TUESDAY, 16 JULY 2019

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

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The House met at 14:00.

House Chairperson Ms M G Boroto took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Let me first welcome everybody in the gallery. You are welcome to this plenary. I can see that there are many of our learners here. You are welcome, learners. If I am told the name of the school you are from I will it announce later. We will try to get the name. But you are all welcome. You are our future leaders. [Applause.] Thank you. You see, you have clapped hands for yourselves now. Having done that, let me just say to you, when we start with the proceedings, even if you hear anything you like from the floor, please don’t applaud and don’t take photos. Just relax, listen, and smile, okay? Thank you very much. I will now ask the secretary to read the Order.

APPROPRIATION BILL

Debate on Vote No 2 — Parliament:

MODULASETILO: Ke tla bitsa mme Mmusakgotla go tla go re bulela ngangisano ya rona ya letsatsi.

MMUSAKGOTLA: Ke a leboga, Motsamaisatiro. *(Translation of Setswana sentence follows.)*

[The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): I would like to call the Speaker to open today's debate.

The SPEAKER: Thank you, Chairperson.]

House Chairpersons, hon members, fellow South Africans, I rise to table Vote No 2, the budget for Parliament. The first term of the Sixth Parliament has started, maybe a little slower than usual, but we want to thank all the South African voters wherever they are for putting us all in this Chamber to represent their views, their needs and their aspirations. We represent their hope and their diversity in spaces, race, class, and gender.

We together must represent and sometimes confront the imperfections of our history, not to go back there, but to move this country forward towards stability and growth. The Constitution gives us a burden and a privilege to recognise, to mediate, to correct and to promote the principles and values that will truly turn this country into the South Africa we want. We take pride that we are a multiparty parliamentary system and that we continue to hold on to a strong sense of constitutionalism.

It is important in this Sixth Parliament, this turn of a strong sense of Parliament and of constitutionalism, is actually turned into a daily practice because only then can we truly together acknowledge, fight and defeat unemployment, poverty, racism and patriarchy. These challenges we must confront because it has been 25 years that we have occupied this Chamber as guardians of our people’s rights.

We must now increase our ability as Parliament to scrutinise, evaluate and monitor the availability, the quality and the frequency of the services from all Cabinet portfolios, state-owned enterprises, SOEs and development finance institutions, DFIs, to ensure that there’s value for money and that there is positive impact on the quality of life of South Africans.

As representatives of our various constituencies, we must deliver in all the languages to educate and empower communities to appreciate and to exercise their rights and freedoms responsibly. Parliament’s language policy must be implemented.

To educate the public means that we must first understand our responsibility to transfer the knowledge and to notice if it is adequate or misdirected. We must be able to follow the rands and cents spent by government and hold people to account. There must be consequences.

Hon members, the slow growth of the economy is worrying. Our unemployment rate is not decreasing. Shrill screams for government to create jobs without putting forward concrete solution, just adds to more emotional strain on a situation which needs us to be calm and careful in our consideration.

Hon members, we are in a penny-pinching situation where retrenchments across all sectors of our economy are likely to increase, and therefore increase the burden on social grants.

So I ask the question: How do we create or even retain jobs in this no-growth period? Can we train for future jobs? Can Parliament be part of the search for solutions?

Hon members, we have set up committees which shadow the reconfigured Cabinet. Constitutional and other committees have been established. Our brief to you as members is very simple: know why you are a public representative; understand the tools at your disposal; understand the rules, conventions, and powers of different structures and the related laws; update yourselves with our e-Parliament facilities; make laws; ask questions; make statements; represent your constituencies; understand the budget and follow the cents because there are no holy cows in this Chamber.

For members of the executive, our advice is, please attend the parliamentary committee sessions. Do not unnecessarily delegate to your staff and please be careful of your statements and responses that you make here and outside of this Chamber because we will follow up on whatever you utter. [Applause.]

Remember, you are not only a Minister when you are in the House; you are a Minister 24/7. So, your utterances are important for us.

We have noticed over the years that attendance at committee level has been left to officials in some cases. There is nothing wrong when they are properly delegated but, please remember, we

do not hold the administration to account; we hold the executive to account. Therefore, that temptation for Ministers to be hands-off and ears-off from the financial execution of the business can be detrimental if things go wrong. So, perhaps we must re-understand the reason for the Public Finance Management Act and the Municipal Finance Management Act, when the executive authority is and must be held responsible, but pleads innocence.

The Leader of Government Business will be kept busy, liaising between Parliament and Cabinet. The President will get reports about attendance, especially on debates and at Question sessions.

The high-level panel sent us a report towards the end of the last Parliament. We have sent the recommendations to all the committees. We need Parliament to resuscitate this business and follow up on those recommendations. We need to resuscitate the work done by the Joint Constitutional Review Committee on expropriation of land without compensation and to conclude that business because thousands of South Africans participated in the discussions on land reform and restitution.

Following the recommendations of the Kader Asmal Report on the Institutions Supporting Democracy, a series of consultations

took place. This toing and froing has so far not yielded any actionable results. I am in the process of catching up with the work of the office set up in the Speaker's Office which should lead us towards the solutions on this matter.

Parliament has a public participation model. Since it was adopted by the last Parliament the model could be assessed again. Parliament further conducts public surveys to gauge its effectiveness in our public hearings, public education and, generally, to test the sentiments of the public on the work we do. What we want to focus on in the Sixth Parliament is how we conduct the public hearings and make sure that they are properly structured and financed.

Our Parliament, like all parliaments, is expected to be part of the global community. We influence and are influenced by others we interact with internationally. So, we need to take the South African participation at both the Southern African Development Community-Parliamentary Forum, SADC-PF, and the Pan-African Parliament, PAP, seriously. We have a responsibility to ensure that the host agreement for PAP is concluded and honoured. We fail the continent if we do not ensure that the PAP delivers as excepted, and that its administration is up to scratch.

The SADC-PF is finally set to become a regional parliament. This is important as we need to tighten regional co-operation in the same way as the East Africans and West Africans have done. We will continue with our participation at the Inter-Parliamentary Union, IPU, and Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, CPA. We will continue our relationship with the European Union, EU, which has allocated funds for capacity building in this Parliament for years.

This relationship, however, is subject to our revision in terms of what we think the Sixth Parliament strategy will be, and what we think our needs for committees will be. We relate with other international fora in partnership with our provincial legislatures. The Speakers' Forum will continue to co-ordinate and share good practices. We will also be sponsoring a sector's Bill to facilitate sectoral approaches to programmes, wage negotiation, and all the other things common to all of us.

Hon members, to maintain the trust and confidence of those who elected us, we must always display the highest levels of integrity. In this regard, members must, amongst others, declare their financial interests — a process which we should soon start. The Sixth Parliament must also undertake a review of the Code of Ethical Conduct and Disclosure of Members' Interests in

order to strengthen the ethical standards to which Members of Parliament must adhere and also address drafting irregularities in the Code.

The turnaround time for complaint handling and investigations in respect of allegations of breaches of the Code of Conduct must receive attention. The staff complement in the Office of the Registrar of Members' Interests has been identified as a priority, and dedicated staff will soon be appointed to conduct investigations and handle complaints.

We appeal to the committee to consider the matters that were not finalised in the Fifth Parliament, with a view to making a determination on their processing. What should concern the committee is the maintenance and preservation of the integrity of Parliament. This, we hope, will be done as quickly as possible so that any member whose matters have not been concluded can find relief.

Hon members, during the induction session, I said we must never have a Parliament that is incoherent and is the laughing stock of its own people, or of Africa and the world. We are public representatives. Let us respect the House and let us respect one

another. We can have as much robust debate as we want in this House. Use your freedom of speech, but do so responsibly.

From the presiding officers' side, we will do whatever we can to ensure that the protection of all the members in the House is adhered to. We will be referring serious offences to the relevant committees including the committee on Powers, Privileges and Immunities. Hon members may be aware that I have already referred the matter of the physical removal of a member from the Chamber in terms of the Rules and the circumstances that led to the removal of members during the Budget Vote debate on Public Enterprises on 11 July to a subcommittee.

Hon members, this term we must review the quality of support to Members of Parliament. That means we may have to review the structure of Parliament and ensure that it is aligned to the needs of the members. The parliamentary research model designed in 1997 has not kept pace with the growth and demands of this Parliament. Therefore, we will be reviewing the operating model and service offerings to ensure equitable research services are in place so as to enhance the capacity of members.

The operating model of one researcher and one content adviser per committee is simply not adequate. Therefore, the

parliamentary administration has been requested to submit proposals for the reorganisation of content support to maximise the utilisation of subject experts, if we have them, amongst the researchers and content advisers. [Applause.] Therefore, this will enhance support of the legislative, oversight and public participation processes, and the availability of quality information for members' participation in plenaries during the debates.

Enhanced support is also required to enable us to scrutinise budget processes — from processing amendments, to money bills, to the audits of public finances — to ensure that our people derive optimal socioeconomic benefits. It goes without saying that, in this time of fiscal constraint, Parliament must exercise heightened and relentless public finance oversight to ensure that the budget appropriated by Parliament is utilised efficiently and effectively.

We must also ensure that government's planning and budgeting is responsive to women's needs and that gender budgeting is institutionalised. [Applause.] Committees must incorporate gender analysis in their oversight of budgets. And again, we will monitor closely if we are being taken seriously because, in the last term, we gave this instruction and nothing happened.

Delegations to the Deputy Speaker and the House Chairpersons have been appearing on the Announcement, Tabling and Committee, ATC, report. There are a number of areas that I am still reconsidering before delegating them further.

Hon members will also remember that, in 2017, former President Zuma put forward the notion of relocating Parliament to Pretoria. Parliament then undertook to test the opinions of South Africans on this matter. I understand a feasibility study was undertaken. We must still get the report. What we were concerned about was exactly how and where this was done. The matter would be followed up and we will report to the House on it.

The current design of the parliamentary precinct is not conducive to the spatial needs of our members. The precinct does not have enough venues to accommodate all committee meetings. We spend too much money renting venues outside Parliament. The engagement with Public Works is ongoing to acquire more floors in 90 Plein Street. We are demanding that they be refurbished so that we can use those floors. This begs the question: What and where exactly is the precinct of Parliament, and who controls it? We need to get answers to those questions because they have a bearing on our standing as an arm of state.

The My Parliament application was launched towards the end of the Fifth Parliament. It is a member-centric mobile application that is capable of presenting enriched, user-friendly parliamentary information on mobile devices. This mobile application will ensure that members in the Houses and committees are given timeous access to all relevant documentation such as agendas, Minutes, presentations, research papers, ATCs and all the other supporting documents.

The roll-out will also result in huge cost savings worth millions on the printing budget of Parliament as we accelerate our advance towards a paperless environment. The effectiveness of the My Parliament app will enable us to do more with less. The roll-out of this resource will expand as soon as we are able to. We don’t want to say that members will be trained but, at roll-out, the app will also come with a video which will allow members to teach themselves.

The next step will for us to move towards e-law making — to improve the efficiency and transparency of the lawmaking process. The electronic register of members’ attendance of committee meetings must also be prioritised, to ensure that accurate records are available to members and their Whips.

Hon members, I now come to Parliament’s proposed budget allocation. We requested an amount of R3,2 979 billion from Treasury. Parliament’s actual allocation is R2,608,870 billion. So, we have a shortfall of R340 million. This will have a direct bearing on the running of this institution.

This budget is divided into five programmes: Strategic Leadership and Governance, which is about R104 million; Administration, which is about R175 584 million; Core Business of Parliament, which is R640 894 million; Support Services, which is R440 239 million; and Associated Services, which is R720 376 million. Parliament has a direct charge to the National Revenue Fund as a provision for members’ remunerations, which is a total of R527 518 million and it’s been put there.

Included in Parliament’s budget are medical aid contributions for former members and provincial legislatures, as well as transfers to political parties represented in Parliament. Parliament is of the view that these should be budgeted for elsewhere, because they distort the budget of Parliament. Engagement with the President as Head of State and the Minister of Finance is ongoing with a view to addressing this matter further.

We must also endeavour to maintain clean audits in the Sixth Parliament as we have done in the Fifth Parliament, and we look forward to working with the Joint Standing Committee on Financial Management of Parliament.

We managed through Human Resources to fully insource the catering and cleaning staff to permanent employment. [Applause.] I am told we have also offered permanent employment to employees on the D bands who were appointed on fixed-term contracts, with the exception of employees attached to political office bearers and those who are in the projects office. This has contributed immensely to boosting employee morale and stability. Hopefully, this will also contribute to better performance towards the public representatives.

The labour relations climate is stable and, as we reported last year, is showing an encouraging upward trend. Despite minor challenges, we are in continuous dialogue with the union and management. We want Parliament to continue being the employer of choice for the South African society at large. But I repeat, maintaining labour peace must not come at the expense of providing proper capacity to public representatives. So, we are not about just creating jobs; we are about creating jobs that

enhance and ensure that public representatives really do their jobs out there.

Hon members, the following senior management positions are currently vacant: the chief information officer, CIO, the chief financial officer, CFO, and the head of security. In light of the above-mentioned positions becoming vacant in the Fifth Parliament, the requirements of the positions obviously did not take into consideration the specific needs of the Sixth Parliament. If requested to re-advertise, we will do this process again, so that we can find suitable candidates to appoint to these positions who will be able to deliver on the mandate of the Sixth Parliament.

The disciplinary hearing of the Secretary to Parliament is ongoing. The agreed dates for the hearing are scheduled for the end of July to finish the evidence and early August for closing submissions. We, hon members, are with you on this one — we're tired, it's dragged on, but we cannot interfere for fear of messing up the disciplinary committee and creating a situation in which we might find ourselves on the back foot. So, we are hoping this matter will soon be put to rest.

Hon members, we recall that, following the tragic passing in 2018 of Mr Garane, a manager in the International Relations and Protocol Division, the executive authority requested the Public Service Commission to investigate aspects of the incident. We have received the report and we will soon communicate the way forward in this regard.

Hon Members, since its establishment in 2013, the Parliamentary Budget Office, PBO, has earned a reputation as a reliable and professional independent service to the Finance and Appropriation Committees. Last year, the PBO successfully hosted the third conference for African PBOs that was also attended by delegates from Canada, Australia and Germany. The funding mechanism for filling of key vacancies, including that of the director of the PBO, must be finalised soon so that it can function optimally.

Let me conclude by saying that, as public representatives, we are called upon to heal the divisions of the past and to ensure a better life for all. I am confident that we can meet the expectations of our people and that we can build a future free from hunger, hardship, and landlessness. Let us remind ourselves of the famous words, it always seems impossible until it is done.

Lastly, let me thank all of you, members, who have enabled us to do some work thus far. But, before I do so, I want to acknowledge the ambassadors from the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund who are here with us today; the Nelson Mandela Museum ambassadors who are also with us today; Nomzamo High School from Somerset West; Trafalgar High School; the Leap Science and Maths School, and Rylands High School.

We would also like to acknowledge few Chapter 9 institutions who have come. We acknowledge all the nongovernmental organisations, NGOs, who have also joined us, including Ilitha Labantu, My Vote Counts, Equal Education, Ethico, Freedom Park and the South African Heritage Resource Agency, Sahra.

I also want to thank you, hon members, for affording me this time. [Applause.]

MODULASETILO (Moh M G Boroto): Ke a leboga, mme Mmusakgotla.
(Translation of Setswana sentence follows.)

[The CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Thank you, Speaker.]

I would also like to thank the learners for adhering to what I asked you to do. Well done!

Mr B A RADEBE: Hon Chairperson, let me first take this opportunity to greet the executive authority of Parliament, who is the Speaker, Mama Modise. I would also like to greet my colleagues and the distinguished guests who are up there in the gallery.

First of all, Chairperson...

... ngizothanda ukubonga bonke abantu baseNingizimu Afrika abaphuma ngobuningi bababo ngomhlaka 8 Meyi 2019 lapho kwaphuma khona banikeza i-ANC igunya elikhulu ukuthi iqhubeke iphathe lelizwe leli. Sithi singu-ANC sizoqhubeka sibasebenzela njengoba sabasebenzela kusukela ngowe-1912. (*Translation of isiZulu paragraph follows.)*

[... I would like to thank all the South Africans who came out in large numbers on 8 May 2019 to give the ANC a mandate to continue ruling this country. As the ANC, we will continue to serve them as we have done since 1912.]

The ANC supports Budgets Vote 2. The ANC supports the Budget Vote of Parliament because it knows that this Parliament was created through the blood, the sweat, and the tears of the people of South Africa. This is evidenced by the fact that last

week on 11 July 2019 we marked the 56th anniversary of the arrest of the Rivonia Trialists at Liliesleaf Farm in Gauteng. They were arrested because they fought for the equality of all the people before the law. This equality which they were clamouring for was based on the clarion call of the Freedom Charter that no government could claim legitimacy unless it is based on the will of the people. It is fitting that this week also marks the 101st anniversary of the birth of Isithwalandwe uTata uNelson Mandela who was also a Rivonia Trialists and the first President the democratic South Africa.

This Parliament rightly adopted the motto, “We the people”. This presupposes that the work of Parliament will be centred around the people. That is why the ANC coined the concept of an activist Parliament — one which is expected to take the issues of the people from the constituencies, from non-profit organisations, from NGOs, and from community-based organisations and address them.

As we pass this budget of R2,6 billion, we have to ask whether this funding is adequate, since Parliament is the other arm of state. It is supposed to exercise oversight over the executive, whose budget is more than a trillion rand. To answer this question, we need to ask whether the Parliamentary Budget Office

is adequately resourced to adequately deal with the various programmes of Parliament, so that their allocation meets the mandate they have to execute. For example, the oversight work of Parliament must equal the work of the executive. Parliament cannot be found wanting in holding the executive to account. In this current budget there's a deficit of more than R424 million. So the issue is, how effective are the parliamentary committees and constituency offices going to be in ensuring that the policies of government impact positively on the lives of the people of South Africa, since we are still faced with the scourge of the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

I will make an example here. In my constituency, the Department of Water Affairs and Sanitation undertook a project to build a sewerage pump station. It was shoddily built. When this was brought to the attention of the regional head of the Department of Water Affairs and Sanitation in the province, he responded that the project was not on their books. When the Office of the Auditor-General came to the constituency to assess the project, there was no trace of the company involved. When that company heard that the Auditor-General was coming the next day, they disappeared the night before and were nowhere to be found.

That is why I agitate for an increase in support for the portfolio committees and the constituency offices in the next financial year so that the abusers of resources like these can be arrested while the abuse is still in progress, and not have to appear before the Standing Committee on Public Accounts after the mischief has already occurred.

Having painted this bleak picture, the ANC will, in this regard, implement its 53rd conference resolutions whereby it resolved to play a more effective role in the legislatures' budgets, structures and human resources issues. As such, the ANC agreed to use the appropriate channels – which include the budget process as envisaged in the Financial Management of Parliament Provincial and Legislature Act – to address this challenge. In doing so, the ANC will be mindful of the fiscal consolidation that was announced by the Minister of Finance in his Budget Speech in February and be cognizant of the separation of powers.

One of the critical constitutional mandates of Parliament is to exercise oversight over the executive. This constitutional mandate becomes very crucial in ensuring that the National Development Plan's, NDP, objectives are achieved by 2030. In this regard, at its 53rd conference, the ANC resolved to improve the legislatures' oversight model and capacity. Therefore, the

ANC is pleased with how the previous Parliament planned to finance the development and implementation of the refined oversight and accountability model to ensure that the executive implements the objectives of 2014-19 and thereby abide by objectives of the NDP.

Parliament must ensure that adequate funds are budgeted for the proper implementation of this model so that Parliament, through its committees, is able to identify, root out and prevent wastage of resources, as such wastage compromises service delivery and hence the attainment of the overarching broad objectives as set out in the NDP.

It is the determination of ANC to have a Parliament which is more activist- and people-centred. To crystallise the importance of this undertaking, the ANC has resolved to use constituency work effectively to link legislatures and people. In the regard the ANC will push for more funds to be allocated to constituency allowances. Members use constituency offices and the current work done by members in their constituencies is not visible. It seems as if there is little attention given to constituency work. You hardly get any reports on the constituency work that was done, or on the inputs emanating from constituency work to assist in deciding how portfolio committee are going to conduct

their oversight visits. Subsequently, the ANC recommends strengthening the use of constituency work by ensuring that there is proper financial accountability of the funds allocated for constituency allowances to ascertain their value for money.

To further the realisation of a more activist and people-centred Parliament, the ANC supports the resource allocation for improved engagement with the public and stakeholders through the implementation of an enhanced public participation, ensuring that there is a significant percentage increase in the population having access to participation in parliamentary processes.

An effective and capable parliament, which is well run and ensures that the principles of economy, efficiency and effectiveness are at the epicentre of any decision-making, is what will drive the attainment of our country’s objectives as set out in the NDP. As such, the ANC recommends placing more emphasis on non-performance information to ascertain the value for money for each rand spent in this 2019-20 Budget.

In conclusion, the NDP underscores the importance of building a capable and developmental state within a vibrant democratic system. In order to achieve this objective, the NDP emphasises

the link between the legislature and the executive in ensuring that the executive is held to account, that policies are subject to rigorous debate and that questions are asked when things go wrong. Thus, this is about strengthening the oversight role of Parliament. So, the ANC supports this Budget Vote.

Mr J W W JULIUS: Hon Chairperson, hon members and South Africans at large, especially our learners here today, welcome. You are the future of this country.

One of Parliament's important roles is to improve the government's budget for providing services to the people of South Africa. It is thus up to this House to ensure that public funds are spent on improving the quality of South Africans' lives. However, in order to do this, we need a Parliament that functions effectively, otherwise we will fail in our duty to ensure that the quality of people's lives is changed for the better. I think we can all agree on this.

And since we can all agree on this, the questions that immediately follow in the minds of South Africans are: Are we actually ensuring that budgets are spent to change the lives of South Africans? Did we, for the past 25 years, spend money to change South Africans' lives? Will this ANC-led government in

future make sure that budgets are spent on the people to change their lives? Will you at least start listening to the opposition in this Parliament as well?

The answer from most South Africans is a resounding no! It is a no because South Africans can still remember how the ANC in this Parliament voted in favour of Jacob Zuma on several occasions, to keep him on as President of this country, while you were aware what he did for himself and his family.

The MINISTER IN THE PRESIDENCY: House Chair, on a point of order.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Julius, please take your seat. Why are you rising, hon member?

The MINISTER IN THE PRESIDENCY: Can the hon member take a simple question?

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon Julius, are you ready to take a question?

Mr J W W JULIUS: Yes.

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

The MINISTER IN THE PRESIDENCY: Hon Julius, have you read the 25-year review of the good work that the ANC has done in this country? Have you?

Mr J W W JULIUS: Thank you very much for the question. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Order, hon members.

Mr J W W JULIUS: Thank you very much for the question, hon Minister. You know what? I have been here all along. I have seen the corruption, I have seen how most of you took away from South Africans and lined your own pockets for 25 years. [Applause.]

I am still here and I am aware and South Africans out there are aware of the lies that did not change for the past 25 years. So, I have been here and I hope you have also always been here. Thank you, hon member, and I hope I have answered your question. [Applause.]

However, the thing is, you know what? As the ANC, you like to chase lizards while crocodiles are behind you! Sort out your

mess in your party before you ask questions! Thank you.

[Applause.]

Hon Chairperson ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Order, order hon members! Can we allow the speaker to continue?

Mr J W W JULIUS: Some people sitting here in the ANC benches are today still supporting Jacob Zuma in the state capture inquiry. Just yesterday, they were still supporting him in a corruption case against the people of South Africa. Who does the ANC still support? Jacob Zuma.

South Africans witnessed the recent election of portfolio chairpersons in this Parliament. To make matters worse, these portfolio chairpersons are alleged to have been grossly corrupt. South Africans know about you.

Voorsitter, ANC lede in hierdie Parlement het verkies om eerder na die staatskapingkaptein, Ace Magashule, te luister en voorsitters te kies met verdagte agtergronde. Hoe kan hierdie ANC-lede hier sit? Hulle het gestem terwyl hulle van daardie mense se manewales weet. Julle het geweet dat komitees die enjin

van enige Parlement vorm. Hierdie skurwe karakters behoort nie in die Parlement nie. Daar word baie geld aan komitees in hierdie Parlement spandeer en hierdie skurwe karakers sal alles doen om die werksaamhede van hierdie Parlement teen te staan. Wees gewaarsku, Speaker! [Applous.] *(Translation of Afrikaans paragraph follows.)*

[Chairperson, ANC members in this Parliament preferred to listen to the state capture captain, Ace Magashule, and elect chairpersons with suspicious backgrounds. How can these ANC members sit here? They voted while knowing about those people's antics. You knew that committees form the engine of any Parliament. These scurrilous characters do not belong in Parliament. A lot of money is being spent on committees in this Parliament and these scurrilous characters will do anything to oppose the activities of this Parliament. Be warned, Speaker!]

I spoke to a community member last week. He confessed to me that he regrets voting for the ANC. [Interjections.] He told me that if he knew that the ANC would continue to deploy corrupt cadres he would have never voted for you. He said to me that the ANC lied about being serious about rooting out corruption. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Order, order, hon members!

Mr J W W JULIUS: And I gave him this assurance. I told him that, you know what, no party governs forever. They will fall! People will eventually see the ANC for who they are! [Applause.]

The loss of office gratuity fund is crippling the budget of Parliament. I am surprised that the Speaker did not mention this because this is one of the biggest problems that we are experiencing this year with Parliament's budget. Parliament will not be able to fulfil its mandate because, in this year alone, millions were spent on the gratuity of ex-members. Members and especially ANC Ministers have now found a new way to milk Parliament. When these Ministers found out that they would not return as Cabinet members, they opted to resign. In doing so, they backdated their resignations to reflect their salaries as being that of Ministers.

Now, for the benefit of South Africans, let me just explain. This is an amount paid to nonreturning members based on their last salary date, and they get four months of that salary for each term that they served in this Parliament. Now these Ministers backdate their salaries. These ex-Ministers. You know,

the backdating of those resignations is taking millions of rand away from Parliament’s budget.

Why would the ANC allow these Ministers to milk this Parliament, the people’s Parliament? [Applause.]

The backdating of resignations dates is clearly improper and is illegal. Those Ministers that received that money must pay it back. It is the people’s money. Some are still here dating back to the last term. You stole from the people. The DA will call for an investigation into this matter. I thank you. [Applause.] [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Thank you, hon members. Thank you. Thank you. Take your seats. There is an agreement that we call on the IFP before the EFF. Hon Singh.

Mr N SINGH: Hon Chairperson, hon Speaker and hon members, I would like to start off by quoting the words of the former President of India, Pratibha Patil, when she said:

> Parliament of the country is the repository of the sovereign will of the people, and its successful functioning is a joint responsibility of both the government and the opposition.

These words must set our pace and ring true throughout this Sixth Parliament as we strive to be more responsive to the ever-changing demands of this great nation.

The people of South Africa must look up to Parliament as an apex institution and gain respect for it through the quality of the work that passes through it and through its ability to fulfil its mandate. Parliament as an institution must be seen as a singular arm of the state that must encompass a plethora of views whilst working together with other arms of state.

Therefore, the current budget of Parliament must be directed in a manner that seeks to achieve responsiveness, information and accountability for both government and Members of Parliament.

In order to achieve this, Parliament must be fully capacitated in all aspects. This requires a larger budget that is more focused on achieving the goals of accountability, oversight and enacting legislation.

Firstly, we must look at the security of Parliament as a public institution, during committees or plenaries sittings. Last week we saw an incident when the Budget Vote on Public Enterprises descended into chaos. The chaos ensued when some hon members

tried to intimidate another member of this House – a Minister of this country. I do not wish to debate the merits of the action at this point, but rather highlight the issue that the Chairperson had to sound numerous calls for security before they entered. Security must be available when they are required.

Nks M S KHAWULA: Sisazokwenza futhi! (*Translation of isiZulu sentence follows.)*

[Ms M S KHAWULA: We will do it again!]

Mr N SINGH: Chairperson, on the point of unparliamentary behaviour, we need to develop, through the Rules Committee, a formula that ensures that the punishment fits the crime. In other words, incidents like that which occurred during the Public Enterprises Budget Vote debate must be investigated fully and be followed with harsher consequences. [Applause.] To this end, the IFP welcomes the action taken by the hon Speaker thus far.

Secondly, but in keeping with the idea of accountability, Parliament must not fail in its principles of holding the executive to account. I think you spoke at length about this, hon Speaker, and I agree with you. However, what we find in the

portfolio committees – which you do not sit on, hon Speaker – is that members on this side of the House criticise departments and Ministers but, when they come here where I am standing, they wax lyrical. And that is a problem. We all have to be committed to ensure that we hold the executive to account.

Hon Speaker, we are awaiting your update on the moving of Parliament's location and request an answer soon and you have referred to that. And why we need to know that is because we need to know how much money is going to be invested here before that Parliament becomes a reality. So, I think it is important that we be given regular updates.

However, having said that, there is a serious oversight in terms of maintaining the infrastructure of this particular Parliament. Firstly, the information technology is insufficient for current usage volumes. This is a simple tool of trade that all members and support staff must be able to access for greater efficiency and outputs. Often, when MPs are provided with tools of trade I hear you say, hon Speaker, that we have to teach ourselves. I do not know if that is possible for people with receding hairlines like mine. I think we have to be trained. We have to keep up with the Fourth Industrial Revolution. So, we need training in this regard if we bring in better IT.

I was just recently elected the president — not of the country — of the Parliament squash club. We have a parliamentary squash club here! [Applause.] However, honestly, hon Speaker, I plead for the maintenance and upgrading of these squash courts. We host visiting teams that play against us here and there is a need for us to maintain our standards. The same can be said of the ablution facilities around this Parliament and of the need for a properly equipped clinic.

We will support this budget. I am glad you touched on the issue of staff morale and the finalisation of the matter of the Secretary to Parliament.

Another challenge we have is with the interpretation service. We saw the kind of chaos that erupted during the Budget Vote debates when we did not have interpreters on board.

Hon Speaker, you have said all the right things; now is the time to implement. We will support this budget, but ask for more money for Parliament. Thank you. [Time expired.] [Applause.]

Dr M Q NDLOZI: House Chairperson, the EFF has been rightly credited as the central reason public confidence in and focus on the Fifth Parliament has increased. It is the teeth that were

restored to the Fifth Parliament for it to bite when it came to holding the executive accountable in this age of parasitic politics and petit bourgeoisie.

Without the EFF the process for the amendment of the Constitution to allow the historic and revolutionary objective of land expropriation without compensation would have never been realised. This process saw the largest public participation in Parliament processes ever. I think even including since South Africa became a republic!

Without the EFF the remedial actions of the Public Protector on Nkandla would have never seen the light of day because Jacob Zuma wanted to ignore them without a successful court review. Why? Because each time Zuma appeared in this House, as long as he did not respect the remedial action, he was faced by a legitimate protest of EFF Members of Parliament who forced him, kicking and screaming, to abide by the Public Protector’s Office’s remedial action.

Without the EFF there would have never been a new President of the ANC called Ramaphosa. [Interjections.] In fact, there’s no new dawn without the EFF. There would have not been a successful

removal of Jacob Zuma so that you can now pride yourselves on that lousy idea called the new dawn.

Zuma did not resign out of his innocent conscience. He was forced by the central consideration that here, in Parliament, the benches of the EFF would not allow him to have peace. [Applause.]

Now, why is this protesting of EFF MPs important? As you know, apartheid spatial planning makes it hard to sustain mass protest that disrupts the normal life of power in South Africa. Therefore, the people depend on their public representatives within the system to make power uncomfortable, to make the business of power business unusual until they comply with the law, until they comply with the remedial action of the Public Protector. [Applause.]

Many ANC MPs who are characterised by careerism and an uncontrollable ambition for positions kept quiet here during the Zuma years' administration as he destroyed state institutions. All of you ... we're told now that many of you may even have been spies for Jacob Zuma. [Laughter.] So, maybe that partly explains some of the behaviour that we saw during the Zuma

years. You kept quiet and you were very ... in fact many of you sang for your supper! You sang for your supper!

Without the EFF there would have never been that disjuncture, and that’s what the Fifth Parliament will always be known for. When we put up our protests, like prophets of doom you stood here one after the other like the speaker before me saying the people will reject the EFF, your votes will decrease. Many of you even went on saying we are embarrassing EFF voters. Prophets of doom! We are the only major political party that almost doubled its votes; the rest of you reduced. [Applause.] [Interjections.]

With your comfortable parliamentary mannerisms here, our people did not vote for you in the same numbers that they voted for us. Even people who came back as two, who are Chief Whips to whipping their own presidents, they have the audacity to come and tell us how to conduct ourselves! It will never happen! There is nothing that you can do! There is nothing that you can say! You will never tell us how to conduct our revolution. As long as you show contempt for Chapter 9 institutions, we are going to hold you accountable, the best way we know how. [Applause.] [Interjections.]

Why is Parliament protesting possible? It’s not about the Rules. It’s a protest. We are aware. It is a legitimate protest which is, by the way, a constitutional right. So, we protest because we realise that your rules are made to make power comfortable. Your rules are made to make sure that this place, these people who steal money, who defy courts, come here and have business as usual. So we defy them in protest to show them that they are not untouchable. [Applause.] [Interjections.] And we make no apology for that.

So, that’s what happened here with your Mr Gordhan, now being defended even by the DA. Never show contempt for the Public Protector. It doesn’t matter who holds that office. It doesn’t matter the incumbent. Protect and respect Chapter 9 institutions or else you are going to be met with protest here. And we are ready for anything — the army, your hooligans that you call security — we are ready for all of them! [Applause.] [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Order, order, hon members! Order! The noise levels are too high.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: So, that’s what happened here. It was a peaceful protest. Nobody touched Mr Gordhan. Members of the EFF came and

showed him a ... it was a proper protest, chief. And he was screaming already. [Laughter.] [Applause.] So, that is fine.

The Secretary to Parliament must be fired, Mam'Thandi, from our premises with immediate effect. He used blue lights without approval, gave himself, his friends and his colleagues bursaries, and he showed disregard for Parliament's budget by staying at extremely expensive hotels. If you take Parliament seriously, he must go.

This Parliament, 25 years after being taken by the black majority, still does not take the black people's languages seriously. Parliament only uses English and Afrikaans in documents, even in simple things like the distribution of the Order Paper. Why won't you write it in isiZulu if you take it seriously? There's no deliberate effort to invest in our people's languages.

In the Sixth Parliament the EFF will make sure that it initiates Private Members Bills on the amendment of the Banks Act, on the need to ban alcohol advertising, we are going to initiate insourcing of all workers, and we are going to initiate legislation in relation to 24-hour clinics.

Finally, I want to give a warning to the Deputy Speaker. You'll never ever, ever succeed with the EFF if you continue to show the type of incompetence even with regard to court rulings ... even in relation to court rulings when you make rulings in this House. This is not your kitchen! This is not your dining room! You must respect Members of Parliament. You must respect the House, otherwise you too are going to be in the long line of those we are going to protest against. [Time expired.] [Applause.] [Interjections.]

Dr C P MULDER: Hon Chairperson, today we are debating Budget Vote 2 — Parliament. Of course, there's no vote called EFF ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Order. Hon Dr Mulder ... [Interjections.] Hon members, you can't shout like that. Hon members, please, there is a speaker on the podium.

Dr C P MULDER: I'm saying, we are debating Budget Vote 2 — Parliament. There's no vote called the EFF. [Laughter.] If you listen to the hon Ndlozi, the debate was about the EFF. [Laughter.] [Applause.] Maybe ... [Interjections.] ... maybe ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Order, order, hon members.

Dr C P MULDER: Maybe we should have a debate on the EFF! [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Order!

Dr C P MULDER: According to the hon Ndlozi, it was only the EFF that did this, that and the other. That’s not true. It’s exactly the opposite. If you did not go on with hon Zuma the way you did, the ANC could have fired him a long time ago. [Interjections.] But because you were going on with the hon Zuma, they couldn’t do that. They had to protect him. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Order, order!

Dr C P MULDER: Hon Chairperson, I would like to start off ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Thank you. Hon members, can we listen, please! Order, hon members! Continue, Dr Mulder.

Dr C P MULDER: The hon Ndlozi also reminded us that the EFF doubled their vote; we quadrupled our vote! [Interjections.] Yes, we did! Yes, we did! [Interjections.] No, we did. And you've reached your ceiling and that's the end of the EFF. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

Hon Chairperson, I would like to speak to the hon Speaker and congratulate her on her first debate ... [Inaudible.] ... during the first term ... [Inaudible.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Ms M G Boroto): Hon members, please. Hon members, can we please observe the decorum of the House. Please! Hon Mulder, please continue.

Dr C P MULDER: Hon Speaker of the House, you referred to the legislative authority of Parliament and the important role that we should play in terms of scrutinising and overseeing executive action. And then you also said during your speech today that, basically, we will hold the executive to account and there must be consequences. I accept that and I agree with that. [Interjections.]

But, hon Speaker, we have failed in the instance of section 55(2)(a) of the Constitution. Section 55(2)(a) of the

Constitution says, the National Assembly must provide for mechanisms (a) to ensure that all executive organs of the state in the national sphere of government are accountable to it and (b) to maintain oversight of the executive on national and the national authority.

The point I'm trying to make is this: You said in your speech that we should scrutinise and do oversight of each and every portfolio of the executive as well as state-owned enterprises. But what about the Office of the President, ma'am? It's time that we also create a mechanism through which we do oversight of the President and the President's Office. And I think we should seriously do that. I think the Constitution expects that from us. We should do that.

But, hon Speaker, when you say there must be consequences, then I'm saying there must not only be consequences for the executive, there must also be consequences for Members of Parliament. There cannot only be consequences the executive. If Members of Parliament misbehave — and they do, from time to time, some of them do, because some of them in this House clearly stated, before they came to Parliament in 2014, and it was said again this afternoon, that they want to bring the revolution to Parliament. Now, this is the place to debate and

if you cannot win the argument with better arguments, you don't win the argument by trying to intimidate people. That's not called debate. That's not called Parliament.

Hon Speaker, last week when we had the incident with the Minister of Public Enterprises, some members were ejected from the House. But what did those members do? They just went down the stairs to another meeting of Parliament and they joined that and they participated in those debates. That is not consequences. That is not acceptable. It cannot be so. If members are ejected from the House they should also be ejected from the premises of Parliament.

At this stage it's quite clear that these are consequences that some members do not take seriously. So, I would suggest that we think about something else. Let's start to deduct from certain people's salaries. [Interjections.] Let's deduct from certain people's salaries. If they misbehave, we deduct from their salaries until they cannot pay their Gucci accounts and they cannot pay for their expensive German vehicles, and they cannot pay for all those things they buy! [Interjections.] [Applause.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Order, order, hon members. Hon Mulder, can you take your seat. Order, hon members.

Can you hear what the other member is saying? Hon members, order!

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Chair, on a point of order. I thought the debate is not about the EFF, my man. But you have spent 90% now talking about the EFF. You know why? Because the EFF is the Parliament! [Laughter.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): There's no point of order there, hon Ndlozi. You can continue. [Interjections.]

Dr C P MULDER: That was not a point of order; that was a terrible attempt! [Interjections.]

Mr S M KULA: Chairperson, I rise on a point of order. Can we humbly request ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, can you wait a minute so that I can give you a chance to speak. I haven't recognised you yet. [Interjections.] What is your point of order? Next time, you wait for my recognition, chief. What's your point of order, hon member?

Mr S M KULA: Can we make a humble request, House Chairperson. That ... that ice boy has been given an opportunity to speak ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): That is not a point of order, hon member.

Mr S M KULA: He must go and pick up ice for Malema and not disrupt Parliament. We can’t be told by ice boys here!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, that is not a point of order. Could you please sit down?

Mr S M KULA: We can’t be told by ice boys! His responsibility is to pick up ice for Julius, for Julius’ whiskey! When Julius wants whiskey he goes for Ndlozi. So, we can’t be told by an ice boy! An ice boy was given a chance here. [Applause.] [Interjections.]

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: Chairperson ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member ...

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: No, but you can’t ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, what you have just done is totally unacceptable.

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: He must withdraw. Chairperson, he must withdraw.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): That was not a point of order.

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: ... or call bouncers.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, I'll recognise you. I will recognise you.

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: Chairperson, he must withdraw with immediate effect, that one. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): I will recognise you.

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: That new boy must withdraw.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Order, hon members. Hon members, order! Hon members, we have Rules in this House and we have a duty to recognise the content of those Rules because

they are our Rules. They are not the rules of a particular party but our Rules. So, you've got to observe those Rules no matter how hot under the collar you might feel. You still have to recognise the Rules of the House, regardless of your political affiliation. So, really, can we behave?

Hon member, not only shall you withdraw, can you apologise for your behaviour? [Interjections.]

An HON MEMBER: House Chair! House Chair! [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, I will come to you. Let me deal with it first. I will recognise you after that hon member. I will come back to you.

Hon member, that behaviour was not acceptable. Could you please ...

Mr S M KULA: I withdraw, House Chairperson. [Applause.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Thank you very much. Hon member, you raised a hand. What was the point of order?

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: No, I'm covered, Chair. I'm fine.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, why are you rising at the back?

Mr T V MASHELE: Chair, for the sake of progress, I ... [Inaudible.] Hon Ndlozi said Parliament is EFF. Parliament is not EFF. Parliament is ourselves, as members. He must also withdraw.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): That is not a point of order, hon member. Thank you. [Interjections.]

Order, hon members. Shall we allow hon Mulder to complete his speech?

Dr C P MULDER: Parliament is the place where all the people of South Africa are represented by different political parties, not by one party, rest assured.

Ek wil ten slotte na die geloofwaardigheid van die Parlement en die integriteit van hierdie instelling verwys. U is absoluut korrek dat ons die geloofwaardigheid en die integriteit van die Parlement moet herstel. Ons het ’n laagtepunt gehad met die Nkandla-situasie in die vorige Parlement, maar ek dink die geleentheid is nou daar om dit te herstel. Van die VF Plus se

kant af kan ek u die versekering gee dat ons ons kant sal bring om die integriteit van hierdie plek te herstel waarop die kiesers daar buite geregtig is.

Ek wil ook vir u, as Speaker, vra dat ons die verhouding wat daar hoort te bestaan tussen die hoofswepe van die Parlement en die Kantoor van die Speaker herstel. In die Vyfde Parlement het daardie verhouding tot ’n groot mate tot stilstand gekom. Ek dink dit is nie goed nie en dit is baie belangrik dat ons dit doen.

Die VF Plus is beskikbaar en bereid om ons deel te bring, soos wat ons dit gereeld doen. Ons sal nie toelaat dat hierdie plek ’n markplein word van “maybe revolutionaries” [moontlike revolusioniste] nie. *(Translation of Afrikaans paragraphs follows.)*

[In conclusion, I would like to refer to the credibility of Parliament and the integrity of this institution. You are absolutely right that we need to restore the credibility and integrity of Parliament. We had an all-time low with the Nkandla situation in the previous Parliament. Still, I think the opportunity is here now to repair it. From the side of the FF Plus, I can assure you that we will do our part to restore the

integrity of this place to which the voters out there are entitled.

I would also like to ask you, as the Speaker, that we restore the relationship that should exist between the Chief Whips of Parliament and the Office of the Speaker. In the Fifth Parliament, that relationship came to a halt to a large extent. I think it's not good, and it's imperative that we do it.

The FF Plus is available and willing to do its part, as we regularly do. We will not allow this place to become a marketplace of maybe revolutionaries.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Chairperson, Madam Speaker, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, all House Chairpersons, I explicitly also want to recognize the Chief Whips and, in addition, talk about the people who oil our relationship, ourselves in Parliament, the executive and provincial liaison officers. They constitute part of a critical machinery of what constitutes Parliament. I want to suggest that the challenge we face is that, at end of our five years, we must look back at this opportunity with pride, knowing that we took advantage of what it presented us — the chance to work together to craft ways of working and thinking

together to address challenges that the people who recently elected us pointed out to us in no uncertain terms.

Madam Speaker, I am hoping the work to position Parliament that you and the previous Speaker were involved in will continue under your leadership and that of the hon Chairperson of the NCOP. That work is important because this positioning of Parliament appropriately is in line with the Constitution and is required to be adequately resourced. We, therefore, appeal that this collaborative dialogue that is in the legacy report be pursued with the greatest of passions between the two of you as executive committee as well as the Head of State and of government and of the executive and the judiciary so that the ongoing relationship between these three arms of state and supported by institutions that support democracy evolve properly and carry out the job to defeat poverty and inequality as well as the unacceptable levels of unemployment.

We have agreed, for example, that constitutional deadlines that we are given ... where the Constitutional Court intervenes but recognises that this space is Parliament’s space and does not enter here, but defers to us to carry out our work ... that we must meet those deadlines consistently every time. That subject

must be a cause for discussion in the collaborative dialogue I am talking about.

Similarly, we as Parliament in various portfolio committees are responsible for the appointment of commissioners so that these structures are able to carry out their functions properly and do it in a manner that is consistent with the constitutional requirement. In other words, we must deal with those areas in which we may be found wanting but must act proactively to close those gaps. This is absolutely crucial for Parliament if it is to play its role over the next five years or so.

Democracy is clearly not a cheap exercise. But this recognition also implies that the resources that are generated by our people in the public which the state uses must be used appropriately. Similarly, those citizens of other countries who contribute taxes that come to us via support in many ways must also be used appropriately so that when they receive feedback from their governments — that we gave South Africa this money for this purpose — the report we get is a satisfactory one that it was used appropriately. So this is a crucial part of our internationalism.

We succeeded to defeat apartheid and part of its colonial legacies because of the support of others in other parts of the world. Therefore, the necessity to treat with respect the resources and support that they give us must be the same with which we treat and respect the money that comes from our own people and their resources. This is a crucial part of what we are learning from the past. The commissions of inquiry that are going on are seeking to address this matter transparently, that we must not wait in certain instances to embark on the legislative institutional or oversight task that we should undertake. This is an important part of what we are learning from the past.

There is no question that our conduct in the House must demonstrate that we will handle public affairs properly with dignity although with the necessary robustness. We all undertook to obey the Constitution and all other laws when we took up office. Let’s do so in the House. It cannot be correct that we stood here and we undertook to obey the Constitution and the law, and then we go ahead and break it.

An HON MEMBER: Like you! Like you!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: So, the impression ... [Interjections.] So, the impression ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Order, hon members! Don’t drown out the speaker at the podium.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: That contradiction is inappropriate. It is inconsistent to claim rhetorical adherence to the Constitution when in practice we do exactly the opposite. [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Order, hon members!

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Like you!

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, we have recourse to do in writing so that we must be challenged on the issues that we are being referred to. Hon Ndlozi, I do not intend to respond to you in the manner in which you want me to. [Interjections.]

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Hon Chairperson, I rise on a point of order.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): What is your point of order, hon Ndlozi?

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Chairperson, the Deputy Speaker must not address me directly. He must address the House and those are the Rules. That is why you will never be anything above Deputy Speaker. You have reached your ceiling because you don't read your responsibilities. Don't speak to me directly. That's what the Rules say.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): That is not a point of order. Deputy Speaker, you may continue.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, it illustrates the point I am making. We must walk our talk... [Interjections]

An HON MEMBER: Like you?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes, I do walk my talk. Hon Chairperson, it is very easy in the morning tomorrow for members to read the Hansard and look at the utterances of members and the rulings that we make. It will not take a legal expert to see the correctness of our sessions from the Chair here. It doesn't require a rocket scientist. Not at all. And we will do it with the greatest pleasure. Because this hypocrisy is out of order and it must be called out of order. It's in writing. You run the risk of people seeing in writing your own misrepresentation that

you could have read. You should read what your members are saying and what your rulings are saying.

Our conduct in the House must be consistent with our suggestion that we must demonstrate to the people that we will handle their affairs properly and consistently. That we recognise the necessity to draw from each other's insights across the boundaries of political parties. It's an appropriate rule to handle things that are confronting us.

Madam Speaker, thank you for your leadership. The announcements you made here in which you referred to delegations to my colleagues, the House Chairpersons as well as me, are really appreciated. It enables us to hit the ground running. These areas are crucial to the work that is partly covered in our legacy report. In other words, the work we have done, for example, around what is referred to as e-Parliament or the so called Fourth Industrial Revolution.

In May last year we held a seminar and that seminar was significant for two reasons. Some of the departments like Economic Development were already exploring with other departments what the challenges are that we are facing in terms of these developments and what we can do. Some of those issues

were shared with us and other departments. Hon Pandor, at higher education level already initiated a panel that now exists to be responsible for co-ordinating efforts to deal with matters that had us calling for a national strategy. Our principal reason for doing so was so that we attend to the vulnerabilities that are brought about by this so-called Fourth Industrial Revolution.

There is a risk as a result of automation. Decisions that are made not with and by us necessarily but elsewhere that have an impact on the number of people who continue to occupy their jobs, that if they are suddenly rendered without jobs, as it is happening in many organisations that have a route externally to South Africa ... that those people we already have to deal with as the list of unemployment grows. We have a necessary responsibility as the public sector, as Parliament, as the executive where this is appropriate, to interface with the private sector so that these matters of vulnerability, of the risk to the public that is employed or who are required to be employed, is acted upon together. So that certain decisions are deferred for later application whilst we are building capacity for the employability of the people. This is a crucial strategy for dealing with the inevitable risks that we are confronted with. We can’t wait for those to happen. Thank you very much for giving us that responsibility. We are saying it here that we

should invite people with interest in this particular area so that we can share insights. We will do so appropriately in the right forums.

The most important part of that is that we ourselves as an institution deal with people's data. We deal with members' data — your personal information and so on. We should not run the risk of this information being stolen, used abusively without the intervention of our administration working with us to protect it. So it should be in our hands and we are able to ... sovereignty, not only of the work we do here as an institution but also as a country we are assured by the executive that we are acting appropriately to protect ourselves, but act appropriately also to take advantage of the new opportunities.

A long time ago others like Marx argued for the necessity to deal with the problem of alienation, to deal with the problem of drudgery of hard work. If a machine can do it instead and people do more interesting cultural things and so on, why not? So this is an appropriate intervention to deal with matters of developments in this area.

A lot of our people have migrated to cyberspace. They are part of the constituency that we must service so we must be able to

interact appropriately with them where they are at, whilst we are attending to matters that confronts us. We really appreciate this responsibility.

Not only that, we also are clear that questions of language policy – the creative use of our indigenous languages and the philosophical wisdom they carry must be available to all of us and all of our people so that we beat the boundaries that were created by tribalism and the attempts by colonialism and apartheid to render us apart, disunited even though, for all intents and purposes, we are orientated to the same gravitation towards humaneness and human practice. Despite, of course, those small, insignificant, so to speak, attempts at fascists' tendencies that we must beat and defeat. [Interjections.]

Chairperson, we are inspired by the need to identify opportunities effectively. The Speaker has outlined a couple of those things that we must work and interact with the staff so that they provide the necessary support of the work we do. There are many talented people in this environment irrespective of race, colour, creed and age because we build on the strength of all of them in their diversity to ensure that we prop up and support as the Speaker said what we have responsibility to.

Asserting our humaneness is necessary to deal with the problems often characterised as xenophobic and the fight of people from outside of this country. We have a proactive responsibility as Parliament to consistently and publicly express our disgust at those actions. People must know that we benefited from the hearts of others in the world for our freedom. We must protect theirs consistently as well. I thank you. [Time expired.]

Mr S N SWART: House Chair, there can be no doubt that we, as a country, are at a crossroads. When faced with a crossroads, folly, wrote historian Barbara Tuchman, is when leaders knowingly choose the wrong path. The previous Zuma administration chose that wrong path — a path of economic mismanagement and policy uncertainty — during which the country staggered under the dead weight of state capture and corruption, and we are reaping the consequences.

Now, as we debate Parliament's Budget Vote, let us be mindful that Parliament is tasked not only with a legislative function, but also with the vital oversight function and duty. It is a severe indictment that the Constitutional Court found that the Fifth Parliament failed to fulfil its constitutional duty by not holding President Zuma accountable. This was undoubtedly a low point of the Fifth Parliament.

However, the Eskom Parliamentary Oversight Inquiry — during which MPs across political alliances stood resolute and determined against intimidation and even death threats to expose corruption at Eskom — stands as a beacon of hope.

Today, we have a choice. Let us in this Sixth Parliament choose a new path of accountability, honesty and integrity. Let us ensure that the highest court of the land will never again find that Parliament is so wanting.

We in the ACDP, as the ACDP's elected representatives choose that path. We choose to be salt and light in this House. We choose to play our role as constructive opposition, and to seek godly solutions to the many challenges facing our nation. We choose to build and not destroy, to speak life and not death, to love and not hate. We choose to stand for justice for the poor and oppressed, to promote peace, reconciliation, and nation-building. We choose to maintain the decorum of this House in what we say and how we conduct ourselves. Those who have elected us expect and deserve responsible behaviour from us as leaders.

The learners watching us today deserve better. We choose to be honourable men and women who seek the common good of all South Africans. Will you choose to join us as responsible public

representatives in this Sixth Parliament? Then, as the prophet Isaiah says:

> Those from among you shall build the old waste places; you shall raise up the foundations of many generations; you shall be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of the streets to dwell in us.

Join us in the ACDP as we build the walls of our nation in this Sixth Parliament. I thank you.

Ms M C C PILANE-MAJAKE: Hon Chairperson of the House, Ministers, Deputy Ministers, members, members of the public, as freely elected representatives of the people of South Africa, our mission as Parliament is to represent the people and act as their voice when fulfilling our constitutional function of passing laws and overseeing executive action.

If we were to follow the constitutional principle of equality between the three arms of the state, we should not even be debating this Vote. The situation is dire. Annually, Parliament continues to debate in vain a Vote of funds that should be treated in the same way as the executive and the judiciary.

This is a constitutional contradiction that is perpetuated. I trust the National Treasury is listening today so that they can actually improve on the Vote of Parliament. We need to be frank and honest in this debate as to whether what we receive financially is congruent with the performance standards set for Parliament within the precepts of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

In strengthening oversight and accountability, we have moved away from the old regime's oversight and accountability model with its discriminatory practices, to the current Joint Standing Committee on Financial Management of Parliament. Here we can record both progressive and developmental progress. The powers we have over performance management and financial management of Parliament are both necessary and designed to hold those with institutional authority accountable.

Let us be balanced in our approach. Where performance requires merit, let us acknowledge it. Equally, where performance is mediocre or of poor quality, we also need to be critical and recommend change. In assessing performance, the Joint Standing Committee on Financial Management of Parliament has raised that many of the issues previously raised in quarterly reports are

flagged, but do not get implemented. Similarly, this happens to recommendations coming out of the annual reports.

In execution of its lawmaking mandate, Parliament is committed to greater effort prior to advice that is given to members. Cognisance needs to be taken that legal interpretation is influenced by the orientation and the reading of the law of the individual. Jurisprudence shapes how we interpret the law but when we require advice, we are seeking for conclusive interpretation informed by precedence. Without this, the quality of draft legislation will be found wanting, as has been the case on many occasions here in Parliament. Conflicting interpretations of the law or omissions do not help us as we have discovered when legislation had to be returned to Parliament from the Presidency or from the courts for amendment.

Over the past year, one of the key changes made to the Annual Performance Plan was the consolidation of the timeline indicators into a single core business charter indicator. The indicators have been incorporated into five strategic priorities, as follows: oversight and accountability model; public participation model; engagement in international fora; strengthening legislative model; and co-operative government oversight mechanisms.

The question that needs to arise here is whether this is actually working and benefiting the administration or making it harder to detect actual performance against indicators. Once indicators are absorbed into one single broader indicator, it is assumed that members are going to have time to trace what is actually happening within a core component. The contradiction relating to the formulas that financially restricts and disadvantages the governing party against its parliamentary responsibilities will be covered by hon Joe Maswanganyi who will be talking to this point later.

Much needs to be done to capacitate Parliament. We can actually be in the position to capacitate Parliament more if we, in the manner in which we do business as Members of Parliament in this House, can actually improve.

Hon Julius, we were very angry when you were responding to a member that actually raised a point of order and to actually find yourself bringing such a mood into Parliament doesn’t really become helpful.

Hon Swart, you are actually saying we need to promote peace, we need to be responsible, which is what we need to do within this House of Parliament — to actually improve the decorum. We are

one of the rowdiest Parliaments in the world and I'm sure we can actually do better because the electorate out there is actually looking at us for their development, and for the improvement of the lives of South Africans. We really can do better and maybe to some extent we need to actually encourage some of the opposition parties to look at what it means to be an opposition party within Parliament. It's not about attacking the ruling party; it's about what we do together when we are in the House of Parliament in order for us to bring about change and development within South Africa.

In conclusion, a disjuncture between the mandate of Parliament, what is reflected in the APP, and the actual performance must be addressed. Parliament must improve and source research capacity to enhance its work. The Joint Standing Committee on the Financial Management of Parliament needs to seriously address these issues as well as the total funding of Parliament as these impact negatively on the entire operation of Parliament.

Parliament's role and ultimate outcome is to represent the people and ensure government by the people under the Constitution, as well as represent the provinces in the national sphere of government. This mandate of Parliament is achieved through passing legislation for the betterment of the lives of

South Africans, through overseeing government action to promote and monitor delivery on commitments, through facilitating public involvement to make this, our Parliament, an activist Parliament, through co-operative government fostering friendly intergovernmental relations, and through international participation for benchmarking the business of Parliament and by drawing on global trends of doing parliamentary business.

The role of Parliament includes the promotion of the values of human dignity, equality, non-racialism, non-sexism — and the latter is really about how women are actually treated in this Parliament, which is something that needs to be noted given some of the behaviours that we see around Parliament — the supremacy of the Constitution, and a multi-party system of democracy. Parliament upholds our citizens' political rights, the basic values and principles governing public administration, and oversees the implementation of constitutional imperatives.

Ke tiro ya rona re le maloko a Palamente go dira tiro eno gonne re kgethilwe ke batho ba rona ba ba leng kwa ntle ga Ntlo eno gore re tsweledise pele tsotlhe tse re ba tshepisitseng tsona. Ke a leboga. *(Translation of Setswana paragraph follows.)*

[It is our duty as Members of Parliament, who are elected by the people outside this House, to do this job in order to fulfil all the promises we made to them. Thank you.]

The ANC supports Vote 2 of Parliament.

Mr A M SHAIK EMAM: House Chair, Minister, Deputy Ministers in the House, our colleagues, members in the gallery and our learners, the NFP welcomes the report of the department. However, a matter of concern is the fact that you are looking for R3,003 billion, and the amount that has been allocated is R2,52 billion, which means you have a shortfall of R482 million.

The question is: How is it expected of Parliament to fulfil its mandate if it has a R482 million shortfall? This is a matter that has been discussed previously, but no solution has been found.

The NFP has some of concerns. I will start with travel. Our understanding is that we have engaged the departments on the need to have an in-house travel agency because Parliament travel has done a fantastic job over the years. For cost containment measures, we felt we should have an in-house travel agency

rather than outsourcing to other travel agencies, as it is costing us a hell of a lot of money.

Very importantly, the NFP has been very consistent in calling for control measures, particularly if you look at the half a billion rand that is given to political parties to spend on constituency allowances. For that, there are no control measures to see whether those offices exists, whether the furniture exists or whether the staff exists.

An ideal example of looting or stealing or allegations of stealing is the one that came from the EFF members. They say that the R25 million that you gave them has been embezzled by their leadership and those allegations are all over the media.

The NFP has written to you, hon Speaker, asking you to call for a forensic audit into the matter to establish how you got an unqualified clean audit when, in fact, there are allegations of embezzlement of R25 million of taxpayers' money ... by the EFF. [Interjections.] Surely, this matter needs urgent attention. [Laughter.] [Interjections.]

Dr M Q NDLOZI: On a point of order.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): What is the point of order, hon ... [Interjections.]

Dr M Q NDLOZI: We all have to agree on this one. The hon Shaik Emam is misleading the House and must withdraw. There is no single allegation against the EFF embezzling Parliament money. It’s not true.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, that is not a point of order.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: But we have an obligation for people to say correct things, Chairperson, please help me.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Let me help you, but sit down first.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: What he is doing is casting aspersions on a political party.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member Ndlozi, can you take your seat?

Dr M Q NDLOZI: He must withdraw.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Can you take your seat please?

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Didn’t he go to the ANC anyway? [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, Ndlozi, you are totally not assisting us. That kind of behaviour is totally unacceptable. That was not a point of order. And you were very consistent on doing it. Hon member, why are you rising?

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: Chairperson, I just want to assist you because you are the first Chair in the Sixth Parliament. [Interjections.] During the Fifth Parliament, the police came here to look for this member and to arrest him here. You know why? Because he took the money for the NFP workers ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member ...

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: So, he can’t come here and claim otherwise. The police are looking for him as we speak. He is a fraudster. He is not supposed to be here in the first place.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, you are not assisting the House.

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: He must not come here and grandstand about the EFF.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, I will switch off your microphone!

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: You must ask everyone here. This one is a fraudster.

Mr B A RADEBE: On a point of order, Chairperson.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon members ...

Akesiyekeni ukudlala. (*Translation of isiZulu sentence follows.)*

[Let’s stop playing.]

Hon Shaik Emam, can you continue!

Mr A M SHAIK EMAM: Thank you, hon House Chair.

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

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon Shaik Emam, can you take your seat, please?

Mr B A RADEBE: Chairperson, I raised my hand so that I could get your attention. The hon member there called another hon member a fraudster. You know very well that that must come through a substantive motion. It must be withdrawn, Chair. Thank you.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Okay, thank you very much. Hon member, I did not hear it. Can I check with her? Hon member, did you call hon member Shaik Emam a fraudster?

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: I withdraw the word fraudster but he is a wanted man. The police want him.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon member, withdraw unconditionally, please. Hon member, continue!

Mr A M SHAIK EMAM: She is correct. I am the one that stopped the payment of any employee who is willing to loot or steal taxpayers’ money. You don’t work; you don’t get paid. So, if you

call it stealing, that’s up to you, I don’t mind. [Interjections.] Stealing is rampant in your party and you are willing to do very little to nothing about it.

Hon Speaker, one of the other issues that we have is attendance by Members of Parliament. They get paid to come here and serve the interests of people. There needs to be measures to ensure that they attend meetings regularly because, when it comes to overseas travel, everybody is available.

The NFP supports the Budget tabled here, today. [Applause.]

Mr W M MADISHA: Hon Chair and members, permit me to begin my input by quoting what the Speaker said when she addressed the House today: What we want to concentrate on is to conduct oversight.

Now, the question arises: Is this purported objective being raised for the first time? The answer is no. It has been put before various past parliamentary sittings, in particular, the Fifth Parliament.

A further question arises: Was there any implementation at all? The answer is no due to a number of problems, which one could call upon all of us ... [Inaudible.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr M L D Ntombela): Hon Madisha, something went wrong. Can you just hold on for a minute? It is being attended to. Okay, hon Madisha, the seconds have been credited.

Mr W MADISHA: I want to thank the hon Minister of Foreign Affairs for having assisted me here. Thank you. [Laughter.]

I was saying through you, Chair, that a further question arose which is whether there was any implementation after the question was raised. I said that that has not actually happened as a result of a number of problems. Firstly, our country is faced with treasonous problems or phenomenon which, *inter alia*, include state capture, a broken Parliament which, although it meets frequently to discuss and pass laws, all that it does is come up with laws and have them passed here, but all of them throughout are being overlooked by the executive, particularly through corruption, etc. Albeit that we come here and pass laws,, they will still go out and do things contrary to that which we have done here. One can give many examples.

South Africa is faced with a problem of a dictatorship by the few. Although we go to elections, parliamentary power literally plays second fiddle. The people who have power despite going to elections is not this Parliament, it is not the people here who are representing the people of South Africa ... [Time expired.]

Nkul M J MASWANGANYI: Mutshamaxitulu, Xipikara xa Yindlu Manana Thandi Modise, Xandla xa Xipikara Tatana Lechesa Tsenoli, Vaholobye lava va nga kona namuntlha, Swirho swa Huvo yo endla Milawu, inhlekanhi. (*Translation of Xitsonga paragraph follows.)*

[Mr M J MASWANGANYI: Chairperson, Speaker of the House Ms Thandi Modise, Deputy Speaker Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, Ministers present today, Members of the Legislature, good afternoon.]

Speaker, thank you very much for presenting the budget. My focus is on party political funding with specific reference to the Office of the Chief Whip of the Majority Party, the ANC. Parliamentary allowances to political parties are governed by a series of documents that have been agreed to through a process of consultation with the respective parties. Key amongst these is the policy on political parties' allowances which was approved by the presiding officers on 20 July 2005.

This policy document gives effect to section 57(2) of the Constitution which relates to the assistance to be rendered to leaders of political parties in the National Assembly to enable them to perform their functions effectively, and to enable a party to establish and maintain an infrastructure to serve the interests of their constituents and to enable members to render a service to all their constituents. The key purpose of the policy document is to make funds available to political parties and to enable them to participate effectively in Parliament and the provincial legislatures.

Since 1996, there have been ongoing amendments to the funding of political parties in an effort to meet the central challenge of what is contained in section 57 of the Constitution. There are challenges in regard to the calculation formula of political parties' parliamentary allowances. The current formula does not take into account the infrastructure required to ensure effective monitoring and evaluation as well as good governance, particularly, in the case of the majority party. Because of the number of Members of Parliament which includes the footprint of its parliamentary constituency offices around the country, the ANC parliamentary caucus is funding the support service functions of the human resource, finance, research, development,

media communications as well as the support function of programming from its existing allocation.

The infrastructure provided to the majority party is not commensurate with its responsibilities. The mismatch is found when a majority party is given huge administrative and technical responsibilities that eat into its allocation and leaves the political core functions of a ruling party financially constrained by using the same formula that determines support for both political governance functions and administrative functions. The core business of the ANC in the context of parliamentary work revolves around the Office of the Chief Whip.

The Office of the Chief Whip is the political engine room of the ANC caucus responsible for the overall performance of both ANC and Parliament. The functions of the Chief Whip of the Majority party include, amongst others, heading and shaping programming, heading the multiparty Chief Whips' Forum, international relations responsibilities, protocol responsibilities, political advice on draft legislation, political advice on matters before the National Assembly, and legal support for decision-making. The Whippery directly enhances the performance of Parliament and facilitates the communication between the executive and parties

in the House. All of these are not receiving dedicated funding and are rather dealt with using a normal formula.

This political office cannot be treated as an ordinary line item expenditure. The current funding model falls short of enabling the ability of this political office to carry out its full mandate. There has to be dedicated funding for this office in respect of its political functions rather than addressing it through the formula in clause 8 of the political parties' allowances document. The cost required to fund this and other corporate support functions can be made available by increasing the ratio of members to staff from the assumption of 2:1 to 4:1.

It is my submission that the Office of the Chief Whip and its required infrastructure be funded by Parliament. An agreed revised and funded organogram would inform this. Section 8 of the policy on political party allowances would need to be overhauled as a consequence of the above recommendations. Speaker, Parliament might probably need to look at having a Chief Whip of Parliament whose office would be properly resourced in terms of human and material resources. We have to look at different models and case studies internationally and adopt the best funding model to resource the Office of the Chief Whip. The ANC support the Budget Vote of Parliament.

Ndza khensa, Mutshamaxitulu. (*Translation of Xitsonga sentence follows.)*

[Thank you, Chairperson.]

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION: I quote:

One of the things that I am going to do is establish a special task team to look at issues of how Parliament exercised oversight over the years in regard to the issue of state capture and corruption. It may well be that, as I have said a few times since last year, had Parliament played its oversight role, some of the challenges may have been dealt with earlier. It is important to look and see where there may have been failures on the part of Parliament and the portfolio committees and see what would need to be done for the future.

These words, uttered a few weeks ago by Deputy Chief Justice Raymond Zondo during the Commission of Inquiry into State Capture, should serve as a wake-up call for every one of us in the House. What we need to do is restore this House as ground zero of executive accountability and oversight in South Africa.

And so, in the words of Lenin — and that's Vladimir, not John — "what is to be done"? A good place to begin to answer this question is to go back to first principles, and look at what the Constitution says we should be doing to do our job properly: scrutinising and oversight of executive, passing legislation, and providing a forum for national debate. We can make a good start at all of this, by ensuring that Ministers are, in the first instance, actually accountable to this House. This means that we must assert our role as the accountability mechanism and we must insist that Ministers attend properly to their constitutional obligation to account to this House.

In the Fifth Parliament, Madam Speaker, far too many Ministers were able to escape their executive accountability that this House requires in terms of the Constitution. We had some Ministers — and some of them are present today — who did not appear before this House for over a year to answer oral questions. And when tough questions are asked, Ministers must not be mollycoddled by the presiding officers. Tough questions make tough and good Ministers. It forces them to be on top of their brief and in touch with what is actually going on in their portfolio. Ministers must respond to written questions. They cannot simply be ignored. The Speaker's Office should be monitoring the quality and frequency of replies and ensuring

that replies to Questions that do not pass muster are sent back to the Ministry with a terse note ensuring and reminding of their duty to account to this House.

Speaker and Chair, we have to revisit the oversight and accountability model of Parliament. Far too many sections are vague and do not effectively empower us as Members of Parliament to do effective oversight. One such example is individual member oversight in our constituencies. A disturbing practice has started to entrench itself around the country, where Members of Parliament wanting to visit state facilities are now required to get permission from provincial MECs who, when there are obviously things going wrong there, make it very difficult for such permission to be granted or simply refuse political parties of which they are not a member access to these facilities. This makes a mockery and a joke of our responsibility to take what we see on the ground, bring it back to Parliament and make sure we fix it. I see that my hon friend from KwaZulu-Natal who was a Health MEC himself is waving his finger in solidarity with this suggestion today. [Laughter.]

Madam Speaker, to be credible, we have got to live up to the values and principles of Parliament. We have got to breathe life into those words that are so beautifully adorn the steps on the

way into the National Assembly. And that requires us to hold ourselves accountable. How do we honestly look at government Ministers and ask them to weed out bad elements in their departments and entities when we sat for two years with our own rotten apple, Mr Mgidlana, the Secretary to Parliament, sitting here. I hear what you said, Madam Speaker, but, with respect, we heard exactly the same the last time we debated, that the disciplinary was imminent and that Mr Mgidlana was on the way out. I worry that his contract is going to expire before he is actually held accountable.

It is also very difficult to say that we are cleaning out the Augean Stables, when so many people in this very House who have been implicated have been elevated to key leadership positions in this House. Heading up some of the key levers to exercise oversight and accountability are the architects, enablers and implementers of state capture. They belong behind bars, not behind the committee tables of this House! [Applause].

We also need to have a functioning Ethics Committee and I hope that will receive attention from you.

We also need to improve our legislative oversight and our ability to engage with legislation. There is an imbalance of

forces in this House between us and the executive when the executive comes with batteries of legal advisors, content advisors, officials or experts and they bulldoze Parliament out of the way. We need to make sure that there is a balance of forces and that we are capacitated.

Madam Speaker, we also need a proper forum for public debate and this is why I want to turn my attention to the events of what happened last week. Those are the antithesis of what a democratic Parliament should be witnessing. Let me be clear: not only were they not legitimate democratic actions, as the hon Ndlozi said ... No matter how hard they try and cloak them as such, they were the antithesis of what this House means and what it should achieve. Perhaps a warning was spelt out for us by one of the EFF's own lodestars, Karl Marx, who famously said, "History repeats itself, first as tragedy, second as farce." And what a farce it is!

We heard today that the revolution is to come to Parliament. I have good news: The revolution landed in Camps Bay two weeks ago! So, fear not, democrats, as that is not the sound of tanks rolling into Parliament; it is sound of the drinks trolley taking the Veuve Clicquot and Meerlust Rubicon in to the EFF's caucus room! [Applause]. We have seen this type of behaviour

before. We have witnessed it. In history, it was on full display in the Reichstag of the late 1930s. The National Socialist German Workers' Party, regardless of their relatively small size, wore boots and uniforms in the House. Sound familiar? Whenever they disproved of a speaker, they simply disrupted them. Sound familiar? When they could not get their way, they rendered parliamentary sittings impossible and incapable of proceeding. Sound familiar?

We must not allow what was a culmination of that behaviour in Germany with its awful consequences to ever happen in this Parliament. [Applause]. The Rules must be applied and this behaviour must be condemned and the EFF needs to consistent. If you are going to shield people from Public Protector reports here, then you need to be consistent about On-Point Engineering as well. [Applause].

Mnr Q R DYANTYI: Agb waarnemnde Voorsitter, baie dankie vir die geleentheid om hier te staan. Ek wil vir agb Mulder sê dat hy baie warme kole in die Huis gegooi het. Ek het jou daar gehoor. *(Translation of Afrikaans paragraph follows.)*

[Mr Q R DYANTYI: Hon Acting Chairperson, thank you very much for the opportunity to stand here. I want to tell hon Mulder that he threw a lot of hot coals in the House. I heard you there.]

Before I get to my speech, I have a reminder for the DA. On my way there, I just want say to the EFF, I decided not to take what they were saying seriously. As I was listening to them, I was reminded of "tell no lies, claim no easy victory". Somebody who sounded like a scratched record playing with words, in populism dreamland ...

One thing that I really took seriously, hon Speaker, is the fact that he justified the disruptions in Parliament. That is serious and we must act on that.

I want to go to hon Julius of the DA. Last week hon Cele stood here and announced that national government is bringing re-enforcements of police and soldiers to the Cape Flats. As the ANC, I have all the confidence that he is going to stabilise and leave that place better than what it is. It is not going to solve the problem because of the following: What he is dealing with are the root causes of social ills. The DA in the Western Cape, instead of using the money that is allocated to install street lights, build communities, and ensure that there are

amenities, return that money to Treasury. They returned over R1,7 billion in the previous year. That is money that could have helped to install street lights in Philippi. That is money that could have helped to ensure that the police have access to deal with issues of crime. Today, as we are sitting here, young lives have been lost, and most of them were women.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon member, will you take your seat. Why are you rising, hon member?

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY: House Chair, I address you in terms of Rule 68 of the Rules of the National Assembly, if I may. It is clearly obvious that the hon speaker at the podium has not made the full transition to the National Assembly yet. [Laughter.] He is dealing with matters meant for the provincial budget. This is the National Assembly, which is Parliament’s budget. You may miss the province, but please be relevant.

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): No, that is not a point of order, hon member. Continue, hon member.

Mr Q R DYANTYI: The point that I want to bring home to the DA ... because he stands here and says they are doing better

oversight and criticises what we are doing. In fact, DA, as you are you have blood on your hands. There are deaths that could have been avoided if you had used the money that you had to address issues of service delivery in Phillipi and other areas [Interjections].

Hon Julius...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Order, hon members.

Mr Q R DYANTYI: ... if you have an issue and you have concerns or perhaps a misinterpretation or a warped understanding of the pension fund, you have all the right to make a submission to the pension fund for you to be assisted.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Hon Chairperson ...

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon member, let me just take this point of order. Please take your seat. What are you rising on, hon member?

Dr M Q NDLOZI: I am advising him. Maybe start reading your speech because you are making very dangerous mistakes. I think

you should start reading your speech. It’s just advice. [Interjections].

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon Ndlozi, take your seat, please. [Interjections.] Order, hon members, order!

Mr Q R DYANTYI: The DA cannot come here and teach us about how Parliament is run. Public hearings in the Western Cape are empty halls! That is the norm. So I will leave it there.

If I go to hon Steenhuisen ... [Interjections].

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Order, hon members!

Mr Q R DYANTYI: Hon Steenhuisen, there are a few points that I want to share with you. The Speaker has already provided leadership on the issue that you raising about the failures of Parliament because, when she stood, she did present that. Let me then help you and make the following points ... [Interjections.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Order, hon members.

Mr Q R DYANTYI: The people shall govern mantra informs our approach to state power as the ANC. Our watershed 54th national

conference asserted that the attainment of power by the ANC is a means to fulfil the will of the people and ensure a better life for all. We are here as the representatives of the people. We are not here for ourselves and for our sake. The will of the people is fulfilled when we represent their issues but also allow them to be their own liberators through proper conditions of participatory democracy.

Our commitment to the Sixth Parliament, taking forward the work of those who came before us ... we must strive to be the kind of MPs who are known to uphold the highest standards of behaviour and conduct so that we do not embarrass and shame those who elected us, as happened last week during a Budget Vote debate. To regain the confidence of our people and be their true tribune, we must in unison act against any behaviour of intolerance that we see. In the interest of our people we are committed to continue to raise our work ethic and take oversight work to the next level.

In this regard we also want to recognise and take note of the report by Parliament Watch, a group of civil society organisations, in which they submit a critique on the performance of the Fifth Parliament. Where we need to improve with resources permitting, we will do so.

Hon Speaker, as the leader of this institution...

... ubambisene nomBhexeshi oyiNtloko, wePalamente...

(Translation of isiXhosa sentence follows.)

[... together with the Chief Whip, of Parliament...]

...the ANC has mandated us to have a keen interest in attending to some key areas that need improvement going forward. The key areas that need improvement going forward include some of the following. We have got to answer the question you have indicated: Is this legislature properly configured to help us rise to the task of rendering effective oversight and so restore our critical role as part of the three arms of state.

After 25 years, there is certainly a need to re-think issues relating to the efficacy of this institution. We can no longer perform just mundane tasks like rules review. Something else has to give. Is Parliament properly resourced to fulfil its mandate? A national asset like this cannot play a second fiddle role to legislature on resourcing its work. We need to find creative ways to support out greatest enablers, including staff. Again, is it optionally functioning to enable it to work co-operatively

with the other two arms of state — the judiciary and the executive?

One example that we are going to need to talk about and deal with is this: Is it proper that from the end of November up to 20 February we are away from this House on recess. Everything else gets to be congested. Those are some of the things that we might need to look into as part of enhancing participatory democracy. Should we not start to utilise in creative ways the Parliamentary Constituency Offices and make them the real pulse of the committee world. It is good that NGOs come here and engage with us, but we need to extend our reach to those community-based organisations that have no means or resources to be here. And the best way to do that is to utilise our own Parliamentary Constituency Offices.

I must end, hon Speaker, by indicating that, as the ANC, we are fully aware and alive to the fact that even the critique by Parliamentary Watch is putting a lot of pressure on the ANC because there is an added expectation on us to be the leader of society in everything that we do. I therefore, hon Speaker, want to pause. Thank you very much. [Applause].

The SPEAKER: Chairperson and hon members, three members have spoken to the ability of Parliament to process legislation and to make laws. One of the things that we said we want to look at is to see whether the structure of Parliament, as is — the support systems — actually enable us to do that. That is why we are saying that the possibility of us tinkering with the structure of Parliament is there.

The reason we have been engaging with the President and Treasury is to begin to address the issues relating to the needs of Parliament on a line-by-line basis. That is why we said that we want the next budget of Parliament to be a budget that we, as politicians, will have driven because it talks to the needs of public representatives.

We want to say that, whatever else comes as a cost of administration, is the cost of ensuring that public representatives are capacitated to do their work.

We also want to say that electronic monitoring of warm bodies in committees is precisely because we want to ensure that no member gets paid for staying home. Therefore, that would mean that your salary, hon members, will be docked because you are not at work

when you are supposed to be at work. I hope that when we start going there, members will not be fighting with us.

We also want to say that we welcome the discussion, and I want to say ...

... my deur is oop. *(Translation of Afrikaans sentence follows.)*

[... I have an open-door policy.]

We can continue to speak with the Chief Whips and all Members of Parliament — my door is open.

One of those reasons is that we need to begin to resolve issues in a way which does not cause us to bring this House into disrepute. We need to be able, as leaders of parties and as Chief Whips, to talk about those things that we can address together — things like behaviour, absenteeism and the decorum of this House. We need to begin there so that all of us understand that we do have rules, laws, conventions and protocols that govern the decorum and the running of Parliament.

Hon members, until all of us have gone to the Rules Committee and changed the Rules, we shall apply the Rules and the law.

[Applause.] We shall apply the Rules and the law. What we shall do is that every member, irrespective of what party they come from, will be given the protection of the Chair. All of us. But we will make sure that every protection of the member goes with the observation of the Rules and the law, irrespective of which party you come from. We will not be cutting corners there.

I want to say that there are a number of things that we will also be looking at. We are aware that Parliament now has more young members and therefore certain support systems must be put in place. We are looking at that. When I make the example, hon Ndlozi, don't be surprised. When some of us came here, Lechesa and I, we were young parents. Believe you me, there were facilities here, hon Deputy Speaker. There were facilities here which we want to ensure are returned so that members who have children and other family responsibilities are not bogged down or absent from work because those facilities no longer exist. [Applause.]

We also heard that we need to relook at the clinic. It is, in fact, the ANC that criticised the conditions of the clinic, library, and ablution facilities around here more than you have done, hon Singh. We will look at that but the discussions we started last year between the former Speaker, myself and Public

Works were around the extent to which Parliament must be responsible for maintaining its own facilities. That is why I earlier on asked, who knows what and where these precincts of Parliament are. Because if we do know, we want to take charge of those precincts. We want, as Parliament, to be in direct control of the facilities which directly affect the members.

Therefore, until there is clarity whether Parliament moves or doesn't move, these facilities which are here in Cape Town must serve the members properly.

We are also aware that the parliamentary villages do need our attention and we will be trying to come back to the House and suggest that, like in the past, the parliamentary villages and facilities should have mayors, chosen from the members amongst us here. Maybe we should return to that system because, back then, the mayors of parliamentary facilities were held responsible and they cracked the whip to ensure that those facilities were properly serviced.

I want to say that I meant it when I said that our language policy must be implemented. I wanted to speak not only about the interpretations but about the use of all our languages. I am told by Parliament that it is a matter of cost that we can't

have the requisite number of interpreters and translators at all times. But I also want to say that, in fact, we also fail ourselves and our constituencies because of what I am doing now — I am not speaking in Setswana. Therefore, we must take the lead and force Parliament to enforce the resources to be able to deliver to the constituencies.

Hon members, hon Julius says that we need to understand our duties and we need to make the House function properly. I agree and we must do that. He also says that we must scrap the loss of office gratuity. Now, Parliament is not really in control of that particular thing. The loss of office gratuity is promulgated in terms of the Commission for the Remuneration of Public Office Bearers which was gazetted in 2008. This commission is independent and we do not influence it. It comes regularly to assess us. We make our inputs there and they make the decisions.

Parliament must therefore say to us that we must now actively go and say, look at a possibility of a cut-off or do away with the gratuity. [Interjections.] No, I’m not saying we are doing that, but we must be empowered as the executive authority if Parliament says so. That is not my decision to make.

We also want to say that the issue of the oversight over the Presidency ... hon Mulder, I thought we had referred this matter to the committees, the political parties and the Chief Whips to come back to us on it so that you do not put me on the spot and I say something that will then be rejected by the people we referred the matter to. So, I will wait.

There was also a question of how much will it cost to move this Parliament, if it is going to move at all. We do not know how much the new Parliament will cost because we do not know what the sentiments of South Africans are going to be about whether or not Parliament must move. When that decision is taken, it will not only be informed by economics but also by the sentiments of the public. And when we do, then we will get into where and how much and that will have to be a very open process which all members and the public can see. For now, I cannot say that I do know.

I want to say that, hon Singh, your squash club and all the other teams in which South Africa is represented by Members of Parliament must be given attention and all the requirements of us when we go abroad in whatever capacity, whether it is debates or not, must be attended to. That is why one of the tinkerings

we want to do is to look at whether we are creating expertise even on international issues.

I asked around last week whether we have a researcher dedicated, for instance, to the Pan-African Parliament, PAP, West Africa, and I do not have. I have a number of researchers who are all generalists. That is why we are saying that we want to renegotiate the terms even with the EU fund so that we start creating pockets of excellence and expertise not only amongst the members themselves, but also amongst the support to members. Therefore, you need to create that capacity within your research. When you need to be looking at conflict you have a researcher who can come to you just like that and give you the goods in any of the Houses.

We want to say that we are off to a good start, members. I hope that we will carry all of us together. We will negotiate where we need to negotiate. I am a former chairperson who actually enjoyed working with everybody in my committee where we would sit and talk across party lines. Because that portfolio that you are overseeing is not about your party, but about the services that must be rendered to all our people out there.

So, if we dialogue and disagree responsibly, we will be able to lead South Africa and Parliament will not be what hon Madisha referred to as a “broken Parliament”. Parliament cannot be broken and cannot be accused of weakness, hon members, because you stood here alone and took your oath. You have a responsibility as an individual and as a member of your party to do that which the people who voted for us brought us here to do. [Applause.]

So, we must not blame one another when we are unable to ask the right questions of the executive. We must not blame our parties because we are too scared to confront issues which are in the interest of our people. We must not be expected, as presiding officers, not to hear.

Unfortunately, one member raised the issue about the quality of responses from the executive. It would be very difficult when we preside to tell you whether there is accuracy in the response because we are not in the various portfolios. We might pick up when the response is not adequate if we know the environment and portfolio but we cannot assure you and say that the answer is not adequate. We would not know.

What we would want is to see members of the executive in the House responding to members' questions. If they are not ready, they tell the House that they are not ready and that they need time and after we have given them that time, they come back and give us the best they can on what there is and what there is not.

The commitments I spoke to, hon members, is that, if you are addressing a group of people in Vryburg and you promise something and you do not deliver, and that community approaches to Parliament, I am duty bound to ask you why you made that commitment when you knew you were not going to follow it up. That is all we want to see because we will be doing our work from these benches to these front benches expecting the executive to respond, not to us but to the people out there. I thank you. [Applause.]

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON (Mr C T Frolick): Hon members, you are reminded of the following mini-plenaries that will all start at 16:30: The debate on the Basic Education Budget Vote in the National Assembly Chamber, the debate on the Arts And Culture Budget Vote in the Old Assembly Chamber, and the debate on the Office of The Chief Justice and Judicial Administration Budget Vote in Committee Room E249.

Debate concluded.

The House adjourned at 16:25.