a proper answer to this House.

The great irony to me is that the landmark Nkandla judgment focused so much on the omissions and actions of the President, but so little detail was paid to the damning indictments it listed as the failures of this House to deal properly with oversight and accountability. We need to arrest this slide, and we need to do it now. [Applause.]

The DEPUTY CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Hon House Chairperson, hon Speaker, hon Deputy Speaker, hon members, hon Ministers and Deputy Ministers, our guests in the gallery, I greet you all.

Preparing to usher in a democratic government in 1991, the ANC wrote the following in its Constitutional Principles for a Democratic South Africa: The organs of government shall be accountable to Parliament and the whole community.

In this regard, the ANC demonstrated its consciousness regarding the importance of Parliament as a tool through which the executive would have to account and be held responsible for its actions and inactions. It also displays the core understanding that, if government were to function effectively and efficiently, it would have to account to the people as a whole. These aspects underscore the fact of government being the people and, therefore, necessitate that government is transparent in its interaction with the people. This kind of government and Parliament was informed by the nature and substance of the type of society and, importantly, a Constitution that would guide the country. Hence, in its policy document, Ready to Govern, the ANC boldly stated:

Our constitution shall not only guarantee an accountable, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic structure of government, but shall also empower all citizens to shape and share in the many aspects of life outside government.

In the outlook of the ANC, the constitutional principle of accountability cannot be seen in isolation to the imperative of creating a new and transformed society. Accountability of state organs and the executive, in particular, is not an end in itself but rather a means to an end. The state must therefore account

for its actions - both failures and successes - insofar they impact progressively or regressively on our country's ability to realise a national democratic society, a society encapsulated in the words of our country's first democratically elected President and also president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, when he said, "Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfil themselves."

Guided by this overarching framework, Parliament's strategic vision remains that of realising a better life for all, representing all people, and fulfilling its responsibility of making laws, overseeing the work of government, and holding the executive accountable.

The authors of our Constitution, inspired by the men and women who drew up the document entitled African Claims under the leadership of the then president of the ANC, Dr Xuma, and guided by the people's aspirations in the Freedom Charter, envisioned a state in which the various arms would live side by side in a symbiotic relationship. They had hoped that each would complement the other, appreciate their respective roles and functions, and be ever mindful not to encroach upon the other's sphere of competence.

The letter and spirit of our Constitution, in stipulating the importance of accountability of the executive to the legislature, envisaged neither acrimony nor animosity among the public representatives who constitute Members of Parliament, nor did it envisage attempts by some to usurp or delegitimise the state or the concerted efforts by others to co-determine or govern by stealth. Therefore, in both their disparate and collegial quests, some among us are intent on surrendering the mission and vision upon which our country is founded and in whose veins our Constitution is engraved, by seeking to leverage seeming weaknesses in the executive or silences in the Constitution to fulfil their want of power.

All kinds of faults are sought and found in the executive. The executive itself is also reduced to mean only the President. At no stage is the Cabinet referred to. On some occasions, the opposition would make public statements that purport to support one Minister or the other - for example, the Minister of Finance or Health - yet, when they come to this House to discuss and vote on reports or Bills for either of those Ministries, it is the same opposition that objects to or votes against the adoption of those reports or walks out of the House.

The opposition also speaks loudly about the importance of service delivery and how the ANC-led government does not deliver services to the people. Yet, it is the same opposition that comes before this House to object, walk away, or vote against the adoption of the Appropriation Bill, a law whose purpose it is to allocate government's budget to the relevant departments so those departments can provide services to the people.

All this the opposition does without regard to the fact that these Bills and reports were collectively discussed in the relevant committees established by Parliament in order to scrutinise the work of the executive and ensure that it accounts for what it expresses and executes. So, what effective holding of the executive accountable are we talking about?

This debate regarding Parliament's effectiveness to hold the executive to account is in part influenced by sentiments similar to those espoused by columnist Martin Kettle in the London newspaper, *The Guardian*, in reference to the House of Commons. He writes the following: If Members of Parliament are to reclaim respect, they need more than a new expenses system. They also need a new approach to parliamentary politics. They need to stop being sheep and start being watchdogs. The rest of us, in the media, in particular, need to assist them to make the change.

Rules, though, are not everything. A change of political culture is needed, too. Members of Parliament and Ministers should be freer to debate issues of the day in more independent ways. Everybody knows that Ministers have differing views on most issues.

This democratic legislature has, since its establishment, demonstrated this acumen. It has done so guided by the Constitution and the House Rules. The separation of powers is enshrined in our Constitution. We are however aware that there are some among us who think that the legislature should be governed through the judiciary - something that would be contrary to the Constitution.

Since the establishment of our democratic Parliament, we have constantly considered ways of ensuring that the executive is held accountable for its actions and inactions. This is in line with the resolutions of various ANC national conferences with regard to matters of governance. Our Parliament, similar to those of developed countries like the United Kingdom, has created mechanisms to ensure accountability of the executive to the legislature. This very debate is a practical example of such a mechanism. Our understanding is that accountability places an imperative on individuals and institutions to account for what

they do or do not do, to accept their responsibility for such, and to provide outcomes in a transparent manner so as to ensure scrutiny and challenge.

Parliament has fulfilled this function through enabling mechanisms such as questions to the Presidency, questions to Ministers, Minister's statements, members' statements, debates, various committees of Parliament where members have opportunities to deliberate on reports and call the executive and government departments to account on specific issues and challenges, motions without notice, notices of motion, and Private Members' Bills.

Indeed, these mechanisms, as shown elsewhere in the world, may not be fully adequate. Hence, committees such as the Rules Committee continue to assess the workings of Parliament to enable it to fulfil its mission and vision of realising a better life for all, representing all our people, making laws, overseeing the work of government, and holding the executive accountable.

This Parliament has, on a single occasion, been found to have erred in how it handled the Public Protector's report on the security upgrades at the President's residence in Nkandla. It

has since put in place remedies towards that end, in line with the Constitutional Court judgment, and is making the necessary amendments to the relevant legislation.

There are those among us who would wish us to wallow in our false steps. At the same time, there are those who would like to dig in their heels in their desire to hold on to their denialism. Such a situation creates an intractable environment for the legislature to chart a new chapter, after it has admitted it could have done better and has also put corrective measures in place.

The work of the Portfolio Committee on Communications, the ad hoc committees on the appointment of the Public Protector, and the Joint Standing Committee on Intelligence for the interviews for the position of the Inspector-General are examples of the new path we have set. We must rise each time we fall. We must find the complementarities and symbioses already embedded in our Constitution and the workings of our Parliament and the executive. We must avoid attempts to smuggle ways of ... Thank you. [Time expired.] [Interjections.] [Applause.]

Mr M Q NDLOZI: House Chairperson, the historic mission of the African revolution since the Haitian Revolution up to the demise of the apartheid regime is the self-determination of black

people. When our people gave you a majority in this House, they said, fulfil this mission: Self-determination, the ability to govern yourself.

They said, through the rules of your making, set your own moral standards, the standards that are chosen by yourselves. And you did so. And you have failed to keep your own moral standards. You can't blame the opposition. You can't blame us because you are the majority, and you are the ones that our people have elected to come and change their lives. Men and women of the ANC respond to their bellies rather than the demands of their consciences. This is the foundation of why we are a postcolonial degeneration.

Parliament is where they come to dump rejected or knowledgeable cadres, reproducing mediocrity across all committees. Hence, they cannot hold each other accountable. Parliament is where they come to defend the rising kleptocracy in their ranks. It is where they come to protect those who steal our people's resources. You have simply made everything you control toothless because you rule through your bellies.

What happened? What went wrong? You have lost the vision. You have abandoned the African revolution of building a successful, self-determining, black-led country. Parliament is where you

come to tell lies, from the President through to all his lieutenants. You have sustained apartheid laws like the Riotous Assemblies Act because it is all about your bellies, not about changing our people's lives.

We can stand here and say as much as we like, but if we do not change the reality of the daily experience of our people by changing the laws – such as returning land to our people – then we have rendered the African mission and the African revolution from its time as conceived in the Haitian Revolution futile.

So, what is the solution? What must happen? What should South Africa do? We must move beyond the ANC. We must go beyond the ANC because the ANC is dead. It is now simply the African national criminals. That is all you are! You support each other on the basis of stealing. You vote for each other on the basis of stealing. You celebrate each other on the basis of stealing. It's all about stealing. It's all about lying. Even when you are lobbying each other, you stand on moral grounds on the basis of being able to steal tomorrow.

Even Jackson Mthembu, the honourable, he is being faithful today because he also wants the opportunity to steal tomorrow.

It's all about stealing!

So, as South Africans, we have got to move beyond this bunch and move on because, for them, it is now all about themselves, their families, their concubines. That is how they have corrupted Parliament and everything they control. [Interjections.]

The day we move beyond you is the day we will build a Parliament with teeth. [Applause.]

Mr P D N MALOYI: Chairperson, may I address you?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon member, what is your point of order?

Mr P D N MALOYI: No, he's out. I wanted to address you in terms of Rule 85. [Interjections.] The hon member is impugning the integrity and dignity of other members, particularly the Chief Whip. He is also talking about improper and unethical conduct. He knows if he does that, he is supposed to submit a substantive motion. [Interjections.]

May I also address you in terms of Rule 10 of our Rules. Rule 10 talks about the conduct. You have been talking about the contempt of the Rules in this House. Members of the EFF, in

particular, are in contempt of these Rules. [Interjections.] I would want you to go back to Rule 10, read it, and come back to this House with what you are going to do to address this matter which has been raised by members of the EFF on a continual basis. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Thank you very much, hon member. Your Rules, having been sustained, I will come back to the House. Thank you.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: Hon Chairperson, we don't really understand your ruling. What do you mean? Are you sustaining, or are you not sustaining?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): I will come back to the House.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: You must dismiss that kind of ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): No, I can't.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: There is a new group of people that have been hired there and do not understand the context we are dealing with here.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Ndlozi, please take your seat. I am going to switch off your microphone!

[Interjections.] I am going to switch your microphone off!

[Interjections.]

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: You must accept criticism!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Singh, please take the podium.

Mr N SINGH: Chairperson, I see there has been a change of surnames from Shivambu to Ndlozi.

Holding the executive to account is the principal duty and solemn obligation of every Member of Parliament. It is accomplished through continuous public challenge and questioning of the executive's policies and actions and is the manner in which our Ministers and their respective departments are held to public account and scrutiny.

Members of Parliament, upon taking office, swear or affirm faithfulness to the Republic and obedience to the Constitution. Holding the executive to account is then premised upon the

majority of the Members of Parliament acting in the best interest of the country as they uphold their laws.

Here is the flaw. This system of checks and balances and of holding the executive to account is premised upon a healthy and functioning democracy. It is of little force and effect when some Members of Parliament have been reduced to mere window dressing, pot plants, if you will - members who have abandoned their moral compasses and subjugated their consciences to the will of their political masters and, in so doing, have forsaken the very people that placed them in these positions of national responsibility.

When last can we honestly say that there was full executive transparency as regards to parliamentary questions and debates, or a constructive exchange of views between Members of Parliament and the executive? I know it happens in the study groups but not with all of us. When last have we seen constructive dialogue, a reciprocity and exchange of views between Members of Parliament and the executive? When last have we seen a full bench of the executive present in this House in order to reply to members' statements? If that is not enough, even when there are more than six members of the executive, not

all of them take the opportunity to reply to members' statements which have been carefully prepared.

South Africa is beset with many challenges social, economic, and political. These issues require concerted effort, robust and continuous debate, and ongoing engagement, if we are to win the day and take this country forward. Every single member of this House has a solemn duty and responsibility to hold the executive to account in the best interests of all South Africans.

To this end, I think the hon Chief Whip of the Opposition indicated that there is a need to unpack the Nkandla Constitutional Court judgment. Up to now, we still have not had the opportunity to really look into that judgment and to analyse how it affects the functioning of this Parliament. I think this is something that has got to be done very urgently so that we are not found to be foul of the law in future. Thank you.

Mr M L SHELEMBE: Chairperson, the parliamentary website gives a concise overview of the oversight role of Parliament, stating that "the true test of our democracy is the extent to which Parliament can ensure that government remains answerable to the people".

Part of ensuring that government remains answerable to the people is through oversight. Parliament, as a collective, has the responsibility of holding the executive to account, whilst our portfolio committees have oversight over organs of state. Amongst the mechanisms of oversight listed on the website, the questions for executive reply is the primary mechanism for Parliament to hold the executive accountable. Yet other mechanisms such as Budget Votes and plenary debates may also be used to hold the executive accountable. Holding the executive to account is more than oversight. It also has a sanction available so that oversight is to be taken seriously by the executive, and it forms part of checks and balances that looks good on paper.

The constitutional provisions of section 88, which speaks about the removal of the President and section 102, which speaks about a vote of no confidence, are examples of sanctions with which to reinforce Parliament's mechanisms to hold the Office of the President to account.

On paper, it thus seems as if Parliament has substantial oversight over the executive, and, if applied, these provisions ought to empower Parliament to hold the executive to account. The reality, as we have seen in this House, is different and exposes a serious flaw in the accountability equation – that of

party loyalty which trumps the constitutional mandate.

Parliament is made up of members, with each Member of Parliament taking an oath or affirmation to be "faithful to the Republic of South Africa and solemnly promise to perform any functions as a member of the National Assembly to the best of his or her ability". Unfortunately, we have seen in this very House how members go to extraordinary lengths to shield the executive from accountability. The mechanisms vary from the subtle to the obvious, such as turning a blind eye when Ministers fail to attend plenaries where their presence is required to sweetheart questions which are tabled when Ministers are required to provide oral replies.

More robust methods of shielding the executive from accounting can be seen when members of the ruling party act collectively as a voting bloc to obstruct any motion calling for executive accountability by the President, voting not by conscience and a duty to the country and the Constitution, but motivated by party loyalty.

The NFP believes that for as long as current mechanisms to compel the executive to account can be circumvented by party

loyalty of individual members of this House ... I thank you.

[Time expired.]

Mr J SELFE: House Chair, as everybody knows, including the Deputy Chief Whip of the Majority Party, the DA engages in a great deal of litigation. Some of this litigation is directed against the executive and against Parliament. We do so very reluctantly for a number of reasons - firstly because it is very expensive, but, secondly, it blurs the separation of powers, and most judges do not like to be placed in a situation where they have to tell Parliament or the executive what to do.

However, we bring these cases because the National Assembly does not do what the Constitution requires it to do. Section 42 and section 55 of the Constitution lay down very explicit duties and responsibilities for the National Assembly to hold the executive and organs of state to account. Yet, the National Assembly has failed dismally to do this. Let me remind you of some of the more serious failures.

First, there was the appointment of Adv Menzi Simelane as the National Director of Public Prosecutions. Everybody who understood the law viewed that he was not a fit and proper person to occupy that post. One would have expected the Justice

committee to have interrogated his appointment or to have called Minister Radebe, as he was then, or even President Zuma, to the committee to explain why such a controversial person was appointed to such an important position. Instead, radio silence. It was left to the DA to challenge Simelane's appointment all the way to the Constitutional Court where Justice Yacoob did what Parliament should have done in the first place and fired him.

However, it does seem that some lessons were learnt. We note with interest the President's letter to Shaun Abrahams asking reasons why he should not be placed on suspension pending an inquiry into his fitness to hold office.

Then there was the Nkandla debacle. The National Assembly appointed no less than three ad hoc committees to consider the Public Protector's report on Nkandla. In two of the three cases, the DA submitted minority reports which articulated our view that the Public Protector's remedial action was binding unless reviewed by a court of law and, in the absence of that, that the President was legally compelled to pay for the nonsecurity upgrades.

The lengths to which the National Assembly went to evade its responsibilities to hold the President to account were pathetic

and would have been comical had they not been so serious. We saw the hon Motshekga telling us that the Public Protector had only advisory powers. We saw the Minister of Police, to the strains of warbling music, telling us that the President owed nothing, that he had actually been shortchanged. We had content advisers and legal advisers giving spectacularly wrong advice.

Dr M S MOTSHEKGA: Hon House Chairperson?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Selfe, please take your seat. Hon Motshekga, on what point of order are you rising?

Dr M S MOTSHEKGA: If the hon member ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon member, on which Rule are you rising?

Dr M S MOTSHEKGA: On misrepresentation of the hon Motshekga.

[Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon member?

Dr M S MOTSHEKGA: If ... I'm being ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Can you please say ...

Dr M S MOTSHEKGA: I'm being misrepresented. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Alright. Thank you very much. That's not a point of order. [Interjections.]

Dr M S MOTSHEKGA: No, that needs to be corrected.

[Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon member, if you are dissatisfied, follow other avenues that we can use as Parliament.

Dr M S MOTSHEKGA: So, you allow lies by this hon member.

[Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): No, no, hon member, please.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: On a point of order! On a point of order!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): He stood before you. I'll come back to you.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: On a point of order: I think that you must ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): On what Rule are you standing?

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: The point of order ... Rule 50.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): No, there's no point of order for Rule 50.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: The Rule that deals with the point of order that you must declare a censure on the hon Motshekga.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): No, no, hon member. Rule 50 ... There's nothing like a Rule 50. Please state on which Rule you are doing that. Rule 50 is ...

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: Rule 92. [Laughter.] Yes, in the old Rule book, it was Rule 50. Now, it's Rule 92. [Interjections.] I rise on a point of order that you must take serious action against ANC

members who are double minded in terms of what should happen in South Africa ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon member, please.

That's not a point of order.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: ... when they come here with frivolous points of order. You should have ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): That's not a point of order. I'm going to switch off your microphone. That's not a point of order.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: You should have instructed Mathole to leave the House for defying you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Filtane, please ... Oh, sorry, hon Steenhuisen, you had your hand up. Continue, hon Steenhuisen.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: I rise on Rule 92, Madam Chairperson. First of all, you allowed the hon Motshekga to continue without citing the Rule. He carried on. He was allowed to continue.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): That's why I said there was no point of order.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: No, but he got in his jibe that he wanted to from the beginning by abusing the Rule, and ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon member, what is your point of order?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: ... that he said the hon Selfe was telling lies is unparliamentary, and he must stand up and withdraw it. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon members ... Hon Steenhuisen, I'm informed that what hon Motshekga said was that we allow lies, not that the hon Selfe was lying. Thank you.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: Madam House Chair, that's not what he said. He said: So, you allow the member to stand here and tell lies. Those are the words he used.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Alright. Then let me check it ... let me take it from the Hansard.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: And I heard it. I don't know what Mr Plaatjies was doing at that time, but I heard it very clearly.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Yes. Due to the different views, I will listen to the Hansard and come back to it. Hon Ndlozi, on what Rule are you standing?

Mr M Q NDLOZI: Rule 31. I wanted us to consider a quick motion that the hon Motshekga must only write *Sunday Times* opinion pieces and not speak in Parliament anymore. That's when he is genuine, this guy.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon member, that's not a point of order. That's not a point of order. Please take ...

Mr M Q NDLOZI: But it's Rule 31, a quick motion. Let's agree quickly. He must only speak through the *Sunday Times*.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Yes, I know but it's ... Alright. Sit down. I'm going to stop your microphone.

Mr M Q NDLOZI: That is the only time he makes sense, you know?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Filtane, please take the podium. Oh, the hon Selfe is still there. I'm sorry, hon Selfe. Your clock has been stopped. You can continue now.

Mr J SELFE: Thank you very much, House Chair. It was left to the DA and the EFF to go to the Constitutional Court to establish that the President was obliged to pay, that he had broken his Oath of Office, and that Parliament had failed in its duty to hold the executive to account. A clearer case couldn't have been made. Mind you, we had content advisers for that. The content advisers weren't nearly as bad as the content advisers that were used in the court case that we had to bring against the Ethics Committee. The spectacularly bad legal advice that Parliament gets from its legal advisers requires very serious attention.

Then there is the ongoing action in which the DA has been engaged in since 2014 to get rid of Hlaudi Motsoeneng as the chief operating officer of the SA Broadcasting Corporation, SABC. Only after three court cases and a fourth pending does it appear that the Portfolio Committee on Communications will do the right thing and fire the board. Yet the question remains: Why did it take so long?

However, the most serious failure by the majority in this House has been its persistent failure to hold Mr Zuma to account for his acts and omissions that have fallen far short of what is expected of the President of the Republic. You had the opportunity last week. You had the opportunity at the beginning of this year. You let this House down. You betrayed the concept of executive accountability, and you let South Africa down.

[Applause.]

Mr M L W FILTANE: Chair, there is no confusion about the mandate and the powers of Parliament in discharging its constitutional duty to hold the executive accountable. Section 56 of the Constitution empowers the National Assembly or any of its committees to summon any person to give evidence and to produce documents, and to have any person or institution report to it.

The Rules and systems of Parliament provide mechanisms, albeit insufficient, to discharge this fundamental responsibility on behalf of the citizens who elected us to this institution. When we take the oath of office, we declare our absolute loyalty to the Republic and its people. That's a transferred epithet of course.

However, after taking the oath of office, the ANC changes gear and deliberately undermines the fact that ours is a constitutional democracy, not majoritarianism. In a constitutional democracy, the majority must always be consistent with the dictates of the Constitution in its majority-driven decisions. This was recently demonstrated when the ANC majority absolved the President of any responsibility, in spite of overwhelming evidence suggesting otherwise, on the Nkandla saga. This was not only a dereliction of duty on their part but also an abuse of its majority.

Many a time, we write Questions for Written Reply to Ministers. If you are lucky to get a reply, such a reply is scanty with little regard to detail and a proper account to citizens. A few exceptions do exist, of course. The Questions for Oral Reply session is the most abused session. Some members of the executive often avoid responding to questions by simply absenting themselves, with no consequences. We need to reconsider that tool of accounting and give more teeth to the House to extract real answers from Ministers.

In some committees, we fight hard to get the Ministers' attendance. An incredible and absolute example is Minister Mbalula who has just disappeared. Consistent with his behaviour

in 12 months, today he is a no-show. The Springboks are going down. We can't even talk to him about it. He just absents himself. However, the problem is compounded by the Chairperson of the Portfolio Committee on Sport and Recreation who has no appetite to invite him to come to the committee. I don't know what to call that.

Now, until we change our way of doing things and put the people of South Africa first, the executive will never be accountable to the electorate through this House. We need to move. Now, if we don't change, things outside – external factors – will simply change. I think 3 August was a clear signal of what people do when you don't do things the right way. For things to change, you have got to change the way you do things. I thank you.

Dr C P MULDER: Hon Chairperson, this debate today is about Parliament's mandate to hold the executive to account. I would like to ask our colleagues in the ANC whether they believe that we should keep the executive to account. Do you believe that we should do that? The hon Motshekga says, yes, we should hold them to account, and I agree with that. So, we agree that we should keep the executive to account.

Now, This Place is very important in terms of a member's credibility. If you lose your credibility in This Place, it is very difficult to ever come back from that. You have to protect your credibility. The problem is this: Parliament as an institution has lost its credibility. Go and ask the public out there what they think about Parliament. Do they take us seriously? No, they do not. Why? It has already been said very clearly today what the task of Parliament is with regard to holding the executive to account. We all know what the Constitution says.

So, let us accept the fact that I am biased because I believe that the ruling party is failing in its duty to hold the executive to account. I am biased. Alright, let us accept that. Let us get somebody else that I think is quite accepted by everybody in South Africa and internationally, the Constitutional Court. What does the Constitutional Court say about Parliament? It says the National Assembly was duty bound to hold the President accountable by facilitating and ensuring compliance with the decisions of the Public Protector. Parliament failed.

It goes on to say in that judgment that everything was wrong with the National Assembly stepping into the shoes of the Public

Protector by passing a resolution that purported effectively to nullify the findings made and remedial action taken by the Public Protector and replace them with its own findings and remedial action. It is not what I say. It is not what the opposition says. The Constitutional Court says everything was wrong with what was done in Parliament. You cannot say you were not warned. From the very same podium, member after member of the opposition told you that you are wrong. I stood here and said to you that you cannot vote something right if it is wrong. I said that from this podium, but you did not listen. You voted it through time and time again.

The fact of the matter is that the credibility of Parliament has been lost in that process. When the Constitutional Court made that ruling, it was the Chief Whip of the ANC who came along and said we now accept that, as Parliament, we were wrong. No. You were wrong. We were right because we said to you all along, and you did not listen. [Applause.] So, the problem is, Chairperson, that Parliament is not holding the executive to account. This doesn't happen because the majority party is failing in its duty. It is not a right to govern. It is a privilege. You are losing that right, and you are abusing that privilege, and the public will deal with you because of that. Thank you. [Time expired.] [Applause.]

Rev K R J MESHOE: House Chairperson, Parliament is responsible for ensuring accountability and openness of government through oversight of the executive, its departments, and other public entities in order to curb corruption and effect good practices. The Constitutional Court ruling on the Nkandla case raised important findings that are relevant to today's debate. It found that, among other things, the National Assembly failed to fulfil its constitutional obligations in terms of sections 55 and 181 to hold the President to account. As a result, the Constitutional Court ruled that the resolution passed by the National Assembly absolving the President from compliance with the remedial action prescribed by the Public Protector was invalid and set it aside.

The observations by the former Public Protector in the state capture report are shocking, to say the least. While the ACDP appreciates that a commission of inquiry will investigate the allegations, surely Parliament should be seen to be doing something about it also. Having said that, the ACDP believes that this House needs to review Parliament's effectiveness in holding the executive to account and re-emphasise the importance of values such as accountability, honesty, integrity, and transparency.

The former Minister of Intelligence, Siyabonga Cwele, whose wife was convicted some years ago for drug trafficking and sentenced to 20 years in prison, was allowed to continue in his top security position because he claimed he did not know anything about his wife's criminal activities. Parliament failed to hold him accountable for failing to uncover a drug trafficker in his own house.

The main story that has dominated the news since Sunday is about allegations made by self-confessed Chinese rhino horn smuggler Mr Guan Jiang Guang who is reported to have said that he is friends with State Security Minister David Mahlobo. The ACDP views these allegations very seriously and calls for Minister Mahlobo to be suspended pending an investigation and for Mr Guang to be found and arrested. We want to know how a Minister responsible for state security and intelligence could have failed to know that his Chinese friend was involved in illegal rhino horn trafficking. Is Minister Mahlobo fit to lead his office when he allegedly associates with a member of a syndicate whose activities he claims he was not aware of? We think not.

Parliament has to act speedily on this matter to restore its credibility, to be seen to be firm against corruption, and to be fulfilling its constitutional mandate by holding this member of

the executive to account. Indeed, if Parliament is to restore ... [Time expired.] [Applause.]

Mr J L MAHLANGU: Chair, in his address to the 3rd World Conference of Speakers of Parliament, the former Speaker, hon Max Vuyisile Sisulu, said:

The time for paying lip service to the need for global democratic accountability is past. Parliaments can no longer be mere chambers of debate and time-worn speeches without bringing about change. We cannot call for this change from the sidelines but must take up the challenge and become activists for change within our parliaments. We do this not for ourselves, but for the people we serve and to whom we, as their freely elected representatives, owe a world where human dignity and human security are paramount.

The majority of South Africans firmly believe that the ANC, Africa's oldest liberation movement, has transformed colonial institutions such as this Parliament to become democratic and people centred and that it remains committed to a faster pace, more action, as well as better implementation of the national goals identified in the National Development Plan. It is in this context that the historically marginalised, patriotic, and

politically conscious can interpret the right-wing agenda that seeks to displace the developmental agenda from the national discourse and erode public confidence in our democratic institutions.

Grinding poverty, youth unemployment, and inequality remain enemies of our people that the radical socioeconomic transformation programme, championed by the ANC, must be accelerated to defeat. The resurgence of racism, racial intolerance, and hatred that has for decades robbed our people of their dignity as well as their human rights undermines unity. We saw the emergence of this right in our Mpumalanga town of Middelburg only yesterday.

Reconciliation, nation-building, social cohesion and the values enshrined in our Constitution - the guiding principles of the progressive Constitution that we adopted on 8 May 1996 and that were first articulated in the ANC's African Claims document of 1943, the Non-European Unity Movement's Ten-Point Programme of 1943, and the 1955 Congress Alliance's Freedom Charter are not understood by reactionaries that opposed us when we tabled it for adoption and who conveniently claim it today to advance their narrow interests and to preserve the privileges of their puppet masters.

These staff riders of the democracy that we fought hard for that today wish to appropriate it to themselves and project themselves as defenders of the Constitution and Chapter 9 institutions they do not support unless they derive personal benefit and political mileage from their work must be reminded that Parliament is not a platform for cheap politicking, populism, empty rhetoric, and anarchy but an arbiter for good governance and public accountability.

The executive is not solely being held accountable in the Chamber. This august House is not the only area where the executive is held accountable. It is not only in the glare of the cameras that we so like that the executive is accounted for. It was interesting to listen to previous speakers from the opposition. Actually, most of them spoke about this House or This Place but fail to remember that accountability happens in committees - there are 38 portfolio and other committees - where, as Members of Parliament, we spend more than 90% of the time and not only in this House where we spend 10% of our time. That is what we are shouting about.

We need to make sure that we use our committee system appropriately and constructively to engage with government. We need to be consistent in our robust engagements with members of

the executive, government departments, and heads of departments to exercise oversight over the state-owned enterprises, because that's where we should be starting, not to come and grandstand here. The tendency to play to the gallery and reduce Parliament to a mudslinging comedy of insults is increasingly eroding public confidence in this critical institution which is a tenet of our democracy.

The principle of separation of powers for the legislature, executive, and judiciary, including the independence of the prosecuting authority as well as the Chapter 9 institutions, attests to the foresight that the ANC as the leader of society had to safeguard our freedom and democracy. This disorganised and ideologically bankrupt opposition that seeks to hold this institution of people's power to ransom has only succeeded in undermining due processes by prematurely calling for resignations and dissolution of public institutions as well as bodies at the slightest opportunity in a desperate attempt to create a crisis of legitimacy and political and economic instability.

We know too well that the "Desperate Alliance" and its new-found anarchy alliance who are destroying our education institutions and the decorum of this people's Assembly do not support any of

the things that I have said. They are simply hypocrites who are opportunistically engaged in orchestrated programmes to sow division in order to weaken the ANC ahead of the 2019 election.

Though the DA-EFF coalition has hijacked our struggle songs and invokes the names of Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Solomon Mahlangu, and countless other heroes and heroines of our struggle for liberation, we know them for who they are. We know the hon Maimane, like Esau, has sold his inheritance for a bowl of soup from the bastion of racism and that Malema is a bitter anarchist ... [Interjections.] ... and a peacetime hero who has no regard for the rule of law and nation-building.

[Interjections.]

As we have seen in the case of Eskom, they wish to create a leadership crisis that will destabilise the power utility's ...

Mr M Q NDLOZI: Hey, Chief! Sorry.

Mr J L MAHLANGU: ... expansion and delivery programme by calling for the dissolution of the Eskom board ...

Mr M Q NDLOZI: On a point of order!

Mr J L MAHLANGU: ... even before the Judicial Service Commission starts with its investigation.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Mahlangu!

[Interjections.] Hon Mahlangu!

Mr M Q NDLOZI: Hon House Chairperson ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): On what point are you rising, hon member?

Mr M Q NDLOZI: An order. This guy must call ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon ... No, no, no!

Mr M Q NDLOZI: ... the commander-in-chief Julius Sello Malema.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): I am going to switch you off.

Mr M Q NDLOZI: Alright? Commander-in-chief!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Please take your seat. Continue, hon Mahlangu. [Interjections.]

Mr J L MAHLANGU: We are not naive not to observe that this treacherous opposition is frustrated by the way the ANC-led government is dealing decisively with the socioeconomic and political challenges facing the country.

The support of the business sector and investors that still believe in South Africa as an attractive investment destination and a politically stable country gives us confidence that efforts to avert a credit downgrade that will hurt the poor more will deliver on their objective even without the support of counterrevolutionary forces and anarchists that are actively campaigning to undermine and sabotage our economic regime through regime change.

We will not allow this institution of our people to be reduced to a circus, dictated to by an agenda of despair created by spoilers, nor will we allow our people to succumb to being crowded out of the growth of an inclusive economy, including building capacities and enhancing of the state and leaders in society to work together to solve complex issues such as underdevelopment, youth development, accelerated infrastructure development, job creation, land restitution, and rural development.

In conclusion, the Preamble to our Constitutions says:

We, the people of South Africa,

Recognise the injustices of our past;

Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;

Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country;

and

Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.

We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to—

- Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
- Lay the 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; and
- Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

May God protect our people.

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso.

God seën Suid-Afrika. God bless South Africa.

Mudzimu fhatutshedza Afurika. Hosi katekisa Afrika.

We are committed to upholding the Constitution and holding the executive accountable for implementation of the National Development Plan and programmes to better the lives of our people. I thank you, hon Chair. [Applause.]

Mr M P GALO: House Chairperson, today, I will just quote two sons of the soil. Prince Mashele in his book *The Death of Our Society* talks about political rot. He starts by asking a fundamental question as follows:

How do we liberate ourselves from the belief that there is no alternative to the corrupt, incompetent, arrogant and unaccountable government under whose weight the rest of the society is collapsing?

This is what is happening in South Africa.

Prof Adam Habib talks about the erosion of political accountability when he alludes to the fact that democracy is essentially about producing political accountability. It is supposed to make political elites relatively more responsive to

the collective interests of the citizenry, and this is not happening. For instance, we have a situation where the decisions about the functions of Parliament are being taken elsewhere - in Luthuli House in this case.

The insights that are put forward by Prof Adam Habib in his book *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* will be a pie in the sky.

The AIC will bleed in this august House. Let's agree on electoral reform. As political parties, let's allow the people of South Africa to directly elect their President. We can't afford or it can't be correct that we find a situation where we are imposing Presidents on the people of this country, Presidents who will be serving the interests of their political parties while the people on the ground are suffering. We cannot tolerate that.

It is for this reason we are saying electoral reform is inevitable in this country, and we call upon the people of South Africa to support this move. We can't have a situation where this country is led by people who think that they have liberated the people of this country. The truth must be told. The people

of this country have liberated themselves. They were not liberated by the so-called liberation movements. [Time expired.]

Mr M A PLOUAMMA: Hon House Chairperson, by failing to fire the President last week, we have reduced this Parliament to a corrupt cave for our President. Our Parliament is becoming a minefield for transparency, honest leadership, and corruption-free government.

Our Parliament has become a political pet of the executive. Instead of holding the executive to account, we have become their defenders, allowing them to manipulate and escape scrutiny by following party lines, suspending our conscience, and protecting our friends and comrades against our responsibility of oversight. Future generations will remember us as a Parliament that trampled on its Constitution, that endorsed a President who has turned his office into a money-making scheme. This Parliament has reduced itself to serving the interest of the executive.

Our Parliament is down on its knees, at the whims of the President. Our Constitution has become an orphan that is physically abused by the President on a daily basis. Our democratic institutions are now in intensive care.

Unfortunately, our stomachs, lack of will, and cowardice have reduced most hon members in this Parliament to yes-men and praise singers of the executive.

Our democracy is a direct result of sacrifice, courage, and very brave people. It is very painful that we have succumbed to the politics of "let me eat first and criticise later". With our Parliament being reduced to a holiday resort or a gymnasium of verbal diarrhoea, which does not help our people, some hon members seem lost, only to come alive as voting cattle or experts in howling.

We must refocus and restore the dignity of Parliament and make sure crooks and Treasury bloodsuckers do not have fertile ground to thrive. We must rescue it from turning into a decorated brothel where you find vagabonds, poachers, the mentally dilapidated, and screwdrivers. I thank you.

Mr M WATERS: Madam Speaker, the ANC's fixation on protecting the President and his Cabinet at any cost has undermined the credibility of Parliament as an institution, an institution that is supposed to be a champion of the voters by ensuring that we, as the people's representatives, hold the President and the executive to account and uphold the Constitution.

There is no doubt that the ANC would like to see Parliament as a toothless watchdog that gives the illusion of being the great defender of the Constitution and the voters against abuse of power and corruption. However, the reality is under the ANC majority Parliament has become an institution that cowers to the executive's every whim.

One only has to look at what happened here last week in Parliament with the vote of no confidence. ANC members had the opportunity to hold the President to account, to defend the Constitution, and to put the interest of the voters before their own, and what did they do? They all voted to exonerate the President, they tossed the Constitution into the dustbin, and they gave the voters the middle finger. The arrogance of the ANC is gob smacking, to say the very least. Nine million South Africans are without work, our education system is in crisis, and yet ANC Members of Parliament protect one man and his looters while millions of South Africans go to bed hungry every night.

If you really cared about the suffering of the people and the billions of rand being stolen, you would have done the right thing last week, and you would have voted for the vote of no

confidence, but you didn't. If you cared about this very institution, you would have voted for the motion of no confidence and started rebuilding the credibility of Parliament, but you didn't.

The new Rules of Parliament are in shambles, and, despite the ANC being warned of major flaws, the ANC pushed them through. We have suspended several Rules. Just to highlight a few: The mini plenaries have been suspended due to uncertainty around how they would operate and so too have motions without notice. We have also changed the time allocations of declarations three times since the new Rules have been enforced, and we still have no clarity on the time allocated to draft resolutions. All this uncertainty lets the executive off the hook.

Hon Mahlangu, I hope you are listening to this. Another method used by the ANC to shield its Ministers and the officials in committees is the method in which questions are asked in committees. By allowing all members to ask questions in succession often results in 20 to 30 questions being asked at once, and this allows Ministers and the officials to cherry-pick which questions they choose to answer and to avoid the more difficult and embarrassing ones. This again shields the executive from accountability. [Interjections.] Yes, it does.

Only the Standing Committee on Public Accounts allows for a direct question-and-response model where each question is asked and answered before moving on to the next question. This ensures proper executive accountability, and, if we are serious about restoring the credibility of Parliament, all committees should adopt this model.

Another glaring example of placing the interests of the executive before that of the voters is how the ANC changed the Order of Business by prioritising the business of the executive over that of the people's business. So, where motions and members' statements were prioritised first, they are now relegated to an afterthought on the programme of Parliament. Important issues brought by Members of Parliament from their constituencies are mere irritations for the ANC. One only has to look at how empty the ANC Ministers' benches are when members' statements are delivered. In fact, you can look right now if you want to. Despite having one of the biggest Cabinets in the world, we can barely scrape together six Ministers to reply to members' statements on any given day.

Oral questions sessions are a cause for concern. Several Ministers are continuously absent when it is their turn to

answer questions, and some Ministers have preprepared answers to ANC members' follow-up questions. This not only undermines the purpose of Questions for Oral Reply but makes a mockery of executive accountability.

There is no doubt that Luthuli House, the Union Buildings, and now Parliament are all being lumped as "the establishment" that is part and parcel of the constitutional crisis we are currently facing. While ANC members may have won a short-term victory last week, they deliberately continue to damage the credibility of Parliament. Voters in August sent the ANC a warning which has, incredibly, landed on deaf ears. Voters are standing up to the political establishment, an establishment which places its own selfish interests before that of the voters, an establishment that takes voters for granted, an establishment that will do anything to protect their own pockets to the detriment of the voters, an establishment that only lifts its snout from the taxpayers' trough when it is gasping for air.

In 2019, the voters will send a deafening message to the ANC establishment that will not only restore the credibility of Parliament but will sweep self-interest, dishonest, and corrupt politicians out of office. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mr M R MDAKANE: Chairperson, I just want to preface what I am going to say by posing two questions. One question is whether it is correct to argue that the EFF has been captured by the DA. [Interjections.] Is it correct if I argue that way? Is it also correct, though ...

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: The answer is no. Next question. [Laughter.]

Mr M R MDAKANE: Hon members, I also want to pose a question that is worrying many of us. Firstly, it is a question that hon members this side are raising. Are we guilty when we set up ad hoc committees, task teams, and other mechanisms when you fail to convince members of the governing party and come to Parliament and argue that we are not holding the executive accountable? When you cannot present a superior argument, you cannot convince us. [Interjections.] You cannot convince us. I am talking about political acumen. This meeting is ...

Dr C P MULDER: House Chairperson ... hon Chairperson ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Mdakane, take your seat. Hon Mulder? [Interjections.]

Dr C P MULDER: Yes, in the interest of serious ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): What point do you rise on?

Dr C P MULDER: I want to ask the hon member a question, and I want to ask ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): May I allow him to respond? Hon Mdakane, would you like to take a question from the hon Mulder? [Interjections.]

Mr M R MDAKANE: Time is not on our side. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): He is not willing.

Mr M R MDAKANE: I wanted to raise ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Thank you very much.

Mr M R MDAKANE: I wanted to raise ... no, I raise this question because it is very important.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Please take your seat, hon Mulder. He has not agreed to take the question.

Mr M R MDAKANE: You are always accusing the ANC of not allowing you space to hold the executive accountable. We have changed the Rules to accommodate that. [Interjections.] What are you complaining about? The members of the executive are here. [Interjections.] They are here. There are members of the executive here. [Interjections.] They are there. They are waiting for you to pose questions.

To move from the premise that the executive is not answering questions is wrong. All members of the executive are here when they are not instructed by the President to go and perform other state functions. They have been answering all of your questions. [Interjections.] Sometimes, the problem with your questions is operational. Also, we will agree politically, hon Ndlozi, that not all questions are innocent questions. [Interjections.] They are political questions because you are playing a political game. [Interjections.] Then we must accept that.

Even to start doing what you have started to do now - telling Ministers how to answer your political questions - I think that is wrong. [Interjections.] I think that is wrong. It ... doing it that way can never work. I think there are bigger problems.

Also, the worst thing is when members of the executive come and get insulted.

HON MEMBERS: Ah, shame!

Mr M R MDAKANE: They get insulted. The President of the country came, and he was insulted by the hon members who always do that. [Interjections.]

Hon presiding officer, thank you for giving us the opportunity to debate this motion. Accountability has always been a core element of the African culture and the ANC. In the African culture, all members of the community should contribute not only to their own development, as individuals, but to society in general. In crafting the South African Constitution, the ANC - Ndlozi, at that time, was a member of the ANC - ensured that the fundamental values of accountability and responsiveness are embedded in the supreme law of our country.

To the ANC, the accountability of public representatives and public servants is to pursue their daily work in such a manner that the interests of our people and their needs are fulfilled. It is not just accountability. It is an accountability to

improve the quality of life of all people. The argument here should be about that.

Anyway, many members of the opposition simply stay away when we perform our oversight function. [Interjections.] They simply stay away. Many of them, they simply stay away, and then they cannot know exactly in what way we are doing things on the ground. Then they come here to this important Chamber and start raising questions, but they are afraid to go there and see the achievements on the ground of the ANC-led government.

[Interjections.] That is a point you are running away from. When we say these are schools built by this government, you don't want to go and see those schools. Then you come here and pose questions about something we have done.

Parliament, government, and the Public Service should play their different roles in directing public resources towards tackling the backlog of the legacy of our past. In this regard, oversight and accountability are not only about financial management. It goes beyond scrutinising the financial statements to the delivery of essential services to our people. The ANC is about our people. Whatever we do as an organisation, we are doing it on behalf of our people.

An HON MEMBER: Yes!

Mr M R MDAKANE: This is precisely because our people have mandated us to come here and work. [Interjections.] Of course, if you cannot persuade us, we cannot agree with you. All of us are here, not as private agents, but representing our parties and representing our policies. [Applause.] [Interjections.]

It is very strange that when the ANC is following its policies, we are wrong. When you follow your policies, you are right. It cannot be right that you are doing this, then. We follow the policies of our organisation. We follow the decisions of the organisation, precisely because we are here as members of the ANC. [Interjections.] We have also accepted, though, that the policies of the ANC are the best policies in our country. [Applause.] It is the best policies in our country - in fact, anywhere.

Many of you argue that your policies are super policies, but you want to implement them better than we, the ANC, do. That is the point you are raising.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: No, we're not!

Mr M R MDAKANE: That is the point. You have never presented an alternative policy that is accepted by the majority of our people. [Interjections.] No, I am talking about policies that are accepted by the majority of our people. You have not! You have not presented any policy. Sometimes, of course, there are just empty political pronouncements without cogent policies that will assist us to transform our country, our economy, our social structure, and all other matters. That is why we are here to engage with you, but we will never allow you to dance with us in your mind. We will never allow you to do so because we carry more responsibility of running this country.

We will never insult you because we can never do so. It would be ill disciplined of members of the ANC to insult anyone. Even when we are insulted, we stick to the policies of the organisation because we represent the majority of our people. [Applause.] That is what we do.

In this regard, oversight is not only about this matter. I want to quote two issues, the first of which is the preamble to the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act. I want the DA to comment on this in future. I want to quote the preamble to the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act:

The consolidation of democracy in our country requires the eradication of social and economic inequalities, especially those that are systemic in nature, which were generated in our history by colonialism, apartheid and patriarchy, and which brought pain and suffering to the great majority of our people.

Let us in this regard be reminded that section 55 of our Constitution requires Parliament to establish mechanisms and procedures that would enable it to meet its constitutional obligations. In the same vein, section 56 grants the National Assembly and its committees power to execute its responsibilities effectively.

Our Constitution also embeds the doctrine of the separation of powers, which can be summarised to mean that the legislative authority has the power to make, amend, and repeal rules of law whilst they are dealing with this matter. [Interjections.]

Just to come to the issues that members raised - there are two issues that I think I want to raise. The question is the following, really: Do we have enough mechanisms in our National Assembly to keep the executive accountable?

An HON MEMBER: No!

Mr M R MDAKANE: The answer is a big yes. [Laughter.]

[Interjections.] Big yes!

An HON MEMBER: Tell us about it!

Mr M R MDAKANE: We have more regular question days than any other Parliament on our continent. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: But the Ministers don't come!

Mr M R MDAKANE: More! In fact, we are the most privileged because we have more days to pose questions to members of the executive, but because you are not posing strategic questions, you make it difficult to answer some of them. [Interjections.]

Let me tell you, each Member of Parliament - this is factual - is afforded three written questions per week, and they pose up to two Questions for Oral Reply for any questions day. We have House debates. We have portfolio committees overseeing every executive department. We have annual Auditor-General reports. We have quarterly reports on the performance of every department and public entity. We have Ministers appearing before the

relevant portfolio committees to engage in critical matters.

[Interjections.]

Let me ask a question: Then, why are you blaming us? When members are here, they are here because they want to account. Hold them accountable as we hold them accountable. [Laughter.] If you are not posing questions that assist them in doing their work, you will blame us for this. Thank you very much. [Time expired.] [Applause.]

Mr M Q NDLOZI: Chairperson, I think we can see why the ANC did not elect him as their Chief Whip.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon member, on what point of order do you rise?

Mr M Q NDLOZI: It is a point of information. That is why the ANC did not even ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Continue, hon Steenhuisen.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: Madam House Chair, I think you can see very clearly today why Parliament is in the crisis it

is. Even after their Cabinet lekgotla where they admitted that what they had done was wrong, here we have today this slavish defence.

I am very glad that the hon Mahlangu raised the issue of Chapter 9 institutions because that is something I wanted to get to. These institutions are supposed to work and complement Parliament's role in holding the executive to account and help us be an integral check and balance on the executive. This Parliament has commissioned not one but two reports into Chapter 9 institutions over the last two decades which set out the problems about why they are not doing their job properly, and why we, as Parliament, are not integrating: the Corder Report and what is colloquially known as the Kader Asmal Report.

Let me tell you, we spent lots of money on it. We spent lots of time, including members of this House. The Corder Commission was commissioned in 1999. It has been 17 years since then. What has been done about the Corder Report? Nothing. It has been nine years since the Asmal Report was finished and tabled in this Parliament. What has been done about it in this Parliament? Nothing.

HON MEMBERS: Nothing!

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: If that is what you call the ANC taking Chapter 9 institutions seriously, I would be very, very concerned if I were you. [Interjections.]

Mr Mdakane, you said that Ministers come to the House, and we get an opportunity to put questions to them. First of all, they don't come to the House. Secondly, they don't answer questions, and it is impossible to get the presiding officers to get them to answer the questions.

We can make a difference, and I think that is the big point about this debate today. We can, by living up to the responsibility placed in us by the people of South Africa and by representing their hopes and aspirations. Slavishly defending, though, in this House after taking your oath of office, what you know to be wrong is the greatest betrayal of the oath. Hiding behind the skirts of what is called "collective accountability" is a convenient copout.

John F Kennedy famously said that when history judges our time as elected office bearers, one of the questions that we are asked is whether we were "truly men of courage – with the courage to stand up to one's enemies – and", importantly, "the courage to stand up, when necessary, to one's associates".

Perhaps the biggest the act of cowardice is expressing yourself on Twitter and in the columns of the Sunday newspapers but then not having the courage of your convictions to follow that through where it really matters: in this House, in this Parliament, for the people of South Africa. [Applause.]

We have two and a half years left of this term. Let's make it count. The best and brightest legacy that we can leave to the people of South Africa, as our mark and contribution on this democratic landscape, would be to reassert this House's role as the primary arena of unfettered executive accountability, to take back power that has been ceded to the executive, and to reassert ourselves as watchdogs, not lapdogs. [Applause.]

Debate concluded.

#### **REVITALISATION OF INDUSTRIAL PARKS FOR JOB CREATION**

(Member's Statement)

Mr I A PIKININI (ANC): Chair, the ANC is committed to reorienting local economies to become effective centres of production. It is also committed to an inclusive economy. We

welcome the launch of the first phase of the Komani Industrial Park revitalisation project in Queenstown, Eastern Cape. The Komani project is the fourth industrial park to be launched this year to develop and strengthen local economies and create more jobs for the locals, especially the youth.

Already, during the first phase of this Komani project, seven small, medium and micro enterprises, SMMEs, were appointed as subcontractors at a value of R5,3 million, with 71 local labour employed, and 63% of those being the youth. The industrial parks enable job creation, play a significant role in the manufacturing sector, and boost labour-absorbing sectors like component manufacturing, agro-processing, and clothing and textile. The ANC intends to see more of these kinds of initiatives throughout the country, as a means to realise its manifesto priority of economic growth and job creation. I thank you.

**CALL FOR MINISTER MAHLOBO TO BE PLACED ON LEAVE PENDING**

**INVESTIGATION**

(Member's Statement)

Mr J R B LORIMER (DA): Madam Chair, South Africans needs to know who were the government officials and comrades that, according to Minister Mahlobo, regularly visit the Mbombela Massage Parlour run by a self-confessed rhino horn smuggler. In the Minister's official statement yesterday, he confessed that he was not the only top official to make use of the services rendered by what he described as the spa. President Zuma should place Minister Mahlobo on special leave pending a full and proper investigation into his relationship with self-confessed criminal Guan Jiang Guang.

Their association was exposed in a documentary by Al Jazeera news channel on Sunday. After the Minister's statement, it looks like some others may need to be investigated too. Clearly, the Minister cannot continue in his current position and must be put on special leave to avoid manipulation of this crucial investigation. It is grossly inappropriate that someone privy to information on and tasked with combating organised crime finds himself associating with suspected members of organised crime syndicates.

The dwindling integrity of our Intelligence Services is at stake. The President must show decisive leadership in removing Minister Mahlobo until such time as his relationship with Guang

is thoroughly probed. Until the government makes a clean breast of this, this story will not have a happy ending. [Applause.]

**CONTINUED WHITE-ON-BLACK RACISM ON SOUTH AFRICAN FARMS**

(Member's Statement)

Mr M M DLAMINI (EFF): Chairperson, I am using this microphone because this member's statement is about white racists, so I am worried that if I am sitting next to that guy, he might try to interject, and things might get very messy here.

The EFF leadership is annoyed by the continuing racism that black people are subjected to by whites on the farms in this country. It is for this reason that the leadership of this revolutionary organisation will attend the court case 1911/2016. The case is of two white men by the names of Willem Oosthuizen and Theo Jackson who beat up a black man by the name of Victor Rethabile Mlotshwa and put him in a coffin.

These white racists then took a video and put it on social media for amusement after humiliating Mr Mlotshwa. This humiliation can be based on nothing but his blackness, which means, in fact, that it is a humiliation of black people as a whole. The

incident took place at J M De Beer Boerdery next to Komati Power Station. They are charged with kidnapping and assault with intent of causing grievous bodily harm, and the court case will take place tomorrow, on 16 November, at the Middelburg Magistrate's Court.

We call on all our fighters, ordinary South Africans, to come out in their numbers to show the racists who are members of AfriForum, the Freedom Front Plus, and the Democratic Alliance that in this country we can no longer tolerate their dehumanisation of black people. [Interjections.] For far too long, our people have been abused on the farms whose owners are in the possession of stolen property. For far too long, we have ... [Time expired.]

**DONATION OF COMPUTERS AND SPORT EQUIPMENT TO TEMBISA SCHOOL BY  
CHINESE EMBASSY**

(Member's Statement)

Ms M F NKADIMENG (ANC): Chair, the ANC has committed itself to improve the quality of education and eliminate disparities. We have always held the view that a healthy mind and a healthy body are important to developing a person holistically. Further, it is in the ANC manifesto to ensure the use of technology and ICT

in schools. We therefore welcome the donation of computers and educational and sport equipment from the Chinese Embassy to the Marhulana Primary School in Tembisa, Ekurhuleni, during an imbizo that was led by President Jacob Zuma.

The Chinese Embassy during this year's Mandela Day celebrations had committed to responding to the school's requests for assistance. The school has 697 learners from Grade R to Grade 7, the majority of whom come from poor families and will be using computers for the first time in their young lives. This support by the Chinese Embassy will impact positively on the learners' knowledge of computer skills, ensure quick access to information, and prepare them for future participation in the modern, global economy driven by ICT.

Further, this kind of co-operation with the Chinese Embassy is testimony to ... [Time expired.]

**CALL FOR BETTER REGULATION OF MINING LICENSES ISSUED**

(Member's Statement)

Mr J A ESTERHUIZEN (IFP): Madam House Chair, there are currently more than 6 000 abandoned mines in South Africa. Departmental negligence regarding the issue of mining licenses has led to so

many licenses being issued that it has now become almost unmanageable. Small-scale mining, which usually operates in remote and unregulated areas, is almost impossible to tax and also poses the same security challenges as the legal mining operations.

The Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Amendment Act could do much to reduce the onslaught of illegal miners. This prohibits every form of illegal mining and criminalises mining without a license. It also mandates the judiciary to confiscate the equipment used in illegal mining along with the products of such activities. However, enforcement is not taking place, and the impact of illegal mining activities has been made worse by the increased use of heavy and more sophisticated machinery supplied by corrupt licensed miners.

It is therefore essential for government to responsibly deal with the associated social problems from both small-scale and illegal mining operations such as conflict, environmental damage, health risks, and child labour when such operations are being conducted in remote areas. Thank you.

**HATE SPEECH AGAINST WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS BY JULIUS MALEMA**

## (Member's Statement)

Dr P J GROENEWALD (VF PLUS): Voorsitter, in 'n onlangse peiling is aangedui dat ongeveer 73% van die mense in Suid-Afrika ongelukkig is oor die politieke situasie - en 'n mens kan dit verstaan.

As 'n mens kyk hoe die land se President optree en hoe Ministers optree, is dit baie duidelik waarom mense so voel. Dit het nodig geword om die Afrikaner en die witmense van Suid-Afrika te wil uitsonder asof hulle die sondebokke is vir die probleme wat Suid-Afrika tans ervaar.

Ek beskou dit as uiters onverantwoordelik van 'n leier wat hier in die Parlement sit, die agb Julius Malema, om die uitlatings wat hy teenoor witmense maak, te maak. Dit is rassisties. Dit is totaal onaanvaarbaar, en ek wil vir die agb lid sê dat hy nie die ordentlikheid en die vriendelikheid van Afrikaners verkeerd moet verstaan asof dit swakheid is nie. Hy sê die poppe sal dans as hy President word. Hy moet pasop as die poppe begin dans.

Hy onderskat die Afrikaner, en ek dit beskou dit as totaal onparlementêr vir 'n agb lid om hierdie haatspraak te verkondig buitekant. Dit verhoog emosies. Dit skep die potensiaal vir

konflik, en dit is onaanvaarbaar. [Tyd verstreke.] (*Translation of Afrikaans paragraphs follows.*)

[Dr P J GROENEWALD (FF PLUS): Chairperson, a recent survey showed that approximately 73% of the people of South Africa are unhappy about the political situation - and one can understand this.

If one looks at how the country's president is acting and how Ministers are acting, it is very clear why people feel this way. It has become necessary to want to single out the Afrikaner and the whites of South Africa and make them the scapegoats for the problems South Africa is currently facing.

I deem it extremely irresponsible for a leader sitting here in Parliament, the hon Julius Malema, to make the utterances he is making about whites. They are racist. They are totally unacceptable, and I want to tell the hon member that he should not misconstrue the decency and the friendliness of Afrikaners as a sign of weakness. He says the sparks will fly when he becomes the president. He will have to be careful when the sparks start flying.

He is underestimating the Afrikaner, and I view it as completely unparliamentary for an hon member to spread this hate speech outside. It simply heightens emotions. It creates the potential for conflict, and this is unacceptable. [Time expired.]

### **ACCELERATION OF HOUSING FOR MILITARY VETERANS**

(Member's Statement)

Ms B N DAMBUZA (ANC): House Chairperson, the ANC is determined to ensure that all qualifying military veterans will receive subsidised housing. We therefore welcome the agreement in the meeting of the Portfolio Committee on Defence and Military Veterans, also attended by the Department Defence of Military Veterans, the Department of Human Settlements, and several provinces, to urgently accelerate the delivery of houses to military veterans.

The ANC is encouraged that funding of about R138 million has been set aside by the Department of Defence and Military Veterans for the building of 1 000 houses in the nine provinces. The department also intends to embark on a series of joint road shows with the Department of Human Settlements to assess the state of projects in the building of houses for military veterans.

This initiative is an indication that the ANC-led government cares and is serious about prioritising the wellbeing and the welfare of the military veterans. I thank you, Chairperson.

**WILFUL MISLEADING OF PARLIAMENT BY PRESIDENT ZUMA**

(Member's Statement)

Mr W M MADISHA (Cope): House Chair, the state capture is on a grand scale. It threatens the very sovereignty of our nation. It is both criminal and outright treasonous in nature. It is now apparent from what Mr Zuma stated in the NCOP - that he had attempted to interdict the Public Protector from releasing the report "because she was going to issue a report having not talked to me or asked me questions".

Mr Zuma gave untruths and blatantly misled Parliament and the NCOP, and the nation, of course, once again contravening the executive ethics code which states that "Members of the Executive may not wilfully mislead the legislature to which they are accountable". Mr Zuma has clearly misled Parliament and contravened the executive code of ethics. Cope calls upon

Parliament and all parties, in particular the ANC, to say that he must go down. [Time expired.]

Mr M M DLAMINI: Hon House Chair, on a point of order ...

[Interjections.] I am rising on Rule 31.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Rule 31?

Mr M M DLAMINI: Yes, a question of privilege: I want to tell that hon member from the FF Plus that we are ready. We can meet him on the street.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Alright. Thank you.

[Interjections.] That's not a point of order, hon member. Please sit down.

Mr M M DLAMINI: We are serious about what we talk about.

[Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): That is not a point of order. Sit. The ANC.

Mr M L D NTOMBELA: Thank you, Chair.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Let's allow her to speak.  
I will note you.

**INITIATIVE BY NORTH WEST GOVERNMENT TO DISPENSE CHRONIC  
MEDICATION**

(Member's Statement)

Ms D Z SENOKOANYANE (ANC): Hon House Chair, the ANC is committed to access to free, quality health care for our people. This is integral to our promise to deliver medication for chronic patients at selected collection points such as community pharmacies and private medical doctors.

We congratulate the North West provincial government for its progress in ensuring that patients on chronic medication are able to collect their medications at their nearest pharmacies, general practitioners, or supermarkets like Shoprite. The dispensary points that have been established across the province dispense medication to over 80 000 chronic patients.

The initiative assists in relieving the pressure of long queues and delays experienced by patients at health facilities, reduces

long working hours among health personnel, and cuts costs of accessing health care services. I thank you, Chair.

**UNDERTAKING BY O R TAMBO DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY TO INVESTIGATE  
IRREGULAR, UNAUTHORISED, FRUITLESS AND WASTEFUL EXPENDITURE**

(Member's Statement)

Mr K J MILEHAM (DA): House Chairperson, the DA welcomes the commitment by the O R Tambo District Municipality at a council meeting last week that it will investigate the more than R4 billion in irregular, unauthorised, and fruitless and wasteful expenditure over the course of the past five years. Unauthorised spend over this period amounts to a staggering R2,2 billion, irregular expenditure to R1,6 billion, and fruitless and wasteful expenditure to R24,2 million.

One has to question, however, if this investigation by an ad hoc committee totally dominated by the ANC is not too little too late. Of course, more worrying is the fact that the mayor reportedly wanted to write this expenditure off. Now, the Municipal Public Account Committees, MPACs, are established precisely to keep a close eye on the way a municipality manages its finances. Sadly, in most ANC-run municipalities, the role of

the MPAC is relegated to rubber-stamping the executive's indiscretions.

The SA Local Government Association, Salga, recommends that the MPAC be chaired by an opposition councillor, yet in just about every ANC municipality, they reserve these positions for their own. The question that the Minister needs to answer is whether he will consider regulations to ensure that the MPAC is chaired by an opposition councillor. [Applause.]

**SHOW OF SUPPORT FOR JULIUS MALEMA BY EFF SUPPORTERS**

(Member's Statement)

Ms M O MAKAUSE (EFF): House Chair, the EFF would like to take this opportunity and thank the gallant ground forces for economic freedom in our lifetime that invaded Newcastle and Bloemfontein to register their disgust at the National Prosecuting Authority for charging our leader of the revolution, president Julius Malema, with an apartheid-era law for demanding our stolen land back.

The leadership of the EFF appreciates the fact that the principle of land expropriation without compensation resonates

with the desires of black people across political parties. Members of the ANC themselves want land to be expropriated without compensation, as is the case with most black people. This was demonstrated by the presence of the members of the ANC when the commander-in-chief appeared in court in Newcastle. The presence of young members of the ANC when the commander-in-chief appeared in Bloemfontein clearly shows that the refusal of the ANC to amend the Constitution to remove the property clause is not to serve the constituency that elected the ANC to power.

The constitutional protection of private property rights is a legitimisation of colonial and apartheid land theft. It is an insult to the memories of Maqoma, Bhambatha, Sekhukhune, and many other leaders of our people who laid down their lives in defence of their land. The continued inequality is an insult to the memory of Chris Hani. [Time expired.]

#### **OFFICIAL OPENING OF SWARTKOPFONTEIN BRIDGE**

(Member's Statement)

Mr M L D NTOMBELA (ANC): Chair, the ANC has committed itself to realising a better South Africa, a better Africa, and a better world. In this context, regional integration to stimulate

economic growth and strengthen solidarity is critical. The official opening of the Swartkopfontein Bridge which will strengthen economic ties between South Africa and Botswana as well as create ease of movement between citizens of the two countries is commendable. The bridge and accompanying roads are the results of the 24 July memorandum of agreement between South Africa and Botswana wherein both countries agreed to promote cross-border trade, economic activity, and regional integration.

The Swartkopfontein entry point now offers a convenient alternative for commuters and goods. It also relieves pressure on traffic between Zeerust in South Africa and the towns of Lobatse and Ramotswa in Gaborone in Botswana, thereby leading to a safer travel experience. Our government must work effortlessly towards greater Southern African Development Community, SADC, regional economic integration on a fair, equitable, and developmental basis underpinned by a developmental model that includes infrastructural development and co-operation in the real economy. I thank you.

**SCIENCE LABORATORIES IN KWAZULU-NATAL SCHOOLS FULLY EQUIPPED BY**

**MONDI MEREBANK**

(Member's Statement)

Ms A TUCK (ANC): Hon House Chair, the ANC has committed itself to improve the quality of schooling, particularly performance in mathematics and science. Critically important is to dispel the myth of science and technology being outside of the ambit of black people. The investment of R1,2 million by Mondi Merebank to fully equip science laboratories at A J Mwelase Secondary School in Lamontville and Reunion Secondary School in Isipingo in KwaZulu-Natal are afoot.

More than 2 000 learners from two historically disadvantaged schools will be able to do scientific experiments. This is good for contributing to the improving of knowledge and skills in key sectors such as science, technology, and engineering. It will also nurture future talent in research and development, which is greatly needed in our country. The initiative also highlights the importance of the need for a relationship between the state and business to advance national goals. I thank you.

**ESTABLISHING OF BICYCLE PATROL UNIT FOR TSHWANE METRO POLICE BY**

**DA MAYOR SOLLY MSIMANGA**

(Member's Statement)

Mr Z N MBHELE (DA): Chairperson, the DA welcomes the creation of a bicycle patrol unit in the Tshwane metro police department which was announced last week by DA Mayor of Tshwane Solly Msimanga at a launch of a new clean-up campaign for the capital city -Operation Tswelopele. The clean-up is aimed at improving the filthy and crime-infested Pretoria inner city and surrounding precincts which are infamous for muggings, armed robberies, and illicit drug trade.

The intervention has been welcomed by traders who hope that it will catalyse the return of business to the now-dreaded area. Mayor Msimanga also announced the introduction and training of new metro police units, including a narcotics unit and an antihijacking unit.

By focusing on getting the basics of effective policing right and innovation through a specialised unit approach, the DA-led Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality will show how it is possible to reduce crime and create an environment conducive to investment and entrepreneurship especially for black-owned small, medium and micro black-owned enterprises, SMMEs.

In this way, we will fulfil our election promise to bring change and create jobs which the voters of Tshwane have entrusted the DA to fulfil over the next five years. I thank you. [Applause.]

## **REVITALISATION OF INDUSTRIAL PARKS FOR JOB CREATION**

### **OFFICIAL OPENING OF SWARTKOPFONTEIN BRIDGE**

(Minister's Response)

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: Hon House Chair, the hon Pikitini spoke about the industrial parks, and the revitalisation of the industrial parks was recently announced by Minister Rob Davies, and we opened the Komani Industrial Park revitalisation programme. This is one of the two big projects. The other one is by Minister Nkwinti, who sits here today; he has been championing the Agri-parks concepts. What these ideas have at the heart is creating a common industrial infrastructure to create jobs and provide opportunities for smaller businesses. Large companies can erect the buildings and the infrastructure that they need. Smaller companies need this kind of support. We are really focusing on trying to increase labour absorption in the economy, more opportunities in agro-processing ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Patel, can you change your microphone, please?

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: I suspect, House Chair, that you will give me the full time allocation.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): No, no, continue.

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: Aside from agro-processing in agriculture is agro-processing in clothing and textiles and electronics. The experience globally had shown that this model works, and it is really something that I think we want to put more effort in.

The hon Ntombela spoke about the Swartkopfontein Border Post bridge that has been opened with Botswana. A very important part of our regional integration efforts is to focus on cross-border infrastructure. In fact, earlier today the Portfolio Committee on Economic Development heard some examples of African integration, the storyline there. There are about a quarter million South African jobs that are dependent specifically on the export of South African products to the rest of the continent. If we look at what we sell in value terms, in rand value terms, it is about a quarter trillion rand. It is slightly

over a quarter trillion rand that we sell to the rest of Africa.  
Thank you very much.

**CONTINUED WHITE-ON-BLACK RACISM ON SOUTH AFRICAN FARMS**

**HATE SPEECH AGAINST WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS BY JULIUS MALEMA**

**CALL FOR MINISTER MAHLOBO TO BE PLACED ON LEAVE PENDING**

**INVESTIGATION**

(Minister's Response)

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND MILITARY VETERANS: Hon Chairperson and hon members, I just want to reiterate the government's commitment to nonracialism in South Africa, and I do want to say that, as South Africans, one of the things - it does not matter which side of the coin you are - that we should not allow for is an upsurge of racism in our country. [Applause.] In the past two or three years, we have seen a few incidents where people have made very derogatory statements and racial attacks against other South Africans. We should always remind ourselves that what led to the divisions of the past in the main had to do with racism, and that a number of people fought for us to be where we are

today. People died fighting against racism and discrimination of people.

I therefore want to appeal to all of us to continue to commit ourselves to nation-building, nonracialism, and social cohesion. I do believe that by making racial statements - like now somebody says that "die poppe sal dans" [the sparks will fly], and the others are also saying that "die poppe sal dans". Where does it take us, as a country? We will be reversing the gains of our freedom, and I do want to make a plea to all of us that South Africa should never, ever find itself where it was 25 to 30 years ago.

The second matter, Chairperson, if I still have time, is the matter relevant to an Al Jazeera programme relating to the Minister ... [Time expired.]

**INITIATIVE BY NORTH WEST GOVERNMENT TO DISPENSE CHRONIC  
MEDICATION**

(Minister's Response)

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND ADMINISTRATION: House  
Chairperson, the innovation in the North West is deeply

appreciated in the sense that it shows collaboration between the public sector and the private sector. Therefore, I would want to make sure that our public innovation centre visits that experience with the view of seeing if we cannot spread it across the country.

The last thing is that, and again, we need to put tempers down, for this is a very serious matter. Those of us who have been there understand it. We have seen how ugly it can be. It destroys countries. If we differ on issues, let us do so peacefully and argue our points. What is happening in Syria is not child's play!

Those who have lived outside our country for years and could not bury our parents understand the pain that war can bring. So, please, please, please, people, please. [Interjections.] Let us not do it. Let us not do it. It is a very serious business.

**WILFUL MISLEADING OF PARLIAMENT BY PRESIDENT ZUMA**

**CONTINUED WHITE-ON-BLACK RACISM ON SOUTH AFRICAN FARMS**

(Minister's Response)

The MINISTER OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND LAND REFORM: House Chairperson, South Africa is a constitutional state. We are all sitting here, and there was a debate earlier on, and all of us were affirming the Constitution of the country and the laws of the land. It cannot be, therefore, that members of this House would then instigate people outside to break the law of the land. [Interjections.] Then they sit here comfortably as members of this House and pontificate against the ANC for not supporting them when they want to remove a President because the President acted against the Constitution. It is double standards of the worst kind. We cannot allow that.

Secondly, on the question of farm workers being killed, I agree fully with the hon member Dlamini. You know, I have a picture of a worker from the North West, a worker that is swollen, beaten by ... [Interjections.] ... we are taking that matter and looking at the time. We are taking that matter, together with that family, to the courts of the land. [Interjections.] This is the second one!

Chairperson, in the North West, we buried an emerging farmer, Mr Mavunda. He was called by white commercial farmers to his farm on a lie, and he went there, and they killed him. We are busy working and counselling the families. I am saying this because I

would like to appeal to all Members of Parliament to work against racism - all of us irrespective of political parties. We must outgrow this tendency of seeing ourselves in racial terms. People are being killed because they are black. That is not acceptable. [Time expired.]

Ms N V MENTE: Chairperson, I rise on a point of order on Rule 68: Irrelevance or repetition. Is it parliamentary for three Ministers to repeat each other? Is it allowed? Three Ministers stand up and say the same thing over and over instead of answering questions in the House. Is it parliamentary? Is it acceptable? [Interjections.] No! It is not. Rule 68 tells you that there should be no repetition. Instead of you giving guidance and answering questions posed in the statements, you are repeating each other - the three of you!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Thank you very much. That is noted, but the Rule that you are quoting is not relevant to what you are saying.

**CONTINUED WHITE-ON-BLACK RACISM ON SOUTH AFRICAN FARMS**

**ESTABLISHING OF BICYCLE PATROL UNIT FOR TSHWANE METRO POLICE BY  
DA MAYOR SOLLY MSIMANGA**

(Minister's Response)

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF POLICE: House Chairperson, I was going to add on the issue of the farm killings and say that from us, as the police, I just hope that the police will make sure that they oppose bail in that specific case that you mentioned with regard to the person who was killed. [Interjections.]

Now, to the hon Mbhele regarding the issues of the new endeavours the DA came up with in Tshwane: Fighting crime is everybody's responsibility. I am sure you are aware of that. So, we applaud all the efforts that members of the communities come up with in order for us to fight crime effectively. Thank you.

**DONATION OF COMPUTERS AND SPORT EQUIPMENT TO TEMBISA SCHOOL BY  
CHINESE EMBASSY**

**SCIENCE LABORATORIES IN KWAZULU-NATAL SCHOOLS FULLY EQUIPPED BY  
MONDI MEREBANK**

(Minister's Response)

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BASIC EDUCATION: House Chair, the two statements in relation to education relate to three elements.

Firstly, it relates to the collaboration between the private sector and government, and we certainly endorse the support that we have received from the Chinese Embassy as well as Mondi.

The second is the very important element of the importance of ICT to enhance quality education. We have ensured as the Department of Basic Education that we train our educators in integrating ICT into the curriculum so that they can facilitate teaching and learning. We ensure that every new school that we establish has a laboratory and has ICT facilities available so that there is connectivity. We also ensure that we digitise the entire curriculum content. The mathematics and science textbooks for Grades 10, 11, and 12 have been digitised. Ninety-four editions of books in mathematics, science, and technology for Grades 7, 8, and 9 have been digitised, and our workbooks from Grades 1 to Grade 4 have been digitised. We can, on our mobile phones, download past exam papers, exemplars, as well as 200 readers. So, indeed, we are ready for digitisation in the 21st century.

Certainly, the key challenge that we face now is the one of connectivity, but we do believe that, as a result of the efforts in this particular direction, we are contributing very directly

and meaningfully to the enhancement of quality education in our schools, particularly among those who have had no access to ICT previously.

**NOTICES OF MOTION**

Ms M F NKADIMENG: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the ANC:

That the House debates the promotion and preservation of progressive indigenous cultures and knowledge systems that are not in conflict with the Constitution.

Dr H C VOLMINK: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the DA:

That the House debates how the health departments in KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, and Free State collectively contributed to approximately R6,2 billion in irregular expenditure in the 2015-16 financial year.

Mr T E MULAUDZI: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the EFF:

That the House debates the increased securitisation of South African borders that is preventing easy flow of people and goods, thus undermining the effort of regional economic integration and economic development.

Mr S D BEKWA: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the ANC:

That the House debates ways to effect the acceleration of efforts geared at providing childcare facilities at public and private sector workplaces.

Mr K P SITHOLE: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the IFP:

That the House debates the alleged involvement of a certain member of the executive and his reported ties to and involvement with rhino horn poaching syndicates operating in South Africa.

Mr M L SHELEMBE: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the NFP:

That the House debates the recent report by Al Jazeera television's investigative unit which has uncovered evidence of high-level political connections to rhino poaching in Africa.

Ms D Z SENOKONYANE: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the ANC:

That the House debates mechanism to deal decisively with unregistered nursing colleges that continue to offer nursing programmes and prey on vulnerable students.

Mnr H C C KRÜGER: Voorsitter, hiermee gee ek kennis dat ek in die volgende sitting van die Huis namens die DA sal voorstel:

Dat die Huis die voor- en nadele debatteer van die koöperasiebesigheidsmodel wat tans deur die Departement van Kleinsakeontwikkeling gebruik word om werkskepping in Suid-Afrika te bevorder.

*(Translation of Afrikaans notice of motion follows.)*

[Mr H C C KRÜGER: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the DA:

That the House debates the advantages and disadvantages of the co-operatives business model currently being used by the Department of Small Business Development to promote job creation in South Africa.]

Ms V KETABAHLE: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the EFF:

That the House debates the use of state law enforcement agencies to target and persecute opposition party leaders, particularly the road traffic law enforcement agencies and the National Prosecuting Authority.

Ms B N DAMBUZA: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the ANC:

That the House debates the ways to continue to fight any forms of discrimination, which are threats to social cohesion and nation-building.

Ms A TUCK: House Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the ANC:

That the House debates the acceleration of the implementation of policies that are geared at integrating and promoting the participation of people with disabilities in all spheres of governance and in society broadly.

Mr M L D NTOMBELA: Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the ANC:

That the House debates integrating the regional economy and markets to build a strong regional industrial and manufacturing base.

Mr M S F DE FREITAS: Chairperson, I give notice that on the next sitting day of the House, I shall move on behalf of the DA:

That the House debates the reasons why the Airports Company South Africa board has ignored legal opinion to take disciplinary action against chief executive officer Bongani Maseko for contravening the Public Finance Management Act.

The House adjourned at 18:47.

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