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NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

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The House met at Nieuwmeester Dome at 14:00.

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

[No sound and video for the start of the proceedings. Sound and video received from 14:03.]

**SPECIAL APPROPRIATION BILL**

(Draft Resolution)

The Chief Whip moved: 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

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tabled, for the purpose of conducting the Second Reading today on the Special Appropriation Bill.

Motion agreed to.

**DIVISION OF REVENUE BILL**

(Draft Resolution)

The Chief Whip moved: 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 purpose of conducting the Second Reading today on the Division of Revenue Bill.

Motion agreed to.

The SPEAKER: Hon members, I know that there's a little bit of an echo. As we are trying to make sure that we warm ourselves, so, we are contending between cold and warmth. But I think it allows us an opportunity to start and prepare for campaigning, so, we will speak a little bit with the rally voices so that

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you can be heard. And I am sure by the time you go on full campaigning, all of you will be able to do so with eloquence. Thank you very much for your understanding. [Interjections.] [Laughter.]

**CONSIDERATION OF FOURTH REPORT OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RULES  
COMMITTEE FOR SEVENTH PARLIAMENT ON PROCEDURES FOR SPEAKING  
SEQUENCE AND COMPOSITION OF CHIEF WHIPS' FORUM**

The DEPUTY CHIEF WHIP OF THE LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: Hon Speaker, hon members, the fourth report of the National Assembly Rules Committee concerns two matters: firstly, the speaking sequence for declarations of votes, and; secondly, the composition of the Chief Whips' Forum. Both these revisions came about owing to reflections on the composition of the Seventh Parliament.

At the commencement of this Parliament, the Rules Committee held discussions on the sequence in which political parties would be recognised during certain debates. At the time, the Rules Committee agreed that for prominent debates the largest political party would be followed by the largest opposition party.

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In March this year concerns were raised in the House about the speaking sequence for declarations of vote.

The prevailing sequence has been based on the proportional strength with the exception of the largest party, which has spoken last. Some members, nevertheless, argued that the sequence for declarations should recognise the official opposition immediately after the person in charge of the order. The Rules Committee has now endorsed this position.

[Applause.]

The Chief Whips' Forum plays a pivotal role in the political management of the assembly. It is a forum where senior Whips can raise and discuss internal issues that impact the work of the political parties they represent. The forum is necessarily convened by the Chief Whip of the largest party in government, but it remains important that all parties can attend.

The membership of the forum must, however, be limited to ensure that discussions can remain focused and consistent.

The proposed amendments to the Chief Whips' Forum acknowledge both the principles of proportionality and participation,

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while accommodating any changes to the composition and political arrangements in the assembly. Indeed, the rules should not ordinarily have to be amended to address changing political circumstances.

Hon Speaker, I hereby table the report of the Rules Committee for the consideration of the House, and I thank you.

[Applause.]

The SPEAKER: I will now recognise political parties wishing to make declarations. The usual time for declaration of votes will apply.

The sequence for declaration is as agreed by the Rules Committee on 26 March ... [Interjections.] ... hon ... thank you ... and this will be the sequence followed for all future declarations.

*Declaration(s) of vote:*

Mr M MANYI: Speaker, the uMkhonto weSizwe Party rises to make this declaration not as a willing participant in a neutral procedural arrangement, but as a political formation that was systemically deprived of its electoral mandate in May 2024,

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and thereafter manoeuvred into the position of official opposition, a status we occupy under protest.

We are not a DA of today; we are a dispossessed government. The MK Party's presence here is not an endorsement of the legitimacy of the current parliamentary configuration, no. It is a tactical engagement in a forum whose outcomes have already been shaped outside the will of the people. The MK Party was robbed of victory in the May 2024 elections, and we maintain that position without any apology.

The report before this House tries to present sequencing and forum composition as mere administrative matters - they are not.

An HON MEMBER: I think Donald Trump will love you.

Mr M MANYI: They are instruments of political ordering and in this case, instruments of political containment. On the speaking sequence for Declaration of vote, we argue that the placement of MK Party in the forefront of the other opposition parties and so on is noted. We accept this as a correct

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minimum recognition of the official opposition. However, we regard it as superficial concession. We are not moved.

The real issue here is not who speaks first but whose political mandate is substantively respected in the functioning of this House. We reject any attempt to normalise the dilution of the electoral will through post-electoral arrangements that reconfigure power without a fresh democratic mandate.

On the composition of the Chief Whip's Forum, we register our strongest objection. The proposed amendment of rule 257, where the Chief Whip of the Opposition is listed as another, is very offensive to accountability. It fails to recognise a fundamental principle. The Chief Whip of the Official Opposition is not just another participant. That office carries distinct constitutional responsibility.

To refuse the explicit automatic membership of the Chief Whip of the Official Opposition is neither orderly nor fair. It is simply bullying. It is a deliberate design choice that weakens accountability and fragments opposition coherence. We reject that arrangement outright.

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Rules, sequence, and forums do not exist in isolation. They either reinforce democratic accountability or entrench political convenience. What is presented here as proportionality must not become a shield for the marginalisation of dissenting mandates. What is presented as flexibility must not become a mechanism to manage and contain genuine opposition.

The MK Party therefore places the following on record. Firstly, we reluctantly accept the position of official opposition only under protest. Secondly, we accept the speaking sequence that correctly places the official opposition first after the member in charge. Thirdly, we totally reject the composition of the Chief Whip's Forum for failing to enshrine the Chief Whip of the Official Opposition as a primary member by right.

Therefore, we participate here under serious protest, and we will use this House as the theatre of protest. Thank you very much.

The SPEAKER: Thank you very much, hon Manyi. That did not sound to me as a protest. It was just a willing intervention

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from a member of the House. What is the point of order, hon member?

Mr C M DUGMORE: Speaker, I rise on a point of order. Rule number 32 regarding the Leader of the Opposition. Speaker, I think it is only fair to this House that, since we have now changed this particular rule, the MK Party informs this House who their Leader of the Opposition is, and who their Chief Whip is.

The SPEAKER: Hon member, that is not the point of order. That may be the point of debate or interest.

Mrs N J NOLUTSHUNGU: Speaker, Parliament, even though made out of just 400 elected members, it represents the true wishes of the majority of our citizens. We are here not to fulfil our personal ambitions, but we are here representing the voices of the millions of people who voted for us in this House. Our Constitution, therefore, requires us to all at all times express in this House the innate wishes of the constituencies we represent.

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A political party with one seat in this Assembly has every right to speak and communicate the views of their constituencies they represent. It is in this spirit that we are in full support of the recommendations of the fourth report of National Assembly Rules Committee for 7th Parliament on Procedures for Speaking Sequence.

21.

In line with the powers conferred on it by Rule 193 to develop proposals for the manner this House conducts its business, the Rules Committee has recommended that the sequence of speaking in this House must be as follows: MKP, EFF, IFP, PA, FF Plus, Action SA, ACDP, UDM, RISE MZANSI, BOSA, ATM, AL JAMA-AH, NCC, PAC, UAT, GOOD, DA and ANC.

We are in support of this proposal, but we would also want to urge the Rules Committee to revisit the times allocated for speaking for each of these parties. The time allocated for smaller parties makes no logical sense and does not permit for a more cogent articulation of their point of view.

As far as the composition of the Chief Whip's Forum is concerned, the EFF is also in support of the proposal made by

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the Rules Committee to the effect that the Chief Whip's Forum, must be constituted by one member from the ANC, three members from the DA, two members from the MKP, two members from the EFF, one member from each of the other parties represented in the National Assembly. The EFF supports these recommendations. Thank you.

Ms B E MACHI: Speaker, the business of the National Assembly must be conducted in a manner that upholds the high standard of respect, dignity and decorum. The IFP believes that rules should not be viewed as instruments of suppression but of democratic enhancement.

Within an institution as vital as the National Assembly, they serve the safeguard of participation, ensuring that all parties are afforded a fair and meaningful opportunity to express their views and represent their constituencies. In light of the evolving political landscape, the IFP commends all parties for coming together in a spirit of co-operation to agree on these rules. Notwithstanding certain minor reservations, the rules are inclusive and give full efforts to the principle of proportional representation as investigated.

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Furthermore, the IFP welcomes the foresight of the rule's committees in anticipation of the various commemorations that may arise in future parliaments, thereby reducing the need for continuation amendments to the rules. In light of the issues raised, the IFP supports the report. Thank you.

Mr M V DANIELS: Speaker, hon members, fellow South Africans, on behalf of the Patriotic Alliance, I hereby declare that the fourth report of the National Assembly Rules Committee for the 7th Parliament, titled: "Procedures for Speaking Sequence and Composition of Chief Whips' Forum," dated 26 March of 2026, is before this House for consideration. The report emanates from a duly constituted meeting of the Rules Committee held in terms of Rule 193 and addresses two critical procedural matters.

First, the determination of the speaking sequence for Declarations of vote in accordance with Rule 108. Secondly, the amendment of Rule 257 to realign the composition of the Chief Whips' Forum with the political figuration of the 7th Parliament.

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The agreed speaking sequence for Declarations of vote for the duration of this Parliament, as set out in the report, is formally placed on record. The proposed amendments to the composition of the Chief Whip's Forum, including the views expressed in dissent, are likewise duly recorded.

This declaration serves to confirm that the report has been properly tabled, formally seized by the House, and placed on record in full compliance with the rules and the procedures of this National Assembly. The Patriotic Alliance is in full support of this report. Thank you so much.

Ms L M NGOBENI: Hon Speaker, the fourth report on the Rules Committee marks an important shift, a shift away from a rigid mechanical system based purely on proportionality towards a speaking sequence that reflects the political reality of the Seventh administration.

The previous approach, where the speaking order mirrored party size, with the largest party always speaking last, created ongoing contestation. So, members raised a very clear concern that the system failed to recognise the evolving role of opposition parties in Parliament that is no longer dominated

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by a single overwhelming majority. Therefore, two principles emerged during our deliberations.

First, that the speaking order must reflect the multiparty nature of this House. Second, it must provide clarity and predictability so that proceedings are not constantly disrupted by procedural disputes. And so, ActionSA agrees that a defined and fair speaking sequence for opposition parties strengthens accountability. It ensures that alternative voices are not pushed to the margins or reduced to an afterthought at the end of proceedings. And, at the same time, it remains appropriate that the governing party concludes because those who exercise executive power must ultimately account.

This is what a maturing democracy looks like and the rules that evolved to reflect a contested plural Parliament and not one that protects dominance. It is for this reason that ActionSA supports this report. I thank you, Madam Speaker.

Mr S N SWART: Madam Speaker, the ACDP welcomes the fact that clarity has now been given to this contentious issue and mostly appreciate the fact that there was quite robust engagement on 24 March, almost verging on disruptive conduct.

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I think the important point that needs to be made is that, there are structures in Parliament that deal with grievances, as has now been graphically illustrated. Once one refers your grievance to the correct channels, the Rules Committee, it is very quick where a credible and worthy cause can be heard and rules can be amended. So, we support the amendment in that regard.

We also support the report relating to the composition of the Chief Whips' Forum, which plays a crucial role in the effective running of Parliament and where matters affecting political parties can be canvassed. Just as much as we support the inclusion of every political party on the Chief Whips' Forum, so, do we as the ACDP support the right of every political party to speak during debates and to have adequate time to develop their arguments in those debates.

In that regard, we, as the ACDP, believe in the fact that smaller growing parties shouldn't have less time but should have more time. So, we differ with the hon speaker from the EFF in that regard. That having been said, the ACDP will support this report. I thank you.

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*IsiZulu:*

Mnu I ISMAIL-MOOSA: Malibongwe!

*English:*

In the name of the Almighty, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, hon Speaker and hon members, as Al-Jamah we rise on the consideration of the fourth report of the National Assembly Rules Committee for the Seventh Parliament relating to procedures for the speakers consequence and opposition of the Chief Whips' Forum.

Al-Jamah, on the onset, acknowledges the importance of rules and procedures in ensuring that this House functions effectively, fairly and with dignity. Parliament is the highest forum of democratic representation and its credibility depends not only on the laws we pass but also on the integrity, transparency and inclusiveness of the processes that guide our work. The speakers sequence is not merely an administrative arrangement, it determines the order, balance and opportunity for voices to be heard in this Chamber.

Therefore, any procedures governing such matters must reflect fairness, impartiality and equal recognition of all parties

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represented in Parliament, including smaller parties whose constituencies are equally deserving of representation. Democracy cannot be measured only by numbers, it must also be measured by inclusivity.

Similarly, the composition of the Chief Whips' Forum carries significant responsibility. It is within that structure where consensus is often built, disputes are managed and the businesses of the House are co-ordinated. For that reason, its composition must be representative, transparent and responsive to the multiparty nature of South Africa's democracy.

No party should feel excluded from meaningful participation in decisions affecting the functioning of this House. In the Seventh Parliament, the electorate has clearly signalled the need for co-operation, accountability and maturity in governance. Our rules must, therefore, encourage dialogue over division, consultation over unilateralism and fairness over dominance.

The SPEAKER: I am sorry, hon member. Your time is up.

Mr I ISMAIL-MOOSA: Thank you.

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*IsiZulu:*

Malibongwe!

Dr L W MAHLATSI: Chairperson, ...

*Sesotho:*

... kgotso, Maafrika.

*English:*

The report on procedures for speaking sequence. The Rules Committee maintain recognition based on proportional strength with the largest party speaking last, a structure derived from the imported parliamentary conventions. However, we must ask if this reflects the free and dialogic traditional African governance, where the cycle and not the pyramid, is the symbol of debate and consensus.

Pan-Africanism demands that even the small party representing the most marginalised communities should be heard with equal respect and time. The current sequence with procedural sound, risk entrenching silence diverse voices of the margins. On the the composition of the Chief Whips' Forum, the move to expand representation is welcome. Yet, the formula; one for the ANC,

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three for the DA, two for the MKP and EFF and one for all small parties, remain a calculation rooted in arithmetic rather than the African consensus building.

The objection raised, particularly by the MKP, regarding the role of the Chief Whip of the opposition, highlight the persistent tension between the inherited Westminster model and our evolving South African and Pan-African parliamentary culture. We must critically question, why we continue to measure representation by formula that are foreign to our historical experience, instead of seeking forms that are authentically African, that privilege dialogue over dominance and that celebrate diversity as a strength, not as a problem to be managed with tactical rules? In conclusion, the UAT call on this House to embrace the ... [Time expired.]

*Xitsonga:*

Khanimambo!

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: Madam Speaker, the order of speaking was consistent for the last two years of the Seventh Parliament. Then, suddenly the opposition brought to a standstill the business of this House to disrupt

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the order of speaking. Not in the right forum, the Rules Committee, but randomly here on the floor of the House. Disruptive and deconstructive.

Luckily, Parliament is served by excellent Table staff who assisted in coming up with a solution that is before the House today and it was adopted in the Rules Committee. As I said, on that disrupted day backstage to the other parties, the DA does not mind speaking almost last because we will sweep the floor with all of the opposition. And, as I also said, when the order of debate was disrupted during my speaking time, a year ago, speaking after the MK, the EFF and many of the opposition parties is in many ways like speaking first. And, when will the smaller parties learn? If you want more time, win more votes.

Madam Speaker, the DA will now take its place in the order as a party of government. We are not ashamed of being a party of government because we govern exceptionally well. We will now respond to the reports just before the ANC does. We thank all those who assisted in putting together the solution that was unanimously adopted. Which brings me to the second part of the report, the composition of the Chief Whips' Forum.

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It is regrettable that not all parties understand the reason for this body's existence. That it is not broadcast or public for a reason. There should not be grandstanding but consensus in the interest of this House and this institution that we love. Therefore, the old composition made it possible for parties to be equally represented on an equal footing.

The SPEAKER: Order. Hon member, can you take your seat? What is the point of order, hon Reddy?

Mr V G REDDY: Hon Speaker, this speaker is not audible at all. Really, we can't hear. He is not familiar with the public voice. They don't work in the communities. They sit in the offices. They don't know how to use such a voice ...

The SPEAKER: ... thank you very much. Well, hon Reddy. Hon Reddy, can you, please, ...

Mr V G REDDY: ... please, we can't understand a word of his nonsense ... yes, would he speak his nonsense a bit clearer so that we can understand. Thank you.

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The SPEAKER: I wouldn't actually take that as a point of order. I would just say, you wanted to be seen on TV today and we have seen you. Hon Michalakakis, can you, please, continue.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: Thank you, Madam Speaker. I will give a printout to the hon Reddy that he can frame and put up in his office next to the photo of himself.

The newly proposed composition reflects that of a decision-making body, such as a portfolio committee rather than a body of consensus and consultation. Although the DA will now have two more representatives on this body, it is my sincere hope that those of us who put Parliament's interests at the forefront will remember the actual purpose of this forum and will continue to use it to advance the decorum and efficiency so that we can get on with the business of the people. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mr M G MAHLAULE: Hon Speaker, Parliament, as a tribune of the people, must uphold the constitutional and democratic principles in undertaking its constitutional authority. Accordingly, Parliament, in developing rules to manage the

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proceedings of the House, as empowered by the Rules, has also adopted its Rules in changing conditions.

The electoral outcome of the 2024 national elections required the Rules Committee of the National Assembly to rethink how it structures representation in participation. We have developed various Rules recognising the changing form of government with the establishment of a Government of National Unity, impacting the form of majority rule determination.

The report before the House focuses on the speaking sequence for declaration of votes. Declarations are a critical aspect of the business of the House as they afford the opportunity to political parties and members represented in the National Assembly to state their political and policy positions in response to various reports and decisions considered in the National Assembly.

Regarding the speaking sequence for declarations of vote, the Rules Committee agreed on a sequence that places the official opposition to speak first after the person in charge of the Order and the largest party as the last.

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On the composition of the Chief Whip's Forum, the forum acts as an inter-party forum for discussion and coordination of matters which the Whips are responsible for. It plays a key role in ensuring a consultative management of the political business of Parliament. The Rules Committee agreed to amend Rule 257 on the composition of the forum, balancing the overall representation of political parties proportionally, recognising the multiple roles played by the members of the majority party, the ANC.

The Seventh Parliament Caucus has co-operated and developed a consensus despite holding various views on matters. Rules of Parliament are never set in stone, and each Parliament will have to respond to peculiar conditions that arise as our democracy deepens and democratic participation increases.

The ANC will continually work with various political parties to strengthen Parliament to execute its constitutional mandate. To restore the public's confidence in Parliament, we must ensure that we execute our constitutional obligations in a manner that advances our national interests and the aspirations of South Africans.

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It was the ANC that called on all political parties to join hands in the interests of the nation. Today, we have a stable government focused on tackling the challenges impacting the marginalised and the underrepresented. An active Parliament that is robust is what the ANC aspires because we believe all arms of state should execute their roles in a manner that realises the vision and Bill of Rights in our Constitution.

Thank you very much.

The ANC supports the Rules Committee's report.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: I move that the report be adopted.

Question put.

Motion agreed to.

Report accordingly adopted.

The SPEAKER: Hon members, before we move to the second Order, I just wish to inform the members of the House, as you know,

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we are a member of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, that in its 152th Assembly that finished on Sunday the 19th, the Inter-Parliamentary Union elected the new Secretary-General, Ambassador Anda Filip as the first woman in the IPU, Inter-Parliamentary Union. Some of you who may have participated before, you might know the individual.

I just thought I needed to inform members and thank our delegation for having executed themselves well, even though they can be naughty here, but during that period they really executed themselves very well. I thank you.

I can see there is this love moving around in the passages, between the national chairperson of the ANC and the treasure general, TG of the EFF. I don't want to make any judgement, but I've just observed. The Secretary will read the second Order.

**CONSIDERATION OF DETERMINATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF  
REMUNERATION OF PUBLIC OFFICE-BEARERS, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF  
INDEPENDENT CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR THE 2025-26  
FINANCIAL YEAR**

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Dr Z L MKHIZE: Madam Speaker, the Portfolio Committee on Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs deliberated on the remuneration of the public office-bearers of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities, CRL, Commission and considered all factors including the necessity of the adjustment of the remuneration and the percentage as determined by the President in terms of the Determination Of Remuneration Of Public Office Bearers And Independent Constitutional Institutions Laws Amendment Act of 2014.

As a committee it is important to note that while the deliberations are informed by the President's determination, we bear responsibility to ensure that there is value for money and that the entity is able to fully discharge of its responsibilities in line with government priorities.

As an oversight body our work must take it to a point that the commission's mandate is backed by those it is intended to serve. In other words, the commission must play a role in strengthening democracy and promote social cohesion in our country.

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It is the portfolio committee's view that the commission, the leadership and the commissioners have handled their work to the standard expected.

Therefore, as a committee, we wish to declare the report as a reflection of our deliberations and that we approve and support the determination by the President. We ask that the House notes and approves of the report of the committee. Thank you. [Applause.]

*Declarations of vote:*

Mr G TAAIBOSCH: Hon Speaker, hon members, whilst we agree that everyone needs to be remunerated for work done, however, until such time the following issues are dealt with. There can be no talks on remuneration unless we fix the following: we rise today to defend ... just that a ... by the sacred constitutional right to freedom of religion.

Let me say from the outset, the MKP recognises that there are real problems in the religious space. There have been abuses, financial exploitation, manipulation of the vulnerable, even violations of human dignity. Even the CRL Rights Commission itself has acknowledged these abuses. But the solution cannot

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be to take place ... to take the entire religious community under state control.

When we examine all correspondence, submissions and internal reports, a deeply troubling pattern emerges. We are told that the Section 22 Committee that was handpicked lacks representation and excludes key voices.

A draft White Paper was developed without meaningful consultation, and the process itself is viewed by many stakeholders as unconstitutional.

Even more alarming, from within the CRL Commission itself, there are allegations of dictatorial tendencies, imposed decisions without due processes, interference in core functions and investigations. And religious organisations have formally written to Parliament stating that the process is not fair, not transparent and threatens religious autonomy.

Even this very portfolio committee has raised serious concerns that the section 22 process may need to be suspended. The legal foundation of the process is uncertain, that the underlying 2018 report may have lapsed and holds no legal

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force. And the MKP has made it clear that the report was never adopted by the National Assembly, it lapsed.

So, we must ask: On what legal basis is this entire process continuing?

Let us now bring this debate back to the people, because laws do not exist in committee rooms, they exist in communities, in Gugulethu, in Mitchells Plain, in rural villages across our country.

This is what the policy will do in practice: it will force small churches to comply with bureaucratic systems they cannot afford, it will subject pastors to structures they did not elect, it will open the door to state influence what can be preached, how it can be preached and who may preach. And slowly, we will move away from a country of religious freedom to a country of state-managed religion.

The MKP says, yes, there must be accountability. Yes, there must be protection of the vulnerable. But no, there must be no state capture of religion.

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The MKP proposes a clear constitutional and practical alternative.

Firstly, return to the correct processes. A national consultative conference, including all faiths, including African, indigenous and Khoi and San spiritual systems must be convened to develop solutions collectively.

Secondly, implement a true self-regulation, a charter for ethical conduct, a code of accountability developed by religious communities themselves, not imposed by the state.

Thirdly, enforce existing laws. Fraud is fraud, abuse is abuse. Human rights violations are crimes. We do not need new structures, we need enforcement of the law.

Fourthly, fix the governance crisis within the CRL itself. Because how can a body accused of lack of transparency, interference and internal dysfunction be trusted to regulate millions of believers?

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Let us not forget, section 15 of the Constitution guarantees freedom of religion, and that freedom includes even beliefs that others may not agree with, without state interference.

The MKP stands firmly for religious freedom, constitutional supremacy, community-led accountability, and we reject state overreach, ideological interference and unconstitutional processes disguised as reform.

In closing, we say to the ANC, do not regulate the fate of the people, do not bureaucratise belief ... [Time expired.] ... thank you. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER: Hon member, I allowed to continue with your speech, but just to advice members, we are not discussing the matters of CRL and the section 22, we are just dealing with the determination of the public office-bearers' remuneration. But you have reflected on the matter, but it was not for debate. Thank you very much.

Ms H O MKHALIPI: Hon Speaker, as a general principle the EFF is in support of the provisions for salary increases of public

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office-bearers, such as those services in the Commission for Religious and Cultural Rights.

As much as we support, Madam Speaker, the salary increase for the CRL Chair, Deputy Chair and Commissioners, that increase must be earned and match the commission's work. Remuneration cannot be divorced from performance.

The commission exists to protect heritage, resolve disputes and safeguard vulnerable communities.

Today, we are expected to approve salaries for Commissioners who have practically neglected their work. There are too many unresolved cases that this commission is sitting over. Cases of land, cases of initiation abuse, xenophobic attack towards the African brothers and sisters ... as we speak, here in Durban people are being beaten up, this commission is nowhere to be found ... religious exploitation and language marginalisation, to name the few.

This week the KwaZulu-Natal's Department of Social Development removed 19 children from Ikhaya Labafundi bakaJehova religious group in KwaMaphumulo. The farm-based church, led by Vusimuzi

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Sibiya, is accused of isolating members and violating children's rights by discouraging chronic medication, medical care and formal schooling because they are in conflict with the church's teachings, so they say. The intervention was not led by the CRL Rights Commission, but came after a joint oversight visit by government and the CRL.

CRL Chair, Thoko Mkhwanazi-Xaluva, called the operations unconstitutional and said people's rights to life are at risk. She used the case to renew calls for a Christian council to regulate churches, saying regulations would have allowed earlier shutdown of harmful practices. The Section 22 Committee has built noise around the proposal.

The committee intended to streamline the regulation of religious practitioners. Multiple Christian change groupings say they were not properly consulted and they are unhappy with the process. Several denominations are now calling for the removal of the CRL Commission Chair, arguing that leadership bears responsibility for uniting everyone, not deepening division.

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This follows years of warning from the CRL about unregulated churches selling healing water, breaking municipal bylaws, forcing people to eat grass and so on and so on.

In conclusion, Madam Speaker, let's balance the equation. We are expected to agree on the salary increase for all Commissioners, including the Chair and the Deputy Chair. At the end of the day, a payslip carries the same duty to serve the people, not to rule them; to empower them, not to enslave them; to build trust, not fear.

Let us negotiate these increases in that spirit. We support, Madam Speaker. [Applause.]

Inkosi N Z BUTHELEZI: Hon Speaker, culture occupies a place of profound importance within the IFP. It is through culture together with language that the identity, dignity and heritage of South Africans are preserved and expressed. In a nation as richly diverse as ours, these very differences serve not to divide us but to bind us together in a shared national identity. The Cultural, Religious and Linguistic, CRL, Rights Commission plays a vital role in safeguarding this constitutional vision. As a Chapter 9 institution, it stands

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as a cornerstone of our democracy entrusted with the responsibility of promoting, protecting and advancing the cultural, religious and linguistic rights of all South Africans.

While the IFP recognises the prevailing economic constraints, the significance of this institution remains paramount.

Accordingly, the IFP supports and approves the President's determination regarding the remuneration of public office bearers of the commission for the promotion and protection of the rights of cultural, religious and linguistic communities. Considering the issues raised, the IFP supports the report.

[Applause.]

Dr T K S LETLAPE: Madam Speaker, I'd like to put it up front that in terms of the increase to the councils in general, Action SA supports. However, the question that we raise is about the value for money from these institutions. Issues have been raised about what is happening in the CRL Rights Commission, and that question is a question that should be asked across the board from these institutions. Parliament needs to be able to evaluate value for money from these

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institutions. Therefore, if there are challenges like you have in the CLR, it is incumbent upon Parliament to bring that commission in front of Parliament to explain what is happening.

The issue of religious exploitation is a serious issue in our country, and we cannot overlook that, but our responsibility today is whether we give them increases like we, as Members of Parliament, MPs, have been given increases. It is the right thing to do. However, Madam Speaker, I would like under your leadership for this Parliament to have an opportunity to discuss the issues that relate to the CLR and the issue of accountability from other commissions as to whether they are fit for purpose and are we getting value for money.

We are the accounting officers for these structures, and we need to hold them accountable. It is not at this point that we want accountability. At this point, it is to give all of them the increase that they deserve. As we know, this type of work, you are overworked and underpaid. However, being underpaid is not an excuse to underperform. We support, but we want a climate of accountability to be created by this Parliament. Thank you, Madam Speaker. [Applause.]

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Mr W M THRING: Hon House Chairperson, the ACDP understands that this report is on the determination of remuneration. With that said, the CLR's core mandate as a Chapter 9 institution is the promotion, protection of cultural, religious and linguistic rights in South Africa, including the respect for diversity. It is, however, unfortunate that under the leadership of Mrs Mkhwanazi-Xaluva, rather than protect and promote the church in the religious sector, she has attacked, harassed and threatened it.

During her 2014-2019 tenure, she attempted to regulate against the church through a Peer Review Council to be overseen by the CLR itself. This attempt failed, but since being reinstated as the Chairperson of the CLR in 2025, she has renewed her attack on the church, this time through a section 22 committee, established, irregularly, to assist the CLR to carry out its nefarious agenda to regulate against the church. The High Court in Gauteng ruled that the CLR Commission cannot use the section 22 committee to create or enforce binding regulations over religious institutions.

Mkhwanazi-Xaluva appears to have ignored this ruling, seemingly becoming a law unto herself. This is not just an

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attack on the church, but on our Constitution itself, in particular section 15, which guarantees the right to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion. Our Lord and Saviour Jesus declared that he would build his church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Any attempt by the state through the CLR to regulate the church will be met with a fierce determined resistance by the ACDP. As kingdom builders, we will contend for the church. We can do no other. The ACDP does not accept the report. [Time expired.]

Mr I ISMAIL-MOOSA: Madam Speaker, Al Jama-ah rises to participate in the consideration of the determination by the President on the remuneration of public office bearers, including members of independent constitutional institutions for the 2025-26 financial year. At the outset, we acknowledge the important role played by the public office bearers and Chapter 9 institutions in strengthening our democracy, safeguarding constitutional rights and ensuring accountability. Institutions such as CRL Rights Commission carry a vital responsibility in protecting cultural, religious and linguistic communities, fostering social cohesion, and promoting respectful diversity in our nation. Their work must be valued and supported.

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Al Jama-ah therefore believes that any remuneration adjustments must be fair, reasonable, transparent and linked to the broader economic climate of our country. Where increases are granted, they must reflect accountability, affordability, fiscal discipline and the principle of servant leadership. Public office must never be seen as a pathway to privilege, but rather as a commitment to serve the people with humility and dedication. Al Jama-ah therefore supports a measured and responsible approach that puts the interests of our nation first. I thank you.

*IsiZulu:*

Malibongwe!

*Sesotho:*

Ngak L W MAHLATSI: Kgotso, Maafrika!

*English:*

The UAT supports the declaration report as stipulated, and we acknowledge the relevant Acts of fair remuneration and benefit for those serving in our independent constitutional institutions. Fair compensation is the cornerstone of accountable public service. However, we cannot ignore the

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critical issue undermining the very same mandate on this commission increasingly.

We observe that the law, as it stands, seems to enable those in cahoots with the corrupt state officials to persistently abuse the rights of our cultural, religious and traditional leaders. Normally, unverified and unproven allegations are weaponised, often applied by the media, leading to the character assassination and stigmatisation of the leaders who are not being found guilty in any court of law.

Subsequently, we have witnessed the disturbing instance when members of religious communities are detained under the pretext of ongoing investigations, with no concrete evidence, judgment or closure, sometimes languishing in custody without conviction. This pattern of abuse, enabled by legal loopholes and judicial overreach, raises a fundamental question: Where is the CRL Commission in all this?

It appears that on this matter the commission has been on flight mode, silent, absent and unresponsive as judiciary and arms of government exercise their power in the way that often infringe upon the rights of those that they are supposed to be

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protecting. Are commission aiding these substantial salaries to serve as figureheads, a mere blom pot of the state, or they are here to serve as a true interest of our nation and its people? The Portfolio Committee on Co-operation Government and Traditional Affairs ... [Time expired.]

*Xitsonga:*

Khanimambo!

Ms A M Van ZYL: Hon Deputy Speaker, our Constitution provides the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural and Linguistic Communities, or the CRL Commission, with an important mandate in our country's nation-building. We are fantastically blessed as South Africans to live in one of the most diverse democracies on earth - diversity which the CRL Commission must promote and protect.

The importance of its mandate requires robust oversight. The report before us may appear administrative, but it raises serious questions about priorities, accountability, and constitutional principles. It asks this House to note and approve remuneration for the leadership of the CRL Commission.

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According to the report, the Chairperson will receive R1 579 621, the Deputy Chairperson R1 342 540, and Commissioners R1 193 799 each. Those are substantial public salaries, paid by taxpayers who are themselves under immense pressure.

South Africans are paying more for food, electricity, transport and security, while millions remain unemployed. Municipal taps run dry. Sewage flows into rivers. Roads collapse. Yet here we are, approving seven-figure packages with barely a whisper of scrutiny. One red flag is value for money. Many South Africans would struggle to point to clear, visible achievements of the CRL Commission in proportion to these salaries.

If an institution commands this level of public funding, then measurable impact should be obvious. It should not require a search party to find results. However, there is another matter that cannot be ignored. The current leadership of the CRL has generated deep public concern through attempts and statements suggesting greater regulation of religion.

Let us be clear: South Africa is a constitutional democracy. We do not regulate belief. We do not place bureaucrats between

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citizens and their faith. Section 15 of the Constitution protects freedom of religion, belief and opinion. The state may act against fraud, abuse and criminal conduct, and it should, but that is very different from policing religion itself.

So, House Chairperson, taxpayers are entitled to ask: Why are they funding million-rand salaries for leadership perceived to be pursuing overreach into constitutional freedoms, while failing to demonstrate sufficient institutional impact? That frustration is real, and it is justified.

This House must insist on a new standard: remuneration tied to transparent performance, audited outcomes, attendance and public value. If institutions defend rights, they must show the evidence. Let them earn their remuneration. If they want to build public trust, they must explain it, because in South Africa, public money is sacred.

It belongs to the pensioner choosing between food and medicine. It belongs to the unemployed graduate sending out CVs. It belongs to the family waiting for water. And before we

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sign off another salary package, we owe them more than silence. We owe them accountability. Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr P NDAMASE: Hon Deputy Speaker, the ANC supports the report on the deliberation by the Portfolio Committee on Cogta, on the determinations of the President on the remuneration of the CRL Commission office bearers. Our support is based on the fact that the determination is legally sound and within what the fiscal position we are in can allow.

The CRL Commission is often overlooked on the role it plays in our country. Cultural, linguistic, and religious rights are some of the fundamental rights recognised globally by institutions of global governance, such as the United Nations. As developing countries, we must not downplay the importance of these rights, including commissions such as CRL that is tasked with these rights, promotions, and guide against their abuses.

South Africa is a country of different racial groups and the country of people with different cultural practices, languages, and religious beliefs. Majority of our people find

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their humanity in their ability to speak and practice their cultures in an open democratic way.

In similar spirits, those who are religious find joy, comfort in those religious, however unfathomable to some. It is therefore important that the position of the ANC must be understood, especially in relation to the religious sector. The ANC has no desire of regulating the church. Our view is that the church is an important pillar of our society's moral standing and regeneration.

As Parliament and Portfolio Committee on Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, we will continue to play our role and hold the CRL accountable. It is our hope that these dimensions by the President will enhance the work and boost the morale of the commissioners to serve the people better and listen to them at all times. Thank you very much.  
[Applause.]

Question put.

Report adopted and Draft Notice on Determination by the President of the Republic, in relation to the public office

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bearers of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities accordingly adopted (ActionSA and African Christian Democratic Party dissenting).

**CONSIDERATION OF REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE ON  
APPROPRIATIONS ON SPECIAL APPROPRIATION (2025-26 FINANCIAL  
YEAR) BILL**

There was no debate.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: Hon Deputy Speaker, good afternoon. I want to propose that the report be adopted.

Question put: That the Report of Standing Committee on Appropriations on Special Appropriation (2025-26 financial year) Bill be agreed to.

Division demanded.

The House divided.

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Bells rung for five minutes.

The House resumed at 15:16

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, please take your seats; hon members, we will now proceed. The Speaker has determined that, in accordance with the Rules, a manual voting procedure would be used for this division. Firstly, in order to establish a quorum. I will ask the Table to confirm that we have a requisite number of the members physically present. It has just been confirmed that we do have a quorum. The party Whips will then be given an opportunity to confirm the numbers of their members that are present.

Ms L M NGOBENI: Deputy Speaker.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Ngubane. Yes, sorry, over there.

Ms L M NGOBENI: Hon Deputy Speaker, can you just check the audio because you are not very clearly audible.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Could the technical team please check the audio? I must agree with you that it was quite soft towards

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the back of the dome. In the meantime, I think that you should use your headsets for voting purposes. But I did ask the technical team to just adjust the sound, so that everyone can hear. The party Whips have been given an opportunity to confirm the numbers of their members that are present and should indicate whether they are for or against the question. The members that wish to abstain or vote against their party vote may do so by informing the chair. Now, having confirmed that we do have the requisite quorum, we will now proceed. Hon Minister, we are now proceeding with voting.

The question before the House is that the report of the Standing Committee on Appropriations on Special Appropriation 2025-26 Financial Year Bill be adopted. Voting will now commence. The doors of the Chamber will be locked, and members will not be allowed to enter until voting is concluded. Whips, could you please confirm the number of your members present in the Chamber and indicate if they vote for or against the question. The Table will assist where necessary. Are the party Whips ready to record the votes of the members who are present, and could I also request the Whips to speak up loud so that the Table can also hear what the vote is?

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A quorum being present in terms of Rule 98(1), voting commenced.

AYES - 228: (ANC - 128; DA - 75; IFP - 13; PA - 5; FF Plus - 3; Rise Mzansi - 1; BOSA - 2; Al Jama-ah - 1).

NOES - 85: (MK - 42; EFF - 35; Action SA - 5; ACDP - 2; UAT - 1).

Motion agreed to.

Report accordingly adopted.

**SPECIAL APPROPRIATION 2025-26 FINANCIAL YEAR BILL**

(First Reading Debate)

Dr M A MAIMANE: Hon members ...

*Setswana:*

... bagaetsho, dumelang.

*English:*

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Today, I stand on behalf of the Standing Committee on Appropriations to table the report on the Special Appropriations Bill of 2026. This Bill takes place within a global context of geopolitical instability. It takes place in a context where our country is facing slow growth; and ultimately, it takes place at a time where, as the Auditor-General has reported, we face a crisis where certain entities are not meeting their audit opinion in a manner that they should.

It is within this context that I want to affirm what Minister Godongwana has done in responding to this challenge. Minister Godongwana, you asked South Africans to spend over R22 billion in additional funding to specific departments. Hon members, I think it is important that we remind ourselves that today is about a test about in our spending and our ability to respond to this global crisis.

When I undertook public hearings with the committee in KwaZulu-Natal, citizens spoke - whether they were in informal settlements, whether they were students and whether they were workers. They ask us to think hard about the choices we have

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to make about Sentech or SA Broadcasting Corporate, about the Border Management Authority, the IEC and Prasa.

Workers in communities keep constantly asking us to say they want transport so that they can get to work. They want to ensure they don't spend their money ultimately funding transport rather than feeding their families. So, hon members, this Bill I commit to you for its support because it is an important response to the workers and the people of South Africa.

It allocates R13,5 billion in Schedule 1 for approved expenditure, R8,5 billion in Schedule 2 for additional expenditure. So, in essence, some of the key items that are highlighted in the Bill are the work that Parliament must do. I would urge that R2 billion allocated to Parliament must be spent in an exemplary manner.

It follows on that over a billion rands is sent to the IEC for the local government elections, ensuring the smooth running and that we can elect councillors who will serve the people. It proceeds to ultimately allocate R889 million to Sentech,

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and the committee supports this view despite Sentech's monopoly.

However, I want to urge, hon members, Sentech and the SA Broadcasting Corporate have an intertwined relationship and therefore this needs to be managed. We must modernise the SA Broadcasting Corporate to make sure it can meet its obligations to Sentech.

Furthermore, hon members, if Operation Vulindlela is going to succeed, it is going to require additional funding towards Prasa and make sure that our freight and rail logistics and corridors respond to the economic demands of the day. It further wants to ensure that the billion rands that has been put in port infrastructure in Durban is utilised and fulfilled, so that we can accelerate our ability to respond to our global needs in logistics.

I want to urge the Minister of Transport to say that it is going to be important that we hold Prasa accountable for the execution of this project. There is a significant resource that is going here. South Africa is now dropping five places

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to number 12 out of 25 developing countries as far as the 2026 foreign direct investment confidence.

So, we have to act, and so, the committee will commit itself to exercising full scrutiny over these allocations, ensuring that Prasa can come and account. Minister, I hope you will work with us in ensuring that this money is spent properly. I want to affirm that where does public funding, departments that are failing to fulfil appropriate audit outcomes must be held accountable. It is the job of this House; it is not only the job of what National Treasury is doing.

Therefore, the allocation that has been put forward in this special appropriation is duly supported. I want to endorse the work that the Minister of Finance is doing in ensuring that we can be, ultimately in South Africa, a number one as far as freight and logistics is concerned. I thank you, hon members. I table this Bill and I ask you to support it. Thank you.  
[Applause.]

Ms N A GCALEKA-MAZIBUKO: Hon Deputy Speaker, during the opening of Parliament in 1999, uTatu Mandela said, I quote:

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South Africa did not experience what others did because we have credible and sustainable fiscal and monetary policies combining discipline and flexibility. Despite the difficulties that we have experienced, deriving from the global economy, we have resolved that we shall not cut the social spending required to build a better life for all, including the poverty relief programme that now runs into billions of rands.

Deputy Speaker, it is as if we have forgotten who we are. We are South Africans.

*IsiZulu:*

Singabantu bokuqala, singabantu abanenkathalo futhi singabantu babantu.

*English:*

We are people's people. This is who we are. It is for this reason, hon members, we collectively agreed that the Special Appropriation supports Operation Vulindlela Programme so that we can test our ideas and make the necessary trade-off to better the lives of ordinary South Africans. We agreed that an important transport sector is commuter rail. It is the most

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affordable source of transport for working-class workers and over the past years, we have increased the number of functions, rail routes and the Passenger Rail Agency of SA, Prasa, is currently implementing a general overhaul strategy to extend the useful life of key components by 10 to 15 years.

Our strategy efforts led by the people's movement, the African National Congress, have maintained commuter services during the multi-year rolling stock ramp-up and enable safe transition from old to new stock without service collapse. This is the modernisation of the rolling stock fleet.

*IsiZulu:*

Isitimela sabantu. Lesi sitimela sikhqizwa yintsha, nabesifazane balelizwe baseMzansi Afrika khona la eNigel, eGibela Manufacturing Plant, eGauteng. Ubani ongaphikisa into efana naleyo. [Ubuwelewele.]

*English:*

Today we are talking about the fleet that is deployed in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, and the Western Cape. The current plan targets 600 new electrical multiple units with more than 300 received to date. The Special Appropriation Bill allocates

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5,7 billion to fulfil commitments with Gibela to ensure the rolling stock programme is on track.

*IsiZulu:*

Abasebenzi bazogibela futhi bazowonga imali yokugibela ngokugibela izitimela.

*English:*

The ANC in Parliament will continue to play an oversight role in ensuring that Prasa manages allocated funds in an optimal manner. We shall monitor the conditions set by the Minister of Finance and the ANC will continue to support the National Treasury in linking allocation with performance and compliance conditions, which are linked to the realisation of intended outcomes of spending.

In the year of delivery, let us celebrate the doubling. We have doubled from 39 million to 77 million passengers over the past year. The agency expects to exceed 100 million passenger trips by the end of the financial year. These are not just numbers, but a significant improvement from the foundation laid by the sixth administration.

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*IsiZulu:*

Sithi phambili ngezitimela! Phambili!

*English:*

Hon Speaker, the Special Appropriation Bill allocates funds for the Iron Ore Corridor and North Corridor reinstatement, which will restore the functionality and efficiency of the routes.

*IsiZulu:*

Zizoqinisekisa ukuthi imizila kaloliwe iyasebenza ngokuphelele.

*English:*

Supporting the Transnet infrastructure of 8,3 billion is part of the backbone of the functioning of our economy and the ANC supports the allocation. Phakama, South Africa, Phakama! Hon members, we are in a period of digital transformation. Some of us may be called, BBTs, born before technology. That's fine, I am one of them.

Nonetheless, we are all certain that technology has transformed our lives and we are not going backwards. Forward

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we go. Sentech is a critical digital infrastructure state entity that supports our signal distribution. Measures to support Sentech are welcomed to improve their operations, and we call on the Minister to also focus on providing support for SABC to serve its public mandate while adapting to the challenges and the changing creative sector.

The special appropriation is about allocating funds to support areas already prioritised by the government for the period ending 2025-26. The ANC fully supports the Special Appropriation as a result of improving budget conditions, which require spending on prioritised areas. UTata uMadiba had spoken, and I shall remind this House of the words he said back then in 1999. I quote, "the foundation has been laid, the building is in progress, with a new generation of leaders and a people that rolls up its sleeves in partnership for change, we can and shall build the country of our dreams."

Hon members, let us continue with building the country for the generations to come.

*IsiZulu:*

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Asiliphathe kahle izwe lokhokho bethu. Phakama South Africa!

[Ihlombe.]

*IsiZulu:*

Mnu T I GAMEDE: Sibingelele sibonge nethuba, Mhlali ngaphambili, ...

*English:*

... I rise today on behalf of the uMkhonto weSizwe Party to formally and unequivocally reject the draft report of the Standing Committee on Appropriations. We do not reject it for the sake of being opposition, we reject it because it is a document of surrender. It is a report that asks this House to rubberstamp the continued mismanagement of our national purse by the Government of National Unity that has prioritised fiscal consultation and balancing books over the disparate price of our people for bread, for jobs and for dignity.

This Bill and the committee's report on it represent a betrayal of the revolutionary mandate to transform our economy. Instead of a bold stimulus, we are presented with a series of emergency mandates for self-inflated goods.

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The Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa, Prasa, and Transnet black hole, let us look at the numbers. The majority of this R22 billion appropriation is being funnelled into transport, specifically Prasa and the Department of Public Service and Administration infrastructure fund for Transnet corridors. The MK Party asks, how many times must we recapitalise the same failures? We see R5,8 billion for Prasa's rolling stock. We see billions for the north and iron ore corridors.

While we support the idea of rail and freight, we cannot support the method. The committee itself notes Prasa's history of procurement irregularities and financial mismanagement, but let us be brutally honest, it is not mere irregularity. We have seen report identifying severe irregularities, including fraud, bribery and irregular payments, with invoices allegedly inflated by a stature of 200% to 1 700%.

This is not just mismanagement; it is an outright theft from the public purse. The MK Party has consistently called for Parliament to move beyond superficial briefings and fulfil its constitutional oversight mandate. We have requested a redacted executive summary or a confidential in-camera briefing to

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discuss governance reforms without compromising ongoing investigations.

Yet, we face a constant tension between Prasa's use of legal privilege to withhold information and parliaments' constitutional right to oversee the executive. Parliament's oversight cannot be treated like a standard fire request. It demands full transparency, especially when billions of rands are at stake.

Your recommendation is merely to request report and monitor progress. This is toothless oversight. You are throwing billions of rands into a broken bucket, while our people in the township and rural areas still lack basic, safe and reliable transport.

This is not an investment, it is a bailout for incompetence, shielded by the DA, ANC coalition's desire to keep their corporate masters in the mining sector's heads. The Sentech-SABC first, then we come to Votec communication. We are asked to approve R889 million for Sentech. Why? Because of an ongoing dispute with the SABC over R1,6 billion in unpaid fees. This is the height of absurdity. We have two state

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entities at war with each other, and the taxpayer is expected to pay the bill for their dysfunction.

Where is the accountability? The committee calls on the parties to resolve this dispute. This is a polite suggestion where there should be a radical intervention. The MK Party believes in a strong state-led developmental agenda. This is not development; it is a decay. You are funding the dual elimination of a digital migration that has been a comedy of error for over a decade, while our young youth remain disconnected from the digital economy because data costs are still a barrier to their liberation. On global subservience, perhaps most telling is the allocation of R1 billion, Minister, for the purchase of shares in the International Finance Corporation and the World Bank Group.

While our people are starving, while the social relief of distress grant remains a patent that cannot even buy a pack of maize meals, this government finds R1 billion to deepen our ties with the very Bretton Woods institutions that have historically trapped African nations in debt and dictated our economic policies. The MK Party stands for economic

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sovereignty. We reject its subservience to globalist financial interests.

Why are we crowding in private investment for infrastructure when we should be mobilising domestic resources to build a state that serves poor, not shareholders of the World Bank?

In conclusion, hon Chairperson, this report welcomes every single allocation without a single amendment. It is a document of compliance, not a document of leadership. The submission by amongst documents underscores that the 2026 budget normalises economic stagnation and fails to address the live realities of the marginalised majority, despite bold infrastructure allocations that lack clear metrics for success.

The uMkhonto weSizwe Party cannot, in good conscience, support a Bill that treats the National Revenue Fund like a petty cash drawer for state-owned entities that refuse to be accountable, and a donation for international bankers. We demand a budget that puts the people first. We demand a budget that prioritises land, that prioritises jobs, and the total decolonisation of our economy.

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This report is a roadmap to more of the same, more failures, more debt, and more poverty. We reject it, hon Chairperson, and we reject it in its entirety. I thank you, Madam Chairperson. [Applause.]

Mr K H WAKELIN: Hon Deputy Speaker and hon members, let us deal with the reality before us today, because this Special Appropriation is not a routine budgeting exercise, but rather a situation where Parliament is being asked to approve expenditure after the fact, where workers has already been completed, commitments have already been entered into, and the lawful appropriation that should have preceded those decisions is now being sought retrospectively, which is fundamentally at odds with a core principle of public finance that requires approval first and expenditure thereafter. This is not an isolated incident confined to one entity, although Prasa represents the clearest and most visible example, because what this Bill reveals is a broader and deeply concerning pattern across the whole government, where bad project planning and weak contract management is increasingly used as a justification for these submissions.

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This is where the weak planning in turn becomes the excuse for bypassing proper financial controls. The Schedule 2 of the Bill is specifically framed as expenditure that could not reasonably be delayed. In reality, much of what we are dealing with reflects not urgency, but the failure to plan, prioritise and execute with a framework of lawful appropriation.

In the case of Prasa, the situation is stark and cannot be avoided, because strains have already been manufactured under a major contract where the necessary appropriation was not in place at a time those commitments were made. This creates a clear and material risk for possible irregular expenditure, and yet instead of responding to that risk by strengthening controls, the committee rejected the simple and reasonable safeguard that was proposed by the DA. Approximately R8 billion is due under this manufacturing arrangement, of which only R5,7 billion is provided for in this Special Appropriation.

This leaves significant balance that will be returned to this House, and when it does, members must ask themselves whether we will once again be placed under pressure to approve funding after the fact. If that becomes the pattern, then Parliament

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is no longer exercising oversight, but is instead being compelled to realise decisions taken outside of its authority. The concern does not end with Prasa. Across many national departments, provinces and SOEs, we see the same structural risk emerging consistently, where bad planning, weak project execution leads to types of submission, which then puts pressure on Parliament to regularise. Seventy per cent of the total allocation of this Bill is directed towards infrastructure investment in rail, ports and freight corridors, precisely the area where the state has consistently struggled with delays, cost overruns and weak implementation capacity, and yet billions are being allocated without enforceable guarantees which raises the question of whether this is true investment or simply increased fiscal exposure without sufficient control mechanisms in place.

At the same time, we are allocating further resources to entities that are already under financial strain. Sentech is receiving additional operational funding, while it remains locked in a dispute of approximately R1,6 billion with the SABC over unpaid distribution fees. This shines a light on ongoing systemic weaknesses and raises legitimate concerns

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about whether these allocations are addressing the root problem or merely postponing them.

The Parliamentary Budget Office has warned that the success of this Special Appropriation depends fundamentally on the quality of governance, effective project execution, measurable service delivery outcomes and robust oversight. Despite this clear warning, we have been asked to approve funding on circumstances where those very risk remains unresolved, and where the mechanisms to mitigate them have been weakened rather than strengthened. Even the committee has recognised the need for rigorous oversight, particularly in relation to Prasa, yet the report before us reflects the decision to remove key safeguards that the DA has proposed.

This contradiction, what is acknowledged as necessary and what is ultimately adopted, cannot be ignored. The suggestion that investing on accountability somehow places strain on the Government of National Unity, GNU, is fundamentally misplaced, as accountability does not weaken governance arrangement, but rather strengthen their legitimacy, whereas the tolerance of irregular process ultimately undermines them.

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The position of the DA is therefore clear and grounded in principle. We recognise that obligation of this Bill must be met, but we will not support the normalisation of a system in which expenditure precedes approval.

We thank the Minister and the Deputy Minister of Finance for intervening and agreeing with us that tighter controls are required, not just with Prasa, but with a number of other entities and departments.

The DA, based on the commitment made by the Minister, are prepared to support this Special Appropriation only on the basis that the National Treasury imposes strict and enforceable conditions, which includes milestone-linked future disbursement, independent verification of work completed, formal determination of any irregular expenditure, clear consequence management for those that are responsible, and structured reporting back to Parliament to ensure ongoing oversight. Without these conditions, this House would not be exercising its constitutional responsibility. It would instead be cleaning up after governance failure, and that is not a role Parliament can afford or accept.

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Ultimately, this debate is about more than Prasa or any single allocation. It is about the culture, the standard that is set by public financial management in this country. If we accept a culture where spending occurs first and approval follows later, we are establishing a precedent that will extend beyond this Bill and into future budgets further eroding the discipline essential to protect public resources. We can deal with the obligation, but we will not legitimise this breach. I thank you. [Applause.]

*Siswati:*

Nkst H C MKHONTO: Sihlalo, ngiyabingelela kumkhuti wemasotja emnotfo eNingizimu Afrika, mhlon Julius Malema, Phunyuka bamphetse, Mabonwa abulawe, iMamba leluhlata ...

*English:*

The Economic Freedom Fighters rejects the Special Appropriation Bill. We reject this Bill not because the needs it seeks to address are unnecessary, but because it reflects a government that has lost the ability to plan, to account, and to govern in the interest of its people.

*Siswati:*

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Indzaba yekwakhiwa kabusha kweNdlu yeSiShayaMtsetfo sibonelo lesicacile sekwehluleka kwaHulumende wekuBambisana weSive.

*English:*

When this project began, we were told that early assessments placed the cost at approximately R2,2 billion. Today, we are told that we must add another R2 billion, and still there is no certainty about the final cost. This is unacceptable. This is not just any infrastructure project; it is the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. Yet it is being handled in a manner that reflects the worst excesses of waste, cost escalation, and a lack of accountability that characterises public infrastructure in this country. We have it on good authority that when this project is complete - if it is ever completed - South Africa will require a full commission of enquiry.

There are serious allegations of collusion involving the Department of Public Works and Infrastructure, concerns about the role of the Secretary to Parliament, and the involvement of the Development Bank of South Africa, DBSA. The myth that the DBSA is immune from corruption must be rejected. No institution in a system like this is beyond scrutiny.

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This Bill further exposes the contradictions of government policy. We are allocating R1 billion through the DBSA for the reconstruction, deepening, and lengthening of the tap and container terminal, while at the same time pursuing the privatisation of ports and logistics. This is irrational.

The state uses public money to build infrastructure, only to hand it over to private interests, whose sole objective is profit. The outcome is predictable. Higher costs, exclusion, and the continued extraction of value from public assets by private capital.

Instead of directing this R1 billion towards a reindustrialisation, towards mineral beneficiation, and towards building domestic productive capacity, we continue to finance infrastructure that sustains a colonial pattern of exporting raw materials. This is not economic transformation; it is economic surrender.

The allocation of R5,7 billion to Prasa is necessary, but it is required due to failure. It is needed because rail infrastructure in South Africa was allowed to collapse through corruption, neglect, and, in some cases, deliberate

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destruction. We are one of the few countries in the world rebuilding rail infrastructure not because of war, but because of systemic governance failure. Rail systems were designed to endure, yet in South Africa they were dismantled, creating opportunities for tenders and looting.

While we support the rebuilding of rail to reduce congestion, lower transport costs, and improve the lives of working people, we cannot ignore the political economy that produces this crisis in the first place.

The most fundamental problem with this Bill is that it comes to us as a special appropriation. This confirms what we have constantly argued, the budgeting system of this country is broken. Expenditure that could and should have been placed, it is instead presented as urgent and unavoidable. Parliament is expected to respond to crisis rather than shape development priorities. This undermines oversight and weakens the democratic control over public finances.

*Siswati:*

Asikwati kuchubeka ngekwenta tintfo ngalendlela.

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*English:*

We need a budgeting system that is proactive, aligned to a clear industrial strategy and that directs resources towards transforming the structure of the economy. This Bill does none of that. It reflects a government that reacts, that patches, and that manages decline instead of leading development.

*Siswati:*

Asihambisani nalo Mtsetfo Sivivinyo weLwabiwa Timali Lolukhetsekile. Siyayala. Ngiyabonga.

*English:*

Ms B E MACHI: Hon Deputy Speaker, the Special Appropriation Bill comes before this House as a necessary instrument to address urgent fiscal requirements within the current financial year. The IFP recognises that special appropriations are at times unavoidable. The government must retain the capacity to respond to the unforeseen pressures, particularly where critical infrastructure, public entities, and key national processes are concerned. However, what must concern this House is not merely the amount being appropriated, but the pattern it reflects.

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This Bill includes substantial allocations to entities such as the accelerator commission, infrastructure funds, railway revitalisation programmes, and various state-owned enterprises. While these areas are undeniably important for the functioning and growth of our economy, we must ask why these expenditures are not adequately anticipated and managed within the normal budget cycle. Every expense must translate into improved service delivery, economic growth, and tangible benefits for our people, not recurring bailouts for entities that fail to meet performance expectations.

At the same time, we acknowledge the importance of strategic investments in infrastructure, especially in rail, digital connection, and logistic corridors, which are essential for unlocking economic growth, improving competitiveness, and creating jobs. These are the type of investments that can stimulate long-term development and restore confidence in the economy. However, these allocations must be accompanied by strict accountability, mechanisms, clear performance targets and measurable outcomes.

Without these safeguards, even well-intentioned spending risks being undermined by inefficiency, mismanagement, and

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corruption. The Bill must serve as a wake-up call. The government must strengthen budget credibility, improve long-term fiscal planning, and enforce consequence management, whether it is financial mismanagement or poor performance.

In conclusion, the IFP supports necessary funding that sustains the functioning of the state and supports critical economic infrastructure. However, we emphasise that special appropriations must remain the exception, not the norm. The IFP supports the Special Appropriations Bill, but with a firm call for greater discipline, accountability, and forward planning.

South Africa needs a government that plans ahead, spends wisely, and delivers effectively. Thank you, Deputy Speaker.

Mr A Q SAULS: Greetings in the wonderful name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

[An unofficial language spoken.]

Scripture warns us clearly in Matthew 6:24 that no one can serve two masters. You cannot serve both God and mammon. For

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too long, the god of money has dictated the heartbeat of our nation through greed, corruption, and the worship of self-interest. But there is a shift in the atmosphere. I believe we are witnessing an awakening of righteous and ethical leaders whom God is placing in positions of authority. It is no coincidence that a born-again believer now chairs the appropriation committee, the hon Dr Mmusi Maimane. This is a sign of a new standard of accountability, not just to the Auditor-General, but to the Almighty God.

I have done a deep dive into the Appropriation Bill, and as good stewards, we must examine these funds to see if it truly serves the least of these. Our bread-and-butter issues are not just line items; they are the survival of our people. Looking at Vote No 3, Co-operative Governance, we see a massive R135 billion allocated to enable service delivery at local government level. Of this, the local government equitable share stands at over R110 billion. This money must reach the taps that are dry and the streets that are dark. There is also R37,9 billion under National Treasury for economic growth and rising living standards.

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However, numbers without integrity are clanging cymbals. This brings me to a message I encountered whilst in Kwa-Zulu Natal this weekend, through a book authored by Pastor Shailen Singh, *The Kairos of Mercy*. With a master's degree in Sociology, he speaks of a 10-year window of change for South Africa – a Kairos moment where the window of God's mercy is open for us to turn the ship around. We are currently in that window. If we manage these billions with the heart of a steward, we fulfil the 10-year promise of a transformed South Africa. The GNU is already showing that we are no longer a country in despair; we are a country in repair.

As we deliberate on these appropriations, let us remember that every rand diverted, every cent misappropriated is a prayer unanswered of a mother in a rural clinic. May the wrath of God come on those who does not ensure that the R101 billion health budget reach clinics in Vukaphansi, clinics in Jozini Local Municipality, KwaZulu Natal.

We must choose today to stop worshipping the golden calf of the National Revenue Fund, and start serving South Africans with the righteousness that God demands. The awakening is here. The young leaders are rising. Let us use this

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Appropriation Bill to bring justice to the poor and honour to our Creator. I thank you.

[An unofficial language spoken.]

*English:*

The PA supports.

*Afrikaans:*

Mnr W W WESSELS: Voorsitter, die gebruik van 'n Spesiale Toedelingswetsontwerp het oor die afgelope dekade heeltemal sy benaming van spesiaal verloor, omdat dit die norm geword het. Daar is elke jaar, met elke hoofbegroting ook 'n spesiale Toedelingswetsontwerp. Dit kan nie reg wees nie.

Ja, soms is daar meer geld, meer belastinginkomste en moet dit toegedeel word, maar baie hiervan, wat ons sien is swak beplanning of fondse wat reeds bestee is, geld wat eintlik reeds aan projekte toegedeel is, maar wat dan met hierdie spesiale Wetsontwerp eintlik retrospektief goedgekeur word. Dit kan nie die norm bly nie. Daar moet beter berotingstegnieke ingestel word.

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Terwyl dit gesê word, kan die begroting perfek wees, die toedelings kan reg en noodsaaklik wees, soos byvoorbeeld met die feit dat ons 'n krisis het, wat spoorwegvervoer van passasiers betref. Ons het daardie nuwe lokomotiewe nodig, maar nou gaan dit nie oor die begroting en die toedeling nie; dit gaan oor die besteding.

As die besteding nie korrek is nie, as die besteding ten opsigte van die herbou van die Parlement nie die regte toesig ontvang nie en daardie geld deur korrupsie vermors word, en daar allerande ander uitlaat van daardie geld is, en dit verlore gaan, dan is ons besig om by die mense van Suid-Afrika te steel. Die begroting beteken nie alles nie. Die besteding is belangrik.

Die kommer is die feit dat, wanneer mens oor sekere uitgawes lees veral ten opsigte van die herbou van ons Nasionale Vergadering, dan laat dit vrae ontstaan. Ons as die Parlement, as die oorsigliggaam kan nie toelaat dat daar oorbestede word en veral dat daar geld vermors word nie.

Beter toesig is nodig, soos hierdie verslag van die Toedelingskomitee ook voorstel. Ons ondersteun die feit dat

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ons baie beter toesig oor die herbou van die Parlment moet uitoefen, sodat daardie korrupsie gestop word.

Alle groot konstruksieprojekte in Suid-Afrika is omtrent 'n korrupte spul. Ons moet dit in belang van die armes stop, in belang van vooruitgang. Die hele Prasa-situasie ... Prasa is vernietig weens korrupsie, geldgierigheid en mense wat swak bestuur uitgeoefen het. En dit was tot nadeel van die armstes.

Daardie geld is dus goed, maar dan moet dit reg bestee word. Dit kan nie gesteel word nie. Die regte toesig en die regte verantwoordbaarheid moet geskied. Ek dank u.

Mr A D BEESLEY: Hon House Chair, the Special Appropriation Bill before us provides R13,5 billion in the 2025-26 financial year for expenditure already authorised under section 6 of the Appropriation Act of 2025. It further allocates R8,5 billion for what is described as urgent and unavoidable expenditure.

Action SA's primary concern lies with how this additional R8,5 billion is being allocated. Of this amount, R5,8 billion is directed to Prasa for its Rolling Stock Fleet Renewal Programme, ostensibly to meet contractual obligations linked

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to modernising community rail. But Prasa no longer moves passengers, it moves money. And for too often that money flows away from commuters and into the hands of those who exploit a broken system.

Despite years of bailouts, grants and subsidies, Prasa has been hollowed out by corruption and incompetence. A recent presentation to Scopa about its board and executive management laid bare the extent of the damage and the scale of taxpayers' funds that have been wasted.

The decline in performance is stark. In 2014-15, Prasa facilitated approximately 500 million passenger trips. Ten years later, this figure has to collapse to R77 million. In the current year, or the past financial year, Prasa recorded an operating loss of R8,5 billion. As funding has increased, delivery has deteriorated. Prasa has shifted from a public transport provider to a pipeline for public funds, extracting value rather than delivering it.

The evidence of failure is overwhelming. A forensic investigation into the general overhaul project revealed systematic irregularities, including corrupt relationships

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between employees and contractors, price inflations of between 200% and 1 700%, and fabricated invoices. This is not mere inefficiency; it is organised looting.

Equally concerning is Prasa's inability to use its assets. A fleet of 146 new trains procured at a cost of R19,4 billion remained significantly underutilised. The Auditor-General identified this as a material irregularity. Seventeen trains worth R2,78 billion did not operate at all, while 37 trains valued at R6,9 billion travelled less than 300 kilometres in the 2023-24 financial year. So, we must ask, what are we funding today? A recovery in commuter rail or the continuation of failure?

Given Prasa's track record, Action SA believes it will be irresponsible to allocate further taxpayers' funds without fundamental reforms and accountability. South Africans should not be expected to bankroll corruption and inefficiency. In the past, our government has spent billions on buying trains that don't fit our networks and have spent billions refurbishing rolling stock that will never roll again.

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The time has come to draw a line in the sand. No reform, no additional funding. For these reasons, Action SA cannot support this allocation to Prasa and will vote against the Special Appropriation Bill. I thank you.

Mr S N SWART: House Chair, the ACDP supports the additional allocation of R2 billion for building of Parliament, as well as the additional allocation of R1,1 billion for the Independent Electoral Commission, IEC, to prepare for the very important 2026 local government elections. It is crucial in our view that competent, able, God-fearing men and women are elected as councillors - those who are trustworthy and hate dishonest gain, to rescue and save our dismal municipalities and provide the much-needed service to citizens.

Balanced against this is, of course, the bailouts for state entities. As far as the R7 billion allocated to the Passenger Rail Agency of South African, Prasa, is concerned, and whilst fully acknowledging the social importance of commuter rail, the ACDP remains deeply concerned about this additional allocation, given not only the fact that it is after the fact, but that there have been damning findings of the Zondo Commission against Prasa, which remain largely unresolved.

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Yes, whilst there has been some audit, improvements have been made, the core issues of corruption, governance failures and a failure to prosecute individuals persists. It is interesting that the 2020 High Court ruling which found the Siyangena contract's unlawful R5 billion, has seen hardly any recovery of those funds. Now, we again after the effect, are expected to approve a further allocation of billions of rands. Surely, hon Minister, it makes sense to insist that Prasa collects the billions of rands that are due to it before allocating more. Are we not otherwise committing hard-earned funds yet again to a bottomless pit? The question arises: Are we then good stewards of funds that have been entrusted to us?

As of February this year, Prasa is still dealing with the consequences of paying thousands of ghost workers and dealing with new fraud allegations.

The ACDP was under the impression that bailouts for state entities were coming to an end, but again, we see this. Yes, we've heard of certain conditions that are to be imposed, and hopefully that will be helpful.

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We are also concerned about the millions to Sentech and the tension between it and the SABC. Every hard-pressed taxpayer demands increased transparency and tighter control over state expenditure. We see the ship is starting to turn in the right direction, but until that is achieved. We as the ACDP cannot exercise good stewardship in approving these funds after the fact which basically excludes parliamentary budgeting processes and oversight. We will regrettably not be able to support this Bill whilst there are certain aspects of it... Thank you. [Time expired.]

*Xitsonga:*

Tat S M GANA: Mutshamaxitulu...

*English:*

... before this debate, there was a vote in terms of whether the report of the committee must be accepted. As Rise Mzansu, we voted in support of the report. We therefore also support the Special Appropriations Bill. We welcome that there is money set aside allocated for the rebuilding of Parliament. We have now been without the National Assembly Chamber for over four years. Let this funding ensure that the rebuilding

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process moves swiftly so that we will not have to spend four more years in this dome.

The allocation to the Electoral Commission will also go a long way to ensure that the upcoming local government elections are free, fair and accessible to every South African. This is a vital opportunity for South Africans to shape how their municipalities operate and are governed, and that new leaders are indeed elected in these municipalities.

We are also encouraged by the over R15 billion appropriated for the vital transport infrastructure projects. This investment is desperately needed not only to recover from the years of underinvestment into our transport infrastructure, but also to build the foundation needed for a brighter future. Our economy cannot move without working rail, roads and ports.

While we welcome these allocations, we cannot help but be reminded of how public funds have been wasted in the past to unfinished projects and project delays, tender irregularities and junctural corruption and stealing of the public funds. I am reminded of a newly built roads that I saw in KwaZulu-Natal just a few months ago, where a brand-new road meant to

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accommodate the much-needed bus routes in eThekweni, but the buses were nowhere to be seen, while communities still have to walk kilometres in the dark.

We urgently need investment in infrastructure, but it is vital that the benefits of these investments reach residents, communities and local businesses. This can only be achieved through strict monitoring and oversight to ensure that every cent goes where it needs to go and every project is implemented on time. Let us ensure that the entire R22 billion appropriations contained in this Bill will go towards building a safe, a prosperous and a united South Africa in one generation.

*Xitsonga:*

Ndza khensa, Mutshamaxitulu.

Mrs N L HLAZO-WEBSTER: House Chair, as Bosa we have expressed our support for the Special Appropriation Bill. We do so recognising that a Special Appropriation Bill is designed to act where gaps have emerged and where immediate action is required. There are allocations in this Bill that are necessary. Investment in rail and ports infrastructure, for

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example, which has been mentioned numerous times here today, is about more than just numbers. It is about whether businesses remain viable, and it is about whether South Africans can access their jobs. So, on this, we aligned.

But we are also mindful of the broader context in which this Bill is being debated. There are those who have come up and spoke of government as though it exists somewhere else. But in the government of national unity, GNU, government is not abstract, it includes them. It is not enough to point to problems of governance from the sidelines. Those within the GNU carry a responsibility to ensure that where budget is allocated, better governance follows, and not to simply distance themselves from the outcomes. South Africans don't benefit from that kind of distancing by those who are in government. They benefit from decisions that stabilise key sectors that keep the economy moving.

From Bosa perspective, supporting this Bill though does not mean we ignore the pressures that continue to define everyday life of South Africans. The commuter that is facing rising transport costs, households adjusting to higher food prices, the learner that still dependent on a toner system that

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requires sustained investment. These are not abstract concerns. They are in many ways fiscal emergencies for South African households, and we would have wanted to see them more meaningfully reflected in the Special Appropriation being fiscal emergencies.

The temporary fuel levy relief is very much welcome. But the pressure on households does remain real. While this Bill addresses immediate economic infrastructure, it also reminds us that long-term drivers like basic education do require continued attention.

The Special Appropriation Bill cannot do everything, but it must do what is necessary and it must do it on time. As Bosa we support the steps taken here in this Bill because they matter now. But we remain clear eyed about the work that still lies ahead. Thank you.

Mr M SEGEDE: Hon House Chair, strengthening our democracy through support for Parliament and the Independent Electoral Commission, IEC, local government elections. The year 2026 marks a significant phase in our constitutional democracy as we celebrate 30 years since the adoption of our Constitution

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in 1996. Our Constitution sets apart for a constitutional democratic state that protects the human rights of all South Africans and embeds the principles and values of the Freedom Charter. Our history as a nation is one of colonialism and apartheid which excluded the Black majority from participating in the policy and governance of the country.

As we celebrate 30 years of our Constitution, we will hold our 2026 local government elections, which give expression to the aspirations of the people as espoused in the Freedom Charter which declared that "the people shall govern". Our journey in local government has brought about transformation in our communities. Our Constitution further embeds the rights of all citizens to participate in deciding a local councillor to represent the interests of the community in local governance. Local government is a sphere of government closest to the people, responding to the most basic needs such as sanitation, housing, water, roads and planning local development. The ANC is currently focused on ensuring measures are implemented to fix local government.

It is important that all eligible voters take an interest in local governance. Thus, the Special Appropriation Bill we are

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considering, supports exercises of this fundamental democratic right of all citizens to vote. As a nation, we must take pride in the fact that the Independent Electoral Commission has conducted free and fair elections in our country. The allocation of the R1,1 billion for the IEC is critical to ensure that the IEC conducts successful local government elections this year.

As a country, we have been experiencing a decline of voter registration percentages and voter turnout on election day. As public representatives of the people and the IEC, we have a duty to ensure civic awareness and promote and encourage participation of all eligible South Africans to participate in elections. The ANC is committed to democratic principles. We will mobilise our people in all streets of our wards and voting districts. We further call on South Africans to remember that our right to vote was born out of the blood of the black oppressed South Africans.

Another critical allocation from the Special Appropriation Bill is funds for the rebuilding of Parliament. The project of rebuilding the Parliament is about our heritage and providing adequate facilities to ensure an accessible and well-

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functioning Parliament. The impact of the burning of Parliament has resulted in major financial implications and impacted the functioning of Parliament. The allocation funds will go a long way to ensure the project is completed in a timely manner. The Parliament that is being rebuilt should serve as a source of pride for coming generations.

As the ANC, through the Joint Standing Committee on Financial Management of Parliament, we will ensure that the administration of Parliament and the Speaker are held accountable for allocated funds in a manner that improves the impact of Members of Parliament, support for constituency work in other key areas which requires all Members of Parliament from different political parties to stay in contact with their people to ensure this House becomes a true tribune of the people.

Furthermore, the Special Appropriation Bill provides an allocation to assist political parties represented in Parliament for our democracy to work. Our political parties should have the resources to function as they are the drivers of inputs in the work of Parliament. If political parties are not resourced for functioning, this weakens our democracy. A

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functional and impactful Parliament requires adequate resources and support from Members of Parliament. As Parliament, our capabilities should enable adequate execution of constitutional obligations based on implacable evidence and robust public participation to consolidate the voice of South Africans.

The R2 billion allocated will enhance our democracy and responsiveness of Parliament as an arm of state. South Africa is committed to participating in various multilateral organisations, such as the World Bank, which also serves as a source and support system for our national resources mobilisation efforts, such as concessional funding and other support.

*IsiXhosa:*

Ukuthenga oololiwe kuncedisana nabantu bethu abangenazo iimoto nokukhwela ingwelomoya. Yiyo loo nto siwuxhasa lo Mthetho oSaYilwayo.

*English:*

The ANC supports this Special Appropriation Bill as it advanced key imperatives of the Government of National Unity

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and supports institutions supporting our democracy. I thank you.

Mr I ISMAIL-MOOSA: Hon House Chair, in the name of Almighty, the most gracious and the most merciful, I greet our fellow beloved nation in the name of peace. Hon Chairperson, let me first begin with taking the opportunity to commend the sterling work in the Department of Social Development of one of the greatest dedicated leaders in today's time, day and age, which is none other than the leader of Aljama-Ah, Ganief Hendricks. I also take the opportunity to pray for his speedy recovery to continue his dedicated services and contributions to many nations.

In the best interest of our nation, Aljama-Ah supports this Bill. Aljama-Ah understands that when urgent and unforeseen circumstances require Parliament to act decisively in the national interest, Parliament carries a constitutional responsibility to ensure that public funds are allocated where needed most, at the same time maintaining strict oversight and accountability. Let us face truth and reality. Many of our beloved countrymen are facing enormous pressures, burdened by unemployment, rising food prices, falling infrastructure,

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crime and inadequate service delivery. Any additional appropriation must therefore respond directly to the lived realities of our people.

Aljama-Ah supports interventions that strengthen essential services, protect the vulnerable and stabilise key institutions that are critical to economic recovery and social development. Aljama-Ah emphasises that every rand approved must be understood that it belongs to the people of South Africa and must be spent transparently, efficiently and for measurable outcomes. Aljama-Ah also calls on departments and entities receiving such allocations to provide regular progress reports to Parliament. Funds must be spent responsibly.

This Bill must ultimately serve the poor, create hope and restore confidence in the State's ability to govern responsibly. Where funding addresses urgent national priorities and is accompanied by robust oversight, it deserves support. Aljama-Ah reaffirms that accountability and service delivery must remain central to every appropriation passed in this Chamber. Malibongwe.

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Mr S TAMBO: Hon House Chairperson, on a point of order: I wanted to raise it as a point of order for transparency that the YouTube Channel is consistently collapsing whether is an image or sound. When members are debating, there is a technical term, called a lower third, where your name appears but it is not appearing there. So, the people of South Africa do not only have consistent access to the image and sound but they do not know who is talking. It could be some stranger or some clown who infiltrated Parliament. So, can we get the technical issues fixed because we are told they will be fixed tomorrow. It is very inadequate. Thank you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Thank you for bringing it to my attention, hon member. It will be attended to.

Mr W M DOUGLAS: Hon Chairperson, I want to greet you all in the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and I want to greet you all in the language of the Khoi and San people, the first nation people of South Africa.

[An unofficial language spoken.]

*English:*

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The MK rejects this Special Appropriation Bill as it asked this House to approve over R22 billion in emergency spending not to build the economy nor create jobs but to fix failures created by this very Government of National Unity, GNU, government, a coalition of convenience. This is not a stimulus nor a transformation, it is a bailout budget, an save our ship, SOS.

Hon Maimane mentioned R1 billion to the Independent Electoral Commission, IEC, for elections but will the MK's votes be stolen again with this R1 billion? Billions are being poured into Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa, Prasa, and Transnet R5,8 billion for rolling stock, billions more for "Blade Corridors" but we must ask how many times must we recapitalise failure under this GNU?

Even this committee admits that Prasa has a history of procurement irregularities and financial mismanagement over the past eight years, yet what is the response, monitor the progress, request reports. That is not oversight or accountability or transparency that is compliance where we look the other way but the MK will no longer look the other way.

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You are pouring billions into a broken system while our people in townships and rural areas still wake up at 4am to unsafe, unreliable collapsing transport systems. This is not investment. This is rewarding incompetence and bailing out political and economic bankruptcy.

Then we come to Sentech and SA Broadcast Corporation, SABC, disaster, R889 million gone because two state entities cannot resolve a dispute of a R1,6 billion. Instead of accountability, cooperation, and amicable settlement, the taxpayer must step in to pay the bill. Where's the leadership from the GNU to tell the officials to stop fighting and sort out their stuff so that we don't have to pay for it as taxpayers?

This is the height of dysfunction. Two arms of the same state are fighting each other. There are consequences, no intervention just more money thrown at the problem. We have R1 billion to the World Bank Group and International Finance Corporation, IFC while our people are starving while the Social Relief of Distress, SRD Grant cannot even feed a family.

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This government finds money to invest in global financial institutions that have historically dictated policies that are austerity to African nations and trapped us in cycles of dependency.

Over 400 billion in payments that we have to make, and over a billion rand a day our people have to make in payments to these people. We reject these conditionalities and these payments to the International Monetary Fund, IMF and the IFC.

The MK party rejects this completely. We do not believe in outsourcing our development to Washington-based institutions who believe in an extractive economy. Mr Speaker, we believe that this is the time for voters to wake up and to see who's in the House. We are standing for the people who want land back.

We want our people to start seeing how we take special appropriations for land transformation, special appropriations for job creation, special appropriations to make sure that mines and minerals are beneficiated at source for our people. Where is that Special Appropriation Bill? All you do is more

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of the same. It's only the MK that's standing up for the landless, for the poor.

Look at what they're trying to do here in the Western Cape. They're building walls to hide the poverty. They are busy hiding our people, evicting our people, evicting people from Knoflokskraal and taking their land. It's only MK that will take the land back and give it back to the people. It's only MK that will stand up and transform what we were supposed to do in 1994. Enough is enough!

Vote MK for a change. These people are already in coalition together and they've done nothing but fail our people for five years. Vote MK if you want change in 2026.

Dr M J BURKE: House Chairperson. I will attempt to bring the temperature ... [Interjections.] ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Order, hon members. The members to my left at the back, the MK members at the back. May the Whips just attend to the members at the back. There's a lot of noise coming from that corner. Please proceed, hon member.

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Dr M J BURKE: Chairperson, I will attempt ... [Interjections.]

...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Burke, I just want to recognise the hon member. He's got his hand up. You may take a seat.

Mr V G REDDY: Hon House Chair, I just seek clarity in terms of the Rules. In terms of the speakers list, the official opposition kicks off the debate after the majority party. Surely, at the end of the debate, the majority party needs to speak after the DA in this case. I just need to get clarity on that. We've settled the first part, the last part going forward.

Thank you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Thank you hon Reddy, you have this on a previous occasion. I will ask the National Assembly Table Staff to attend to this matter because we need to be consistent in the speakers list as it appears. I undertake that I will personally look into the matter and see to it that the matter is addressed. Hon Burke?

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Dr M J BURKE: House Chairperson, it's perhaps worth reminding the hon Reddy that he's not the Chief Whip. And on that note, I'd like to welcome the new Chief Whip. I have no doubt that by my next speech, I will extend the same welcome again.

I was listening to the debate today, and what I heard repeatedly from the hon Hadebe from the IFP, the hon Wessels from the FF Plus, is that a Special Appropriation Bill must be the exception, not the norm.

We agree with them. The only outlier, perhaps, to this voice of unison within the GNU, if you will, was the hon Sauls from the PA, who seems highly confused and is confusing the Special Appropriation Bill with Division of Revenue Act, DORA and the Main Appropriation Bill. Now, this confusion should not come as a surprise. It comes from a party who stumbles into a claimed cabal member's house for a so-called journalism project, not realising that they're a member of the mayoral committee, MMC.

I thought to take some time today, House Chairperson, and explain exactly what a Special Appropriation Bill is. It

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sounds a bit like something you would order at your favourite restaurant on a Tuesday.

You might say, I'd like a Special Appropriation, please, with Prasa funding and a side of Sentech. The problem is that legislation should exist for emergencies. It exists because no matter how good our budgeting process is, there will always be unavoidable expenditure.

However, the way we currently do Special Appropriations leaves it open for abuse. Spending can now be justified based on the briefest mentions in a budget speech. That money can be spent by dodgy departments and entities before this Parliament has had time to process the request.

In this case, talk is not cheap. It's permission to spend billions. This is dangerous. It's a buy now, get permission later scheme. It's a kind of loophole that can create serious problems.

Had this Parliament decided not to pass this Bill today, not to give more money to corruption-prone Prasa, because of this

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do first, ask for permission later system, in many ways it would then be too late.

House Chairperson, the train has not only left the station, but it's also already been built. And that leaves Parliament with very little choice. The usual and constitutional way of doing things, where the executive proposes spending. Parliament either approves or modifies the spending proposal, and then departments and entities spend that money, is undermined.

Parliament is left not as a rubber-stamping institution, because you don't even need that rubber-stamp to proceed. You can get it later. My call on this Parliament today is that we tighten the Special Appropriations system.

We make sure that its enabling legislation truly does allow for only emergencies or unforeseen events. Not for ideas briefly mentioned in a budget speech or some other loophole.

And that is something that we in the DA have now started working towards. We're doing so because for too long power has been taken from this Parliament. We can't allow usual

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processes to be undermined. We can't allow our role as lawmakers to be undermined. And we cannot allow the Special Appropriation to just become a regular old appropriation. The DA supports this Bill, but we'll work towards improving our processes.

Thank you, House Chairperson.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): The next speaker is the hon Seate. Hon members, may I remind you that you are not supposed to take cell phone calls in the House. You may use your cell phones, but do not take calls in the House. The hon member from MK? The hon member from MK? You may continue, hon member.

Ms M O SEATE: House Chair, greetings. The Special Appropriations Bill, I would like to put it to this House and show the strategic role of a development financing institution as a pocket of excellence within the state. In addressing the spatial inequality and infrastructure gap in South Africa requires a government that can mobilise resources through various financing mechanisms, and the South African government has a successful track record of implementing major social and

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economic infrastructure projects. Funds raised from the tax collection alone cannot be sufficient to build a developmental state.

Therefore, through development financing institutions such as the Development Bank of South Africa, DBSA, our government has expanded access to water and sanitation, human settlement, food infrastructure, school and health, even the energy sector as well. The Development Bank of South Africa is one of the pockets of excellence representing our aspirations of a developmental state. The DBSA not only supports the infrastructure needs of the country but also supports the developmental objectives of an African state. I hope Action SA would listen closely to how I will showcase with figures why we do not need reforms of any form and this is a government that is capable with capacity.

The DBSA has realised a net profit of R5,3 billion and sustainable earnings of R5,1 billion in 2024-25, both 14% on the prior year. The reflection of this is an excellent within the state and the potential of the state in participating in the financial sector as a reliable financier of state's interventions. This Special Appropriations Bill reflects the

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critical role led by the work done by the Infrastructure South Africa, another capable entity willing and intentional, capable to lead and govern, leading the establishment of the infrastructure fund.

Since its inception, the infrastructure fund has packaged a total of about 26 approved blended financial infrastructure projects with capital value of R102 billion across several sectors including water, sanitation - those that I've mentioned - and the energy as well. The budget facility for infrastructure has to date approved R37,5 billion of aggregated capital cost of these projects. Out of these R100 billion provisionally allocated to the infrastructure fund over the 10 years. Allocation to support our rail networks is the major support to the implementation of Operation Vulindlela to increase the productivity of rail ...

Mr A D BEESLEY: House Chair, will the speaker take a question?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon member, are you prepared to take a question? The hon member is not prepared to take a question. You may continue.

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Ms M O SEATE: The DBSA, once again, and reports of various organs of the state have reported on the backlog of infrastructure and whether economic and social. This reality requires the government to continue to crowd in private capital including through investment by public investment corporation. Our financial sector has adequate resources. The gap is in asset allocation and inadequate capabilities and the capacity to invest funds in a timely manner.

The increase in the balance sheet of the DBSA should be prioritised in line with the strategy. The ANC calls for the increase in asset allocation by institutional finances to increase infrastructure development continuing for economic growth. The leverage of private capital should not erode the capabilities of the state but rather build the capabilities of the state. The state should continue to protect and advance its participation in the key industries such as the energy sector and the transport.

The key aspects that ought to be considered in the formation of this credit guarantee vehicle that is allocated R1,8 billion backed by the \$350 million in World Bank funding aiming to leverage R10 million in capital and create nearly

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one million jobs. This vehicle will support the transmission infrastructure and planned reforms. We must be cautious in our approach however to the credit guarantee vehicle to ensure that blended finance is prioritised to ensure the state participates in most of these projects and strategic ownership of assets is retained in the long term. This is as critical as ceding the market share of the state to private sector players using the state capabilities with severe long-term implications for the country.

Many countries that have enabled the participation of private sector players in key network industries have reversed their decisions as private provisions of bulk public services can be impacted by higher market prices and inefficiencies due to private players prioritising profit margins. The implementation of the Public Procurement Bill is also a key instrument to support localisation and domestic beneficiations of minerals and other primary goods. Our increased infrastructure should support businesses owned by youth, women and people with disabilities. Infrastructure should have a developmental legacy impact for domestic producers and local producers of infrastructure inputs.

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The credit guarantee vehicle should also prioritise social infrastructure to improve access to education and enhance our health system for the implementation of the National Health Insurance. Achieving the universal access to health care is an important priority. Ensuring our schools have adequate infrastructure that meets the minimal norms and standards is also a fundamental enabler of the education system that responds to the needs of our children. Overcrowding and multiple temporary classrooms are not sustainable, and the understanding of labour migration patterns should shape areas of investment.

The ANC welcomes the increased contribution of the Government Technical Advisory Centre, GTAC, DBSA and the national infrastructure sustainability and learning, Nisal, in support of local municipalities. Fixing local government requires a whole of government approach through the District Development Model, DDM. Our government has the capabilities and government systems to harness the pockets of excellence and specialities within the state entities to produce positive socioeconomic outcome. Of course, I'm not surprised that the rejection of the MK Party to the Special Appropriations Bill is mainly

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based on them referring to this document as just a document to surrender.

As the ANC, we refuse to surrender our middle class, our working strata group, into drowning into exorbitant transport costs which stifle their livelihood and not transform their livelihood and continue to have increases in all other costs, food, health and others. A developmental state again is our aspiration to have an entity such as the SA Broadcasting Corporation, SABC, compete globally. Therefore, being competitive does mean that we must allocate appropriately. We must allocate adequately to avoid being subjected to doing this damage control of a narrative that is false of a South Africa that is a genocide which SABC seems to be failing in leading this narrative. Of course, lastly, I'm not surprised with why the EFF is just rejecting because their chronic desire to grandstand on any solution that is not coming from them, or any solution that is pro-developmental state of South Africa for the people of South Africa, and it's rather a disability of theirs if any solution does not come from them even if it works. [Applause.]

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Therefore, in this Special Appropriation Bill which seeks to show that there is capability, there is intentionality of a developmental agenda and there's no need to go around ...

Mrs E N NTLANGWINI: House Chair, will the member take a question because I don't think she's reading with comprehension. Will she take a question?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Are you prepared to take a question? The member is not prepared to take a question. Please proceed. Order, hon members!

Ms M O SEATE: They have many chronic diseases. Now, they're talking understanding and so forth. It's their chronic desire really to grandstand on anything. This Special Appropriation Bill seeks to show how capable our entities that are existing don't need reform of any form. We just need to back them up, reinforce them and appropriate and adequate legislation that enables an agenda of a developmental state to be realised.

Thank you. Amandla! [Applause.] [Time expired.]

The MINISTER OF FINANCE: Hon House Chair, I suspect that I must start by doing a bit of educating. Section 30(2) of the

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Public Finance Management Act, PFMA, suggests that I come to Parliament and say, within the available resources, I couldn't find A, B and C. That is subsection 2. However, should the resources be available, I will come back to Parliament.

When you mention something in the Budget Speech, you are not putting a back door, as some hon members are trying to suggest. We are being transparent to Parliament and say, with the available resources I couldn't find the following priorities. However, should the resources be available I am going to come back to Parliament. That is what I have done. It is not a back door.

The second issue I want to raise is regarding the transport sector. There is a distinction ... I don't think all of us understand what privatisation is. Privatisation is selling a state-owned asset to the private sector. That is what privatisation is. Our current approach on the freight rail side is to say, the existing capacity within Transnet is insufficient, and therefore we are inviting the private sector to augment. That is not privatisation at all.

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What we are doing ... someone says, no, we are trying to please the mining industry. Of course, the mining industry provides jobs to South Africans. Like any other sector in the economy, we have an interest in that sector being functional in order to provide the required jobs in this economy. It also provides income to support all of us, even the increase you were voting for last time is because of the taxes paid by, among others, the mining sector.

On the passenger rail side, I am more than happy to come to the committee and explain how the Gibela contract works. It seems to me people do not understand how that contract works. Let me, before that, explain what the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework, MTEF, is about.

When we introduced the MTEF we were allowing departments to plan over a longer time horizon. What that means is that you can commit a budget because you know the numbers over a three-year period. There is nothing wrong with that at all. Failure to understand that what the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa, Prasa, did was to contract with Gibela to supply 600 locomotives, and therefore Transnet will pay every time Gibela delivers locomotives. There is nothing that says you

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are paying wrongly by doing that. So, people must understand what is happening in that environment.

Somebody complains about the R1 billion for the International Finance Corporation, IFC. Let me say how much is the IFC spending in this country right now ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Minister, will you just take your seat please. I want to recognise the hon member who has his hand up.

Mr V G REDDY: Hon House Chair ... No, I am not going to pick on any of this clothing today.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Please address me. Address me, hon Reddy.

Mr V G REDDY: Will the Minister be prepared to take a question on his role in the ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, I can't hear the hon Reddy. Hon Reddy?

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Mr V G REDDY: I would like to know if the Minister would like to take a question on his role ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): No, hon member, let's first determine if the hon Minister will take a question or not before I allow you to put the question.

Are you prepared?

The hon Minister is not prepared to take a question. Please proceed, hon Minister ... Whilst the hon Reddy will now take his seat. Thank you.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE: Somebody has complained about a R1 billion to the IFC. Let me decode some of the expenditures of the IFC in this country as we speak. The City of Johannesburg is spending R750 million. They are spending at R1,2 billion uMngeni. They are spending R2,4 billion to Trans-Caledon Tunnel Authority, TCA, in uMkhomazi. They are spending R2,5 billion in Cape Water. That translates into R6,9 billion and you round it up to R7 billion. That R1 billion is a once-off, we may discuss the shares in the World Bank in 2030. This is a mountain exchange of what we are spending on. One member

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says we should have consequence management. Treasury does not have authority over other departments. Each department has its own executive authority that must ensure consequence management.

At the time we allocated R2 billion for the construction of Parliament numbers were not finalised. We gave Parliament R2 billion as a first tranche, subject to further numbers being finalised. Those numbers have been finalised, and I am told that the state of the nation address next year will be in the rebuilt Parliament.

In this budget we are supporting democracy. An efficient and effective IEC is in the interest of the democratic dispensation of this country. It is in the interest of that. among other things, we are providing money for disasters in a number of areas that have been affected by floods. If you are voting against these adjustments, you are then suggesting that those communities must not be helped through the disasters. That is precisely ...

As I close, I can finally lodge a formal note against hon Reddy because the other time he pointed at me here and the

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next thing the social media is full of me without pants. That is because of you.

I must thank the committee for this tremendous work. Thank you, House Chairperson. [Applause.]

Debate concluded.

Bill read a first time (uMkhonto weSizwe Party and ActionSA dissenting).

**SPECIAL APPROPRIATION - 2025-26 FINANCIAL YEAR - BILL**

(Second Reading debate)

There was no debate.

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

Division demanded.

The House divided.

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, will you take up your allocated seats.

Hon members, the Speaker had determined that, in accordance with the Rules, a manual voting procedure would be used for this division. Firstly, in order to establish a quorum, I will request the table to confirm that we have the requisite number of members physically present in the Chamber to take this decision.

Party Whips would then be given an opportunity to confirm the number of their members present and indicate if they vote for or against the question.

A member who wishes to abstain or vote against the party vote may do so by informing the Chair.

Having confirmed that we do have the requisite quorum, we will now proceed.

A quorum being present in terms of Rule 98(1), voting commenced.

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AYES - 233: (ANC - 132; DA - 75; IFP - 13; PA - 5; FF Plus - 4; Rise Mzansi - 1; BOSA - 2; Al Jama-ah - 1).

NOES - 85: (MK - 42; EFF - 35; ActionSA - 5; ACDP - 2; UAT - 1).

Bill accordingly read a second time.

**CONSIDERATION OF REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE ON  
APPROPRIATIONS ON DIVISION OF REVENUE BILL**

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: I move that the report be adopted. Thank you.

Question put: That the Report of Standing Committee on Appropriations on Division of Revenue Bill be agreed to.

Division demanded.

The House divided.

VOTING [TAKE IN FROM MINUTES]

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Motion agreed to.

Report accordingly adopted.

**DIVISION OF REVENUE BILL**

(Second Reading debate)

*Setswana:*

Ngk. M A MAIMANE: Bagaetsho, le tla dumela.

*English:*

A number of weeks ago, the Standing Committee on Appropriation went to KwaZulu-Natal to listen to submissions from ordinary citizens about what they think should be done with their money. I rise today not just to table a Bill, but to tell you, at least what a young woman who came to the public hearings stated. This was a South African who suffered with albinism. She stood up in the meeting and spoke about how she was unemployed. She lived in a community that had no water. She was still fighting the government to get a house. And worst of all, when she went to a hospital, I remember this, it struck

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me deeply, because she said, for what you and I suntan lotion might or might not mean, for her it was a health necessity.

When we deal with the Division of Revenue Bill, we must recognize we are responding to citizens like her and the 57% of citizens who live below the upper poverty line. We do so reflecting about how the R1 is structured in the 62% of the social wage but these crises that citizens face indicate the fact that people are running out of money before the end of the month. These are citizens who are all saying they can't afford to live in our country. So when the Auditor-General says that there are 161 material irregularities in spheres of government that amount to a staggering R9,7 billion, all of us should make a stand and we should take on those departments.

The Standing Committee on Appropriations recognizes the fact that this budget is an indicator of the fact that 48,9% is allocated to national, 41,7% to provinces, and 9,4% to local government. It also tells us a story about the fact that 63% of municipalities are in financial distress. Three-quarters of municipalities failed to meet the basics in clean audit. So against this backdrop, rising inflation where food inflation is now at 4,5%, where housing and utilities inflation is at

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5%, electricity is up at 68% in the last five years, we have to act and we have to intervene.

So I want to welcome a few additions that have been put in this Division of Revenue Bill. Firstly, to say to the Minister of Finance, Madiba, thank you for hearing the cries of that woman in Westville and reducing the fuel levy by R3 last month. I want to thank you for that.

*IsiXhosa:*

Ndifuna ukukucenga kwakhona ndithi ...

*English:*

... the next month and the month that's coming, given the continued war, ...

*IsiXhosa:*

... masenze into. UKieswetter utshilo phaya ukuba ...

*English:*

... we have R2 trillion that's already they've exceeded. If we can afford it as government ...

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*IsiXhosa:*

... masincede abantu bethu, bayasokola.

*English:*

Furthermore, I want to affirm the fact that, ultimately, if we continue the work of shielding consumers against this, we must work even harder to ensure that we can grow the economy, hold entities that are not performing to account, and as the committee wanted to focus on a number of key aspects. We welcome the allocations that have been done, particularly in the sectors of education and health.

In conclusion, what we ought to do in shielding citizens against this affordability crisis is make sure we deliver on the services that they require. We welcome the peaking of the debt-to-GDP ratio. We welcome the fact that we've done interventions to move South Africa out of grey listing. Now the hard work of growing the economy begins. Now the hard work of ensuring that gross capital formation is increased. We welcome the work that must be done through Targeted and Responsible Savings, Tars, to make sure that agencies that are not delivering against what they are doing must be held accountable.

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In reflection of this Bill and the efforts that have been made by National Treasury, I want to welcome the Division of Revenue Bill for 2026 and commit it to this House for adoption. As Bosa, we support.

*IsiXhosa:*

Ndiyabulela. Enkosi.

*English:*

Mr M SEGEDE: House Chair, moving from oversight to intervention to fix local government. We debate the 2026 Division of Revenue Bill in a time when the world is confronted with economic volatility due to the aggression of the USA and Israel against Iran. The blockade of the Strait of Hormuz has reminded us again that we are part of a global interconnected economy.

The assumptions that inform the 2026 fiscal framework have changed, and the National Treasury will be required to make various adjustments in the Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement in October. We welcome the fuel levy reduction by the Minister as a measure to lessen the impact of the fuel increase. One of the major shifts in the orientation of the National Treasury

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is moving from oversight to intervention. The ANC welcomes this orientation as our Constitution requires co-operative governance that ensures the three spheres of government are collectively responsible for the realization of the Bill of Rights.

Interventions by the Presidency to resolve loadshedding and the establishment of the eThekweni task team and the Johannesburg task team are some of the key flagship interventions which have improved living conditions in eThekweni, and loadshedding is a theme of the past. In Mpumalanga, SA National Roads Agency, Sanral, was involved in road infrastructure projects supporting municipalities and a number of municipal routes are being supported by Sanral.

With regards to water infrastructure, the national department is currently supporting a number of municipalities beyond the provision of bulk water infrastructure to ensure reticulation is developed and water reaches households. A major aspect that should be developed is ensuring that interventions lead to improved capabilities with local municipalities. With 63%, 162 of municipalities in financial distress in 2023-24, and

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provinces struggle to balance compensation costs and service delivery outputs. This approach has reached its limit.

The Division of Revenue introduces measures that seek to enhance policy implementation at a local government level through clauses that allow the National Treasury to reallocate funds in non-performing local municipalities to its district municipalities that have the capacity to spend the funds and to serve the constituencies allocated such budgets.

Furthermore, the Division of Revenue Act, includes a clause to allow for the conversation of Schedule 5 to Schedule 6 allocation for non-performing local municipalities to ensure national implementation either directly or via another organ or state, including SOEs. These provisions in the Division of Revenue Act brings about a new approach that demands performance from municipalities, and failure of implementation should lead to the state utilizing some of its critical entities to execute the projects because communities lose the most due to municipalities in distress. These are the tangible measures to fix local government and to improve service delivery, thereby leaving no one behind.

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The Division of Revenue is allocated considering various factors and further aims to close the inequalities across different municipalities due to their capacity. This is evident with the higher per capita allocation for municipalities in rural areas and those with revenue limitations.

The vertical divisions of revenue allocated 48,2% to the national government, 42,3% to the provincial government, and 9,5% to local government. The provincial equitable share is largely allocated to provide critical social services that support economic development and growth while ensuring the well-being of all South Africans.

The provincial equitable share allocation 48% for education based on school age population and learner enrolment in public ordinary schools and 27% for health based on provincial risk profiles and caseloads. It is for this reason that the ANC manifesto priority for focusing on Early Childhood Development is prioritized in the medium term with the Early Childhood Development Grant investment having an increase by 115,8%. This is a lifetime investment the government is making to

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create equal opportunities for all our children, regardless of their background.

The massive access and support for learners, such as the school nutrition programme and scholar transport, are there to support the success of our children and areas we need to increase on our focus and allocation to support these programmes that prepare our children for the digital economy and the changing world.

Our education should produce innovators and place the country at the cutting edge of global innovation and production of new technologies indeed. The ANC has truly embodied a fiscal framework that places education and priority number one, and the results are evident for all to see. Today, having a degree, a master's, or a doctorate is no longer a privilege of the few and those who can afford. Through National Student Financial Aid Scheme, NSFAS, and the National Research Foundation, we provide a pipeline for children to succeed to the highest level of education.

As public representative we should focus on the cultivation and culture that prioritize education in our constituencies

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and ensure we encourage our children and youth to succeed. The allocation for the municipal largely support infrastructure programs for municipal disaster recovery, urban resettlement development, public transport network, regional bulk infrastructure, amongst others, direct conditional grants to the tune of R57 billion. This is a direct supplement of local generated revenue, and the equitable share increase over all support the municipalities.

The ANC is confident that through the White Paper review, a re-emergent system will be implemented to improve local government funding and functioning. The White Paper proposal include a more differentiated system in which functions are assigned according to demonstrated capacity.

As part of the stimulus to respond to the coronavirus pandemic impact, the President introduced a Presidential Employment Stimulus as a mechanism to tackle the high level of unemployment and to give the youth and the unemployed opportunities the acquired skills while providing support to government programs, acquiring real-life work experience, which open doors for other work opportunities. The Division of Revenue Act allocates R1,2 billion for the Presidential

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Employment Stimulus, continuing with the critical work of job creation. The creation of jobs requires the participation of all organs of state and the private sector to increase investment in programs and projects that create decent job opportunities.

The ANC supports the Division of Revenue Bill as an instrument to support government policy implementation to improve the living conditions of all South Africans, particularly the poor and the marginalized. I thank you, Chair. [Applause.]

Mr S G MWALI: Chairperson, members of this house, today, as the MKP, we stand firm in the rejection of the 2026 Division of Revenue Bill. We do not believe that this tabled budget is in the interest of the people of South Africa, nor is it a budget to rescue the struggling masses of our people from their winter of despair.

We are of the strong view that this budget is designed to protect the interests of the economic elites and the close allies of President Ramaphosa and his white monopoly capital-aligned criminal syndicate, while systematically excluding our

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poor people from being active participants in the economy they should belong to.

What the so-called Government of National Unity, GNU, presents here is not unity, instead, it is governance through managed compliance, government by memo, not by mandate. This GNU, formed through a glaring contradiction and political opportunism, now governs at the instruction of unelected elites, acting as proxies for multinational corporations, global rating agencies, and neoliberal forces, as well as the interests of billionaires. What has this GNU delivered to our people? It increased fuel levies, driving up the cost of food, transport and education at administered prices, resulting in a real-time per capita decline in the essential budget for health, education and social policies. Because of the lack of engineering capability and capacity, billions remain unspent in school infrastructure funds left untouched, while our children sit in overcrowded classrooms, without textbooks, electricity, water and toilets.

The GNU has gifted our people with high electricity tariffs that strangle small businesses and poor households alike. The GNU is now moving briskly to privatise water, again taking

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from the poor to give to the few elites. The hypocrisy of this government is staggering. Some fringe political parties support a budget that protects the rich and inflates fuel levies, which disproportionately harm the poor. The so-called GNU is a state capture by different means. It is the real capture, not the pseudo state capture tale of yesterday, but the one where economic decisions are made by unelected actors behind closed doors.

While Parliament becomes a rubber stamp, the Operation Vulindlela is a nerve centre of the elected elites, rubber-stamping the wishes of the unelected white privilege. The numbers paint a glaring picture of this economic betrayal manufactured by the so-called GNU, 41% on national unemployment, 35,5% unemployment amongst women, 65,5% amongst the youth, and 11,7% unemployment amongst university graduates. Is this a developmental state or is it a broken economy in terminal decline? Billion in unspent local government infrastructure funds while communities face collapsing roads, broken clinics, and nonexistent sanitation.

A projected GDP growth at a rate of 1,8%, a number so fanciful and creative, that even the Financial and Fiscal Commission

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and the Parliamentary Budget Office have rejected it as pure fantasy. We cannot build a credible nation on economic fiction. We cannot claim to serve the people while we suppress the wages of frontline workers and pump billions in bailouts on state-owned enterprises which the ANC deliberately collapsed by employing managers that are incompetent.

Rising debt service costs as a percentage of GDP are as a result of a stagnant economy. This Bill is not just economically reckless; it is socially explosive. Service delivery riots in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal are no accidents, they are a direct result of rolling blackouts, unaffordable electricity tariffs, and the government's refusal to intervene meaningfully in the economy to reduce poverty.

Now we have farcical laws that allow the Road Accident Fund to legally pay undocumented foreign nationals in this Republic. Who does that? While our Republic does not manage and control the influx of illegal and undocumented foreign nationals, this Division of Revenue Bill provides no relief on the poor and prioritises debt repayment while local government collapses and communities sit in darkness. So, as the MKP, we reject

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this Division of Revenue Bill out of a commitment to justice, sovereignty and true economic liberation.

*IsiZulu:*

Enye into eyenza singaweseki lo Mthethosivivinyo ukuthi ngeke seseke uMthethosivivinyo ozothatha imali uyifake emaphaketheni abantu abathile abakhona la. Abanye bayavela laphaya kwiKomishini ka-Madlanga ngoba bazi ukuthi imali kaHulumeni iza emaphaketheni engabe imali esiza abantu. Abantu abakhumbule njengoba siyovota ukuthi baniphuce amandla bawanikeze abantu abazowasebenzisa ngendlela. Siyabonga.  
[Ihlombe.]

Mr K H WAKELIN: Hon Chairperson and hon members, last year this time I highlighted how successful the DA municipalities and provinces were with the allocation they received from the Division of Revenue Bill. This year, I will tell you about the number one reason why municipalities, departments, provinces and SOEs are failing us, but I'll tell you about that a little bit later.

Let us fix the state and not just the budget. We stand here today in a new political reality, a Government of National

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Unity, a moment that demands both honesty and responsibility. Honesty about how we got here and responsibility about what we do next.

Yes, this budget reflects important shifts; a move toward fiscal stabilisation, a recognition that municipalities are in distress, and an acknowledgement that the current system is no longer working. These changes are not happening because the system succeeded; they are happening because the system has failed us, and that failure has been building over more than thirty years. After three decades of ANC government, we are faced with a state where; 63% of municipalities are in financial distress, infrastructure backlogs continue to grow, service delivery is deteriorating, and economic growth remains low. This is not a temporary downturn, it is a systemic governance failure, and it did not happen by accident. It is the result of political choices. At the heart of those choices lies the ANC policy that has weakened the state at its core, called the cadre deployment policy

For years, the state was not built on merit, capability or professional administration, but on political loyalty to and deployment by the ANC of its cadres. Cadres filled positions,

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not to strengthen the state, but to secure political control over it, and the consequences are now visible everywhere; weak financial management, poor project execution, collapsing municipalities, and in the complete absence of consequence management. You cannot build a capable state on a foundation of ANC political deployment, and until we confront that truth honestly, no reform will be deep enough to fix what is broken. This is why we now face the central contradiction of this budget; we are spending more, yet we are delivering less.

The report itself confirms a declining real per capita spending, persistent infrastructure delays, and underperforming conditional grants, and yet for years, the response has been the same by these cadres. These cadres say, allocate more money, avoid accountability, and protect the system. That approach has not worked before and certainly will not work now. Nowhere is this failure more visible than in local government. Municipalities receive an increasing share of the budget but carry unfunded mandates of more than R31 billion. They are expected to perform, but are structurally constrained, politically interfered with, and administratively weakened. This is not simply a funding

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problem; it is a capacity crisis created by years of cadre deployment, political interference and choices.

Last year, Treasury had to resort to freezing the equitable share of 18 municipalities to force them to meet their financial obligations to water boards. It goes without saying that none of them were DA municipalities. Later that same year, it had threatened the same process to 75 municipalities, and I want to highlight this, of which 15 of 22 were in the North West, which was part of that. Being part of a Government of National Unity does not mean ignoring this reality, it means confronting it. It means recognising that we cannot continue defending systems that have clearly failed us, that we cannot continue protecting underperformance, and that we cannot repeat the same mistakes under a new political arrangement.

Despite the interventions mentioned, too many municipalities wasted money on projects that were never built, employees that don't exist, and favours for the politically connected. But to be fair, there are elements in this budget that move in the right direction; there is recognition of municipal dysfunction, some movement toward reform, a focus on fiscal

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stabilisation, and an attempt to reprioritise spending toward infrastructure. These are necessary steps, but they are not sufficient, because the central weakness remains; there are still deployed cadres in the system that have no accountability. We continue to see weak consequence management, no automatic penalties for failure, and a continued tolerance of underperformance by these cadres.

The committee calls for performance-linked funding, stronger monitoring, and better reporting, but without enforcement, these remain good intentions rather than outcomes. This is why the DA is advancing a different approach grounded in a simple principle; Public money must deliver public value. That means linking funding to performance, introducing milestone-based payments for infrastructure, enforcing automatic clawbacks where delivery fails, and ensuring transparent reporting so that Parliament and the public can see what is being achieved. The era of blank cheques must come to an end. The GNU presents us with an opportunity to fundamentally change this direction, the move from cadre deployment to professionalism, from spending to delivery, and from excuses to accountability. This will require political courage, and it will require us to confront uncomfortable truths. We cannot build the future by

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pretending the past never happened, we cannot fix the state without fixing how it is governed, and we cannot deliver for South Africans without ending the culture of cadre deployment. The DA will engage constructively in this Government of National Unity, but we will not compromise on one principle; South Africans deserve a capable state, not a deployed one, and every budget, every allocation, and every decision must move us closer to that goal. Cadre deployment must stop. Thank you, Chair.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: Hon House Chair, greetings to the commander-in-chief of the only credible economic emancipation movement formed by the blood of Marikana massacred workers that continues to belong to the poor, the working class, and all progressive South Africans. The people of South Africa can be rest assured that, as the EFF, we are going to appeal the malicious conviction and sentencing of the commander-in-chief, CIC, which was driven by racist AfriForum's persistent persecution. It was a racist-driven conviction and sentencing delivered by a racist judge who seeks to strip us as a people with a long and proud history of honouring, celebrating and saluting our heroes, as was the case during the funeral of Chris Hani.

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Our president is being persecuted by racists who roams freely, committing acts that border on treason, spreading falsehoods about a nonexistent genocide, simply because of his love for black people and his unrelenting support for Palestine and Cuba. We will not retreat; we will not surrender. We will appeal this matter all the way to the highest court in the land. The Division of Revenue Bill before the National Assembly, is the legal instrument that allocates R2,4 trillion budget across the national, provincial, and municipal spheres of government. It is arguably the most important fiscal framework before this House because it determines whether our people in municipalities will have water, electricity, sanitation, functioning roads, waste collection services, internal state capacity and adequately resourced municipal police to enforce bylaws.

We want to remind this House that in 2025, we reached a progressive agreement as the Standing Committee on Appropriations that the proposed Division of Revenue, DoR, Bill tabled by the Minister of Finance, must be amended. We agreed on this at the majority of committee members, including the Chairperson of the Standing Committee, Dr Mmusi Maimane, before the Minister of Finance withdrew the Bill. We had all

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agreed that the fact that municipalities receive only 9,4% of nationally raised revenue, is fundamentally flawed and unsustainable. We have further agreed that municipalities that continue to adopt unfunded budgets to the tune of more than R30 billion, and that the majority of them do not adequately budget for infrastructure repairs and maintenance.

It is an undeniable fact that the majority of municipalities are in distress. We are told that more than 63% of municipalities are in financial distress and we are of the view that this figure is, in essence, much higher. We say that all municipalities in the country and many others, are in varying degrees of financial distress. We took all of these factors, and many more, into account, and we have agreed that the DoR Bill must be amended. What remained was to agree on the quantum of the increase. We proposed that it be increased to at least 14% of the national raised revenue. Others suggested a phased incremental increase, while the chairperson himself proposed that we consider the submission by the SA Local Government Association, Salga. But what is critical is that we had reached a consensus.

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The fact that we are now back in this House, once again, expected to adopt the DoR Bill that changes nothing, it's a clear demonstration of policy stagnation and a failure of political will. We are approaching the 2026 Local Government Elections, yet we are not going to create jobs; we are not going to provide reliable water and electricity; we are not going to clean illegal dumping sites and are not going to provide our people with dignified sanitation. This is madness, Chairperson. This is doing the same thing over and over again while expecting the different results. It is not going to help us. What the Minister suggested when he speaks of implementing measures to revitalise long-term financial planning without confronting the fundamental imbalance of the DoR, is nothing more than wishful thinking. It will not give him or us the results that we want.

We are being asked to adopt a Fiscal Framework and Division of Revenue that only functions if we deliberately choose to ignore the lived realities of our people with regards to unemployment, crime, poverty, gender-based violence, GBV, malnutrition, collapsing infrastructure, potholes and the growing number of indigent households without access to electricity and water. That is the choice being presented

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before us, to ignore the reality in favour of technical compliance by adopting this DoR in its current form. The House is choosing to maintain a system that fails the majority who are choosing apartheid economy. The EFF rejects the proposed DoR tabled by the Minister of Finance because it does the exact opposite of what the Minister claims to do. Instead of resolving the crisis, it deepens them even further.

It is unashamedly perpetuating poverty and reproducing the structural conditions of apartheid under a black democratic government. Our people continue to suffer, and this House cannot, in good conscience, endorse a Fiscal Framework and a Division of Revenue Bill that entrenches the suffering of our people. The EFF will not support this Division of Revenue Bill. Thank you.

Mr N M HADEBE: Hon House Chairperson, the Division of Revenue Bill remains a cornerstone of our constitutional democracy, as it gives practical effect to the equitable sharing of nationally raised revenue among the three spheres of government, in line with the Constitution. It is through this framework that provinces and municipalities are empowered to fulfil their service delivery responsibilities and respond to

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the needs of our people. As the IFP, we approach this debate with a sense of responsibility that reflects both our principles and our role in government, particularly in advancing reforms within the local government sphere.

We recognise that this Bill provides a structured and predictable framework for the allocation of resources, enabling planning, co-ordination, and transparency across all spheres. These are necessary foundations for a capable and developmental state. At the same time, we must acknowledge that the success of this framework ultimately depends on the strength of institutions at the provincial and local government. While the system of equitable share and conditional grants is sound in design, persistent challenges in municipal governments continues to affect outcomes. Issues such as underspending on infrastructure, weaknesses in financial management, and administrative inefficiencies remain evident in several municipalities across the country.

The IFP recognises that meaningful steps are already being taken to address these challenges, including efforts to stabilise municipalities, improve financial oversight and build institutional capacity. These reforms are important and

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must be supported, as they form part of a broader effort to restore functionality and public confidence in local government. However, progress must be sustained and strengthened, as communities cannot afford delays in service delivery. The Bill also provides mechanisms for the withholding and reallocation of funds in instances of non-compliance.

While these are necessary safeguards to protect public resources, they must be applied with care and balance. Interventions should correct governance failures without inadvertently penalising communities that depend on these funds for essential services. In this regard, a co-operative approach that combines accountability with targeted support, is essential. Many municipalities continue to operate under significant structural constraints, including limited revenue basis and increasing service delivery demands. The equitable share must, therefore, continue to fulfil its redistributive purpose, while reforms focus on improving governance enhancing capacity, and ensuring that allocated funds are spent effectively and in line with their intended purpose.

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In conclusion, the IFP supports the Division of Revenue Bill as a necessary instrument to advance co-operative governance and equitable development. At the same time, we emphasise that the true measure of this Bill lies in its implementation. It must translate into improving service delivery, strengthening institutions and must have tangible improvements in the daily lives of South Africans. I thank you.

Mr A Q SAULS: Once again, I proudly greet you in the wonderful name of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ ...

[An unofficial language spoken.]

*English:*

We have spent the last few days deeply embedded in the pages of the Division of Revenue Bill. Our scrutiny is driven by one purpose: ensuring that the equitable share is truly equitable for the mother in a township, the father in a suburb, and the youth in our informal settlements like Kliptown and Klipspruit West, Johannesburg. We must use this Bill as a tool to bridge the gap between the promise of our Constitution and the reality of our streets. When we look at the allocations, we see billions moving towards infrastructure. In KwaZulu-Natal,

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our black Africans, Indian Africans, and coloured Africans communities, from the busy streets of Chatsworth, Phoenix, to the heart of Umlazi, Port Shepstone, and Kokstad, are watching this budget closely. They are looking for the R464 million set aside for school sanitation to reach the schools that need it most. And when we turn to the Western Cape, we hear much talk about world-class infrastructure. We see aspiring mayors who inflate votes and conflate deceptive election campaigns while claiming genuine service delivery. Whilst the true fabric of their organization is reflected by the picture of the white guy in black clothing pretending to pull the boat, when it is the guy with black skin and a blue t-shirt who was the one pulling the madam in the boat. As the Government of National Unity, GNU, we must hold each other accountable. We must not allow government Ministers to act like DA Ministers, like opposition rather than partners.

Whether your deployees proudly stand before the country and claim that 41,4 million has been spent on Knoflook Krau, where is it? Because when you visit, you do not see R41 million worth of pipes or permanent housing. You see a community of Khoi and San descendants reclaiming ancestral land because the system has failed them. Their deployees call for a containment

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order, but let us be honest with the South African people, a containment order that limits movement, maps residents like cattle, and restricts the growth of a community is the first step toward an apartheid-style eviction. The white lie of 1952 has become the blue lie of 2026. We are Bushmen. We are the original defenders and the owners of this land. We are not our parents. We are Knoflook Krau. Looking at the past, we must be honest. What is happening in Johannesburg is also happening in Cape Town. We need someone so serious about the urgency of this time to change municipalities that he is wearing two watches. Sections 17 and 18 of this Bill allow for the withholding of funds if you fail to perform. If accounting officers do not implement the smart meters grant to ensure financial stability, or if the informal settlements upgrading partnership does not result in dry flaws for the people of Dunoon and eThekweni, they must be fired. We believe in a South Africa where your dignity is not determined by your postal code or the colour of your skin. The Bill provides for rands and cents. The GNU provides the will and the backbone. Let us move forward, ensuring that every cent of this revenue builds a country that finally works for all its people. I thank you. The PA supports. Salute. [Applause.]

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Mr W W WESSELS: House Chair, there is no doubt that municipalities across South Africa are in serious trouble. We can all cite examples, and we can cite a lot of figures. More than 60% of municipalities are currently in distress. We know how few municipalities have clean audits. We know that municipalities across the country owe third parties, such as pension funds, such as medical aids, and the SA Revenue Service, monies that they deduct from municipal officials but do not pay over to those third parties. We know that people are not receiving services. We know that infrastructure is not maintained, that it is collapsing, and that people are suffering due to a lack of water supply because of those shortcomings. The question is: Will funding solve the problem? And when one goes and looks at two important aspects, since 2010, municipal revenue has increased by an average of 360%. Annually, that is about 10%. Yet municipalities owe their creditors more; they cannot pay salaries to officials, cannot maintain infrastructure, etc. So, does the problem lie with revenue? Does it lie with the equitable share formula, or is there a deeper crisis in our municipalities, which goes to a lack of merit-based appointments, a lack of leadership and a lack of political stability? Because that is what we see, where there is no actual accountability, where there are no

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municipal councillors and officials in these municipalities that are in distress, who stand up and do the right thing. They are not there to serve the people, to serve their communities, but rather the majority are there to serve their own needs, to have power, to make certain decisions to enrich certain contractors, but not to spend the money where it should be spent. The other factor that points to the fact that it cannot be a lack of funding is the fact that Municipal Infrastructure grants are underspent by billions. Those municipalities that cannot maintain the infrastructure do not spend it, so they have the money to maintain the infrastructure and to improve it. They get these grants from the national fiscus, from national taxpayers' money, but they do not spend it, and they return it to the National Treasury. That shows a lack of financial management, and that needs to be addressed. We cannot say that the problem lies with the funding model of municipalities. The danger, though, is that it is very easy then to say we should centralize. We should take away indirect grants. We should rather have direct grants and make them indirect grants. We should rather spend the money nationally on behalf of these municipalities that do not have sound leadership and accountability. But that is moving in the wrong direction because we need to have decision-making

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closest to the people. Service delivery will not occur if we centralise municipal governance and service delivery. We need to have it closer to the people. The solution lies in the election, where people have the opportunity and the time to elect responsible councillors and municipal leaders. I thank you.

Mr R A P TROLLIP: Hon Chairperson, the Division of Revenue Bill before this House gives effect to the equitable allocation of nationally raised revenue across the three spheres of government. It reflects our national priorities and critically, our commitment to fund local government. But this is a local government election year, and we cannot debate this Bill in isolation from the political reality on the ground. Across South Africa, it is municipalities that have collapsed under the weight of corruption, cadre deployment, and chronic mismanagement.

A substantial share of this Bill is allocated to local government through the equitable share and conditional grants. These funds are meant to deliver water, sanitation, electricity, refuse removal, and to maintain critical infrastructure, not to fund elections, not to enrich municipal

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officials, councillors, and other politicians. Yet in municipality after municipality, these basic services are failing. Communities are left without reliable water services. Wastewater flows in our streets, into our rivers, and into our oceans. Roads disintegrate. Electricity supply becomes increasingly unstable.

Hon Speaker or Chairperson, the problem is not simply how much we allocate. It is what happens after the money arrives at its destination - the municipality, the coalface where service delivery used to take place. Too often, municipal funding has become a revolving credit card for the governing party, repeatedly topped up by the national government, while the same political actors preside over their decline. Billions are transferred, yet infrastructure continues to collapse, and service delivery continues to deteriorate. And equally criminally, underspending has also become the hallmark of dysfunctional municipalities. Money is returned unused to the Treasury at the expense of citizens living in dysfunctional municipalities.

The Auditor-General has consistently highlighted irregular expenditure, weak financial controls, and a near-total absence

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of consequence management. But those responsible are not really held accountable. Instead, they are protected, redeployed, and simply allowed to continue. And the division of revenue continues.

Not in ActionSA, however, Tshwane Mayor Dr Nasiphi Moya showed what you do with people who misappropriate public funds or are involved in impropriety. Within one week, she fired a mayoral committee member who had been implicated in the Madlanga Commission. Many in this House have succumbed to impropriety but still sit here with no consequence. This is the real crisis facing local government, not just a failure of administration, but a failure of accountability.

ActionSA supports this Bill because municipalities must be funded, and communities cannot be punished for the failures of those who govern them. But let us be clear, this support is not an endorsement of the status quo. We must fix local government, which incidentally is ActionSA's slogan. We cannot continue to transfer billions to municipalities governed by those who have demonstrated time and again that they cannot be trusted to manage public funds or deliver services. Funding

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must be matched with strict conditions, measurable performance, and real consequences for failure.

Hon Speaker, while this House will pass this Bill today, the South African people will have the opportunity to assess the division of revenue later this year. At the ballot box, voters will decide whether to keep entrusting their municipalities to those who have broken them or whether to choose a new path, one grounded in accountability, competence and service delivery. That is where real consequent management will take place. Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr S N SWART: House Chair, this Bill must be considered against the dramatic geopolitical changes that have occurred since February's Budget. At that time the ACDP said that the ship of public finances was starting to move in the right direction. The economy was expected to grow much faster on the back of improving investor sentiment, healthier state finances and easing financial conditions. However, the Middle East war, the falling commodity prices and increased pressure has resulted in the International Monetary Fund, IMF, cutting South Africa's growth forecast to 1% for 2026. That is below the 1,1% growth rate achieved last year. Now, as we know,

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lower than projected economic growth results in lower tax revenues, increasing pressure on the Budget and on the Division of Revenue Amendment Bill allocations.

Higher economic growth cannot rely only on consumer spending. It must be driven by fixed investment and improved business confidence. Fixed capital investment sadly contracted last year and remains well below levels needed to generate sustained growth. Surging fuel prices are combined with rising water and electricity tariffs are placing households under immense financial pressure. The result is that taxpayers are correctly demanding value for every rand of tax that they are paying.

This the ACDP believes they are not fully obtaining when one considers the dysfunctional state of most of our municipalities who are responsible for water, sanitation, electricity, roads and community services. The Auditor-General continues to sound the alarm on the crisis at municipal level, with the trend of poor audit outcomes now also relating to some metros. This is deeply concerning when only four of the eight received unqualified audit opinions. Shockingly, 13 municipalities failed to submit financial statements at all.

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Now, the Minister of Water and Sanitation has correctly last week read municipalities the Riot Act, stating that the time for talk is past. Maybe it is too little too late, but hopefully there will be some recourse in this regard particularly with local government elections looming.

It is clear that a new model of political leadership is needed - those candidates that need to be elected who understand stewardship of state resources, who are servant leaders, who are not there to loot and steal, but to serve the people. We need councillors who are competent, able, God-fearing, trustworthy and who hate dishonest gains. Just think how we could turn around our municipalities if we could have those types of councillors elected. Those are the candidates that the ACDP offers. Despite our reservations, the ACDP supports this Bill. I thank you.

*Xitsonga:*

Tat S M GANA: Mutshamaxitulu ...

*English:*

... today, I rise to highlight two issues that are typical of the importance of this part of the Budget process, that is,

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the provisional allocations for health on the one hand and what the state of local government is on the other hand. Earlier this year, my colleague and the leader of Rise Mzansi, the hon Zibi, undertook an oversight visit to Grey Hospital in Qonce. What he reported is devastating. Unkempt filthy grounds, poor building hygiene and emergency section overflowing with patients because there aren't enough wards in the hospital. The waiting area is out in the sun and the rain. There are not enough attendants at the morgue and the few porters available now attend to the morgue whenever they can. The hospital also did not have an occupational safety certificate.

Firstly, we are thankful to the Eastern Cape provincial government for rushing to fix some of these problems. We have heard positive feedback from residencies.

But unfortunately, Grey Hospital is not an exception, it is the norm. Following his visit there, he was inundated with complaints at Bisho Hospital, St Barnabas Hospital and many others are also found wanting. Millions of South Africans depend on the public health system, but it essentially abuses their rights and dignity through systematic failures. Yes,

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there are rogue officials, but this is mainly a funding problem.

We appeal to the Minister of Finance and now to start making serious reallocations to the health sector, especially provinces like the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, where most South Africans are poor and can't afford private doctors and hospitals. Health is a basic human right. We have an obligation to provide for it, especially to the most vulnerable.

The second area is local government. Municipalities are at the forefront of our national moral obligation to provide basic services. Unfortunately, they are failing. While the funding model needs to be revised as soon as possible, the reality is that municipalities waste funds and are riddled with corruption. The Auditor-General is increasingly making findings of causing public harm.

We must enable the Treasury to place conditions for the transfer of the local government portion to certain municipalities if we are to stop the theft of public funds. South Africans deserve a better and only the power of the

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purse can create the accountability structure so lacking in municipalities. We support this Bill.

*Xitsonga:*

Ndza khensa, Mutshamaxitulu.

Mrs N L HLAZO-WEBSTER: Hon Chairperson, the Division of Revenue Bill tells a story about the priorities of government. Unfortunately, it is not a comfortable story. The Bill divides the national Budget between the three spheres of government, and only 9% of the Budget goes to local government. That is the sphere of government that is responsible for water, electricity, sewage, and refuse removal. It is the core phase of service delivery. We have to concede that if this Parliament is serious about fixing municipalities - as many in this House would attest to in words - then we must follow it with funding. Giving local government the smallest share while expecting the biggest delivery is setting municipalities up for failure.

Hon Maotwe, we still do stand with our position that local government needs more funding, and that has not changed. There's no two ways about it. But we don't just say that we

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propose options to ensure that there is funding for this. Year after year, we pour billions into provincial administrations, yet the bulk of their budgets go to health and education, which are functions that could be managed nationally with greater consistency and less duplication. Instead, we use the funding to maintain layers of bureaucracy that are expensive and that are fragmented. We must ask if provinces in their current form are delivering value for money. We must ask if they are too politically comfortable to change.

Secondly, we must look at VIP protection for politicians. That must be ended. This week, the Minister of Finance confirmed to us as Bosa that the Treasury cannot cut the R4 billion that is spent on VIP protection because there is simply no political will to do so. Essentially, he cannot cut spending on protection for politicians because it is a holy cow. One in five members of this House benefit from VIP protection as Ministers and Deputy Ministers. Today, we have to ask the question: What would that R4 billion do at local governments, instead? It could build 20 000 new RDP homes. It could hire 13 000 more metro police officers a year. It could build 50 more local clinics. It could connect 200 000 households with

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water and sanitation services. It could tar hundreds of kilometres of gravel roads.

South Africans are told there is only scraps in funding for local government to fund basic services. What we need to go back to is that the problem is not essentially the resources, it is the choices and priorities of this government. I thank you.

Ms D R NTULI: House Chair, hon members and fellow South Africans, I rise today in support of the review of the 1998 White Paper on Local Government, a matter of profound national importance. It is the municipality that must ensure water flows from taps, refuse is collected, roads are maintained, streetlamps function and communities experience the dignity of basic services. When local government works, communities thrive. When it fails, our people suffer first and foremost. Hence, the ANC had declared 2026 as the year of fixing local government as a priority. Over the years, the ANC has acknowledged structural constraints that have impacted the financial viability of many municipalities in rural areas and in locations with low revenue generating capacity.

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The 1998 White Paper on Local Government was visionary in its time. It laid the foundation for developmental local government in democratic South Africa. Hon members, but our country of today is not a country of yesterday. The demands on municipalities have grown, urbanisation has accelerated, infrastructure has aged and unemployment remains high. Communities rightly demand responsive and accountable governance. Therefore, reviewing this White Paper is not an academic exercise. It is a practical necessity.

The seventh administration has begun the process of the 1998 White Paper on Local Government review with the intention of system-wide research. The review aims to fix broken service delivery, weak revenue collection system, bloated debtor's books and capacity gaps, fostering a more modern, efficient, and accountable local government structure. A major aspect of the review is the work being done by the National Treasury on the review of the Local Government Fiscal Framework. As part of our public participation process on the Division of Revenue Bill, stakeholders have called for an increase in the equitable share allocation for local government, changing the Division of Revenue distribution, where every rand allocated

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to local government must translate into visible service delivery.

The ANC in Parliament will advance engagements on the Local Government Fiscal Framework to ensure municipalities without an adequate tax base are supported by the fiscals considering different factors such as the spatial structure of the municipalities and the cost of service delivery. A municipality in the Eastern Cape with a human settlement in distant location and a municipality with partial integrated human settlement will have different cost of delivering similar basic service but a rural municipality cost will be higher, requiring more resources despite having a lower population. The Local Government Fiscal Framework would be more context based.

Hon House Chair, municipalities need qualified, competent officials and ethical administrators. We need professional public servants appointed on merit and not patronage. We need training linked to outcomes performance unique to consequences. A capable state is not built through speeches. It is built through competent people, a clear system, and a culture of accountability. Our Constitution established three

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government spheres. These spheres are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. They are not rivals. They are partners in service of the people. That is co-operate governance.

We must also speak about the District Development Model, DDM. It is an enabled mechanism rather than a duplication of the co-operate government system. At its core, the DDM seeks one plan, one budgeting approach and one district. This is an important principle. Communities do not live in departmental silos. A resident does not separate roads from housing or clinics. People experience government as a whole. Hon members, I want to mention the interesting successes of the DDM I witnessed in the ANC-led municipality in Mkhanyakude District Municipality led by mayor councillor Sphile Mdaka. The district, province and national work together.

The focus on water provision through DDM yielded very positive results. The Department of Water and Sanitation issued water use licenses to have access on the fifth largest dam in the country, the Jozini Dam and Pongola River. This water use license has been extended to black farmers who were

historically disadvantaged, enhancing their production in the field.

*IsiZulu:*

Inhlupheko nobubha kwehlile. Umkhiqizo wabo muhle kakhulu.

*English:*

It is all over the world.

*IsiZulu:*

Bayadayisa bayakwazi ukuziphilisa.

*English:*

Also, this has enabled potable provision of water ...

*IsiZulu:*

... eMachibini ejozini lapho abantu bekungacatshangwi ukuthi bayoke bathola amanzi.

*English:*

One thousand families in May 2025 ...

*IsiZulu:*

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... bathole amanzi kanye nabantu baseMaphaya ...

*English:*

... and also received water in February 2026. So, the DDM provides a platform for integrated planning but it must be beyond meetings and paperwork. It must become an instrument of implementation. [Interjections.] Plans without delivery are merely promises on paper.

Each district plan must contain measurable targets, funded priorities, and transparent reporting. Communities must know what is promised, what is budgeted for and what has been delivered. Hon members, no review of local government can be complete without emphasizing local economic development. Municipalities are not only service delivery institutions but are also engines of local growth. A municipality that maintains roads, processes permits efficiently and provides reliable electricity sends a clear message that investment is welcomed here.

Local economic development means supporting small businesses, township enterprises, farmers, tourism, informal traders and youth entrepreneurs. It also means using municipal procurement

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to stimulate local industry well, lawful and practical. It means turning municipal space into centres of commerce. Everyone must feel the benefits of economic inclusion. Every town must have broad strategy. This review must also place citizens at the centre.

Communities want clean governance, honest leadership and dignified services. They want to be heard before protests become their only language. As part of fixing local government, progress can be highlighted while many challenges remain in the area of core service delivery. Every ANC-led municipality is implementing ward-level turnaround plans with defined minimum responses and standards that the delivery of water, sanitation, electricity and housing is structured.

In municipalities such as Enoch Mgijima Local Municipality, all ward committees are now fully operational. With the 15 000 new smart meters which have been installed, R36 million revenue has been improved in a single month and enabled full utilization of the Municipal Infrastructure Grant. [Time expired.]

*Sesotho:*

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Ngaka L W MAHLATSI: Kgotso, Maafrika.

*English:*

The Division of Revenue Bill lacks authentic solutions and bold interventions. The recommendations think around the edges, more frameworks, more reviews but no decisive action to address unemployment, economic injustice or the hollowing out of public trust. The UAT cannot support the Bill that maintains the status quo, fail to build the internal state capacity and does not deliver on the radical economic transformation. Municipalities are told to have autonomy, yet their spending is prescribed down to the number of roads surfaced, parks built, waste collection, vehicles purchased and Expanded Public Works Programmes, EPWP work opportunities created under the grants like the Integrated Urban Development Grant.

The Bill failed to confront an entrenched system of entrepreneurship within the Department of Basic Education and the Department of Transport, especially in allocation of school bus contracts. Instead of creating sustainable jobs by directly employing qualified drivers from our communities, funds are channelled through tenders, opening doors for

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misappropriation, embezzlement and even violence against honest bidders.

The Bill should promote direct employment, professionalism and accountability and not enrichment of the few at the expense of many. Provinces are further told that if Conditional Grants fall short, they must fund the deficit from their own Equitable share. The poorer the province, the heavier the burden.

*Xitsonga:*

Kanimambo!

Mr W M DOUGLAS: Mr Chairperson, I greet you again in the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. MKP rejects the division of revenue 2026 as fundamentally flawed in its design and policy direction and its political direction. Let us stop pretending. This Division of Revenue Bill is not fixing South Africa in real terms at all. It is managing a crisis that is getting worse year in and year out. We are told that this is an equitable division of revenue, but there is nothing equitable about a system where only 9,5% of national revenue goes to local government.

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The very sphere that must deliver water, sanitation, electricity, roads and housing is collapsing, due to severe underfunding because of the World Bank and IMF loan conditionalities, loans that we did not need because we have our own resources.

Over 60% of municipalities in South Africa are in financial distress. More than R300 billion is owed to Eskom by municipalities. Non-revenue water losses in some areas exceed 40%. Infrastructure backlogs are estimated at over R1,5 trillion. But over 60 of these largest metros and municipalities across the country have been run by coalitions that now sit in the GNU for the last decade. The DA, PA, ANC, ActionSA, FF Plus, Bosa, IFP have all been running our municipalities in the ground.

Now, we want to come and stand for local government elections again. It is more of the same under these people. The DA-led municipalities are a disaster for coloured, black, Indian and middle-class progressive white families, because their racist policies cater for the elite well-off communities and Western foreign nationals more than our own poor people.

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Under the DA mayor Geordin Gwyn Hill-Lewis, they have entrenched apartheid spatial planning and now he wants to build a wall for separate development.

*Afrikaans:*

Hulle dink ons is vaak, maar hulle maak hulle laat!

*English:*

What the DA is doing is not governance, this is displacement and modern day forced removals by another name, apartheid 2.0. And let us not be misled by the myth that the DA has clean governance and the GNU has clean governance. We have seen R1,2 billion school IT tender scandals in the Western Cape and over R1,6 billion in tender fraud in contracts under investigation in the City of Cape Town with DA members being arrested regularly. Corruption does not only wear ANC colours; it wears blue too.

So, the DA thinks the past is the past and we must just wipe away white monopoly capital, our oppressors and keep their business interests going for a few jobs that trickles down and we must be happy with them holding on to stolen land and mineral wealth for that. Hell no, not anymore.

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*Afrikaans:*

Julle maak julle laat.

*English:*

We must change Cape Town. It is the Mother City and MK is going to take over here, because every day in the Western Cape, they want to take coloured and black people off the land, while the DA protects property markets, instead of people. And the PA comes here and defends the taking of our land in Knoflokskraal. Mr McKenzie, you are just a servant of the DA, you are just a servant of the white man, you are just a servant of the ANC. You are protecting the loss of our land. You are protecting the people who are evicting us from Knoflokskraal.

*Afrikaans:*

Gaan sê vir ons mense in Knoflokskraal hoekom jy nie vir hulle die land kan gee nie, want jy is hulle holborsel. Jy is die DA se holborsel. Dit is hoekom.

*English:*

So, I am saying to you, enough is enough. Under MK, we will no longer have land for ... We will no longer have land taken

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from our people. We will give people land. Instead of people being removed from Knoflokskraal, we will give them permits to stay there completely and always. We will support black African traditional leaders. We will support faith communities, because we are MK and this is our time. [Time expired.]

Dr M J BURKE: House Chairperson, I keep making the mistake of moving to the front when hon Douglas speaks, which raises our collective heartrate and achieves absolutely nothing, much like the MK party. What he fails to share with this House that the city that he mentions, Cape Town, has an average unemployment rate that is 10% below the national average. [Interjections.] Let us move on to more positive things. Let us give credit to where it is due.

Hon Sauls was actually now discussing the right Bill in front of this House on this debate. And I am afraid to say that this Bill is a testament to systemic failure. We are once again asking Parliament to give money to the three branches of government, knowing full well that much of it will be looted. I want to present three examples.

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Just this past weekend, there were reports of R60 million down the drain, due to unlawful appointments at Tswaing. They even appointed one guy to two positions. But we are voting to give them R153 million more this year. We read reports about Emalahleni Local Municipality in the Eastern Cape spending R23,8 million on an unbuilt stadium, because spending money on unbuilt stadiums is effectively a national sport at the moment. However, we are giving them almost another R150 million more this year.

In the Free State, Maluti-a-Phofung Local Municipality has had an outstanding audit for the last five years. On social media, you can watch videos of thugs disrupting its council meetings. It is also where a DA councillor and his mother was murdered in cold blood in 2024 for that councillor doing his job. It is something I refuse to stop speaking about. But this Bill will give Maluti-a-Phofung Local Municipality another R896 million. A loot-ing continue-a.

Our equitable share distributions are based on a formula that does not include audit outcome performance. That means, if you are doing a terrible job, don't worry, we will give you more money.

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I come to this Parliament to speak about and vote for a Bill that is a tragedy. I do so not because this is a pretty picture, but because there is a bigger picture. I do so because soon we will have new elections in this country. Soon the people in these municipalities will vote. They will have an opportunity to select a better government, one that includes more DA councillors than ever before and one that actually builds stadiums, do not break promises. They will have one that makes lawful appointments and one where people's lives are not cut short but actually improve.

To paraphrase another man who had hope, we are not opposed to equitable share in all circumstances, just in circumstances where the results are dumb, when money is given to municipalities that don't transfer resources to our people. So, I reluctantly support this Bill.

Ms N A GCALEKA-MAZIBUKO: Hon House Chair, on this day, the 21st of April 1998, Utata uMadiba made his opening speech in the President's Budget Speech, here in Parliament. This was a speech about reconciliation and transition, policy focus, unity, and lastly about accountability, which updated the

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National Assembly on government's progress in delivery of services and establishing a functional and democratic state.

His address anchored the words of wisdom, and I quote:

Our nation has succeeded to handle its problems with great wisdom. We have a government that has brought together bitter enemies into a constructive relationship. Our Parliament and Cabinet have properly focused on the task of reconstruction and development and have a government that is in control and whose programmes are on course.

Hon Chair, these words are still relevant even today. As the architects of this fiscal framework, we must celebrate the gains we have made. It is us, only us, who delivered the following.

We have shifted the national fiscal framework to support the most vulnerable and to improve living conditions in rural and township areas. We have a redistributive tax system that allocates revenues collected in urban areas to support underprivileged areas. This was not the case before 1994.

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*IsiZulu:*

Yithi phela Sihlalo ohloniphekile esifake ugesi ezindaweni ezisemakhaya ngisho nakorondavele uqobo. Ngo-1996 besifake 58% futhi manje ngo2022 sesifake 94,7%. Wuye phela lo hulumeni onikeze uxhaso lwezindlu ezingaphezulu kwezigidi ezintathu lapho kuhlomule khona abantu abayizigidi eziyishumi nantathu.

Abalingana nami abesifazane bayazi ukuthi ngaleso sikhathi uma ungumuntu wesifazane bowungakhoni ukuthola indlu ngaphandle kokuthi usayinelwe yindoda. Abancane bayazi ukuthi uma ungashadile ubungakhoni ukuba nendlu. Namhlanje futhi izintanga zami ziyazi futhi besithwala amabhakede siye emfuleni siyofuna amanzi angcolile singenamanzi. Izinsizwa siyazi ukuthi bezifesa emfuleni zifuna izintombi. Manje azisakwazi ukufesa emfuleni ngoba phela uhulumeni wethu sekafake amanzi ezindlini. Sekafake amapayipi futhi amaphesenti angama-82 wabantu baseMzansi Afrika banamanzi angena ezindlini.

*English:*

Hon Chair, these are not just numbers, but a reflection of the improved living conditions of the majority of South Africans. Yes, we are experiencing challenges, where sometimes it

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demands surpassing the supply, but we are solving the challenges. Hon Speaker, as we grapple with the structural inequalities, we must support the Department of Trade, Industry and Competition to implement measures that help us to stimulate economic growth and advance social transformation.

We fought for this legislation, and we shall not be distracted. Forward with rapid, inclusive and sustainable economic growth. Forward with the promotion of fixed capital investment and industrialisation. Forward with job creation, transformation. Forward with fiscal and sustainability. Forward.

Today, hon Chair, a total of 11,2 million indigent households nationally are currently subsidised for the provision of free basic services through the local government equitable share. Provinces shoulder the primary responsibility for delivering social services, including providing basic education for 13,6 million learners and health care for 53,4 million people without private medical insurance. Direct national transfers to provinces are projected to grow by an annual average of 3,4 per cent.

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Our provinces are allocated an additional 32,3 billion, of which 9,9 billion supports employee compensation pressures in education and an additional 21,3 billion is allocated for health sector competition, employment of doctors and making up shortfalls in goods and services. Hon Chair ...

*IsiZulu:*

Ngingabala kuze kushone ilanga izinto ezenziwa uhulumeni oholwa ngu-ANC.

*English:*

As part of the financial viability of municipalities and addressing municipal debt problems impacting Eskom, a key technological reform is the smart-metre grant programme which is allocated 2,5 billion over the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework. In 71 debt-stressed municipalities, the programme has already installed over 139, 000 smart metres with 96,400 more planned for the next budget cycle.

*IsiZulu:*

Siyabonga Madiba.

*English:*

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We are indeed fixing local government and ensuring we adapt our billing system through technology.

*IsiZulu:*

Abantu baseNingizimu Afrikas abaningi ikakhulukazi emadolobheni basahlala emijondolo. I-ANC icelile ukuthi kukhushulwe imali yesibonelelelo yokuthuthukiswa kwemijondolo lapho ikhona.

*English:*

Major increases for informal settlements, upgrading partnership, ISUP grants by 107% are made in this Division of Revenue which you are not supporting today. Reflecting the increased focus of transition in formal dwellers to proper housing facilities in well-developed human settlements with access to all critical services required to harness an environment where our people live in dignity.

In fact, hon Chair, the EFF should be supporting this Bill because this Bill seeks to correct the mess they have done in Johannesburg when they were sleeping in the same blanket in the marriage of convenience with the DA under the leadership

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of the former Mayor Mashaba. They messed up. This Bill has to correct that mess they left in Johannesburg.

Hon Chair, the Compressive Agricultural Support Programme grant and the Ilima-Letsema Projects grant are being combined to streamline support to emerging farmers.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon member, just take your seat for a moment. Hon Maotwe, why do you want to be recognised?

Ms O M C MAOTWE: House Chair, I just want to ask if a member would like to take a question because our MEC Dunga is in charge of the finances of Gauteng. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon Maotwe, you know better. First, we inquire whether the member will take a question, and then you ask the question. Hon member, are you prepared to take a question? The member indicates that she's not prepared to take a question. Thank you.

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Ms N A GCALEKA-MAZIBUKO: I'm not prepared, hon Chair. I'm talking about the lived experience I saw in Johannesburg. It's not a theory.

UNIDENTIFIED MEMBER: Under Dada Morero.

Ms N A GCALEKA-MAZIBUKO: The Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme grant and the Ilima-Letsema project grant are being combined to streamline support to emerging farmers. The comprehensive agricultural support programme increased significantly by 34,5%, reflecting our commitment to increasing food production and food security through supporting small-scale farmers and emerging farmers who require support for production.

I must say in this House it is unbelievable that MKP today is referring to State Capture and failed government, to President Ramaphosa. How hypocritical? [Interjections.] We must reject political opportunism that thrives on deflection rather than solutions.

South Africans want leaders who are honest about the past, accountable in the present, and committed to building a better

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future and this Bill is about building a better future. It's not about politicking and standing here on the programme and grandstanding. We support this Bill, Chairperson. I thank you.

An HON MEMBER: And she was not screaming.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr W Horn): Hon members, please don't unmute and speak. Whoever does that next will be asked to leave the Chamber.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE: Hon House Chair, let me start by hon Maimane the chairperson, who said the SA Revenue Service, Sars has collected R2 trillion, which is a major achievement. However, what he misses is that the expenditure is R2,4 trillion, which means we are R400 billion short. In addition to that R400 billion, the debt service costs are also of a similar amount, which means this year we'll have to borrow about R800 billion.

It does not mean I'm not applying my mind to what he's talking about, an extension of the fuel levy, I am. I am applying my mind to that issue. At the appropriate time ... possible ... because I promised South Africans that at the end of the

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month, I'm going to do a review. After consulting a stubborn Minister ...

*IsiXhosa:*

... yaseCala ekuthiwa nguMantashe, ...

*English:*

... I will probably make the necessary announcement on Tuesday the 28th in that regard.

The second issue ... the problem with colleagues ... most of them are not discussing the Division of Revenue Bill; they are discussing something else completely. What the Division of Revenue Bill is about is the division of the national raised revenue between the various spheres of government. That's what this debate should be about. The division of the national raised revenue between the various spheres of government ... That's what we're debating. That is what section 214 of the Constitution enjoined us to do.

Unfortunately, it does not have ... amongst the 10 criteria we've got to consider ... I invite members to read section 214

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of the Constitution. In the criteria used, there's nothing called performance. It does not exist in those criteria.

So, what we need to do is to say, in that division of revenue, whether it is the money used for by each sphere of government ... one hon member says it's for economic elite. It's precisely because he's not discussing what we're discussing. You can't say money that is going into public hospitals to employ doctors and health professionals is for economic elite. It can't be right. It means you are discussing something else, not what we are discussing.

The other thing that I must warn against, and I think it's time we clarify this thing in this meeting. The Government of National Unity protocols work in this way, it's not a Government of National Unity between individuals, it's a Government of National Unity between political parties. Those political parties take collective responsibilities for their action. [Interjections.] It is quite important that the point is made because I see some members of the Government of National Unity distancing themselves from this Budget. It can't be right. It can't be right.

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Those are protocols of running a collective responsibility. You cannot pick and choose. What I like is good; what I do not like, I am not responsible for, it's the other party. [Interjections.] That's the point I wanted to make.

The third point I want to make is that I agree with members that we've got to discuss the review, including the review of the local government sphere. That review is taking place right now. Of course, what has delayed the finalisation of that review is the household survey, which is utilised to see that horizontal split between the various spheres of government.

There is a case ... [Inaudible.] There is a case that the money allocated to the local sphere of government has got to be improved, no doubt about that. But it is not clear ...once you say you must take a certain percentage, as some members are saying 14%, you must then come to another conclusion and say where is the money going to come from. In that debate members are at liberty. The law allows you to say on the Budget that I'm tabling, get 14% to local government, but it also says where are you going to get it. You must do that kind of work, which members are not doing now. So, we are going to take all those things into account. Let's make the point.

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We must also say when we talk about that, encourage our colleagues at local government level to do the right things. Encourage our colleagues at local government level to do the right things. It can't be right that everything that we're talking about at local government is a result of budget. Not at all.

As somebody who deals with these matters on a day-to-day basis, I know for sure. I'm dealing with a municipality now which was given grants for infrastructure and utilised that money for different purposes. Of course, I have to take the uncomfortable decision and deduct that money from the equitable share of that municipality. What are the implications of that? So, it's quite important that when we talk about local government level, we must also talk about the performance and effectiveness of the local government sphere. We must not talk about that ...

We will discuss the review and make the necessary announcement in the Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement and say what is that change in the local government sphere. We're working with the department of local government to deal with that issue. So, this Budget as I'm saying is about that equitable

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distribution of the national raised revenue. I think if we're to confine ourselves to that, that's going to be an important point and make the necessary amendments if people want to make them.

I must say to the colleagues on my left here, one raised the issue of Madlanga ... some are mentioning Madlanga but he forgets there was a Zondo Commission before Madlanga.

[Interjections.] There was a Zondo Commission before Madlanga.

[Interjections.]

*IsiXhosa:*

Niyalibala bantakwethu kufuneka ninyaniseke, sayimosha sonke le nto. Kutheni? Yibani nenyani. [Uwelewele]

*English:*

Mr V G REDDY: And what about Fidentia? Must we call a commission on Fidentia? [Interjections.]

*IsiXhosa:*

ILUNGU ELIHLONIPHEKILEYO: Sasingekho thina. Sasingekho thina. Ulahlile emsebenzini.

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Debate concluded.

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

Division demanded.

The House divided.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majози): Hon members ...

[Inaudible] ... take our seats. [Interjections.] No hon members, can we kindly take our seats. The Speaker has determined that in accordance with the Rules, a manual voting procedure will be used for this division. To continue, we must first establish if there's a quorum. I would request the Table to confirm that we have the requisite number of members physically present in the Chamber to take this decision.

Party Whips will then be given an opportunity to confirm the number of their members present and indicate if they vote for or against the question. A member who wishes to abstain or vote against the party vote may do so by confirming with the Chair. I have received that we do have a requisite quorum so

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that we proceed. The question before the House is that the Division of Revenue Bill be read a second time.

A quorum being present in terms of Rule 98(1), voting commenced.

AYES - 228: (ANC - 126; DA - 74; IFP - 11; PA - 5; FF Plus - 3; ActionSA - 4; ACDP - 2; BOSA - 2; Al Jama-ah - 1).

NOES - 78: (MK - 42; EFF - 35; UAT - 1).

Bill accordingly read a second time.

**REQUEST BY MINISTER OF TRADE, INDUSTRY AND COMPETITION TO MAKE  
RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING CANDIDATES FOR POSITION OF  
CHAIRPERSON OF BOARD OF NATIONAL LOTTERIES COMMISSION**

(Consideration of report of Portfolio Committee on Trade,  
Industry and Competition)

Mr M C MASINA: On 21 October 2025, the Speaker referred the letter dated 20 October 2025 from the Minister of Trade,

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Industry and Competition to the Portfolio Committee of Trade, Industry and Competition for consideration and report.

In this letter, he requested that the relevant committee of the National Assembly makes recommendations regarding the suitability of the nominees for appointment as chairperson of the board of the National Lotteries Commission, NLC, in terms of section 3(3) of the Lotteries Act 57 of 1997.

In terms of this Act, the member contemplated in paragraph A and subsection 1 shall be appointed only after the Minister has given notice in the *Gazette* and in ... fewer than two newspapers, circulated in every province ... he invited interested parties and persons suitable for appointment as chairperson, and the relevant committee of the National Assembly ... made recommendations to the Minister in relation thereafter, after a transparent and open process for consideration of the person nominated, having due regard as to the function of the board.

He further indicated that all calls for nomination had been published in *the Government Gazette* on 19 September 2025 and

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in the *Mail & Guardian* on 26 September 2025 as well as 2 October 2025.

The nomination period closed on 6 October 2025, resulting in 22 nominations being received by the Minister. The curriculum vitae of these nominees were subsequently forwarded to the Portfolio Committee of Trade, Industry and Competition in the National Assembly for consideration.

The committee convened on 22 September and finalised the shortlisting of candidates to be interviewed for the position of chairperson of the NLC board. The shortlisted candidates included the following: Mr T Bonakele, Mrs J Hermans, Mr W Manthe, Adv Memani, Ms M Mosing and Adv Nevondwe.

On 10 October 2025, the committee received a letter from Mr Manthe, who formally withdrew from the process.

On 2 September, the shortlisted candidates were interviewed for the position of chairperson. As part of the process, the committee subjected all the candidates to security screening with the State Security Agency, SSA ... [Inaudible.] ... to verify their qualifications.

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The committee convened on 3 December to commence with the deliberation of the report and the candidates to be recommended to the Minister for consideration. In light of the above, the committee recommended that the House request the Minister of Trade, Industry and Competition to consider the following candidates for the position of chairperson of the board: Mr T Bonakele who scored 89%, Ms M Mosing with 71 points and Adv L Nevondwe with 69 points.

Notwithstanding the recommended candidates, all met the legislative requirements, and given the outcome of the security vetting by the SSA, the Minister may consider conducting probity tests of the proposed candidates as envisaged in section 3(a)(2) of the Lotteries Act prior to finalisation. We request that this House consider this report. I thank you.

*Declarations of vote:*

Mr J A MNGXITAM: Chair, the MK Party recognises that the chairperson of the Portfolio Committee on Trade, Industry and Competition has outlined the formal nomination process, shortlist, interview and security vetting of the chairperson of the NLC.

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The committee recommended three candidates: Mr T Bonakele, who is a well-regarded, well-respected, long-term public servant. So the NLC is in good hands. The committee also recommended Ms Mosing and Adv Nevondwe as candidates – in this order – reflecting adherence to statutory processes as outlined in the Lotteries Act.

The MK Party supports this appointment because a clean, transparent process was followed. Given that the process was conducted with appropriate governance standards, the appointment should be effected with immediate effect to restore proper governance at the NLC. Prolonged vacancies undermine accountability and the ability to deliver funds to those who need them the most.

The MK Party understands that the NLC's history is marred by allegations of corruption, patronage and misalignment ... disbursements that failed the communities the NLC was meant to serve.

We therefore welcome the clean process and timely appointment. We, however, reiterate that governance must translate into real impact for destitute communities, sports clubs in

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townships, arts projects in villages and legitimate nongovernmental organisations, NGOs. We know that there have been many reports of corruption. The lived reality of our people needs to change in a positive way.

The MK Party envisions a South Africa where appointments are made not only with integrity but with tangible impact. The appointed chairperson and the board must implement ... address mechanisms that move previously disadvantaged individuals from the periphery to the centre, ensure equality of opportunities and outcomes and deliver measurable benefits to the poor.

The MK Party's support is not unconditional. These leaders must deliver or they shall also be shown the door. We are watching you and we see you. The bottom line must be the people. The issue is not a boardroom appointment. It is the lived reality of the people who rely on programmes funded by the lottery. The immediate transparent appointment will enable the NLC to deliver on its mandate, restore trust amongst sports clubs, arts groups, NGOs and the broader community, and ensure that redress and equality are central to funding decisions.

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The MK Party will monitor the work of the NLC and wants the chairperson to ensure that public accountability mechanisms are placed ... and accessible to beneficiaries. The MK Party supports this appointment.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: House Chair, you know, hon Thambo raised an issue earlier on about the lower thirds and that the YouTube is down all the time. We are going to receive very valuable inputs from this hon member before you, and the YouTube will be off and the people of South Africa won't even know who he is. What level of incompetence is this IT ... that we have that can't fix such a simple technical issue? How long must it take for them to fix that problem? We want to hear the valuable inputs from this comrade in front of you, and the world will not know who he is. Can we bring back the lower thirds please, hon Chairperson? Thank you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Thank you very much for raising that. I'm sure we'll be able to address the issue. However, for now let's allow the member to continue and I will get back to you once we have received ... what is actually happening. Hon member, please proceed.

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Mr M KHOZA: We want to take this opportunity to greet the commander-in-chief and president of the EFF. Last week the establishment tried to silence him but they successfully failed. We want to confirm that ...

*IsiZulu:*

... sibuye naye ephila umongameli.

*English:*

He is sleeping at home with family. The tricks of the racist judge failed.

The struggle for economic freedom continues and there is no one who can stop it – not police, not the army, not the racist judge who used our courts to silence our people, to silence our voices. We want to clearly say that the racist judge tried, but he has failed to silence the commander-in-chief. He is also trying to enter into the political arena to settle scores.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE: Point of order. [Interjections.]

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majosi): Hon Steenhuisen? Hon member, can you please take a seat? Continue hon ... Hon members, hon members, order please.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE: Chairperson, I rise on Rule 88 of the rules of the National Assembly, which talks about reflections upon judges and certain other holders or public office bearers.

The rules are very clear that it is not permissible for members to cast aspersions on the character of those who could potentially face removal by this House. That would include the hon judge in this particular matter who has now been repeatedly referred to as racist. I would ask you to apply your mind in terms of Rule 88 and please provide us with a ruling. Thank you.

An HON MEMBER: Sit down, former president.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majosi): Thank you very much, hon Steenhuisen.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: House Chair? House Chair?

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon members, I would want us to continue with the business of the day, but also take cognisance that it is under Rule 88 that we must not reflect on the competency or integrity of a judge or a superior court. I will just caution that ... can we please continue with the report of the ... Trade and Industry, and not actually deal with the competency or integrity of judges in courts. It is in our rules and we must comply with those rules. Hon Thambo?

Mr S THAMBO: Chairperson, on a point of order: If the hon Steenhuisen was not preoccupied with losing a conference, he would know that the commander-in-chief of the EFF was not sentenced by any judge. It was a magistrate. So that rule which he is raising does not apply.

He must focus on the conference he lost and he must focus on the foot-and-mouth disease crisis that he is presiding over, where livestock is dying. Thank you. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: Sit down, former president, sit down.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon members, please. I have made a ruling on that one and all I'm asking is that ...

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can we please abide by the rules that we made here, because if you listen to ... No, no, hon members. Hon members, if you go further, it does say that other than a member of the government whose removal from such office is dependent on the decision of the House, except upon a separate substantive motion in the House presenting clear, formulated and properly substantive charges, which if true ...

So, this does include magistrates as well. So all I'm saying is, can we continue with the business of the day? I am not saying ... Hon member, I will allow you to continue delivering your declaration on the report. That is my final decision. Hon Maotwe?

Ms O M C MAOTWE: No, no, thank you, House Chair. We are fine with your ruling, but just to add on what hon Thambo said. We don't have time for McDonald's. This one thinks that we are eating McDonald's here and he comes here with a McDonald's mentality.

The judge is racist and she must be told who she is. It doesn't matter whether he catches feelings or what. He must tell us here. But the judge, shame, she's racist.

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon Maotwe, I want us to continue with the business of the day, please. Can we then not engage on the ruling that I have made already? The hon Chief Whip of the DA?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: House Chair, firstly, thank you for your earlier ruling. However, the member repeated it twice. Firstly, I would request you to ask him to withdraw his statements as well. [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: You've made a ruling, Chair. Can we proceed?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon Michalakis, I think I did say that I've made my ruling ... that can we not do that in future ... [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: It will never happen. It will never happen.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): ... as the member is now aware. He will continue with the ... report only. Can we not engage on the ruling, please? [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: You are wasting our time, man.

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An HON MEMBER: Sit down.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: House Chair, I'm not disputing your ruling. I thank you for your ruling. However, it is a new point of order.

An HON MEMBER: This is bordering on racism. This is contempt. The Chief Whip of the DA is in contempt of your ruling, Chair.

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

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: House Chair, it is a new point of order. I'm not disputing your earlier ruling. I thank you for your ruling. I did, however, ask that you ask the member to withdraw. That's the first instance.

The second point of order is that when hon Maotwe raised her point of order, she also referred to the magistrate as racist, which also contravenes your earlier decision. I would like to ask you to request her to withdraw it as well.

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon members, I want us to continue with the business of the day. That is why I asked all members to please refrain from any reflections, whether on judges and their competence or integrity. Can we please take it on that note?

Hon Maotwe, you also heard me say, can we refrain from that. Can we not do it again, please, so that we continue with the business of the day and finish the two items. Hon member, please continue with the declaration. Hon member, please continue.

Mr M KHOZA: Chair, it comes as no surprise that some members are jumping up and down because their White House resolution failed after they sold ... the black leader of the EFF.

Unfortunately, what they resolved on in the White House didn't pass. The president and commander-in-chief is home and is leading from the front.

What confronts us today is not a mere report on the recommendation for chairperson of the board of the NLC, but an indictment of the institution that has been captured and

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repurposed to serve corrupt board members, compromised officials and politically connected elites.

The finding of the Auditor-General has exposed patterns of deliberate looting and collapse, grants allocated to unqualified applicants without documentation, overfunding of projects without feasibility, and what's more painful is the 957 billion that was left unspent from the 1,5 billion while communities are left suffering. Young people are left without their application for grants being responded to.

Infrastructure projects such as the Motheo Sports Complex and the eDumbe old age ... remain incomplete, whereas billions were allocated and disappeared into the pockets of corrupt politicians, more especially those on my right wearing beautiful suits and dresses. We see you. This is not governance. It is a betrayal of our people.

The EFF therefore supports the recommended names collectively as a representation of the best candidates interviewed by the committee through a transparent and rigorous process.

However, we are clear that this crisis of the NLC extends beyond leadership appointments. The EFF has been at the

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forefront of exposing and confronting corruption within the Lotto, particularly the deeply troubling lottery license tender awarded to Sizekhaya Holdings. South Africans must not forget the serious allegations linking the tender to Deputy President Paul Mashatile and his relatives.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon member, your time has expired.

Mr M KHOZA: You are aware that Sizekhaya has shares ...

[Inaudible.] ... to Bellamont which is led by Moses Tembe and the involvement of Sandile Zungu. We won't retreat.

[Applause.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon member, your time has expired. The IFP?

Mr T M LANGA: Hon House Chair ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon Langa, can you please take a seat? Hon Reddy, why are you rising?

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Mr V G REDDY: Hon acting Deputy Speaker, I did not want to interrupt the speaker. That is why I raised my hand earlier. We, as the MK Party, have a concern with the water that we have in front of us. If you shake the water and check it, there are particles inside. It's like somebody is trying to poison us here with the water. [Laughter.] So we are obviously quite a big threat. That's why they cheated us in the elections ... [Interjections.] ... and stole our votes, and we are going to fight that. But, now they are trying to do it in the water. So, I want you to please check the water that we are drinking. I mean, I'm quite serious about this. It's no joke. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon Reddy, no, I'm smiling because you are also smiling. That's why I'm smiling. I am definitely sure that it can't be that someone is trying to poison you. However, we will check with the parliamentary staff so that if it's possible that they have other water they must bring it to the tables. By the way, upon request ...

Mr V G REDDY: They must bring it now, because anything can happen to us now.

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Upon request, I am drinking this water, hon Reddy, and I'm definitely sure that you won't die today.

Mr V G REDDY: Oh, no please. It's only the water they gave us. It's only the water they gave to the MK Party.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Thank you. Okay, we will call on the parliamentary staff to bring you new water so that we are fine. Hon Minister?

The MINISTER OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS: I just want to say that the poison is weak. He's still alive.

Mr V G REDDY: Your poison is not going to work on us. We have strong muti.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Thank you, hon members. Can we allow the proceedings ... Hon Langa? Oh, before you go on, hon Langa, just stand at the podium. It's not a point of order.

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I am reporting back to hon Maotwe on the issue of YouTube. I am told that you can actually go to YouTube now. It's live. [Interjections.] Hon Langa, continue.

Mr T M LANGA: Hon House Chairperson, the IFP has consistently championed the principles of good governance and ethical leadership underscoring their centrality to effective and accountable public administration. The candidates as reflected in their curriculum vitae collectively demonstrated the requisite expertise, integrity and leadership to steer the board in a manner that ensures the full and proper execution on its mandate in accordance with the Lotteries Amendment Act.

However, our recognition of the candidate's potential must not be misconstrued as licence for unfitted action. The IFP will continue to exercise vigilant oversight particularly monitoring the implementation of the organisation's turnaround strategy.

Furthermore, gambling has become increasingly a serious social concern in the country.

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So, hon House Chairperson, the chairperson of the board when selected must therefore, take a leading role in advancing initiatives that ensure citizens have access to lawful regulated gambling platforms while simultaneously driving robust public education campaigns that clearly communicates the risks and dangers associated with gambling. The IFP supports this report. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): The PA.

Ms J A BASSON: Hon House Chairperson and hon members, on behalf of the PA, I hereby declare that the Report of the Portfolio Committee on Trade, Industry and Competition, dated 24 February 2026, on the request by the Minister of Trade, Industry and Competition, to make recommendations regarding candidates for appointments as chairperson of the board of the National Lotteries Commission, is before this House for consideration. The report follows the referral by the Speaker on 21 October 2025, arising from the formal request by the Minister in terms of section 3/3 of the Lotteries Act of 1997. The Act is explicit in requiring a transparent and open process. This House notes that these requirements were fully complied with.

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A public call for nominations was issued through the *Government Gazette* and national newspapers ensuring broad public access and awareness. The nomination process yielded 22 candidates whose details were dully referred to the public portfolio committee. The committee conducted a structured and transparent process including shortlisting, public interviews, verification of qualifications and security vetting by the State Security Agency.

The committee deliberated openly and applied its collective judgement to reach consensus on the candidates who meet the legislative and requirement needs of office.

The committee therefore recommends that this House supports the following candidates to appoint: Mr T Bonakele, Ms M Mosing and Adv L Novondwe. The report further reports that in the interest of public accountability and confidence that the Minister may and should conduct a probity test as provided for in section 3(a)/2 of the Labour Act. I am sorry the Lotteries Act prior to finalising the completement. I thank you.

[Applause.] [Time expired.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majози): The FFPlus.

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ActionSA.

Hon member.

Mr A NCHABELENG: Hon House Chairperson, I rise on a point of order.

Quick with regards to the ruling you made on Rule 88. I think this House must be consistent. In the matter when our former judge.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon member, if you do have a problem with my ruling, you can take it up with Rules Committee or the Speaker.

Mr A NCHABELENG: Hon House Chairperson, no I am not having a problem. I just wanted to explain this.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): No, hon member, can you please not explain anything.

Can I request you for now not to explain anything. We need to proceed.

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Mr A NCHABELENG: We need to take on the matter, because it is unfair.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Yes, you will take on the matter with the Rules Committee or the Speaker.

Mr A NCHABELENG: We silence other people, other we allow to criticise judges, yet other judges were criticised in this very House. So, it is very unfair and I think we need to take it up.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Can we please continue. That is not a point of order.

Continue, hon Trollip.

Mr R A P TROLLIP: Hon House Chairperson, I apologise for not being at the Chair.

The report before this House reflects a process that on paper is compliant with the requirements of the Lotteries Act, public nominations, shortlisting, interviews and security

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vetting. We acknowledge the work of the portfolio committee in executing its mandate within the prescribed framework.

However, we must be candid about the context in which this appointment takes place. The National Lotteries Commission has for years been synonymous not with public benefit but with the allegations of corruption, maladministration, diversion of funds meant for the most vulnerable in our society.

This is not a routine appointment but an opportunity to restore credibility to a deeply compromised institution. The committee has recommended three candidates to the Minister. While they meet the legislative requirements, compliance alone is not sufficient. What is required is unimpeachable integrity, independence from political influence and the institutional courage to confront entrenched interests, rid corruption that has hollowed out the National Lotteries Commission, NLC.

We therefore welcome the committee's explicit recommendation that the Minister consider conducting a probity test. This must not be treated as optional; this is essential. South Africans deserve absolute assurance that the next chairperson

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would not merely preside over the NLC and the status quo but will actively dismantle the institutional rot that has compromised the National Lotteries Comision.

ActionSA's position is clear. This appointment must mark a decisive break from the nefarious failures of the past. The Minister carries a responsibility not only to select a qualified candidate but to appoint an ethical reformer.

Someone who will ensure that every rand raised will reach the intended beneficiaries, not to build empires and palaces for NLC staff. Anything less would be a betrayal of public trust. Thank you. [Time expired.]

Mr W M THRING: Hon House Chairperson, the ACDP The ACDP is keenly aware that the National Lotteries Commission, NLC, has, in recent years, been plagued by serious allegations of corruption. In the previous administration, a former chairperson and senior officials have been found unfit for service and have been implicated in maladministration and fraud of close to R1 billion, according to the Special Investigating Unit, SIU.

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These failures have eroded public trust and undermined the commission's mandate to serve communities through transparent equitable distribution of Lottery funds. It is on this premise that the ACDP insists that the next chairperson must embody integrity, independence and a demonstrable commitment to accountability. Of the shortlisted candidates interviewed by the committee, Mr Bonakele is widely respected for his tenure at the Competition Commission, where he pursued cartel investigations and strengthened compliance.

Certainly, his experience in regulatory enforcement makes him a strong candidate for restoring credibility. Ms Mosing, a woman with a background in corporate governance with auditing experience, also scored highly. Additionally, Advocate Memani, who is not politically prominent, offers strong potential for restoring credibility to the commission.

South Africans deserve a Lottery commission which returns to its core mandate of supporting charities, sports and arts organisations. As Kingdom builders, the ACDP will remain steadfast in calling for integrity and competence. The National Lotteries Commission must serve the people of South

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Africa, for if it does not, it serves no purpose at all. I thank you.

Mrs N L HLAZO-WEBSTER: In Marikana, through the Samaritan Initiative, millions were allocated to build a chicken farm. This was meant for jobs, for people who didn't have jobs. It was meant for income, for families that didn't have income and dignity for a community. But the promise was never realised because the individuals that were linked to the system meant to fund and oversee these projects inserted themselves into the organisation. They took control of its decision-making and finances and they used the money by diverting the funds meant for the community. This is one of many cases when it comes to the corruption that has taken place at the National Lotteries Commission.

As we consider this, we consider the appointment of a board chair with that in mind and with that context. The NLC distributes billions of rands each year to charities and community organisations across South Africa and for thousands of these nonprofit organisations, NPOs, the funding is not a luxury, it is a lifeline that keeps youth programmes open, sports programmes, NPOs, community centres. We live at a time

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now in South Africa where civil society organisations face an even more precarious future with the withdrawal of funding from programmes such as Pefpar. There are many NGOs that are facing severe funding gaps.

Having seen what has been exposed by the SIU and the National Prosecuting Authority, NPA, it shows us that systemically the NLC has in the past had an ecosystem that enabled corruption and therefore what is important about this particular appointment is the restoring of integrity into an institution that has to serve South Africa and the needs of South Africans. The candidates that were in the report on the basis of the process we undertook as a committee are strong on paper and meet technical requirements. That is why we support the report as BOSA but we have to state that it has to be more than just the capable candidates in this regard. The standard of this appointment on ethics has got to be high as well. Thank you.

Mr R W T CHANCE: It is good to be back at the podium after the disruptions of last time. It is nice to be seeing you as well, House Chairperson. So, when the chair of an organisation does their job properly, they are rarely in the news. When things

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go wrong the chair often takes the rap. When the chair is actively involved in wrongdoing, we know the organisation is in trouble. This was the situation the NLC finds itself in under the chairmanship of Professor Alfred Nevhutanda. Under his watch, the NLC was looted to the tune of billions of rands by corrupt board members, executives, staff, law firms and service providers.

Professor Nevhutanda was heavily implicated and is under investigation by the SIU. Corruption at the NLC became evident after the brave actions of whistleblowers, both within and outside the organisation. Determined to cover their tracks the NLC spent millions of rands on legal fees, trying to discredit the whistleblowers who were forced to defend themselves using their own money.

One of these whistleblowers, Ado Krige, died on 29 January after suffering years of abuse by NLC insiders, costing him his business and his life savings. Other whistleblowers had their lives ruined by the NLC as it continued to throw the kitchen sink at them all the while claiming no wrongdoing had been committed. A new board was appointed in May 2023 which included Mr Tembinkosi Bonakele - a former Commissioner of the

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Competition Commission and applicant for the position under discussion today.

Shortly after appointing a new board, former Minister Ebrahim Patel decided to implement a reparative process to do the right thing by the whistleblowers, which has continued under Minister Tau. The whistleblowers were forced to sign nondisclosure agreements with the NLC and form their own support group to deal with the continuing trauma they were experiencing. Members of this portfolio committee have been putting pressure on the board to finalise this process, which dragged on for years.

Finally, on 10 December, the NLC announced the process had been completed, but instead of welcoming it, the whistleblowers rejected it outright. Instead of cash to repay their legal bills and lost income, the NLC offered food vouchers, assistance with school fees, counselling, and visits to spas. Non-staff like Ado Krige were callously given nothing at all, so the whistleblowers realised this was a huge slap in the face. Mr Bonakele scored well in his interview, and the committee report recommended him and two other candidates for Minister Tau to consider. But unbeknownst to us in the

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committee, as we were deliberating our decision, he was an active party to a miscarriage of justice which the DA believes must have consequences.

Minister Tau revealed that R10 million was budgeted for the reparative process. The vast majority went to lawyers and advisors. He said in response to my written question that, and I quote: "The NLC does not possess the legal competence to award damages or compensation outside of judicial or statutory processes." While this might be correct, it cannot be that people who risk their lives and livelihoods to reveal corruption also remain uncompensated for the significant cost of their bravery.

Section 22 of the 2005 Public Finance Management Act regulations, titled Payments, Refunds and Remissions as an Act of Grace, enabled an accounting officer to make such payment of up to R100 000 and seek the authority of Parliament if a larger amount is required. It was therefore well within the powers of the relevant players, which included Mr Bonakele, to request Minister Tau and his director-general to ask this House to authorise payments of reparations in cash. Instead, the board hid behind one set of rules while ignoring a

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provision in law that gave them an opportunity to do the right thing. They failed this test.

By contrast, it was reported last month that the Services sector education and training authority, Seta, had received legal advice that the Protected Disclosures Act and Labour Relations Act allow for compensation in cases of unfair dismissal, which surely the NLC could have invoked in the case of the dismissed whistleblowers. The spirit of the executive's proposed amendments to the Protected Disclosure Bill, which include stronger provisions for compensating and protecting whistleblowers, which is aligned with the recommendations of the Zondo Commission, is to ensure that whistleblowers are better protected and compensated.

The lack of courage displayed by Mr Bonakele and his fellow board members is sufficient to question his suitability to chair the NLC. The NLC needs a chair who has the courage to do the right thing, not just to do things right. For this reason, the DA cannot support this report.

Mr L MKUTU: House Chair, I think we can truly say that today we saw democracy in action. Parties in the committee

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overwhelmingly supported the report. They have done so because they understand the spirit of the committee in the process of ensuring that we get to where we are in relation to this report. The spirit of the committee was to ensure that we create an institution where it gains public trust and deals with the issue of maladministration that was in the board.

We think that these candidates fit the character of people who can turn around the institution. As a committee, we are committed to ensuring that the NLC board repositions itself as part of an entity that drives development. That is why in the committee we are saying that 20% of the profits of the board must go towards the National Empowerment Fund, NEF, for developmental programmes that will seek to empower communities. This is a commitment we have made collectively in the committee.

Now let's deal with this DA accusation. The problem with the DA in the first instance is that it was part of the process. The DA was the one that scored Tembinkosi Bonakele 80% because of his performance in the interviews. But today the DA stands here and rejects both the report and Bonakele, and casting aspersions on Bonakele's character. And you know the reason

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why the DA is doing that is that it's not enough that a black person can be excellent and meet every criterion, such that they must go and find a stain on his character. In the interview where it mattered most and throughout his whole career, he has sufficiently possessed the intellectual argument and the credibility to govern in the boards and where he has served. But because there is nothing that they can challenge intellectually and that Bonakele is black, therefore there must be a stain on this black person. He is excellent. He has proven himself through his track record. You must find another reason of rejecting the report, but don't use that as a rejection.

We also believe that the point raised by my colleague, Khoza of the EFF, was properly addressed in the committee. and for him to come here and be opportunistic and invoke the name of the Deputy President in relation to the to the awarding of the lottery tender is inappropriate. The board explained to us that there is no political link with people that have been awarded the tender of the board. So, it's really opportunistic and we must clarify it here because it was said in public. Chair of the committee, Comrade Mzwandile Masina, you have done a good job in consolidating the work and guiding us in

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doing the work and I think that we must be commended on the work that you are doing in the committee. Thank you very much. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Thank you very much, hon member. Hon members, I now put the question before ...

Mr S THAMBO: Point of order, Chair?

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

Mr S THAMBO: Just a point of clarification to the hon member. The matter regarding the Deputy President of South Africa is currently sub judice. So, it is in court. His involvement in the tender of the lottery is in court. He can't dismiss it publicly like that. [Interjections.] He must be aware that it is in court. Thank you very much. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): You were supposed to raise a point of order when the member was still on the podium. So, we won't take it.

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Question put: That the recommendation of Mr T Bonakele, Ms M Mosing and Adv L Nevondwe for position of Chairperson of the Board of the National Lotteries Commission be approved.

Division demanded.

The House divided.

House Chairperson Ms Z Majazi announced that the Speaker had determined that, in accordance with the Rules, a manual voting procedure would be used and that the Whips would conduct a headcount of members in the Chamber for the purposes of ascertaining quorum and voting.

A quorum being present in terms of Rule 98(1), voting commenced.

Mr V G REDDY: Hon House Chairperson, this is the "government of black unity", but anyway, I want you to please stop the ANC immediately. They are sending us SMSs, offering us the DA ministerial seats. [Laughter.] We don't want it. We don't want it! Please stop it. Mantashe, wena [you] - Chairperson of the ANC, stop it. Please. We don't want it.

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon Reddy, since you didn't share with us what the SMS says, then we can't take it whether you accept it or not.

AYES - 218: (ANC - 121; MK - 40; EFF - 35; IFP - 11; PA - 5; ActionSA - 4; BOSA - 1; Al Jama-ah - 1).

NOES - 59: (DA - 59).

Recommendation of Mr T Bonakele, Ms M Mosing and Adv L Nevondwe for position of Chairperson of the Board of the National Lotteries 67 Tuesday, 21 April 2026]

Commission accordingly approved in accordance with section 3(3) of the Lotteries Act, 1997 (Act No 57 of 1997).

**CONSIDERATION OF STUDY TOUR TO KINGDOM OF DENMARK - REPORT OF  
PORTFOLIO COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE AND TRADITIONAL  
AFFAIRS**

Dr Z L MKHIZE: Hon members, the Portfolio Committee on Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs undertook a study tour to the Kingdom of Denmark on 25 October to 4 November

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last year. This was undertaken because of the increasing trend towards coalition governments in all three spheres.

Our study tour consisted of consultations with politicians, administrative officials, researchers, academics and civil society. We all recall that in the year 2000, we had 29 hung municipalities and that number had risen to 80 by the year 2021. And, it looks like in the future this will be the future of our municipal elections. These hung municipalities and coalitions are a normal feature now in some of the old democracies; Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark and so on.

So, this portfolio committee has been assigned with the responsibility to look into the issue of the Municipal Structures Amendment Bill which is called the Coalition Bill. And so, this study tour will assist us as we look into solutions towards governance and service delivery challenges. The objective of the study was to look into a number of issues.

Firstly, on the issue of the coalition framework as to whether adherence on this was co-voluntary or compulsory. Secondly,

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was the ideal time for the establishment of a coalition government. In our country we have 14 days for this but in Denmark there was no consensus on the ideal time. The third one is coalition agreements. The committee wanted to check if these need to be publicised or whether they can be enforced. Fourthly, was on the issue of the motions of no confidence and the committee was keen to get the Danish experience particularly to see how we can limit the destabilising impact of these motions and whether, in fact, the voting on those should be show of hands or secret ballot. Then, the fifth one was on the electoral threshold, to look at whether this was in keeping with global democratic practices and whether this could be a solution to the kingmaker issue that has been raised.

On the main findings, the coalition agreements, it was noted that in Denmark these were all largely verbal but of late they have become written agreements. These have been quite durable but they are guided by the principles of each partner having a veto power, having also a decision-making process that relies on consensus rather than voting and that this is based on a win-win approach.

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These agreements are also not legislated and they are also not legally enforceable. The parties respect each other and respect these agreements and there is expectation from the public that these will be fulfilled and the political climate is frowned upon what is called negative parliamentarism where there is a lot of destructive competition and conflict in Parliament. So, 80% of their legislation are passed with 80% of support. Now, in this case, also the good relationship between the parties and leaders is also encouraged.

At a municipal level, we found this interesting, that these agreements are not legally binding and they are just as good as a handshake and that even if there is no trust amongst the members nothing can substitute or enforce them. So, whether it's a written agreement or a court order you couldn't enforce it. The committee recommends that there should be support for the principle of written coalition agreement.

On the ideal timeline for establishment of the coalition, in Denmark they have a kind of convention of four weeks but in some of the bigger cities it takes about two weeks. We feel as a committee that maybe four weeks still remains reasonable.

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On the motions of no confidence we found it quite interesting. At the municipal level, the Lord Mayors are short of completion of their four terms without any vote of no confidence except that if there is a problem of gross violation of the law or infringement of the Constitution.

There is no limit of the mayors how long they serve in office, so, that creates stability. The committee believes we need to recommend some restrictions on the motions of no confidence based on the question of the gross violation of the law and Constitution. This might assist us in eliminating frivolous votes of no confidence and discourage monetary incentives.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon Mkhize, your time is up.

Dr Z L MKHIZE: Thank you very much. The last one is the threshold. We believe that we need to consider this as well. This is accepted in Denmark. Thank you very much. [Time expired.]

There was no debate.

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The CHIEF WHIP OF THE LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: House  
Chairperson, I move:

That the Report be adopted.

*Declarations of vote:*

Mr J B MTOLO: Hon House Chair, hon members and fellow South Africans, what we witnessed abroad is not extraordinary. It is what government is supposed to look like. Yes, for many South Africans it feels like another world.

Denmark stands among the world's leading examples of accountable governance, transparency and citizen-centred service delivery. What stood out most was not merely the sophistication of their system but the consistency with which public institutions place the dignity and needs of citizens at the center of decision-making. In Denmark, local government is treated as the heartbeat of democracy, empowered, well-resourced and held to strict standards of accountability.

This ensures that basic services such as water, sanitation, housing and public transport are delivered efficiently and without unnecessary delay. In stark contrast back home, our

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municipalities are collapsing, water systems are failing, sewage flows in our streets and rivers, communities go days without basic services, infrastructure is left to decay while billions are looted. And yet, we are told that the Government of National Unity is working. Working for who, if it's divided like this? Because it is certainly not working for the people who wake up every day without water, without dignity and yet without hope.

Hon members, elsewhere local government is the engine of development. Here in South Africa, too often municipalities have become centres of dysfunction, cadre deployment and corruption. Accountability is weak, oversight is inconsistent and failure carries no consequence. That is why we are falling further behind not because we lack resources but because we lack leadership and political will. The lesson is clear, the government exists to serve the people efficiently, transparently and with integrity.

Imagine that in South African municipalities, where water flows consistently, where water is managed professionally and where services are delivered on time, not through tenders for comrades but through systems at work. Denmark has also

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positioned itself as a global leader in waste to energy solutions. Instead of relying on landfills waste is transformed into a valuable energy source generating electricity and heat while reducing environmental harm.

This stands in direct contrast to our current challenges across South Africa. Landfills are overcapacity, posing environmental and health risks through harmful emissions such as methane and carbon dioxide. Communities live alongside these hazards while municipalities try to find land for new sites. Yet, the Danish model demonstrates that these challenges can be turned into opportunities, creating sustainable energy while generating permanent employment through community participation, recycling and waste management.

This is the future we must build. A future where local government is professionalised and led by qualified individuals, not political deployees. Consequence management is enforced ending impunity for failure. We choose to govern, we choose to deliver, choose MK, we choose people. I thank you. [Time expired.]

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Ms H O MKHALIPHI: House Chair ...

*IsiZulu:*

... ngibingelele uCommander-in-Chief uphunyuka bamphethe. Ondlebezikhanya ilanga babe cabanga ukuthi uzolala ejele bajike bayophuza i-Klipdrift ne-Coke bakhohlwa ngoba sabuya naye ngalo lolo suku.

*English:*

House Chair, the study tour to the Kingdom of Denmark in October 2025 was both insightful and highly informative. It provided valuable lessons that we believe can significantly strengthen governance and service delivery in South Africa. Allow me to highlight key observations for consideration by this House.

Firstly, in Denmark, the legislative process is remarkably efficient, with Bills often processed and enacted into law within approximately one month. This approach, introduced during the COVID-19 period, has since been sustained. South Africa's processes are prolonged, resulting in delays and, in some instances, Bills lapsing at the end of the parliamentary term. This undermines service delivery and public confidence.

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We must reflect seriously on how to streamline our processes and adopt more responsive legislative mechanisms.

Secondly, Denmark operates an automatic voter registration system. Citizens are automatically registered to vote upon reaching the age of 18, eliminating administrative barriers to participation. In South Africa, voter registration remains a separate and often cumbersome process. The EFF has introduced a Bill advocating for automatic voter registration, and we call on all political parties to support this progressive reform.

Thirdly, Denmark has a long-standing history of coalition governance, dating back to the 20th century. A key feature of their system is stability once elected. Mayors are not subjected to motions of no confidence during their term. Furthermore, only mayors serve as full-time councillors, whilst Ward councillors often maintain other professional roles. This reduces political pressure and allows for more effective governance. Importantly, political parties engage constructively, prioritising compromise over dominance. The important lesson here, in particular for this House, is to consider amendments relating to motions of no confidence

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within the co-operative governance and traditional affairs framework.

Denmark has successfully implemented a system of generating electricity from waste. This model achieves three critical outcomes. Firstly, it ensures a clean environment through effective waste management. Secondly, it provides affordable electricity. Thirdly, it creates sustainable employment opportunities. What is particularly concerning is that similar co-operation frameworks already exist between the City of Copenhagen and the City of Johannesburg. However, the lack of visible implementation suggests a gap in commitment and execution on our part. This is a missed opportunity that we must urgently address.

We are calling for this report to be adopted, as we agree with the report, House Chair. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Inkosi N Z BUTHELEZI: Hon House Chair, the IFP welcomes this report and the valuable insights gained from Denmark's highly effective system of local government. We are encouraged by the report's emphasis on building capable and well-resourced municipalities, supported by clear oversight mechanisms and a

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culture of transparency. These lessons are particularly relevant as South Africa continues to strengthen its local government sphere and improve service delivery outcomes for all communities.

We acknowledge that the Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs is already actively engaged in driving reforms, focused on stabilising municipalities, strengthening financial management, and building institutional capacity. The findings of this study tour will help to further enrich these ongoing efforts and provide practical benchmarks for continuous improvement. Whilst we recognise that South Africa's context is unique, we believe that many of the principles observed in Denmark can be meaningfully adapted to support our developmental objectives, particularly in strengthening accountability and deepening community participation.

The IFP supports the report and anticipates the effective and progressive implementation of the recommendations in a way that advances capable, ethical, and self-driven local government throughout our Republic. I thank you, Chair.

[Applause.]

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Mr E HENDRICKS: Chair and hon members, the PA rises to note the report of the Portfolio Committee on Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs on its study tour to the Kingdom of Denmark, undertaken from 25 October to 4 November 2025. We place on record, Minister, that the PA supports this report.

The study tour provided members with valuable exposure to Denmark's system of local governance, municipal accountability, and community-centred service delivery. These engagements highlight practical models for strengthening institutional capacity, improving financial discipline, and enhancing the responsiveness of local government to the needs of our communities. As a partner within the Government of National Unity, the PA recognises that coalition government demands trust, discipline, and a shared commitment to delivery.

Trust is not a slogan. It is the foundation that allows partners to govern together with stability and purpose.

*IsiZulu:*

Nizwile DA. [Uhleko.]

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*English:*

However, trust cannot exist without respect. In any coalition, large or small, every party brings a constituency, a mandate, and a responsibility to the people. The PA believes firmly that no party should be looked down upon because of its size.

*Afrikaans:*

DA, julle is sleg.

*English:*

Coalition government works only when all partners are recognised as equal contributors, with respect for their role and value for the voices they represent. DA, coalition trust means understanding that we govern as one, not as a big and a small, not as dominant ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon member, please take your seat. Hon Reddy, what are you rising on?

Mr V G REDDY: House Chair ... [Inaudible.]

The interpreting is ... [Inaudible.]

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): If you had put your headsets on, you would have heard the interpreting. Can we please continue, hon member?

Mr E HENDRICKS: Just for the hon Reddy, for your entertainment ...

*IsiZulu:*

... bangcolile.

*Afrikaans:*

Julle is vuil! [Tussenwerpsels.]

*English:*

The PA therefore ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon Michalakis? Hon member, please take your seat.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: House Chair, on a point of order: We have a long-standing practice in this House that members cannot display party-political regalia. When the hon Reddy raised his point of order, he very

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deliberately displayed a sign of his political party with the former and now disgraced President on the screen.

[Interjections.] I would like to request you to please rule on that and to please prevent that from happening. It is a gross violation of that standing practice in this House. Thank you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon Reddy, can I please request that you put your diary down? Not everyone must then ...

Mr V G REDDY: I need the camera to show.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): No, I did not say speak; I asked you to put your notebook down.

Mr V G REDDY: Is it this one?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Yes, it has an emblem of an organisation, and we are in a sitting of Parliament.

Mr V G REDDY: Alright. I will put it down. Thank you.

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Thank you. Can you kindly continue? Proceed, hon member.

Mr E HENDRICKS: The PA ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): I am also giving you three seconds to wrap up because your time has expired.

Mr E HENDRICKS: The PA therefore ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majozi): Hon member, take your seat again. Hon Michalakis?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE SECOND LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: House Chair, I rise in terms of Rule 69. Your ruling on a specific matter should not allow a member to actually use that opportunity to again make the same violation of the Rules of this House. [Interjections.] That is exactly what the hon Reddy did. The rest of us have seen enough of Jacob Zuma. I would like you to please rule in terms of Rule 69.

[Interjections.]

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The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms Z Majazi): Hon Michalakis, I think I did request the hon Reddy to put away the notebook or whatever it is because it does resemble the organisation or party, and he did that. Can we please then proceed with the business of the day?

Mr E HENDRICKS: The PA therefore supports the adoption of this report and calls for its recommendations to be implemented, Minister, with urgency, clarity, and full accountability across coalition partners. I thank you.

*Afrikaans:*

Die DA is sleg! [Gelag.] [Tussenwerpsels.]

*English:*

Dr T K S LETLAPE: House Chair, ActionSA supports the report, but we hope that we will look at ourselves in terms of what applies to us and indigenise it.

We support electoral reforms, and what ActionSA would like to see is a proposed change to a 300-100 split, where 300 members of Parliament must be directly elected by constituencies so that they are answerable to the people and not to the party.

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The balance of 100 can be appointed by parties on proportional representation.

What is key is to ensure the importance of civic education for our citizens. We support automatic voter registration, but it should also be followed by compulsory voting for citizens. If you have civic education, you have voter education, and you have compulsory voting. We also insist on ethical, not legal, standards for leadership. When you have to lead society, you cannot reduce it to the substandard level of legality. It should be ethical leadership.

The other issue that the committee should consider is to create an independent, apolitical Public Service at all levels of government because that is the key machinery to the delivery of services. When you have political appointments, when you have political interference with people that are supposed to deliver services, you will not have appropriate services.

We also need to be truthful about eradicating corruption because one of the indices, if you look at Denmark and where they are on the corruption index and where we are, that is

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food for thought. If we can get rid of corruption, we will deliver to our people what Denmark delivers to its own people. Thank you.

Mr I ISMAIL-MOOSA: Hon House Chairperson, Al Jama-ah welcomes this report and the valuable lessons drawn from Denmark's governance systems study tour towards our opportunities together, practical solutions that can strengthen service delivery, accountability and local government performance in South Africa.

Denmark is internationally recognised for running efficient municipalities, clean governance, strong citizen participation and sustainable urban planning. One key lesson is the importance of professionalising local government as administration. Municipalities must appoint skilled and qualified officials based on merit. Communities deserve competent leadership that can deliver water, sanitation, roads, housing and electricity effectively.

Another lesson is transparency and public participation. Citizens in Denmark are actively involved in municipal decision-making. Al Jama-ah suggests meaningful consultation,

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participatory budgeting and responsive councillors who engage residents regularly.

The emphasis on green energy, waste management and climate resilience is equally relevant. Our municipalities must prepare for future environmental challenges while creating jobs through renewable energy and recycling initiatives.

Whilst international benchmarking is important, the real measure of success lies in implementation back home.

Parliament must ensure that lessons learned are translated into reforms, policy improvements and better governance outcomes. Al Jama-ah supports this report. I thank you.

Malibongwe!

Ms A M VAN ZYL: House Chair, South Africa has entered a new political era. After the 2021 local government elections, many municipalities have become hung councils without clear majorities. Coalition governments are not the problem. In many established democracies, they are the norm. The actual problem in South Africa is the total lack of rules to guide and govern coalitions, which has led to political opportunism and instability.

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Across South Africa, we have seen small parties, the PA with only one or two seats, becoming kingmakers, the PA, and destabilising councils through motions of no confidence. In Johannesburg, we have seen a revolving door of mayors. Since the last local government elections, Johannesburg has seen six mayors. In Tshwane, Cilliers Brink was removed by smaller parties playing political games. Now, water tanker costs have shot through the roof. In Nelson Mandela Bay, Retief Odendaal was removed, and there has been instability and declining service delivery since, PA. In Ekurhuleni, Tanya Campbell was removed, and that council cannot provide decent services to its residents either.

Hon members, this is not just political games. When councils fall, service delivery fails, budgets get delayed, projects come to a standstill, investors lose confidence, but worst of all, the residents pay the price. This is exactly why this committee undertook a study tour to Denmark.

According to the committee's report, the number of hung councils in South Africa has increased substantially from 29 in 2000 to more than 80 in 2021, when the last local government elections were held. This number will increase

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further after the forthcoming elections. Denmark, however, handles its coalitions quite differently to South Africa.

They do not face the same instability that we do, with stable coalitions being the norm. Why? Because they have a system in place that is built on three key principles. Firstly, clear coalition agreements that include policy, roles and dispute mechanisms that are clearly defined. Secondly, a very strong political culture where motions of no confidence are not toyed with. In fact, the only way a mayor can be removed is when that person is no longer eligible to stand for office. Thirdly, a shared understanding that coalitions are not a weakness, but a very stable form of governing. In Denmark, stability is a result of rules, trust and responsibility. South Africa must start taking these lessons seriously.

Coalition governments are here to stay. They will become more common. But the instability does not have to be the norm. That is exactly why the Democratic Alliance submitted a Private Members' Bill with the aim of stabilising coalition governments. We have proposed that motions of no confidence must be regulated not to be misused as political tools, that motions of no confidence can only be called once a year,

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except under extraordinary circumstances, and that a threshold be introduced before a party qualifies to take up a seat in council, therefore stopping smaller, one-seat parties from having excessive influence as kingmakers.

House Chair, the lesson from our study tour in Denmark is quite simple. Coalitions can work, but only if there are clear rules. Without reform, we will continue to see councils that fall apart every couple of months, leaving residents to suffer. However, with the right framework, coalitions can bring stability, responsibility, accountability and better service delivery.

South Africa now stands before a decision. Do we go down the road of political opportunism and chaos, or are we going to modernise our system to bring more stability? The Democratic Alliance chooses reform, because the residents of our country deserve governments that can deliver, not councils that consistently fail. House Chair, democracy requires coalitions, but service delivery requires stability. Thank you.

Ms D R DIREKO: House Chair, our portfolio committee recently undertook a study tour to the Kingdom of Denmark to examine

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their local government systems with a particular focus on coalition government. We returned with valuable lessons – lessons that can strengthen governance and improve service delivery in South Africa.

Denmark is a very highly stable country operating under constitutional monarchy with a strong parliamentary democracy. It has a long-standing tradition of consensus-driven governance and policy-making. The country also enjoys a low unemployment rate of 2%, reflecting effective governance and social stability.

One of the most striking observations was the culture of discipline and respect for institutions. Meetings start and end on time, committees operate effectively and leaders arrive well-prepared for their meetings. Time management is taken seriously. While this may seem small, it forms the foundation of effective governance.

House Chair, at the local level, Denmark provides important lesson on coalition government. Municipal leaders are known as lord mayors and the majority of municipalities are governed through coalition government. In most cases, there is no

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outright majority winner, and the lord mayors are appointed through coalition agreements.

These coalitions are stable, because they are built on honesty, integrity, political tolerance and maturity. Agreements are often based on trust and mutual understanding, even a simple handshake rather than a long, written contract. Leaders respect their ways and are committed to what they have agreed upon. Once the lord mayor is appointed, he is expected to uphold and implement the council's resolutions, ensuring continuity and stability in governance.

Denmark has also placed clear measures to protect leadership stability. Motions of no confidence are not permitted. Leaders cannot be removed simply because of political agreement or power struggles. This prevents constant disruption and allows municipalities to focus on service delivery. A lord mayor can only be removed if he or she is being charged and prosecuted by the court of law. This ensures that there's accountability while protecting governance from instability.

House Chair, in contrast, South African municipalities face serious challenges. Coalition governments are often unstable,

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with political competition taking priority over service delivery. Motions of no confidence are frequently used as a political tool, leading to constant changes in the leadership of municipalities. This instability directly affects communities, resulting in poor and inconsistent service delivery.

Municipal funding is another challenge. In Denmark, municipalities are well-resourced and have the capacity to deliver services such as infrastructure, climate programmes and social development effectively. In South Africa, municipalities are largely funded based on the assumption of local government White Paper, which expects municipalities to sustain themselves mainly through revenue collection. This is no longer realistic, because in many municipalities, unemployment, poverty and low payment levels are affecting their finances. As a result, many municipalities are underfunded, heavily reliant on national transfer and unable to deliver services effectively. This is why the ANC fully supports the review of local government White Paper to create more realistic and sustainable funding models to empower municipalities to meet the needs of our people.

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We have noted that there's funding from the European Union to support agricultural programmes. However, we are concerned about the challenges in the implementation by the Department of Agriculture, which often results in funding not fully being used on time. Resources meant to support farmers and improve food security are being delayed or underutilised. At some stage, many communities will continue to face hunger because of the failure of the Department of Agriculture. This raises a serious concern with regard to the accountability, service delivery and implementation of our policies.

Hon House Chair, Denmark also demonstrates effectiveness and efficiency in government systems. Their electoral system is simple and effective. There's no separate voter registration process. Citizens vote if they have a valid identity document and meet the age requirement of voting. Campaign periods are short, usually between four and six weeks, which encourage a forecast and issue-based campaign.

Parliamentary committees are equally efficient. Committees typically consist of almost 18 members, and they are able to process their work within an hour, which reflects discipline,

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preparation and a strong commitment to decision-making processes.

Denmark also provides practical innovation and partnership. The city of Copenhagen has partnered with the city of Johannesburg to address water and sanitation challenges, including reducing water losses and improving wastewater systems. They also have a project that converts waste into electricity, which then reduces landfills and promotes environmental sustainability. Lessons that are learned ...  
[Time expired.]

The ANC supports the report. Thank you. [Applause.]

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE LARGEST MINORITY PARTY: Chair, I move that the report be adopted.

Motion agreed to.

Report accordingly adopted.

The House adjourned at 20:44.