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PROCEEDINGS AT HYBRID JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Cape Town City Hall at 14:00.

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Order! Hon members and guests, in the interests of safety - same as we did yesterday - we request all those present in the Chamber to please keep their masks on and sit in their designated areas.

RESUMPTION OF DEBATE ON THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE NATION

ADDRESS

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE COUNCIL: Greetings to you, Chairperson, Speaker and all the presiding officers, Their Excellences the President, Comrade Cyril Ramaphosa, and Deputy President, Comrade David Mabuza, and hon members, a state of the nation address debate is about the assessment of progress since the previous state of the nation address against the backdrop of

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the five-year Medium Term Strategic Framework. It is about assessing the impact of policies and programmes of the government in addressing the needs of the nation. It is also about assessing the political and economic state of health of the nation. In our engagement we should be able to persuade one another through superior logic, rational theory and ideology, or even political rhetoric that has no meaning for the ordinary lives of our people.

What has not assisted the debate from day one is rhetoric, clichés, generalisations and statements which have neither facts nor evidence other than individual subjective opinion.

We should extol the art of argument and not leave the nation believing that all we can do is to simply use senseless political rhetoric and political vulgarity and, in some cases, just be vulgar and think that someone will respect you or be impressed. We look forward to a day of quality debate, with informed recommendations.

Our lived experience in provinces, as we do our constituency work, is that the emergence of the signs of economic ghost towns occur within one decade. For example, there is the

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industrial area of Welkom, and there are the distressing signs of manufacturing shut-downs and secondary industries withdrawing and moving elsewhere, all of which are common. Common to all of this is rising unemployment, widening inequality and deepening poverty.

So, what does it mean practically and what do we see across our provinces? Our stated policy position is that infrastructure-led growth is the best proven mechanism to use not only to create jobs, but also to provide critical infrastructure for local economies to grow.

This infrastructure-led growth in turn provides the opportunities for reindustrialisation and manufacturing to have a base from which to grow. Both of these interventions provide for the manufacture of goods that produces the resources to feed back into reindustrialisation and manufacturing.

The Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan, the ERRP, through its sector masterplans, sets out immediate and short-term measures that provide different stimuli in the economy, focused on industrialisation and localisation. But progress is

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there for those who have the honesty to admit it is there. For example, in 2021 the President opened a number of new production lines around the country, one of them being the new Toyota Corolla Cross manufactured in eThekweni; vaccines and anaesthetics made in Gqeberha by South African workers and technicians; clothes made in Cape Town by South African designers and clothing workers; soya oil and poultry feed that come from Mpumalanga, made by South African workers, and so on.

Localisation is increasingly being supported by retailers: Shoprite Checkers buy all their sugar from local farmers, and Woolworths and Pick 'n Pay support local farmers.

These initiatives are supported by government's procurement policies, set aside for women and the youth and by the masterplans of the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan. And yet we must listen to those who want to tell us nothing is happening, nothing is being done, remove the whole Cabinet. What is worse is that this comes from Members of Parliament who are supposed to have some integrity and not use false statements to generate support for their parties or detract attention from their own problems.

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Our push is for an inclusive transformative economic project involving those who are defined as being economically active being part of the initiative to bring them into the economy. Policy and projects are designed for progress, growth and development using, where possible, labour-intensive methodology.

We can justifiably state that in our provinces we have infrastructure investment projects as part of the R340 billion network industries such as energy, water, transport and telecommunications. While progress is uneven for the people, the arrival of infrastructure means better access to things and job-creation.

Our focus therefore must be on where we can exert maximum growth and development. Household consumption contributes the highest percentage towards GDP growth, followed by government spending and consumption. And both state and private-sector investment have roughly the same percentage contribution towards GDP growth. As part of building an inclusive economy, this needs to inform us where the emphasis should lie in how we allocate our budget.

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The period between 2003 and 2008 produced our highest GDP growth and, if we were to examine why, it was driven by household consumption and the demand side of the economy.

It is also true that we did not experience huge employment growth during this period, but we certainly had growth which we had not experienced since 2008. This experience needs to inform us of where we need to go in terms of investing more in our people.

Therefore, in welcoming the extension of R350 social relief of distress grant and other practical forms of stimuli for our people, the intention is to provide a basic economic platform for people to create and contribute to the economy at an initial rudimentary level as they become drawn into the economy. It is also about providing the means to prevent hunger and to survive.

Our debate needs to acknowledge that we are in a process and a deep engagement, very characteristic of the ANC, in which evidence and facts prevail, informed by indicators such as the food poverty line. The totality of these must inform where we are going in the future.

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The success of the comprehensive social protection programme is not a debate about whether we can afford it, but rather a debate about stimulating aggregate demand in the economy and providing transfers to households who, in turn, push the demand side of the economy and stimulate growth. So, we should treat consumption and expenditure as positive contributors to growth in the economy and not the other way round.

As the 54th ANC national conference of 2017 stated, the debate continues to be informed by the balance of evidence. In this context, the important decision by the Reserve Bank in 2020, at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, to make the cost of money cheaper was an extremely important intervention which provided a stimulus to the economy, allowed economic space for business to adjust and provided relief for the banked in our society. It is indeed disappointing, of course, that this could not be sustained.

We need to re-emphasise that a new consensus and the emergence of a social compact have to place the masses of our people, who are poor, at the centre of benefiting from interventions. The price of inequality, which today is before our eyes, should instruct our institutions that they have a role to play

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that is not stuck mechanically behind a notion that we have no alternative or that our hands are tied.

Before our next speakers misconstrue what I am saying, we have at all material times to be transformative, pragmatic and balanced. There are no populist and easy solutions. Rather, we have to confront the challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality through practical interventions that involve working with our people, not making promises, but practically involving them in an inclusive way to help solve the challenges so that they become their own liberators - a deep and thoroughgoing exercise in which development takes place.

In this context, let us examine the responses we have had to listen to since the President delivered his state of the nation address. One party was so excited that they clapped hands and boldly claimed that the President had adopted their blue economic policy book and that the state was out as it could not achieve economic growth. The President has admitted this and is handing over to the private sector, so they say. This mechanical understanding of how an economy works is dangerous.

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The state leads in investment and this investment generates interest from the private sector to get involved. The state also sets the terms and conditions and what it wants to get out of any contractual agreement. At no time does the state leave the economic stage. In fact, if it is not satisfied, it can penalise the private sector. We have a classic mixed economy and, for the ANC, the adoption of such a model goes back to the 1969 Morogoro Consultative Conference. The debate on the nature and character of the mixed economy is natural and will ebb and flow depending on influence at any point.

[Applause.]

What the state is interested in, amongst others things, the need for the correct skill sets, the capability to deliver on a particular project, and competency. The decision around who can provide this, since skills reside both in the public and private sector, is what the state will resolve at any particular point in time. This is done not only to harness private-sector capital for the public good, but to strengthen the state's ability to deliver. In the end, through agreement, the state - funded through the division of revenue - provides the finances for any programme to get under way based on government-agreed-to plans.

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Our bigger concern as the ANC is that we need to address the levels of inefficiency wherever they are located. We should be able to address these even in the private sector.

There are those who are in the red owing to borrowing who say Sona is a vote of no confidence in the President and the executive as a result of the reference to the private sector and job-creation. Again, this is another mechanistic approach, which is not supposed to be coming from so-called Marxists who are supposed to be more endowed in theoretical understanding.

It is not a question of either, or. A developmental state leads, it directs, it influences, and it is open to be persuaded when it is in the interests of the masses.

[Applause.] Without the state, where would the private sector be? At all material times the state must retain a firm economic hand on where things are going, precisely because the people have entrusted the state through the governing party to lead. They did not vote for a private company to lead.

Economic and social transformation are driven by the state and this will remain so. This is known. If it were not so, the private sector would turn everything into a commodity. And

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that's the nature of capitalism. So, the state has to protect the people from such a situation.

State capability and capacity to deliver have been weakened over time. Our oversight reports, the Zondo Commission, the high-level panel report all demonstrate this.

Economies are built by working together in an inclusive manner, focusing on addressing needs, and building skills that address the demands of a developing economy and changes in the economy, all of which require new skills.

To conclude, our economic vision has to be practically grounded on economic theory, an economic plan, and an ability through practice to build the capability of each sector and rise to the changing nature of a complex economy like ours. We are dealing with a complex political economy that requires the capability of those who will shape it going forward to have the foresight that interventions have an impact and that that impact must address the needs of our people first. So the ANC understands where it is taking the people of South Africa. I thank you, Chair. [Applause.]

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Dr L A SCHREIBER: Hon Chairperson, "Trying times need courage." These words anchored last week's state of the nation address. Like he did for most of his speech, the President correctly diagnosed the problem: "we urgently need courageous leadership if we are to turn around the desperate state of our country." In the context of the ANC, dumping the state-centric model that has devastated our economy in favour of private-sector-led growth, and fixing our broken state who, indeed, require political courage. Accurate though the President's diagnosis is, it also gives rise to a fundamental question. Who, exactly, is it that needs to develop the courage to reform our state and economy? It is certainly not the people of South Africa who are lacking in courage.

The President spoke about a lady who was arrested for selling dog beds next to the road without a permit. She certainly did not lack for courage as she worked to put food on her family's table everyday despite the constant threat of harassment and arrest by Minister Bheki Cele's officers. Equally, there is nothing anyone can teach South African farmers about courage, as they continue to produce food for our nation despite the spectre of brutal farm murders and broken infrastructure, and

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victims of gender-based violence who work to rebuild shattered lives of the very incarnation of courage.

Therefore, we know it is not the people of South Africa who need a helping of courage. However, what of your courage, Mr President? Where was your courage when you said you'd rather fall on your sword than reveal how taxpayer money was used to fund ANC campaigns? [Applause.] Where was your courage when you testified before the State Capture Commission? Instead of doing the courageous thing by acknowledging before judge Zondo that the cadre deployment committee that you chaired between 2013 and 2018 enabled state capture, you tried to convince him that the committee is innocent. Now, thanks to the DA's work in exposing the minutes of the cadre deployment committee, we now know that this is not true.

The minutes make it clear that cadre deployment is the very foundation of state capture. They show that, during a period of only three years, the ANC deployment committee interfered in appointments to at least 88 different government departments and entities, including Chapter 9 institutions and the Constitutional Court. The minutes show that the deployment committee even reprimanded you, the President, when you forgot

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to ask for its permission to appoint an advisory council. Rather than stand up to this unconstitutional political interference, you apologised. Does this sound like courage to you, Mr President? Now, fortunately, in only two weeks' time, the State Capture Commission is set to confirm that the DA has been right about cadre deployment all along. In that regard, I'd like to present a letter of my own to this House today, which was sent by the State Capture Commission to the ANC's lawyers on 21 January.

In response to the ANC's claim that its deployment committee does not unconstitutionally interfere in state appointments and that its minutes should therefore remain hidden, Acting Chief Justice Zondo wrote the following, and I quote:

It is in the public interest that it be known how the deployment committee of the ruling party influences decisions that are made by state institutions in regard to certain appointments. [Applause.]

These findings obliterate President Ramaphosa's claims to the contrary. Therefore, here's the question that the President needs to answer when he responds to this debate tomorrow, when

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the State Capture Commission confirms at the end of this month that the ANC cadre deployment committee he chaired is the key cause of corruption and state capture in this country, will he support the DA's efforts to abolish it? South Africans deserve a courageous answer tomorrow to this fundamental question.

Hon Chairperson, there can be little doubt that the President has finally realised just how badly his fellow cadres have broken the state. However, instead of summoning up the courage to fix the state by ending cadre deployment, he is now openly working to bypass the government that he is in charge of. Over 50 people now work in the office of the President, trying to do the things that Cabinet Ministers are supposed to be doing. The State Security Agency, the head of investment and infrastructure, tourism envoys and now a new unit for reducing red tape are all run from the Presidency.

It is as clear as daylight that, like the rest of the country, the President has no confidence in his Cabinet or in government departments. [Applause.] However, the way to fix our broken state is not to try and run away from the problem like the President is currently doing. The way to fix it is to fire the Cabinet that has failed South Africa, and to replace

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cadre deployment with professional appointments. But, the President simply lacks the courage to do this.

Hon Chairperson, most fundamentally, if the pledges made by the President last week are to mean anything, he has to find the courage to finally choose South Africa over the ANC. For the past four years, he has consistently put the unity of his political party ahead of the needs of the people. The short-sighted strategy of appeasing the enemies of progress has been a catastrophe. It has caused enormous hardship to the victims of a failing state and economy. Therefore, last year, it also resulted in the worst election in the history of the ANC, with the party losing its national majority, and on its way out the door in 2024. [Applause.]

It will take courage to break this vicious cycle. The courage to risk a split in the ANC for South Africa to have a chance. The courage to actually implement the DA policies he outlined at the state of the nation address. The courage to end cadre deployment. Therefore, if that causes the radical economic transformation, RET, thieves to pack up and leave, for goodness' sake man, let them go. [Applause.] Let them go. Let

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them go and isolate themselves along with the EFF, while the rest of us focus on fixing our country.

Mr President, embracing the DA policies outlined in your state of the nation address will cost you the RET faction, but it will save your legacy and our country. Now, we've already seen a glimpse of what this courageous new world could look like, Mr President, right here in Parliament. During the vote on whether to investigate the Public Protector, the DA more than compensated for the EFF and RET members of your party who opposed the motion. We must now do the same for all the other reforms our country so desperately needs.

Mr President, it is clearly not the people of South Africa who require a lesson in courage. The whole problem is that their President has none. There can be no better example of this than the fact that the President has already backpedalled from his state of the nation address at the very first sign of resistance from his own comrades. Just yesterday, in his newsletter, the President tried to walk back the truthful statement he made that it is the private sector, rather than government that creates jobs. The President's speech made it very clear that he knows exactly what is needed to fix South

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Africa. However, the minute he encounters the slightest resistance, his resolve crumbles. Does that sound like courage to you, Mr President? Ours is a country held hostage by a single man's political cowardice. For all our sakes, we better hope that the President finally takes his own advice: "Trying times need courage." Thank you. [Applause.]

The MINISTER OF MINERAL RESOURCES AND ENERGY: Speaker of the National Assembly, Mama Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces, Ntate Amos Maseko, hon President Cyril Matamela Ramaphosa, Deputy President David Dabede Mabuza and hon Members of Parliament, yesterday, we were honoured by the right-wing blue party asking for our hands instead of focussing on our ability to execute. Now ...

IsiXhosa:

... yandikhumbuza ke le nto ukuba, komnye unyaka kudala phaya ngowe-1975 ndifika emgodini, safika kukho abantu ekwakusithiwa zii-

English:

... safety, health and environment boss. When the safety, health and environment boss ...

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IsiXhosa:

... edibana nawe uyinduna, athi: Uyabona wena, nguwe wedwa onengqondo apha, bonke aba bantu usebenza nabo ziziphukuphuku.
[Kwahlekwa.]

English:

Yesterday, the DA took us to divide and rule 101. In the main it should be the President. Mr Steenhuisen repeated it that it is not you, President. It means the President is theirs and the ANC is not theirs. When you get racism emboldened it calls on us as revolutionaries to recollect our energy and appreciate that we are swimming against the stream.
[Applause.]

On an energy debate, the blue party is trapped in the polarised energy debate and fail to listen to the initial advice. An economist, Chris Hart, advised the DA that if you close coal immediately it will mean costlier electricity, fewer jobs and a country with a quasi-third-world economy being relegated to the fourth-world division. He is warning the DA, but they cannot listen because they cannot read. John Kane-Berman, a former CEO of the Institute of Race Relations, IRR, asserted that Mantashe is right, and the DA is wrong.

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Referring to nuclear and coal contributions, he described their shadow Minister as out of touch. If they are advised by a person who is out of touch, then they can't build in any sound advice to us hence our support for a just transition instead of a pendulum swing from coal to renewables that is unworkable and a myth. [Applause.] We prepare a just transition. Transition means we have a duty to travel through a journey of transition from high carbon emissions to low carbon emissions. [Applause.]

The President informed the Joint Sitting of our steps to quickly install additional electricity generation capacity to close the current shortfall of 4 000 MW of electricity. What the President didn't educate many of the people who have no clue of what energy is all about, is that there is nothing called instant energy. It is not like coffee where you mix water and drink. You build infrastructure and takes years to connect to the transmission. That's a basic lesson of energy. You build infrastructure then you connect to transmission.

We are implementing the integrated resource plan, IRP, 2019 and driving required policy reforms to increase investment in and ascertain energy security of supply. We have since amended

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and gazetted the Electricity Regulation Act and the Electricity Pricing Policy for public comments. These amendments are aimed at reviving the Independent Systems and Market Operator Bill, which was shelved in 2013 because there was no market at the time. To have a trading centre where there is no market it would not have worked. It is now in Parliament for discussion. That will help us to establish a transmission company, the market and the willing capacity for the country.

This Bill will create a nondiscriminatory and competitive power trading platform on a willing-buyer, willing-seller basis and drive affordability through fair competition. Secondly, it will establish an independent transmission system and market operator which will enable a competitive market for electricity generation in the country. This legislation passed the scrutiny of Parliament in 2013, but had to be shelved as there was no established market that would trade at the time.

In April, we will conclude the power purchase agreements for the 2 000 MW risk mitigation independent power producer procurement programme. They asked us here, because you took the power ship to court, connect the 500 MW. What is wrong

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with that? Connect the 800 MW that is not in question. Then allow that course just for their information. The case that was taken by DNG Energy Ltd to court has been dismissed with costs. Therefore, one obstacle has been removed from that proposition. [Applause.] What we must remember is that car power ship is working well in Ghana. It is working well in Côte d'Ivoire, and is working well in Gabon. It is not required here because we are island of angels that will die in starvation. That's the problem that we are going to have.

The 2 600 MW from the renewable energy, Bid Window 5, the preferred bidders have been announced in October and we are hoping that they will start connecting. It doesn't mean that there will be 2 600 MW in the transmission next week, but it means that the work of building infrastructure to connect 2 600 MW has started. In March, we will allow Bid Window 6 to go through - another 2 600 MW. In August, we will give Bid Window 7. If you take all the three bid windows it will give you 7 800 MW which is in the pipeline from renewables. You cannot understand that because out of the 2 600 MW you think that is a number. No, it is not a number, but it is megawatts.

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The integrated resource plan, IRP, 2019 provides for gas as a transition fuel to support large penetration of renewable energy into the grid. It also provides for cleaner coal technologies and nuclear for sustaining some level of baseload power necessary for power system stability. It is comforting to see that there is now growing global consensus on the role of gas and nuclear in the energy transition. The European Union, EU, has labelled nuclear and gas as part of the green energy transition. Few countries are resisting it, including Germany. The European Union has labelled them as part of the green energy transition.

Recently, the Central Energy Fund working with Transnet and Coega Development Corporation, a request for proposals for a gas aggregator was issued. This will enable us to secure the liquified natural gas necessary for the gas to power generation, for which a request for proposals will be issued towards the end of the year. Through this, conversion of existing generation facilities in the Eastern Cape which is currently running on expensive diesel, will be realised.

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We are addressing the suspensive conditions from the energy regulator before we can issue a request for proposal for the 2 500 MW of nuclear energy.

Notably, there is no immediate solution to our energy shortage challenges. Energy projects have long lead times. We must be systematic in our approach and appreciate that it will be a while before we convert them into energy. In other words, what is important here is that let us be systematic, focus on the goal and not focus on the needs. The needs can be addressed as we move, but goals have to be addressed. We urgently need to meaningfully establish the upstream petroleum. I am just touching on that because the attempt to take upstream petroleum projects to court all the time is driven by the theme, kill investment through the court system. No investor will want to invest in South Africa if it has to go into three, four and five years of the legal system. We are killing investment, but we say we want investment. It is a contradiction. We must deal with that issue. We chased Shell and they went to Namibia and discovered oil. We chased ENI in KwaZulu-Natal and they went to Côte d'Ivoire and discovered huge oil deposits. That's what I describe as an island of angels that will starve to death. The issue that we must

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address in the following two minutes which is left, is the issue of the energy poverty as we addressed the movement to cleaner energy. You cannot just talk about clean energy and forget energy poverty and ensure energy security.

Lastly, we should be wary of being used as guinea pigs for costly technologies by developed economies as it has been for centuries. Our country also needs technological innovation and advance and skills upgrade for our people. Therefore, where appropriate, global partnerships should be pursued. Our own Council for Geo-Science is collaborating with the World Bank to experiment on the carbon capture utilisation and storage. It is not a theoretical experiment, but it is practical. If it gives us good results it will extend the life and use of coal in society.

South Africa must explore, prospect and manufacture its mineral resources to be globally competitive. Many of you have forgotten that we took a decision when there was COVID-19.

During level 5 lock down we said allow coal to continue producing, at level 4, allow open cast to produce and at level 3, allow all the mines to produce. Everybody said we are going to kill mine workers. We insisted that unless we know the

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extent of the problem we cannot deal with it. Today, we are proud that mining led the economic reconstruction and recovery and made a huge contribution to save our fiscus. It is one of the few sectors that produced at above the level it was pre-COVID-19 because of foresights. [Applause.]

Our exploration strategy is before Cabinet and we want to attract more investment. [Time expired.] Thank you.

Ms O M C MAOTWE: Chair, President, colonialism and apartheid were deliberate about creating a filthy-rich class of white people. Johan Rupert and his family, Nicky Oppenheimer and his family, Koos Bekker, Michiel Le Roux and many other stinking-rich white people were creations of the racist machinations of colonial and apartheid system.

These people still control the South African economy, and it is to these people that you want to entrust the responsibility of creating jobs, eradicating inequality and decolonising our economy and society in general. You want beneficiaries of racism who are themselves racist to resolve problems created by the very racist conditions that led to their wealth.

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Our revolutionary torchbearer and eminent Pan-Africanist, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, taught us that revolutions are brought about by people, people who think as people of action and act as people of thought.

You, sir, have neither the capacity to think, nor the capacity to act. You are simply in the Presidency just for vibes, with no clue of the destructive influence of your words and your actions.

Today, four years after you assumed power, you still do not know what you want to do to lead this country out of the quagmire it finds itself in. You do not know whether you want to return the land or not. You do not know whether you want to fight corruption or not. You do not know whether to strengthen the capacity of the state or not. Your Presidency has taken the shape of an amoeba. It can be anything to anyone because you, sir, are not a leader. [Applause.]

The address you gave here last week Thursday was a consistent marker of your inconsistency, your indecisiveness, your lack of direction, and your treasonous betrayal of the hopes of

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millions of our people. Your declaration that the state cannot create jobs should have been a final nail in your Presidency.

You did not only abandon your obligation to create jobs, but you are also in a dangerous path to decapitating the state-owned entities. [Interjections.]

You are implementing The Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan, your blueprint for privatisation and undermining South Africa's economic sovereignty.

You have again committed to continuing with this plan that does not have any practical, believable and implementable basis besides looting strategic assets that are meant to create jobs for our people.

When Eskom was at its peak in 1987, it used to employ more than 56 000 people. More than 25 years later, Eskom has 44 000 employees and we are told that Eskom needs only 38 000 employees to operate efficiently, which means that, there's still going to be 6 000 jobs that will be lost.

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In 1981 when I was born, the Black Trade Union of Transnet Workers set up by the SA Railways and Harbours Administration had a total of 60 000 out of the 95 000 black workers. In 2021 alone, more than 3 000 workers lost their jobs at Transnet and 300 of the 3 000 were train drivers. These men and women are the critical skills that Transnet needs to remain an efficient logistics company and yet, they were made to take voluntary severance packages, VSPs.

When Denel was operating 11 factories in 1992, it employed a total of 11 000 workers, and this figure used to increase to 13 000 during projects. Today, as we speak, Mr President, the number has decreased to 2 000, and they cannot even afford to pay even the few workers that have remained.

With modernisation, efficiency, and wider mandate to deliver services and engage in industrialisation, the few strategic state-owned companies like Denel, Transnet, Post Office, Iscor, SAA, and Eskom should employ close to 5 million people in sustainable jobs with living wage. The private sector will never create 5 million jobs anytime soon while we are still alive, and even beyond our lives. [Applause.]

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But you won't do it because you want to collapse all the SOEs in this country.

There is a bid window after bid window being opened to make space for your Independent Power Producers, with their parasitic relationship with Eskom. Despite this, we are continually tormented by rolling blackouts because you have put a man who has no knowledge or appreciation of energy in charge of that entity.

In the last two years, South Africa experienced worse load shedding than what we saw in 2015. We are told to get used to it because load shedding will be with us for more than five years when others were fired because of load shedding.

In 2017, before your term, Mr President, Denel reported revenues of R8 billion, a profit of R333 million and was able to service its salary bill in a year. Denel did this and still had cash at hand of R2 billion. Today, as we speak, Denel can't even pay salaries for their people because Mr Gordhan took over in 2018 and destroyed that entity. [Applause.]

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In 2020, after you took power as the President, Denel's revenue dropped to 2,7 billion, losses were over R1,9 billion, and the entity declined from R2 billion to R600 million in the bank.

Denel, which used to be a formidable player in the arms and engineering sector globally, is broken, and it's Defence contracts are awarded to companies that have contributed to the CR17 campaign, with links to you and Mr Gordhan.

Before your reign as President, Mr Ramaphosa, Transnet reported profit of over R2,7 billion, had cash at hand of over R6 billion in the bank, and revenue had increased by 5,3% to R65 billion in 2017.

Today, you are determined to privatise ports and harbour services, creating direct competitors to a Transnet that could have been repurposed to play a far much greater role in South Africa's industrialisation and intra-continental trade.

Today, the revenues of Transnet are in decline, and in the last financial year, declined by 10,5%. This is almost equal to revenues of the 2017 financial year. This is by no means a

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mistake but a calculated and deliberate collapse of Transnet to push for ongoing privatisation at our ports and harbours. [Applause.]

At SAA, you destroyed this country's aviation, and you are still trying to sell it to the people who don't bring any strategic advantage or capital. The so-called strategic partner you claimed will bring revenue is just getting free state assets that they will use to make money while the state services a debt without getting anything out of the transaction. Why should taxpayers pay the debt of SAA while it is being privatised and given to people who bring nothing but just take? [Applause.]

Mango is being privatised. We warned you when you hired a CEO who lied about his educational qualifications that he does not have either the capacity or sophistication to turn Mango around. But because it was a white man and Mr Gordhan who have absolute faith in matriculants as long as they are white, we are here today, with a Mango that is collapsing. [Applause.]

While the world is looking at ways to restructure their economies in a Covid and post-Covid era, including reforms to

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make state-owned companies stronger, bigger and better, you think you can resolve deeply-entrenched structural economic challenges by depending on the private sector and the Johannesburg Gambling Stock Exchange.

As the EFF, we maintain that state-owned companies must be at the centre of South Africa's industrial policy and lead innovation, industrialisation, and job creation in South Africa and the continent.

Thus far, Mr President, all we can say is that you are simply characterised by your deep hatred of black people; you easily surrender to white interests; and you lack of originality. You have successfully resisted absorbing your communist ideas you claimed you were fed by the likes of Terror Lekota.

As a result, the state today is directionless, and you should be chunked out of that office by all means revolutionary possible. Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr M HLENGWA: Hon Chairperson, on Thursday night we saw the President's moment of Damascene, transitioning from Saul to Paul when he finally came to terms with the truth and reality

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of development, in that government does not create jobs but creates a conducive environment for business to create jobs. This acknowledgement is the right step in the right direction.

But as is typical of a broad-church organisation, the backtracking could not have come sooner when speaker after speaker, yesterday and today, sought to incoherently backtrack on the President's clear statement.

The nonelection, contesting elements in the ANC, in the form of Cosatu and the SACP, are again having a case of déjà vu, who sneeze and we then all catch the flu. These elements derailed Gear, Asgisa and the NDP, and now they standby ready to derail a fundamental policy shift as announced by the President last week.

Mr President, this moment in history will define your leadership legacy. Will you stand with the interests of the people and see through your Damascene moment, or will you buckle to the pressure of the freeloaders in the ANC, who don't contest elections?

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Mr President, you were elected to lead. Therefore, do exactly that: Lead.

Policy uncertainty is contrary to the conducive environment that you speak of. The dire-lived conditions of our people require things to be done differently and decisively. And therefore, Mr President, some urgent action is required.

One, noting that all development is local, empower municipalities through increased budget allocations to meet the demands of development. Two, scrap the burdensome Fuel Levies. Three, stop bailing out failing SOEs, especially where critical reforms have not been effected. Four, reinstate the Scorpions to strengthen the fight against corruption.

And maybe, five, introduce an internship transition management system to facilitate interns into permanent employment. The high rate of unemployment in South Africa in comparison to the high representation of foreign nationals employed in particular, the unskilled occupational level, is of serious concern.

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In this regard, the IFP has finalised a Bill for introduction to Parliament, which amends the Employment Services Act of 2014 to, amongst others: Regulate the recruitment of foreign nationals in certain economic sectors; strengthen the current regulatory framework regarding recruitment of foreign nationals; require employers to first confirm whether there is no suitable South African or permanent resident that can be employed in a position before recruiting a foreign national; and finally, require the Minister of Employment and Labour to set numerical targets for identified sectors on the basis of what would constitute equitable representation of South African citizens and permanent residents.

Martin Luther King Junior reminds us, Mr President that:

The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.

The question before you, Mr President, therefore is: Where will you stand in this difficult moment of national crisis, with the country or with the ANC?

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I say to you, Mr President, country first! I thank you.

[Applause.]

Rev K R J MESHOE: Hon Speaker, Chairperson of the NCOP, hon President, hon members, during the state of the nation address, the President surprised many of us when he said, and I quote:

We all know that government does not create jobs; business creates jobs. The key task of government is to create the conditions that will enable the private sector, both big and small, to emerge to grow, to access new markets, to create new products and hire more employees.

This is something the ACDP has been saying since its inception. It was indeed a surprise, this coming from the President, considering the many promises of jobs he made over the years. For example, in January 2018, he launched the Yes Initiative, which was supposed to create 300 000 jobs a year. This did not happen.

On 15 October 2020, the President promised 800 000 jobs by October 2021. That did not happen either. During the Sona of

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2019, President Ramaphosa promised 2 million jobs for youth by 2029. Will this happen? Well, according to the track record, I don't think it will. While campaigning for the 1 November local government elections, last year, he again promised jobs, houses and services, but most of the needy people are still without these promised commodities.

Given the many empty promises the President makes, he does not seem to care about his reputation. Every failed promise means that people cannot take him at his word or trust him.

In a broadcast to the nation on 1 February 2021 about government's plans to fight the Covid-19 pandemic, President Ramaphosa promised the nation that, and I quote: "Nobody will be forced to take the vaccine." He repeated this statement at least twice later that year. He further said, and I quote again:

Nobody will be forbidden to travel wherever they want, including to enrol in schools or to part in any public activity, if they have not been vaccinated. Nobody will be given this vaccine against their will.

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He promised again. The President seems to have changed his position again because it is reported that his government is now considering mandatory vaccination for the country. It makes no sense for government to be considering a Covid-19 mandate and for companies to continue pressurising employees to take the vaccine or lose their jobs, when scientists and the WHO have revised their position on whether or not the vaccinated will be protected from Covid-19 infections.

The fact is that both the vaccinated and the unvaccinated can get infected with the virus. Even President Ramaphosa himself and some of the Cabinet Ministers got infected after they have been vaccinated.

The ACDP believes that all employees who suffer adverse effects as a result of the job at work should be compensated by both the state and the company they work for. Former employees, such as ... [Inaudible.] ... who was a paramedic in Newcastle, and Sarika Oosthuizen are among such people and need urgent assistance with their medical expenses.

Yesterday, it was very sad to hear some students from the University of Johannesburg and the University of the Free

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State saying that they had been denied entry on campus because they chose not to be vaccinated. If school children have been allowed to return to their normal classes with or without the proof of vaccination, the ACDP believes that the same should apply to all who are in institutions of learning. No child or student should be denied their constitutional right to access education because of their choice not to vaccinate.

We do not want to see a new form of apartheid in our schools and universities. May the former liberators never become leading champions of tyranny and dictatorship in Africa.

Why is the national state of disaster still in place, when countries such as the UK have scrapped almost all Covid-19 controls and are focussing on rebuilding their economies?

Lastly, the poor security in the country is a major concern for most South Africans. The ACDP is disappointed that, even after appointing a panel of experts to look into what happened that caused destructive looting in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, in July last year, the President has only taken minimal action in the matter and has shown little resolve or determination to correct the wrongs that embarrassed us internationally.

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During the first three days of looting in KwaZulu-Natal, there was no sight of or voice from our Ministers in the security cluster. The Minister of Police, the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Intelligence, including our national Police Commissioner were not visible at all. We did not know where they were or where they were hiding. So, people who were looking for leadership were disappointed because those who were responsible were nowhere to be found.

Mr President, why are these people who failed the country and caused us to lose more than R50 billion still in their jobs, after we also lost more than 300 lives? We believe that those people must be fired so that everybody will know that, if you don't perform, you will be fired. Thank you.

Afrikaans:

Me H S BOSHOFF: Agb Voorsitter, agb President, u bevestiging na etlike jare se verset dat die sakesektor en nie die regering nie, werk skep, word hartlik deur die DA ondersteun en verwelkom.

Dit is voorwaar 'n stap in die regte rigting en hierdie uitspraak sal met valkoë dopgehou word, om te sien hoe u en u

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regering die gewensde omgewing gaan skep, om dit te bewerkstellig.

Dit was nog altyd die DA se uitgangspunt dat regerings 'n gunstige ekonomiese klimaat moet skep, om sodoende werkskepping en ekonomiese groei te verseker. Hierdie standpunt kan natuurlik deur sommige as 'n refrein van die DA beskou word, amper soos u beloftes tydens die afgelope vyf staatsredes.

Die verskil is egter dat die DA onomwonde daarop kan roem dat in die Wes-Kaap, waar ons regeer, dit inderdaad die fondasie gelê het om 'n meer effektiewe en suksesvolle ekonomiese bestel tot stand te bring.

Tans het Suid Afrika 'n werkloosheidsyfer van 34,9%, terwyl die uitgebreide syfer gestyg het tot 46,6%. Dit is vyf keer meer as die wêreld gemiddelde. Dit impliseer dat net 38 uit elke 100 persone tussen die ouderdom van 16 en 64 jaar, hulself in die gelukkige posisie bevind, om in diens te wees. As u dan kyk na die Wes-Kaap is die syfer veel laer op 26,3% present en 'n uitgebreide syfer van 30,3%.

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Dit is 'n klinkbare bewys dat, waar die DA regeer, ons dit in belang en tot voordeel van elke inwoner doen. Beleggers is dit eens - luister mooi - dat hulle nie twee keer sal dink, om in die Wes-Kaap te belê nie, want dit is herhaaldelik bewys dat, waar die DA regeer, gebeur dinge tot voordeel van beleggers wat werkskepping bevorder.

Agbare President, u maak ook dikwels 'n beroep op politieke partye om saam te werk om werkskepping en ander belangrike prioriteite in Suid Afrika te bevorder. U behoort daarvan bewus te wees dat verskeie DA parlamentslede reeds 'n aantal nuwe Wetsontwerpe in komitees ter tafel gelê het. Dit sluit, onder andere, in die Wetsontwerp om dit makliker te maak om besigheid te doen en die Wetsontwerp wat burokratiese rompslomp sal sny.

Ongelukkig is hierdie voorgestelde Wetsontwerpe sonder skroom deur u eie lede verwerp, sonder om werklik die positiewe impak daarvan op elke Suid Afrikaner te oorweeg. Dink net, as hierdie twee voorgestelde wetgewings jare gelede geimplimenteer is, kon die land op 'n veel beter trajek gewees het, waar baie meer mense indiens kon wees en met die sekuriteite wat daarmee gepaard gaan.

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Voor Covid-19 was die land alreeds in groot moeilikheid met betrekking tot werkloosheid. Die instel van u drakoniese ramptoestandreëls het daartoe bygedra dat die ekonomie verder in duie gestort het.

Dit is 'n feit dat baie besighede na die opheffing van die vlak vyf ramptoestandinperkings nie weer hul deure kon open nie, en dit het daartoe gelei dat baie werknemers hul werk verloor het.

Die toerismebedryf, een van die grootste bydraers tot die bruto binnelandse produk, BBP, is een van die sektore wat uiters hard getref is deur die ramptoestand-beperkings en inperkings.

Ongelukkig het hierdie belangrike werkskeppingsbedryf dan ook 'n Minister Sisulu, wat eerder daarna streef om haar politieke loopbaan te bevorder, as om toe te sien, dat hierdie bedryf weer floreer.

Saam met die res van die land, handhaaf die toerismebedryf die uitgangspunt dat die huidige gang van die Covid-19-pandemie en die sentralisering van die regering se buitengewone magte nie

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meer nodig is nie. Individuele departemente moet weereens verantwoordelikheid aanvaar om 'n gunstige omgewing te skep vir besighede, om te floreer. Dit is dan ook die DA se standpunt. Dit wil voorkom asof u soms die knie buig, omrede Dr Dlamani Zuma die septer geswaai het.

In Januarie 2018 het u in 'n toespraak belowe dat u een miljoen werksgeleenthede vir die jeug sou skep, so ook in Mei 2019. In 2020, sou u 800 000 werksgeleenthede skep, en in September 2021 het u belowe dat u groot planne vir werkskepping het. Ongelukkig het hiervan dadels gekom, maar gelukkig het u in 2022 die lig gesien en besef dat regerings nie werk kan skep nie.

Tydens u toespraak verlede Donderdag het u mooi woorde geuiter, wat sag op die oor van baie geval het, maar dit sou meer oortuigend gewees het indien elke plan van u gekoppel was met die omvang van die projekte wat 'n implementeringsplan en 'n voltooiingsdatum insluit. U is dit aan elke Suid-Afrikaner verskuldig.

U het verder 'n ernstige beroep gedoen, dat alle sektore hul samewerking moet gee, om hierdie land weer tot sy volle glorie

te herstel en u het genoem dat u en u Kabinet ernstig is om ekonomiese-, arbeids- en energiehervormings te prioritiseer en te implementeer.

Indien dit die geval is en u ons kan verseker dat u die samewerking van u Kabinet het, kan u verseker staat maak op die DA se ondersteuning. Indien nie, is die DA gereed en het ons al bewys dat ons in staat is om dit in 2024 te doen. Ons, die DA, is gereed!

IsiZulu:

Sesimi ngomumo.

Afrikaans:

Ek dank u.

IsiZulu:

Siyabonga.

English:

I thank you.

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Ms G K TSEKE: Thank you very much, Chairperson of the NCOP, Speaker of the National Assembly, President of the Republic of South Africa, Deputy President of the country, Mr DD Mabuza, Members of Parliament, good afternoon.

The Commander in Chief of the Republic of South Africa, His Excellency, the President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa aptly put it to all of us in his state of the nation address that: "Water is the country's most precious resource". This places this resource right where it belongs, in the centre of all socio-economic development. Lest we forget, the apartheid government had promoted a skewed distribution of water supply based on racial policies. Black people, particularly women and children, had to fetch water over long distances to have water in their homes.

Setswana:

Mo mengwageng e e fetileng re kgonne go nna le katlego mo go atoloseng phitlhelelo ya metsi le kgeleloleswe, tse e leng ditshwanelo tsa botho mme di seleditswe ke Molaotheo.

Ditshwanelo tse di tshwanetse maAfrikaBorwa. Re menne phatlha e bile ga re ipelaele ka se, re ikaeletse go busetsa serodumo sa batho ba rona ba Aforikaborwa sekeng.

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English:

Access clean water has increased to 88,2% by 2018, more notably in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal in the recent past. Even with this increase to access, we cannot be satisfied or rest on our laurels until the 11,8 % who comprise the outstanding number have water access. These are the democratic gains of the South Africans and our ANC government.

Whilst we acknowledge that some of these challenges still face us today, we are hard at work to ensure such disparities are banished to the history books.

The country continues to face capability challenges in the water supply area with Water Service Authorities struggling to deliver outcomes in some projects. That being said, we must acknowledge those that have succeeded. In the process to the desired outcome of secure water supply, we also have on-going projects to enhance the capacity of existing infrastructure. Examples of such work include but are not restricted to the Mokolo-Crocodile West Augmentation Project Phase 2 in Limpopo, and the uMkhomazi Water Project in KwaZulu-Natal.

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We are pleased with the process underway towards the establishment of the National Water Resource Infrastructure Agency. This is a critical tool that will enhance government capability in terms of not just technical capacity but also capacity to attract additional financial support and success of implementation.

Hon President, we should consider drawing in our country's human capabilities located in higher education institutions in the planning and project management phases of water and sanitation projects to enhance intended outcomes. We therefore welcome the recent appointment of 854 technical staff composed of both engineers and scientists in the Department of Water and Sanitation. This is a good move.

Setswana:

Maloko a Ntlo e kgolo e, Afrika Borwa ke naga e e tlhaelang metsi thata, mme se, se pitlagantsha kgonagalo ya tlhabologo mo ikonoming ya rona. Pula a ene. Ga gona ka mokgwa o ANC e ka nesang pula. Ga rena maatla ao a go nesa pula.

English:

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Climate change not only has a negative impact on the environment, but has compounded the water scarcity challenges, and the Southern Hemisphere region is heavily impacted by droughts. Over several years, this problem of water supply has been sharply evident through poor rainfall, coupled with population and industrial growth.

Setswana:

Re naga e golang. Ga re a ema fela. Re naga e golang ka letsatsi le letsatsi.

English:

The optimal functioning of water treatment plants and wastewater treatment plants is a critical part of the conservation of this scarce resource. Hon President and hon members, water like energy is a critical input for economic development. Therefore, the development of water supply through dam building, rainwater harvesting, reclamation, and supply infrastructure and wastewater treatment must form an integral part of the infrastructure development programme of the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan. We welcome the on-going uMzimvubu Water Project which is a major project in the Eastern Cape.

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President, as the governing party we suggest that these dams' projects should also contain plans for the development of hydroelectric plants as part of enhancing our energy mix. This will be a very welcome move which will provide a clean and cheap source of electricity with almost no water loss as is the case in some of the KwaZulu-Natal projects.

It is correct that the user pay principle on water services should apply and culture of payment for service delivery is developed in the country. The percentage of households that did not pay for water services has steadily increased from 50,8% in 2009 to 59% in 2018 and the trend continues. This is something we should all work together to change, while recognising that there is still a need to ensure that water reaches the end-user at the lowest price.

In the Western Cape, the cost of water to the people is extremely high and has never been reduced in any significant manner post the drought and water supply restored. Water like electricity is not service which municipalities should be seeking super profits. This causes structural inflation in the economy, discourages investment and further increases the cost of living for the poor and working class.

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This unholy alliance of the DA and EFF in Tshwane has resulted in the people of Hammanskraal and the surrounding areas receiving poor quality water due to non-compliance of the Rooiwaal Waste Water Treatment Plant with national department interventions. I think your energy should be redirected to that interventions, hon members on my left side.

President we need to consider an increase of ground water contribution in the water resource mix is a sustainable manner managing cross boundary aquifers. At the moment, groundwater contributes 9% of water in use, and this will particularly help rural areas. As Parliament, we will enhance our oversight this financial year, and measure the progress on the implementation of major water and sanitation infrastructure.

Maya Angelou in one of her poems says:

You may shoot me with your words, you may cut me with your eyes, you may kill me with your hatefulness, but still, like air, I'll rise.

Hon President of the Republic of South Africa, rise. Hon President of the ANC, rise, and continue to make a lasting

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legacy to this nation, make a mark on the world in creating a better life for all. The ANC will always support you. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Mr N HADEBE: Hon Chairperson, President of the Republic of South Africa and hon members of the NCOP and His Excellency, IFP founder and President Emeritus Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, I feel honoured and privileged to have been elected by the IFP to serve in the NCOP and represent the people of South Africa. As I was only sworn in yesterday, please expect to receive not so smooth accumulation.

I wish to thank our great leader, His Excellency, hon Prince Buthelezi as well as the IFP caucus for entrusting me with this significant responsibility. Hon members from all political parties, it is truly my hope that through co-operation and unity, we can deliver on our promise to unite the people of South Africa.

Hon members, the year 2022 kicked off on a traumatic note, with the raging fires emerging from the buildings of Parliament. In the words of his Excellency, Prince Buthelezi:

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We could never have imagined a moment like this, when we would see a national key point and the centre of our democracy go up in flames.

The IFP has called for unity in this tragic moment, and we agree with the President who, in his state of the nation address, held that: "What happened in Parliament speaks to a broader devastation in our land". The building of our Parliament were once a symbol of hope for South Africans in our hard fought democracy. Today, it is quite the contrary, where the ruins represent the despair many face in the hope of a more just and equal society.

Mr President, I wish to take you up on your commitment when you stated that: "the path we choose today as a country, will determine the course of future generations". Unless you honestly and truthfully commit to understanding why it has happened, you can never truly appreciate the suffering that ordinary citizens face on a daily basis from the effects of this and past corrupt administrations.

Our people continue to suffer in attempting to access their most basic human rights. What I have come to notice is that

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water remains a consistent challenge for the most vulnerable in our society. Water infrastructure at local government levels have taken a severe beating at the hands of corruption and maladministration where the citizens have taken the biggest hit. By understanding the root cause of the country's poor water delivery, it will become apparent that little attention is paid to repair and maintaining existing infrastructure.

In your own words, we must choose the correct path now so that our future generations do not come to resent and absorb the burden of our failures in national, provincial and local government spheres. I thank you. [Applause.]

Mr D W MACPHERSON: Mr President, when you stood here last Thursday and gave your state of the nation address, out of everything that you said there were 12 words that marked a dramatic change in government policy, and they were, "We all know that government does not create jobs. Business creates jobs".

While at face value this may seem obvious, for nearly three decades the ANC and national government have been in complete

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denial about this fact. Cosatu and the SACP have been hysterical in their response to this point in your speech, and it's harder to tell what the ANC thinks about it, although I suspect the shock etched on the faces of your Members of Parliament and their muted applause suggest they don't quite buy into the idea.

It is concerning that you now appear to be flip-flopping on this in your newsletter just on Monday. However, it is an important ideological shift for government. It signals the understanding that government, Ministers and officials need to get out of the way of business doing what it does best, and that is create jobs and grow the economy.

There is more evidence of this in your appointment of a new red tape reduction czar in the form of respected businessman Siphosiso Nkomo. You clearly have run out of patience with Minister Patel who was supposed to be the red tape reduction champion through his own unit. This can only be seen as a vote of no confidence in him because he absolutely loves red tape. I see he is not even on the starting lineup for the ANC, which suggests even more bad news for him. Instead of working around him, Mr President, why can't you just sack him?

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Mr President, you spoke about finding a new consensus among social partners within 100 days to reignite economic recovery but that is where you are wrong. You don't need consensus to do what is right. You can't run a country by consensus. You just need to get the job done. You will never find consensus amongst the left and within your own party because your views on economic reforms are not aligned to the ANC's.

South Africa urgently needs economic growth and this will only happen if we have well thought out and calibrated policies to do so, of which localisation is neither.

Talking of consensus, there is much agreement amongst academics, economists and the opposition that localisation will cause more harm than good. It's a fundamental flaw that simplistically and naively assumes that if you create trade barriers to certain goods and then designate them for local production that consumer demand will magically be created. This is not how economics works, Mr President, and you know that, which is why I guess you seemingly toned down your enthusiasm for localisation in this year's state of the nation address.

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South Africa needs to be cost competitive when it comes to manufacturing so that we can be an export driven economy and take advantage of the African Continental Free Trade ... agreement. However, if we are going to be a protectionist economy then we are only going to damage our ability to export into Africa and the world.

In order to do this, we need functioning ports. Our ports are so inefficient that in the Durban harbour they are only moving half the number of containers per hour than they did two years ago. Yet, what was concerning is that you did not mention an intervention which is so desperately required in the Port of Cape Town. It is literally sinking under mismanagement and incompetence, which is leading to massive economic losses for the Western Cape. Your urgent intervention is needed.

Mr President, if those of us who understand how to get our economy going and growing can all agree that we need to put job creation at the centre of our efforts and that only business can create jobs, then every single thing that government does needs to ensure that this happens. If there is a law that prohibits it, then repeal it. If there is a regulation that seeks to make it more difficult, then bin it.

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And if there is a Minister that seeks to frustrate it, then fire them. You will have our support if you are prepared to follow through with those two crucial words. I thank you.

[Applause.]

IsiXhosa:

UMPHATHISWA WEMFUNDO ESISISSEKO: Igama lamakhosikazi malibongwe!

English:

Chair of the NCOP, his Excellency President Cyril Ramaphosa, Deputy President, hon members from the National Assembly and the NCOP, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, indeed I am honoured to participate in the state of the nation address, which was presented by our hon President in the past week.

I wish to reflect on a few things on the role of Basic Education in repositioning South Africa on an inclusive growth path. There is no doubt, that the Basic Education sector holds a key to better life for all, better earning potential, better outcomes and faster economic growth. In a collective effort to set the country on a new growth path, employment and

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transformation, there is no doubt that a vibrant basic education system is key.

As the President opined, we must continue to harder to realise the ideal of a much improved basic education, with better learning outcomes and a solid care as well as psychosocial support for vulnerable learners. As we have come to know, the path to faster economic growth begins with our learners having access to the best early learning foundations. It has been empirically proven that countries that invest in education value and teachers have the greatest chance to unlock economic bottlenecks in the entire economic value chain.

To respond to what the Leader of the Opposition said about dropout rates – just to give him free education: Learners don't drop out because of the Minister; there are circumstances around why learners drop out of school. Hence, even in the Eastern Cape, just like in the Western Cape, we will still find learners dropping out. It is a matter of concern and it is a fact that up to Grade 9 – as a country, in the Basic Education sector – ... [Interjections.] Stop howling at me! I mean, the whole chairperson, howling!

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In the Basic Education sector, we are able to retain more than 90% of learners. We begin to notice unpleasant dropout rates, which are working on, but amongst others things, it is an international fact that our learners fail because of the gangsterism, which is rife in the Western Cape. There is teenage pregnancy, youth delinquency, parent responsibilities, and unfortunately, in some instance curriculum pressures and peer pressure that are faced by young people.

What we doing as a responsible sector is that we are putting things in place and plans to respond. Just to respond to ...

IsiXhosa:

uTata uNodada. Hayi, yena ke, ndazixelela kudala ukuba akukho nto ndizakuyenza ngaye. Ndakucebisa kudala ndathi uzukhe ucele aba bantu usebenza nabo ukuba bakubonise, kuba awuyazi nokuba kubethwa abaphi, kuyiwaphi. Uthetha into enye kwaye uyayiphinda-phinda. Ngoko mabakubonise mntu wabantu ukuze sive ukuba uthini kuba andiyazi eyona nto uyithethayo.

English:

Chair, at the heart of Basic Education reform, we all agree that there is a recalibration of early learning foundations.

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Early childhood education is a foundation for cognitive development by its nature. To realise our mission of achieving high performing and quality basic education system in particular, in partnership with Social Development, we have reimagined the whole concept, definition curriculum and the funding of ECDs. As we sit here, we can safely say with the Minister of Social Development that on 1 April 2022, the function shift would have happened.

We have developed a database ECD project which we have code named, 'Thrive-by-Five Index'. The Thrive-by-Five Index has to assess the quality of ECD programmes in a nationally represented sample of ECD programmes. This index allows us to know the proportion of children who are developmentally on track for their age and the quality of ECD. We will be using the baseline from this information to track our progress.

As we know, the Basic Education sector has been battered by two years of intermittent Covid-19 closures and rotational timetables. On 7 February ... [Interjections.] It is so embarrassing to have a howling leader ...

IsiXhosa:

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... Haaaa, iintloni! Khawuthule, yehlisa umoya. Yehlisa umoya.
Hayi ulihlazo.

English:

So, Madam Speaker, on 7 February 2022, we can report that all pupils from primary schooling and special schools have returned to regular schools. This follows the Cabinet decision on the day, and we are very mindful of the fact that ...

[Interjections.] We are very mindful that Covid-19 is still with us, and all of us have a direct responsibility to ensure that we prevent the spread of this virus.

All our interventions have been advised by medical science and we have committed ourselves to make sure that pupils, teachers and nonteaching staff and visitors must continue to wear mask and recognise and even keep all the protocols that we have put in place, which include mask breaks, continuous use of alcohol-based sanitisers, turning good ventilation in our classrooms and making sure that there is always constant cleaning.

The normal return to timetabling will assist us as a sector to really do some of the things that we were unable to do.

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[Interjections.] Oooh! [Interjections.] It was resolved that we need to reboot, recalibrate and reposition the sector. The first step that we have agreed on is addressing the crisis of lost learning time and prevent further disruptions in our system. The second step is to introduce measures to catch up on the time as well as teaching and learning that has been lost through Covid-19.

We urge parents and stakeholders to continue to support us and ensure that there are no disruptions. We fight and continue to ... [Interjections.]

Setswana:

Ntate Moruti, o seke wa latlha batho tlhe rre!

English:

Since we had a major vaccination programme, you said we had lost more than 3 000 educators. We have not lost an educator, except for ...

Sesotho:

... Ntate Moruti ya iketsang ngaka tjena! O seke wa lahla batho!

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We are encouraging our people to vaccinate and even to go for a booster.

Sesotho:

O nno bua ka ntho tse ding; eseng tsena. Tsena ha se tsa hao hle ntate.

English:

So, on curriculum, we have agreed that in order to equip our learners for the 21st century, we should facilitate more efficient transition from school to work, and the department has embarked on a curriculum strengthening process. The strengthened curriculum will explicitly state the knowledge, skills and competencies of the future.

We also had a lekgotla, which focused on our experiences from Covid-19. It has, amongst other things, dictated a review on how we conduct our business, because we all agree that we cannot go back to methods of teaching that we used before Covid-19. Therefore, it is critical for us to strengthen co-ordination of teacher development, but also to relook at our curriculum and strengthen it.

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Our macroeconomic policies, such as the New Growth Path, outlines government's industrial agenda, the critical job drivers, prioritised industrial sectors and a range of interventions that are required to accelerate economic growth and create jobs.

Indeed, Covid-19 has had a very devastating blow in implementation of sport enrichment programmes in our schools. As a department, after consultations, we have encouraged schools to resume extracurricular programmes and to strictly adhere to the Covid-19 regulations.

On matric exams ... [Interjections.] I know it is because the Western Cape is no longer a leading system, hence the score on matric results. [Interjections.]

IsiZulu:

... Awuphilanga!

English:

We really cannot find ourselves in a situation where we don't celebrate our children's success, because it is the ANC-led

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provinces which year-after-year produce the best results. Now you scorn on matric results!

IsiZulu:

... Hayi awuphilanga bandla, awunamahloni!

English:

So, we do celebrate the quality of outcomes achieved by the class of 2021: Especially, the highest overall passing numbers; the bachelors and diplomas eligibility passes; the passes in distinction; the gender parity expressed in percentage between boys and girls; and what appears to be an effective political economy of basic education system that has been achieved through the poor policy. So, ...

IsiXhosa:

... yehlisa umoya; ubhadle!

English:

It's actually embarrassing to have a leader like you that cannot celebrate even the successes of children.

[Interjections.]

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Speaker, Chairperson and hon members who are interested in going into a detailed analysis, I will send you a copy of the 2021 results. You can get them also on our website. Again, ... [Interjections.] For a person like you, I guess I wouldn't!

So, let me again take this opportunity to encourage those who did not meet the pass requirements for the 2021 NCS Results: We have introduced what we call a Second Chance Matric Support programme, which is encouraging young people to go for a rewrite.

Again, we are very excited that we were further encouraged when the President announced that government is introducing an innovative social infrastructure delivery mechanism to address issues that affect the delivery of school infrastructure. The mechanism proposed will address the speed, the financing, the funding, quality of delivery, mass employment and the maintenance of school infrastructure.

The school infrastructure remains the major challenge for the sector. With the current backlog, we are told stands at R200 billion and with the current finance delivery model.

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There is no there is no way the sector will be able to meet its objectives. Thus, the intervention is highly welcome!

On youth employment, ...

Afrikaans:

Mev Boshoff, jy moet nou luister.

English:

On youth employment, the Presidential Youth Employment, PYE, intervention presents six priority actions over the next five years to reduce youth unemployment. Amongst others, it was to establish the first cohort of a Presidential Youth Service programme, which will unlock the urgency of young people and provide opportunities for them to earn an income while contributing to nation building.

Last year, the Basic Education sector benefitted from the Presidential Youth Employment intervention, through which 595 000 employment opportunities were created.

Sesotho:

Ntate Moruti, o mametse hakere?

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English:

They were created for young people in public schools across the country. [Applause.] Three-hundred and nine opportunities were created in phase 1. This year, we have 276 opportunities, and we are working on phase 3.

So, amongst these, we have been working with our provinces to provide training opportunities to all these young people and amongst the training programmes we have provided is artificial intelligence in the Fourth Industrial Revolution, 4IR, online safety, digital literacy and teaching reading for meaning.

The Presidential Youth Employment initiative definitely remains a flagship component of the Presidential Employment Stimulus programme, and is currently the largest mass employment programme in the Basic Education sector.

Afrikaans:

Mev Boshoff, ek glo jy verstaan ons. Jy hoor en verstaan ons. Moenie net hoor nie.

English:

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The availability of high speed broadband, we believe is no longer a luxury but a necessity for our schools to leverage on the benefits that technology can add on the delivery of quality basic education. Government is fully aware that out of 74% of our schools which are reported to have received connectivity, only 10% of them found it suitable for learning.

High speed broadband in the schools lies in the implementation of government policy on South Africa Connect, and this plan we believe will bring connectivity.

Madam Speaker, let me remind this House that the NDP enjoins us to establish strategic sustainable social partners in order to create an enabling environment for the implementation of our strategic programmes in the Basic Education sector. The ruling party has always declared education as a societal issue and to ensure the proper and focused co-ordination of the involvement of society in our programmes and interventions.

With the involvement and support of communities in schools, we do see waning levels of vandalism in schools. We see dwindling levels of crime and other forms of disruptions. For this, we are very grateful. It is through these web co-ordinated

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programmes and support that we are able to support the sector.

[Interjections.] So, I wish to thank the President and ...

[Time expired.]

IsiZulu:

Sengizophumula. Hah! [Ihlombe.] [Ubuwelewele.]

English:

The shouting ... [Inaudible.] Scandalous! [Applause.]

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: We will have a slight change in our plans. So, we will call on hon House Chairperson of Committees and ICT. As the next speaker comes up to the podium, we will request Madam Speaker to come over to take the Chair. The hon House Chairperson of Committees and ICT!

The HOUSE CHAIRPERSON OF COMMITTEES AND INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY, ICT (Mr C T Frolick): Madam Speaker, the Deputy President of the Republic, His Excellency; the President - who is also following the proceedings, Members of the Executive, hon Members of Parliament, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the ANC I wish to appreciate the leadership role of President Cyril Ramaphosa and our

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colleagues in the Cabinet to have formulated a bold, credible and trustworthy position on climate change that could garner international support at Conference of the Parties, Cop 26, in Glasgow.

The updated emissions report towards 2030 is more ambitious and shows the country's commitment closer to what is needed globally for us to limit warming to 1,5 degrees Celsius. Our country did particularly well at Cop 26 and achieved most of the objectives that were set. Now is the time to put our shoulder to the wheel and implement our commitments. However, recognising the need to act is not the same as action itself. Glasgow discussions highlighted that the road to net zero will be fraught with many obstacles, both economic and behavioral. The pact will be realised only if countries take concerted and immediate action to deliver on their commitments.

This means that it is inevitable, hon members. The phasing down of fossil fuels, halting and reversing deforestation, speeding up the switch to electric vehicles and reducing methane emissions, the path delivered on achieving global goals on mitigation, adaptation and finance to enable countries to deliver on their immediate climate goals and

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multilateralism to deliver even greater action. However, as Professor Jeffrey Sachs states, and I quote:

Cop 26 in Glasgow suffered the same lack of trust between developing and developed countries that has burdened global climate negotiations for almost three decades. Financing is at the heart of the geopolitical rupture on climate change. The developing countries are already reeling under countless pressures: the COVID-19 pandemic, weak domestic economies, and so forth.

In short, he states that they see their societies - that is developing countries - falling even further behind a few high income countries.

Developing countries regard climate change as a crisis caused largely by the rich economies in the world, which they also view as shirking their historical and ongoing responsibility for the crisis. As the African National Congress, we believe we must continue to work within the framework of the climate change in instruments that are there to ensure that there is indeed a global effort to deliver on all the pledges, but most importantly - and Minister Mantashe referred to this, this

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afternoon - achieving the just transition in our country, especially considering our vulnerabilities.

It is in this context that we appreciate the Cop 26 outcome on the just transition where international partners have offered \$8,5 billion towards South Africa just energy transition program. Partner governments in France, Germany and the United Kingdom, the United States as well as the European Union, would mobilise this money over the next three to five years through a range of instruments. As the ANC we have identified remaining issues that are outstanding so that we can fully understand the exact nature of this offer. One, is it the grant, is it concessional finance or is it simply a loan? What are the terms and conditions of this funding and the nature of partnerships with multinational companies in the implementation of the agreed projects?

Hon President, in this vein the appointment of Mr Daniel Mminele as the head of the presidential climate finance task team to lead the mobilisation of funds for our just transition is welcomed. It will provide the necessary expertise in this very complex field. The emerging team however, hon members, in discussions around climate finance at the Conference of the

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Parties, Cop, with developed countries is that the developed countries now are saying that we simply do not have the financial resources to meet the \$100 billion commitment per year targeted for climate financing.

They add, the private sector must become part of the solution. Now, while there is an agreement that the private sector has an important role to play in financing, we must remind ourselves that the private sector due to its nature and character, is not a benevolent entity that simply dish out money. Its wrongs must be clearly identified and defined in terms of the climate crisis. A new approach to financing is needed that do not put developing countries in a debt trap. Thus, efforts to fight climate change is a public good that must not be used for just profiteering but it must include technologies must be utilised for the common good of humanity.

We cannot put a price tag on the mitigation and adaptation that we need to do before developing countries can move on their own. Why is the just transition for us important? At the recent ANC Lekgotla, we were seized with this matter. It's a known fact to all of us that the energy sector is historically reliant, especially in South Africa on fossil fuels and coal

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production to meet our energy demands. There is a reality that coal is indeed one of the biggest emitters of greenhouse gases. There's also a very strong view that there is no such thing as clean coal. Technology for carbon capture and storage is expensive and it's not sustainable. Also, the financing investment for new coal ventures have effectively dried up because of the risk associated with stranded assets.

Furthermore, as South Africa, we maintain we and we must always work towards maintaining the local industries capacity to export to key markets such as the European Union, EU, and the United Kingdom, UK, both of which have already set targets and deadlines to reduce the number of fossil fuel reliant vehicles on their roads. However, there is another reality and this reality is that the livelihoods of thousands of mine workers, communities and those in the upstream and downstream of the economy is heavily reliant on coal.

For us in the ANC, we see that for the foreseeable future, it is thus inevitable that coal will remain part of our energy mix. However, with the introduction of other greener fossil fuels and more renewable energy sources, our reliance on coal will gradually decrease. This is not a unique situation for

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South Africa only. The major economies and the richest countries in the world still make use of coal in their energy mix. The announcement by the President on measures to close the energy gap, therefore, and to introduce renewables to make up for the shortfall is rational and commendable. The energy transition must be designed to promote inclusive growth, industrial development and employment creation to ensure that nobody is left behind.

We must underscore just transition in our ongoing discussions on sustainable development in a carbon constrained world. A just transition must of necessity ensure environmental sustainability as well as decent work, social inclusion and poverty eradication. In this respect there's a few lessons that we can learn by looking east. We can learn from the implementation of the transition both in China and India so that we can enrich our processes and not repeat some of the mistakes that has been made. If not properly addressed, there's a real potential for stranded workers and communities which we cannot afford. Consequently, transparent planning that includes just transition measures will prevent fear, opposition and inter community end generational conflict. We understand that the just transition which we see globally

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cannot happen by itself. It requires plans, policies and implementation.

In conclusion, just transition requires us to leave no one behind. For example, for the coal communities it would entail community renewal with investment in new energy, new industry skills development and new jobs. For cities, investment in low and zero emissions. For industries, switching to renewable energy must be supplemented with cleaner industrial processes. For workers, collective bargaining ensure that essential support is there for the rescheduling and redeployment of workers. For government, it brings the potential to resolve long outstanding issues in terms of climate change, while simultaneously addressing the triple challenge of poverty, unemployment and growing inequality.

A just transition is the most important plan for restoring economic growth and boosting employment. Parliament must play a constructive role in terms of this process. The unit of analysis for assessing the effect of address transition will be the coal miner. Let us not leave them behind. I thank you.

[Time expired.] [Applause.]

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Ms S J GRAHAM: Madam Speaker, today, I stand in this glorious hall, heartbroken that I get to deliver this speech in somebody else's house. Because this year, our magnificent National Assembly building burnt down leaving this Sixth Parliament homeless.

While the cause of the fire remains a mystery, the extent of the damage is concerning. It is evident that there is a litany of failures by those tasked with safeguarding our beloved Parliament that got us here. A health and safety audit in 2018 warned of the paucity of systems and processes in place in Parliament. The BDO Transparency Report, commissioned in 2020 and kept hidden for over a year, had two significant, and one critical finding related specifically to fire safety on the parliamentary precinct. The response to this report by the Department of Public Works and Infrastructure has been characterised by a total lack of urgency to self-correct.

An electrical fire in March 2021 provided an opportunity for introspection and thus highlighted some of the issues with respect to fire safety on the parliamentary precinct. Ten months later, not one of the recommendations that followed has been implemented. Littered with excuses, Minister De Lille's

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department's response has been negligible. Not a single identified failing rectified. In fact, the report from the City of Cape Town fire department indicated critical breaches in fire safety that contributed to the magnitude of the January fire - that the valves for the sprinkler system were closed, that the fire doors were latched open and that the only alarm that was triggered was in a neighbouring building and activated after the fire department was already on the scene.

Mr President, this is certainly not indicative of a capable state. This is a state that is incompetent and deleterious, and wholly lacking in action and urgency.

Yesterday, Minister De Lille announced that the Coega Development Corporation has been appointed to conduct an assessment on the damage caused by the fire. Minister De Lille promised us independent experts. What we appear to have is a regularly utilised public works implementing agent, with tenuous specialist engineering credentials but extremely powerful ANC connections. Experts! Conceivably. Independent! Not so much.

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Mr President, you spoke several times in your address of a need for consensus. You stated that and I quote:

The state must create an environment in which the private sector can invest and unleash the dynamism of the economy.

Excellent concept. But let us do a reality check: Abagold is a company that cultivates abalone – the most sought after seafood in the world. They have been based in Hermanus for 23 years. Three years ago, they started the process of renewing their lease with the Department of Public Works and Infrastructure, which comes due now in June of this year. One would think that their proactive approach would have seen this process resolved timeously and effortlessly. One would be wrong. I have submitted two different questions to the Minister on this. I have written to the department on their behalf. Minister De Lille herself has been directly engaged on the matter during a visit to the Hermanus Harbour and the lease has still not been renewed. The 450 permanent, sustainable jobs created by business, hang in the balance. So, instead of creating an enabling environment for the unleashing of dynamism, your government is strangling private enterprise through inefficiency, bureaucracy and a total lack of urgency.

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Meeting the accommodation needs of its client departments is a fundamental role of the Department of Public Works and Infrastructure. And yet, these needs are at best, being met without any sense of urgency or care. And at worst, just not being met at all. The department has spent R872 million on the Telkom Towers Building in Tshwane to house the SA Police Service, SAPS. Six years, since the inception of the project, these extremely expensive offices remain unoccupied.

In the meantime, 51 detectives and two support staff in the Florida SAPS in Johannesburg have been working from one hall for three years because there has been a complete lack of urgency by all role-players to solve their accommodation needs. Similarly, we have correctional services personnel who work with parolees they are housed in a privately leased building in Qgeberha which is so appalling that the Department of Employment and Labour shut it down in 2020. The Department of Public Works and Infrastructure, devoid of any solutions, sent them back. These offices cost us R70 000 a month.

Mr President, on Thursday night you said that and I quote, "Government must work for the people". Perhaps, you should have been more specific. Government should use the resources

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entrusted to it, to provide the best possible service to the people it serves.

The citizens of the town of Hoedspruit go days without water almost every month because the Department of Public Works and Infrastructure and the local and district municipalities see absolutely no need to find a solution to the water provision for the town. There are very real, very possible solutions to this crisis, but it requires action and urgency – both sorely lacking.

We have the Village of Hope – a visionary project which will, on completion, house up to 1 200 orphans in Hartebeespoort, eight years after it was approved, the transfer of land to the project by the Department of Public Works and Infrastructure has still not been facilitated and the private sector funders having already invested upwards of R150 million are unwilling to plough any more money into the project as it has no security of tenure. This is a concrete measure to address poverty, inequality and unemployment. And instead of supporting the project, Minister De Lille and company seems hell-bent on obstructing it.

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Mr President, if we are ever to achieve a new consensus – based on action and not just words, our first step needs to be to build mutual trust. As the examples I have mentioned today show, we cannot trust this government to look after its employees, its partners or those who are creating jobs. We cannot trust this government to look after the very structures that house it. We cannot trust this government to work in a meaningful way for its people. And without trust, this consensus you seek will remain ever elusive.

What we need is an executive that serves all the people of this country, not just their party or, in Minister De Lille's case, her benefactor's party. We need a public service that embodies service excellence led by servant leaders who take pride in their work and deliver a dignified experience to our people. We need a government spurred to action and focused on delivery. We need the Minister of the Department Public Works and Infrastructure to fulfil her mandate – urgently and with no excuses.

When we have this, we will be on the way to a capable, ethical and developmental state, built on a new consensus that the DA

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can get behind. Until then, we have only words. I thank you.
[Applause.]

Mr A M SHAIK EMAM: Hon Speaker, President of the Republic of South Africa, Deputy President and hon members, with limited time, let me start off by saying, I think one of the things we need to accept is that currently, South Africa is in a crisis. We have had state capture, we continue to have state capture, experts are saying we are about to have a state collapse in this country, and more importantly what according to experts is eminent is a state overthrow or a coup.

Clearly, let us not underpin or downplay the seriousness of what is currently happening in the country. Starting from the July unrests, to the burning of Parliament, to the hacking of the Deeds Office, to the holding of hostage of Ministers, to the fire at St Georges Cathedral, let us not underpin the seriousness of what is happening.

However, my message today particularly to the ruling party is this: Whether we like it or not, you need to accept that whatever happens in your part affects all 59 million people in this country. So, my plea to you is: To put your differences

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aside to agree to disagree, but put South Africans first. If we do not do this, South Africa will be a thing of the past.

Now there are many political parties that have said a whole lot here today. However, maybe what we need to do today is to embrace those like some of the comments and suggestions that have come from the DA. Embrace them! Let us agree to disagree! However, let us do what is of the best interest of South Africans and its country! That is what we should be doing! [Applause.]

Let us forget about race and let us forget about everything else and let us put South Africa first.

You know when you talk about the economy you remind me of my late leader Mrs Z kaMagwaza-Msibi, may her soul rest in peace – when she said what South Africa needs is a mixed economy, the very same words of our great leader Chris Hani. And that that is what we have. So why can't we come together, own the resources and let the people of this country own the resources. However, let us also encourage what the President is saying and I am glad he has said this. For the first time we have heard it in many years that it is not the

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responsibility of government to create jobs, but a conducive environment to create jobs for the private sector. And we must welcome that! [Applause.]

However, Mr President, I want to tell you what you have wrong! That the very same suit that you were bragging about, you are correct, it is made in South Africa, but what you do not know Mr President, it is made in South Africa by Chinese business employing foreigners at 20 cents an item and R300 a week. That is how our employees are exploited in South Africa. However, I hear people in this gallery applauding the Chinese.

The exploitation of China continues in South Africa unabated. Where is the Human Rights Commission? Nowhere to be seen. And I dare anyone of you to come with me and I will show you first hand. [Applause.]

I am not sure if the Minister of Employment and Labour is here, because he promised me to meet with me to show him. I want to know how many Chinese businesses has he found violating the labour laws in this country. How many? How many of his labour inspectors has he apprehended who might have

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gone there and seen the way our employees have been treated and did very little or nothing about it.

Now Mr President, let us talk about the issue of corruption. It continues today unabated. Right from local government election. It is now payback time for parties that benefitted from the private sector and that performed exceptionally well in this election. Mr President: What are you doing? To close those gaps once and for all.

When it comes to deploying people, I want to suggest: Let it be the responsibility of independent persons. Let it not be the responsibility of any politician anywhere in the country, if we want to get people with the necessary capacity, the ethics and the values that can take South Africa forward.

Now Mr President the question that we need to ask: Why would anybody want to invest in a country so lawless at the moment? We fought for freedom, you could not move and go anywhere you wanted to. You could not live anywhere you want to. Now that we have that freedom, we still cannot go to anywhere you want and you still cannot live anywhere you want to. So, what is

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the purpose and the benefit of this freedom? Mr President ...
Thank you very much. [Time expired.]

Mr Cllr D De VOS: Speaker of the National Assembly, the hon Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, the Chairperson of the NCOP, hon Amos Masondo, your Excellency President Cyril Ramaphosa, his Excellency Deputy President David Mabuza, hon Premiers of the nine provinces, hon members and fellow South Africans.

Madam Speaker, I speak here on behalf of the fraternity of local government, cognizant of the increased expectation by local communities of the role of the local arm of state in making a meaningful impact on development.

Former President Nelson Mandela in his address to the Inaugural Conference of Salga, in November 1996 challenged organised local government when he said and I quote:

"You have the task of doing whatever is necessary to ensure that our new local government system serves the needs of our communities. You have the responsibility to make their voice heard and to provide an effective instrument for them to improve their lives."

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It is against the backdrop of these words that as Salga we want to respectfully submit to this Joint Sitting that in order to achieve a local government that is capable of playing a developmental and transformative role if we are to reverse the legacy of apartheid, to ensure that all spheres of government support local government, as the sphere closest to the people and the implementation level of government, to play a fundamental role in building a capable state.

As we emerge from 1 November 2021 local government elections, serving our people should be at the centre of our actions during this 5th term of local government. It is our belief that we must engage people in a co-production and co-creation towards a sustainable country to eradicate poverty, address inequality to ensure prosperity for all, considering the diversity of the people and acknowledging culture and indigenous knowledge.

While it is true that several serious and complex challenges persist in our municipalities, by and large local government has delivered on extending services such as water, sanitation and electricity and therefore immensely contributed towards a better life for the majority of our people. Drawing on the

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lessons learnt from the 25-year local government transformation journey, there is a need to place municipalities at the centre of our efforts to deal with the persistent challenges presented by our rapidly changing world.

Madam Speaker, the role of cities given their importance as engines for economic growth and job creation in transforming the space economy and reversing our spatial legacy is key. This comes with particular reflection on the powers and functions necessary to execute the mandate and why devolution and assignment is critical to the management of integrated spaces.

Madam Speaker, we are excited at the President's announcement to commence the process of auctioning of the high frequency communications spectrum. As Salga we call upon all operators to rally behind this initiative. Not only will this open the market for new players but more importantly it will unlock opportunities for rural and remote municipalities to access faster internet connectivity.

This connectivity will ensure that these municipalities do not lag behind the digital age. As the world rapidly embraces 5G

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and its associated applications, this initiative has huge potential to ensure that we become at par with more developed areas in the country and as a consequence be more competitive.

Madam Speaker, the rapid deployment of broadband infrastructure across all municipalities through establishing a standard model for the granting of municipal permissions is long overdue. These reforms will indeed revolutionise our technological development. Salga therefore calls for more direct participation by municipalities in the provision of broadband and fibre.

Firstly, the bylaws should not only be limited in the introduction of a uniform approval process of wayleaves for fibre rollout. Instead, they should also provide a framework for multiple modalities for public private partnerships with broadband operators to ensure a far more financially sustainable revenue model for municipalities.

A secondary dividend of this approach is that municipalities would then be able to compel their partners to also provide some basic internet to its communities more in particular, the indigent. For example, the PPPs, public-private partnerships,

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would allow municipalities to participate in the provision of internet connectivity, including providing its own infrastructure to be used in provisioning of this service. In exchange, basic or minimum acceptable internet can be provided to indigent groups free of charge.

Furthermore, Madam Speaker, as municipalities seek to be more financially resilient and seek to diversify revenue streams, it is our view that municipalities should be empowered and funded to rollout fibre to the home using their existing infrastructure.

This is a call in line with our submission that broadband should be the 5th revenue generating utility. Enabling infrastructure already exist in a number of municipalities including rural municipalities where fibre can be rolled out to the homes with ease and speed. This can be funded through several instruments, to accelerate this rollout in areas that have been neglected by private operators.

Lastly, we call for Salga to be empowered to drive this approach as a sector-wide programme and coordinate this work through centralised officer through its digital unit. This

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will further ensure that downstream solutions that are fit for purpose for developmental government are enabled. This includes smart infrastructure, smart services, smart homes, smart planning, and ultimately smart communities and cities.

Madam Speaker, recent engagements in the IGR, Intergovernmental Relations, space have largely focused on debts owed by municipalities to Eskom, Water Boards and Water Trading Entities. Less attention and focus has been on municipal consumer debts which amounted to R264.7 billion as at 30 September 2021, of which government debt constitutes approximately R19.6 billion and households as the largest component constitutes approximately R186.6 billion.

We remain concerned with the impact of this consumer debt on the financial sustainability of municipalities. The situation is further exacerbated by the reality that the current state of local government revenue, compared to the assumptions that underpinned the financial model presented in the Local Government White Paper are not aligned.

Both potential and actual revenue collected by municipalities fall far short of the assumptions in debt planning,

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implementation, management and expenditure demands placed on local government were radically extended whilst per capita revenue based to fund those demands was radically reduced. A significant number of municipalities will never come close to that target under the current fiscal framework.

Madam Speaker, it the recent actions by the City of Tshwane to disconnect non-paying ratepayers comes as no surprise. These actions are in line with a standing Salga resolution that advocates for municipalities to urgently and aggressively enforce credit control management measures.

This in our view is to be done in two phases. Firstly, targeting properties and businesses, through disconnection and a second phase that includes rigorous analysis of the gross debt and restructure debts to see realistically collectable debts and those that could be considered for write off or repeal as historical uncollectable, not forgetting the installation of pre-paid meters to mitigate against the raking up of excessive bills.

Madam Speaker, whilst this in our view is a step towards more financially sustainable municipalities, bold measures are

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needed to curb unviable municipalities, ensure municipalities collect and better manage their customers and national interventions are taken to ensure that this growing debt situation does not undermine the solvency of local government.

As we have done in previous debates on the SONA, we once more, caution against a piecemeal approach in solving municipal financial sustainability. This would include current considerations to amend the Electricity Regulation Act. For instance, the long outstanding matter pertaining to municipalities' constitutional executive authority for the electricity distribution function requires that the necessary amendments are likewise effected to the Electricity Regulation Act to factor this reality. In so doing, we would take a huge step towards resolving municipal debt.

Madam Speaker, following through on previous commitments that created heightened expectations at a local level, we are pleased with the President's announcement of a national rural roads programme. We are of the view that if properly designed and implemented, it will be a massive public works programme in municipalities thus creating job opportunities for many

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young people, particularly in the context of the current state of the economy.

As I conclude Hon Speaker, allow me to remind this Joint Sitting of the 1998 White Paper on Local Government vision that and I quote:

"Local government has a critical role to play in rebuilding local communities and environments, as the basis for a democratic, integrated, prosperous and truly non-racial society."

Whereas the journey of local government over the past 25 years in South Africa has been an imperfect transition, this vision remains relevant and we therefore call upon all spheres of government and stakeholders to partner with us to achieve this noble objective. I thank you.

Mr I M SILEKU: Hon speaker, my name is Sileku.

The SPEAKER: My apologies, hon Sileku.

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Mr I M SILEKU: Hon Speaker, hon President, hon Deputy President, hon members, fellow South Africans, ...

Afrikaans:

President Ramaphosa se staatsrede van 2022 gee vir ons hoop. Nou wil ek vir die President die waarheid vertel oor die rol wat munisipaliteite behoort te speel in die opbouing van omgewings, wat ekonomiese groei bevorder. En die waarheid is dat meeste van ons land se munisipaliteite eenvoudig nie daartoe in staat is of voorbereid is om die President se hervormingsplanne te implementeer nie.

English:

The President has finally seen the light and agreed with the DA on the fact that the state, including municipalities, do not create jobs. This is the role of the private sector and what we need from the state is for them to make it easier for businesses to thrive.

Resurrecting new infrastructure in municipalities in an attempt to provide services, growth and development environments will be the biggest challenge of the success of the President's reform plans to create prosperous rolling

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economies. I am encouraged that the President mentioned this in his Sona.

The next goal is to facilitate closely-knit and integrated spheres of government between our national, provincial and local governments. The mandates and effectiveness of municipalities will be extremely important to achieve this.

This approach of an integrated participatory governance of the different spheres is already embedded in the Western Cape government and where the DA governs. The Western Cape provincial government established synergy between provincial, local governments and participating national departments. This has already resulted in economic growth and development environments. [Applause.]

Last year, the DA campaigned to have many failing key competencies under national government devolved so that competent provincial governments such as the Western Cape can provide the services that national government clearly cannot. [Applause.] Our people are not safe, due to a failed police force. On 9 September, last year, we had the debate on the devolution of powers of SAPS to provinces. I said then and I

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am saying it again, when we talk about the safety of our people, we don't play politics. Hon Cele always comes here and fails to protect our citizen, instead it is about politics.

Just last week, a municipal official, who I used to serve with before I was a councillor in Grabouw and who used to be a prominent ANC member, Solomzi Ntwana was gunned down in front of his house with his three-year-old son. Therefore, when we talk about devolution of powers, we are talking about the safety of our citizens.

Another issue is the non-existent rail commuter system and a power utility that keeps asking South Africans to pay more for a service they cannot even render.

Afrikaans:

Wat 'n skande!

English:

Once the Western Cape's mandates over SAPS, land belonging to Public Works and Rural Development, and transport infrastructure is broadened, the economic growth trajectory will increase exponentially. I urge the President to act in

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the best interest of the country and not his party's addiction to control, and allow South Africans to get the services they need.

Municipalities are at the coalface of supporting local economies and need to be fit for purpose to make the reforms work. Reports from the Auditor General and Ratings Afrika, tell us that the municipalities are depleted and cannot facilitate growth and development.

This country cannot revive itself. Amahlathi Local Municipality in Stutterheim must arrange credit with a local Pick 'n Pay so that their workers can eat.

Afrikaans:

Wat 'n skande!

English:

That is their focus, not service delivery and economic growth.

In the Amathole District Municipality, a female member of the executive mayoral committee was violently dragged from her office. How many female speakers were on this podium? Not even

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one of them condemned this act of gender-based violence. Instead, they came here and bragged about legislation that was signed into law, but they fail to protect their own. What a shame!

Afrikaans:

Ek is nog nie klaar nie.

English:

Let us go to the North West. The Moses Kotane Local Municipality in North West has ...

Afrikaans:

Agb ... [Onhoorbaar.] ... is nou nie hier nie. Hy weet ek was oppad na hom toe.

English:

... since the elections, not succeeded in appointing members of the mayoral committee. The focus is not on service delivery and economic development, but on a battle over positions in the ANC.

Afrikaans:

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Voorsitter, my ouma het my in Beaufort-Wes groot gemaak en ons was gewoond aan munisipale dienslewering. Dit het verander en die fokus is nou op kaderontplooiing en korrupsie.

English:

In the Mossel Bay municipality, political unity lead to a situation where all parties agreed on the appointment of a municipal manager. The DA embraced the involvement of other parties and created political stability, which is a key to building economic conducive environments. If you care to know about the colour and race of the municipal manager, please visit Mossel Bay.

This is not unique to Mossel Bay. This is how it is in the DA-governed Overstrand, Stellenbosch, Cape Town Metro and others. The ANC was rejected in Johannesburg, Tshwane, Ekurhuleni and other metros because they failed to provide services and to grow economies. [Applause.] In Ekurhuleni, mayor Masina was escorted by a municipal vehicle but he had to go home with an uber. What a shame!

The successes in the Western Cape inspired voters to reject the ANC in these metros. They were rejected because the people

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saw the focus on economic growth and service delivery in DA governed entities.

When the President took the oath as the sixth democratically elected President of this country he said: "Yes, South Africa, Thuma Mina".

The people gave him the advantage to stand here and he rewarded us by sending leaders who continue to ruin the economy and municipal service delivery.

Afrikaans:

Ou mense wat nie eens verstaan wat aangaan nie.

English:

The President's men and women acted on the wrong intentions and reality of Thuma Mina: They went in with their long fingers into the tills, instead of giving services.

[Applause.]

For the ANC Thuma Mina is a punch line. For the DA it became a sincere intension and reality and a way of living and governing.

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The DA says to the President, "yes, Thuma Mina," so that we can give all South Africans what the DA gives to the people in the Western Cape and elsewhere. There we already implement what you have articulated in your Sona 2022.

To the hon Minister of Home Affairs, ... [Time expired.] I wanted to give a message ... [Interjections.] [Applause.]

The SPEAKER: Order! We are in a NA Chamber; we are not at a concert!

The MINISTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND INNOVATION:
Madam Speaker, hon President of the Republic and the Deputy President, hon members ...

IsiZulu:

Ngiyamangala ukuthi labantu beqembu eliphikisayo abazokhuluma la bakhuluma ngoKhongolose nohulumeni, abakhulumi nhlobo ngabo. Ubuwelewele.] Kanti nithunywe ukuthi nizokwenzani lapha? Labantu abanivotela bebethi nizokwenzani? Nazokhuluma ngathi esikhundleni sokuthi nikhulume ngani.

English:

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I wish to start by thanking the President for a very comprehensive state of the nation address, mapping a way forward to transform our country and build a better life for all.

As contained in the speech, government remains resolute in expanding the post school education and training system, supported by a careful and systematic enrolment planning, whose objective is to increase the participation rates of our youth, especially black youth and women.

According to international university rankings, the South African university system is the strongest on the continent, but not only that, it is also the single largest university system that also remains public. It is home to some of the highly respected universities in the continent and globally.

To ensure that we develop the entire public university system, we continue to intensify the implementation of the University Capacity Development Programme to improve student access, success, and the quality of teaching, learning and research.

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My Department of Higher Education and Training and that of Science and Innovation are also busy finalising the Skills Strategy and Innovation Strategies respectively to support the Economic Reconstruction and Recovery Plan, ERRP, that is led by our President.

Indeed, as the President has outlined in the state of the nation address, through our skills development system, we will be offering about 100 000 opportunities, including but not limited to, learnerships and internships. The primary aim of these is to assist the transition of our young people from learning to working.

The President further announced that 10 000 Technical and Vocational Education and Training, TVET college graduates will be offered workplace experience so that they complete their qualifications, thus improving their prospects for employability or starting their own small businesses. This is the beginning of opportunities that we plan to roll out every year so we address the need for what is sometimes called in service training for TVET college students. All of these 10 000 students or learners will be paid a learnership

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allowance as regulated in terms of the National Minimum Wage Act.

We have also established entrepreneurship hubs at TVET colleges to support students to move into self-employment after completion of their programmes. Both our universities and TVET colleges curricula are being reviewed and strengthened so that they are aligned to the economy. We have also initiated different programmes aimed at encouraging young people to become artisans that are so desperately needed in the South African economy. In 2018-19 financial year we trained and registered about 29 982 artisans, and we will work harder given the fact that this programme was disrupted by COVID-19.

The ANC-led government has also increased apprenticeship learner grant from R165 000 to R206 000 paid to employers hosting apprentices for the duration of such apprenticeships. This year we will also continue to improve our educational outcomes by supporting students to ensure that teaching and learning continues. In order to support teaching and learning in the wake of COVID-19, last year we provided devices such as laptops and data for approximately over 90% of our students.

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[Applause.] We also provided Wi-Fi to students who were allowed back on campus. We have begun to turn the tide in reversing the backlogs in student accommodation, both at our universities and TVET colleges. We will make further announcements later on this.

Let me also report that since the announcement by the President in February 2020, I have appointed a Ministerial Task Team to oversee work to conduct feasibility studies on the two new universities, the University of Science and Innovation in Ekurhuleni and the Crime Detection University in Gauteng, and a final report in this regard will be submitted by the end of this year.

Hon Speaker and members, by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO, standards, South Africa continues to spend a large share of its national budget on education, both schooling and post-schooling. It is important for the DA to listen to this.

Spending on education as a proportion of overall government expenditure, 22,7% in 2019-20 and 7,2% of gross domestic product, GDP, far exceeds the benchmarks set by UNESCO which

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recommends allocating 15 to 20% of public spending to education and 4 to 6% of GDP to education. This year we will be able fund all qualifying students on the DHET bursary through the National Student Financial Aid Scheme, NSFAS, scheme – all those who have been admitted for funded programmes at public TVET colleges and universities.

Through NSFAS, government has awarded approximately R171 billion in loans and bursaries to students since 1991. As at 31 December 2021 NSFAS disbursed R38,7 billion to about 800 000 university and TVET College students, representing an increase of 316% from 2015 to 2021. It is a significant milestone for our government and reaffirms our commitment to expanding the frontiers of education to working-class and poor families.

We are also engaging both the public and private components of the financial sector to come up with a funding model to support students in the 'missing middle' income bracket and post graduate students who cannot secure funding from the National Research Foundation.

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I also wish to say that the President has decisively led South Africa to play a leadership role to the global science and innovation response to COVID-19 in areas such as the development of vaccines, genomic surveillance, drugs and diagnostic tools.

Through cutting edge research done through the KwaZulu-Natal Research Innovation and Sequencing Platform, KRISP, we have made world class contribution in science in fighting COVID-19. [Applause.] Some of our other important achievements in the science and innovation space include identification of new COVID-19 variants thus leading the world in this regard, the completion and commissioning of the 64-dish MeerKAT radio telescope, and we have developed the South African hydrogen society roadmap, which the President spoke about and we are launching this the day after tomorrow to identify the socio-economic benefits that hydrogen can bring as alternative source of energy in our country.

Government has allocated a budget of just under R30 million for the Platinum Valley project which will cover the Johannesburg-to-Durban corridor, and the OR Tambo International Airport to King Shaka Airport. As the Department

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of Science and Innovation, in conjunction with the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, we successfully launched the three Maritime Domain Awareness Satellite constellation at an investment of R27 million.

This constellation will provide us with cutting-edge, very high frequency data exchange communication systems to the country's maritime industry, including the monitoring of the movement of ships on our seas as well as better management of our fishing resources. Who can doubt that the country's future is in good hands under the stewardship of President Ramaphosa. When the President calls for all of us to unite behind the priorities of the country it is precisely because he knows that it is only the African National Congress that is capable of leading this country to create a better life for all.

Neither the DA nor the EFF are capable of playing that role because both of them share some of the worse forms of racial chauvinism that will not help us to build a South Africa for all. Despite the fact that, hon Shivambu, the EFF is only an accident of our political history. Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

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Mr M P GALO: Hon Speaker, in the course of our preliminary research drive to comprehensively respond to the President's state of the nation address, we were introduced to the contents of a book written by Qaanita Hunter and her colleagues titled *Eight Days in July*. Major General Nonhlanhla Zulu's role during this period is reported to have shaped the course of our young democracy which could have been plunged into a civil war. As the leader of the AIC, we salute Major General Nonhlanhla Zulu's innovative leadership. Regrettably, the heroic spirit of Major General Zulu cannot be said of the exile steeped ANC and its blunt government.

To drive this point home, we had a look at the use of the word "establish". In all of the President's speeches, dating as far back as 2018, the word appears more than 40 times in just less than six years. Figures don't lie. The President has no vision. He has established a parallel "kitchen" Cabinet though a number of agencies, commissions and councils more than he has delivered on his faint promises. Perhaps let me clarify this or be fair to the hon President. President, you do have a vision but the vision you have is clouded and captured by the demon of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is bad for the poor people and the working class. Mr President, you should know

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better as the former founder of the National Union of Mineworkers. You have outsourced the executive power and established the following "kitchen" Cabinet structures, the project management office, the infrastructure and investment unit and the policy and research service, duplicating the work of other line function in government departments. The pathway management network, a network that mimics the work of the National Youth Development Agency, NYDA. The list is long. To save time; let me continue.

The President is sleeping on the job instead of replicating the Tanzanian model on competition policy which is buttressed by that country's Fair Trade Practices Act. He is occasionally in the habit of appointing retired managers, and this time around to rescue the small and medium-sized services sector. The Rwandan Fair Trade Practices Act prohibits and restricts practices, regulates monopolies including the concentration of economic power and prices. The noise about red tapes must be led by this House - by the Members of Parliament through a series of concerted structural reform and not through irregular appointments of retired managers.

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We are equally disappointed with the posture of the ANC government regarding structural and pro-poor reforms. Our disappointment is shared by many people, including Thula Simpson. Simpson writes that the first democratically elected President of South Africa once he had met the Chinese Premier Li Peng on occasion of the World Economic Forum in Davos on 2 February 1992, changed the track and abandoned the ANC radical economic policies. [Time expired.] ... delights of ordinary South Africans. [Time expired.] [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS: Deputy Chairperson of the National Council of provinces, Madam Speaker, hon President, the Deputy President and the Chairperson of the NCOP, it is interesting that yesterday the legend of the fiddling Nero whilst Rome burnt was invoked. Those who have read history, and not only heard of convenient quotations, would know that Emperor Nero was popular with lower class commoners in Rome and the provinces, but he was deeply resented by the Roman aristocracy. Despite concerted and almost successful efforts to vilify Nero through fabrications and exaggeration from dubious and partisan sources, the British Museum has opened an exhibition that debunks the manipulation and lies about Nero.

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So, hon Gwarube, the quotation about Nero you used yesterday is based on manipulation and lies that are over 2 000 years. It is a legend. On our part, we won't allow you the DA and your ilks to manipulate and distort facts to fabricate a narrative that suits your political agenda about the leadership of President Ramaphosa, any of us and the governing ANC. We admit that the process of rebuilding and renewing the ANC has not been easy but we are certain that we are now on firmer ground.

Equally, we have acknowledged that over the years our record for service delivery has not always been glorious but President Ramaphosa has committed us to visible improvement of our performance. I rise today in this debate to give testament to South Africans about the improvement in performance of their government as we strive to deliver services to all and not only the privileged and the rich like what happens here in the Western Cape.

In his state of the nation address, President Ramaphosa announced that our communications regulator, the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa, Icasa, will commence with the auctioning of the high frequency communication

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spectrum in March 2022. This is despite the ongoing litigation because the withdrawal of part A from court allows the auction to proceed and further gives confidence that the parties can find each other outside of court on outstanding matters that are part of part B. This progress did not happen by coincidence; it is a result of continuous engagements to find common ground with all stakeholders.

The licensing of the high frequency spectrum will not only improve the ability of mobile telecommunications operators to build robust telecommunications with better penetration and reach. Through Icasa, we have set social service obligations to connect within 36 months of the licensing of spectrum, all outstanding public schools, 18 520, as indicated by Minister Motshekga, public health facilities which includes clinics and hospitals which are 5 731 and offices of traditional leadership or traditional authorities that hold certificates of recognition which are 8 241.

The extension of the broadband connectivity to traditional authorities is part government's commitment to strengthen the role of traditional leaders as service delivery centres of government. Our traditional leaders did a sterling job in

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supporting government programmes during the fight against COVID-19 pandemic and a programme to strengthen their capacity is also beneficial to rural development.

In the past, we have seen the telecommunications operators ignoring social obligations and opting to pay negligible penalties instead of connecting our people. This time around, Icasa will include the fulfilment of social service obligations as part of the licensing conditions without an option of a penalty but the spectrum license itself would be at risk.

Although the journey has been a long, we are looking forward to the positive benefits associated with release of spectrum which include reduced costs of data and voice communications for our people. Of course, we are anticipating that the national fiscus will also benefit in excess of R8 billion from the proceeds of the auction.

This spectrum is expected to unlock economic transformation not only for the telecommunications sector but to service other industries such as mining, agriculture, and manufacturing. We expect industry growth of between R4 billion

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to R6 billion in 2023. We are also working to Radio Frequency Spectrum Policy for embedding 5th generation network and preparations for advances to 6th and 7th generation networks. This will allow us prescribe minimum data to the home as data has become the new utility like water and electricity that our home needs. At some point every South Africa household will have access to 10 gigabytes per month without failure, whether they are rich or poor, or whether they are employed or unemployed because that is what this government will deliver.

Part of the challenges that have bedeviled the auctioning of the high demand spectrum has been the availability sub-1GB spectrum that is to be released through the Broadcast Digital Migration programme. The President in his address reported that this programme is firmly underway and on course to be completed by 31 March 2022. I am happy to report that we have concluded analogue switch-off in the five provinces which are Free-State, Northern Cape, North West, Mpumalanga and Limpopo.

We are on course to conclude the remaining four provinces during months of February and the March - two provinces during February, and two provinces during the month of March. To date, the Analogue Switch-off Programme has supported 396

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installer companies who have created 3 109 job opportunities to locals. These numbers of both companies participating and jobs created will double by the time when we conclude the digital migration. These companies form the basis from where we build digital technology businesses in our townships and rural areas.

In addition, we have commenced the process of frequency Restacking in provinces where we have concluded analogue switch-off. To date, we have concluded frequency restacking in Free State and Northern Cape, and will be concluding the North West during February and we will commence with frequency restacking in the provinces of Mpumalanga and Limpopo in the month of March.

The President narrated the excitement of TV viewers who would not have access to better quality TV picture or additional TV channels in provinces where analogue switch-off has been concluded, but we are going to do more. Digital migration in other countries has resulted in the boom of the creative industries with more TV channels and radio stations for artists, producers, and others having more platforms to showcase their talents and generate income. When currently,

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the broadcast digital migration has increased available true free to air TV channels from four to 12, we are committing ourselves to providing capacity to carry 18 additional TV channels in the year 2022-23 - the one we are starting in April in case members are not calculating properly - with capacity for additional 36 TV channels by 2023-24 financial year.

By year 2025, South Africa will have capacity for 102 TV channels and these are not only for the SABC but for community TV, and new commercial TV platforms. When we undertook a generational mission during our period as leaders and members of the ANC Youth League, the mission of economic freedom in our lifetime, we undertook as our aspiration that a black child cannot continue to be a job seeker but we shall strive to create conditions that will enable a black child to be a job creator. We have always been clear that our goal is to own the means of production and not merely to be providers of labour. So, to the creative industry - we say get ready. We are here!

IsiZulu:

Sila! Nizoba neziteshi zenu zikamabonakude.

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English:

We are fully aware that the current TV and radio licensing conditions as provided in the Electronic Communications Act are not only onerous for new entrants but also out of sync with technological advances. We shall this year submit to this House, a Bill to bring the Electronic Communications Act in line with the goals of delivering a digital economy that is inclusive. In addition, we are awaiting Minister Patel to publish shortly, a notice for the prohibition of importation of analogue TV sets and this will allow us to support South Africa's production of digital TVs as we expand the market because we don't want to use decoders in the future, we want the TV sets that are enabled. [Applause.]

The Department of Communications and Digital Technologies is rolling out the second phase of SA Connect with an expanded scope to connect communities. In the next three years, we will connect 44 600 government sites, including schools, health facilities, libraries and Thusong Service Centres and the traditional tribal authority offices that I have indicated earlier. In the same period, we will roll out more than 33 000 Community WiFi and broadband to households.

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To support economic transformation, the department has revised the plan to include small, medium and micro-sized enterprises, SMMEs, and other network service providers such as Internet Service Providers, ISPs, the Wireless Access Providers, the Mobile Virtual Network Operators, MVNOs, and other SMMEs in the networking space to participate in the delivery of broadband to communities, household connections, and also connecting our government sites. It is expected that 3 700 jobs will be created with participation of ISPs, MVNOs and SMMEs. This is part of the commitment to ensure that all South Africans have access to the internet by 2024. And we are not saying it will start in 2024, but we are saying it is starting now.

[Applause.]

Our work to broaden and strengthen the creative industries through the expansion of broadcasting platforms, is anchored on a sustainable, competitive and strong SABC. There is a task team comprised of representatives from the SABC, the Department of Communications and Digital Technologies and National Treasury that meets monthly to monitor the utilisation of the bailout funds against the progress of implementing the turnaround plan of the SABC.

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Accordingly, the SABC implemented 96% of the key actions of its turnaround plan. This has been achieved against great odds, including a devastating global pandemic, a tough economic environment ... [Time expired.] [Interjections.]

Hon members, I need to take this platform to address the matter of the state capture where my name has been used without ... [Interjections.] ... due regard of the matters. I need to indicate that I will co-operate with any investigation that is being undertaken by the President. I also need to indicate that the ... [Interjections.] ... findings against me ... Thank you.

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Thank you, hon Minister. Order, hon members! [Interjections.] Hon members, may I be allowed as a presiding officer ... Hon members, if you sit this side, you will see that there are three clocks, and the one on the Table still has three seconds, that has been corrected. I haven't called you yet, can you just give me a moment.

Hon members, earlier when the House sitting commenced, members were requested to keep their masks on during the sitting. So,

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we are just once again calling on all members that they adhere to that regulation that during the House sitting we should continue to wear our masks. [Interjections.] Thank you. The reason why the presiding officer and the person that is on the platform is not wearing the mask is to make it easier for those that are interpreting the sign language to read their lips - that is the reason, for those that are asking me now. Hon Masipa, you can come to the platform. [Interjections.] No one called for order. If the person wants to speak, he must call for order, and no one called for order.

Mr N L S KWANKWA: I don't have a microphone. So, I called for order but you couldn't hear me.

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: You have been standing with the microphone in your hand but you said nothing.

Mr N L S KWANKWA: But it was not on. I don't operate the microphone, Chair!

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Now, if you call for order, we will allow you the point of order ...

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Mr N L S KWANKWA: I did call for order. I am calling for order even now.

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Yes, continue.

Mr N L S KWANKWA: Deputy Chairperson, what you are saying is problematic for the purpose of this gathering. We cannot have people who are going to be treated as VIPs in this sitting.

[Interjections.] There is a tendency ... No, allow me to finish.

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: You can finish ...

[Interjections.] I said nothing.

Mr N L S KWANKWA: But you are already preparing a report.

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: I said nothing! I am listening to you.

Mr N L S KWANKWA: There is a tendency here, Deputy Chairperson, of always giving people from the ruling party additional time, especially Ministers, but when our time runs

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out as the opposition, we are told that it has run out. We are not given additional 30 or 20 seconds to wrap up.

IsiXhosa:

Ayilunganga loo nto.

English:

It must not be done, otherwise we will go and demand that we be given additional time to finish our speeches.

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: We have explained hon member, and if you don't accept the explanation ...

Mr N L S KWANKWA: I am talking about a trend and you are talking about one incident.

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: I explained what happened. I explained.

Mr N L S KWANKWA: Chairperson, I am talking about a trend and you are talking about an incident. There is a difference!

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The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: I have never observed that trend here because it is the first time that I am presiding for the two days. So, I have never observed the trend. Can we call the hon Masipa.

Mr N P MASIPA: House Chair, Alan Weinstein once said that "Listen to a man's words but give his actions more value before you give respect." The President's speech reminded me of a young black farmer, Mr Whernit Dirks, who purchased a 400 farm through the Land Bank with the intention to commercialise it. A year later his farm was hit by a three-year drought. He struggled to honour his yearly bank instalments. The Land Bank initiated the process to repossess his farm. The DA Western Cape Department of Agriculture provided him with a grant whilst GrainSA supported him to fight off the effects of drought. However, as the damage from the drought worsened, he wrote to your Deputy Minister, Mcebisi Skwatsha, seeking help. Nothing came out of it. Minister Skwatsha, not only failed to reply to him, but essentially ignored his email and messages.

Mr President, the response received by Mr Dirks from your Ministers' provincial offices here in the Western Cape was as follows, I quote, "Due to the fact that you bought your farm

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privately, we cannot assist you with anything." In your state of the nation address speech, Mr President, you highlighted the importance of public sector private partnerships, but the truth is your Ministers do not believe in this essential economic building block. The lack of accountability among your Ministers and corrupt ANC-led government has left farmers without help or recourse. Yet, no one is held to account up to date.

The good news is that the DA-led Western Cape governments understand the importance of public private partnerships. They value implementation and accountability. It is through this process that the province has been able to keep comparatively low unemployment when compared to other provinces in the country where ANC rules.

The DA's Western Cape government has set a good example on how to support emerging farmers through public private partnerships. The President's new consensus, which embraces the DA's policy suite, borrows from the WC government's tried and tested red tape reduction, which has been a key initiative in driving investment in this province. Mr President, you

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don't need 100 days to reach consensus; what you seek to achieve is already being implemented here in the Western Cape.

Without basic support systems at policy and infrastructure levels, the agriculture industry will not be able to deliver on its food security mandate, reforms and economic growth. The cadre deployment animal has to be cut from the head in order to deal with cadres who are only motivated by accumulation, debauchery and crass materialism. Mr President, I fully agree that government does not need to create jobs; instead, it is businesses that create jobs.

The lack of reforms in land ownership in rural areas is a big stumbling block towards the meaningful participation of private sector in rural areas creating jobs. Mr President, the truth is that nothing is happening towards reforming land ownership in rural areas. Yet, no one is held to account even Mr Skwatsha who is here tonight.

For businesses to invest meaningfully in rural areas, they need security of tenure. [Applause.] Our people in rural areas migrate to the cities for opportunities leaving villages endowed with land because they cannot use the piece of land

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for economic benefit. It is a fact. Mr President, you mentioned that the country needs well-run ports to export their produce to overseas markets. This is a basic function of a capable state. That your government and your corrupt ANC has failed to fulfil this function, and comrades are still settled in their cushy jobs, is an indictment on your leadership.

[Applause.]

Father Lapsly, a man who lost both his arm during the struggle against apartheid, stated the following at the state of the nation of people's voice, I quote,

Majority of South Africans believed by voting for the ANC, a better life will be delivered for all God's people, today the opposite has happened. Today, apart from the corrupt who are still walking free millions of us are still disillusioned, angry and frustrated. Many are worse off than they were under the apartheid.

While the DA welcomes your invitation for public private partnerships, the corrupt and incompetent ANC cadre remains a hindrance to realising this country's full economic potential.

[Applause.] Mr President, you rightly mentioned that

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horticulture has significant potential in driving job creation. Still, you failed to mention the livestock sector, which easily contributes 50% of the total value of agriculture in terms of turnover. Both the Agricultural Research Council and Onderstepoort Biological Asset are failing the livestock industry. There are no vaccines at the moment. Foot and mouth disease vaccines are being sourced from Botswana instead of being manufactured here. Farmers are at their wits end because of the shortage vaccines. Yet, no one is held to account.

National Treasury approved R500 million for Agricultural Research Council to build a new foot and mouth disease vaccine plant. It is alleged that R100 million was used to upgrade offices, build a toilet and a new canteen for the CEO in the corrupt ANC-led government. Yet, no one is held to account.

The previous board of Onderstepoort Biological products, OBP, hired a capable CEO with knowledge of vaccines. However, while he was busy trying to fix the institution, a new board came in and he was allegedly made to face frivolous charges. The failing of OBP is a threat to animal health and the livestock industry. Your ANC cabinet is mum about it. It is about time that private sector is allowed to produce and distribute vaccines.

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In conclusion, we welcome the public private partnership approach, but it is important that the nonperformers on the right, corrupt and dead wood in your ANC cabinet are dealt with to enable the realisation of South Africa's full economic potential. I thank you. [Applause.]

Ms N NKOMO-RALEHOKO (Gauteng): Thank you, Madam Deputy Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces.

IsiXhosa:

Bendingayazi ukuba kukho abalingisi abangaka apha, waze wandibeka ...

English:

... after this impressionist.

IsiXhosa:

Ngelishwa andinaxesha lingako, bendizakukhe ndiqubisane nala bhuti.

English:

Let me greet you, Madam Speaker of the National Assembly sisi Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, Chairperson of the National Council

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of Provinces baba Masondo, His Excellency the President baba Cyril Ramaphosa, the Deputy President baba D D Mabuza, presiding officers, hon members of the House, ladies and gentlemen, a very good morning ... afternoon, I'm sorry. I'm disturbed ...

IsiXhosa:

... yila ndoda iphaya ngasemva.

English:

However, let me focus.

IsiXhosa:

Ndiphumile kuwo amadoda ngoku.

English:

In his state of the nation address, President Ramaphosa reminded us that, "Government must work for the people. That is why our foremost priority is to build a capable, ethical and developmental state". This statement is born out of a very profound observation lifted from the words of former President Nelson Mandela on the occasion of the state of the nation address on 24 May 1994, where he said:

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And so we must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny ... the purpose that will drive this government shall be the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment, the continuous extension of the frontiers of freedom.

The government has to date, through established practices, successfully developed mechanisms of legal, policy and planning architects to ensure that enabling systems of governance and integrated planning is in place to facilitate and champion development, as well as to ensure that quality services are provided to communities.

The objects of local government contained in the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa are:

Firstly, to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;

Secondly, ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;

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Thirdly, promote social and economic development;

Fourthly, promote a safe and healthy environment; and

Fifthly, encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government.

This is important because a functional and well-oiled state machinery is paramount in ensuring the system of government to deliver on the mandate of the citizenry, to deliver effective service delivery and ensure that provisions of our founding Constitution as it relates to the schedules of the functions of the services are closest to the people, are adhered to and responded to.

We recognise that we have developed world-class recognised law and legislation that enshrines these constitutional rights. We affirm that a strengthened, integrated national and provincial support oversight system over municipalities for the consolidation of an ethical and capable developmental local government is important, now more than ever.

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Since the dawn of our democracy, we have gained invaluable lessons over the last two decades with the institution of the legislative measures we have introduced and with the implementation of institutional practice. With this new dawn and with the implementation of a democratic system of governance, immense opportunities, but equally threats, present itself as democracy grows and people continue to exercise their democratic rights for which our laws foster such with it, with the emergence of a new system of coalition governments. Nowhere is this more pronounced than with the advent of local government's democratic renewal.

The UN's Development Programme refers to good governance as governing systems which are capable, which are responsible, inclusive and transparent. All developed and developing countries need to work continuously towards better governance. Good governance revolves around the following three critical principles. They are transparency, participation and accountability.

Facilitating this vision into action will involve a transition to a more functional and integrated government which is capacitated with professional, responsive and meritocratic

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public servants to strengthen relations and efficiency.

Intergovernmental and citizen engagement is also key enablers of this priority to ensure the joint pursuit of a capable state.

The developmental state we seek to build must provide conditions that grow the economy, conditions that create jobs and conditions that improve society's quality of life in order to eliminate deep poverty, the persistent unemployment that we have and inequality in our country.

A capable state requires effectively co-ordinated state institutions with skilled public servants who are committed to the public good and who are capable of delivering constantly high quality services while prioritising the people in the achievement of the nation's developmental objectives.

Challenges of poor and uneven performance in the machinery of the state are as a consequence due to capacity challenges in local, provincial and national governments. This manifests through the political administrative interface, instability in administrative leadership, skills deficits, the erosion of

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accountability and authority, poor organisational design and low staff morale.

Accordingly, legitimacy crises of the state are compounded by the erosion of trust and confidence in state institutions, as evidenced by the prevalence of violent protests, unfavourable ratings in public opinion surveys and international credit rating agencies.

It is for this reason that our collective urgent task is to build the state and restore trust and pride in public institutions that are predicated on the new consensus that President Cyril Ramaphosa spoke about. We must mobilise society towards building social compacts with key stakeholders on matters of common national interest in order to create public value, build trust and stimulate the energy of citizens via participatory governance mechanisms, dialogues and the delivery of quality public services. These efforts will not bear the desired results unless provincial and national spheres of government strengthen capacity, support and oversight over municipalities, because the central responsibility of municipalities is to work together with

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local communities to find sustainable ways to meet their needs and improve the quality of their lives.

Developmental local government, supported by other spheres of government, must have a major impact on the daily lives of South Africans, and where such is failing, other spheres may have to adapt a more prescriptive approach towards municipal transformation.

Developmental local government has four interrelated characteristics. The first one is that of maximising social development and economic growth. The second one is integrating and co-ordinating. The third one is democratising development and ... leading and learning.

One of the most important methods of achieving greater co-ordination and integration is integrated development planning expressed through the integrated development plans, IDPs, and the one district plan that we have.

Strategies for building sustainable human settlements may differ between localities. It is clear that the establishment of sustainable and lively settlements depends on the co-

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ordination of a range of services and regulations, including land use planning, household infrastructure, environmental management, transport, health, education, safety and security, and housing.

People must be at the centre of community development and municipalities must adopt inclusive approaches to fostering community participation, including strategies aimed at removing obstacles and actively encouraging the participation of marginalised groups in the local community. In the same breath, participatory processes must not become an obstacle to development and be held hostage by narrow interest groups that seek to capture the development process.

In the context of leading and learning, communities must find new ways to sustain their economies, build their societies, protect their environments, improve personal safety in particular for women and children and eliminate poverty. There is no single correct way to achieve these goals and it is precisely at this point that the provincial and national spheres provide the required support.

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In practical terms, municipalities can build social conditions that are favourable to development through building the kind of political leadership that is able to bring together coalitions and networks of local interests that co-operate to realise a shared vision, responsive problem solving and a commitment to working in open partnerships with businesses, trade unions and community-based organisations while ensuring that knowledge and information is required and managed in a way that promotes continuous learning.

National government must provide an overall legislative framework for local government within the general legal framework set out in the Constitution. That includes:

Firstly, establishing criteria for the demarcation of municipal boundaries;

Secondly, the definition of categories of municipalities and types within categories;

Thirdly, making provision for an appropriate division of powers and functions between Category C and Category B of municipalities;

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Fourthly, municipal electoral system and administrative matters;

Fifthly, ensuring that provincial legislation with respect to local government is formulated within a national legislative framework;

Sixthly, provide a framework of intergovernmental relations, including the structures, procedures and mechanisms to promote and facilitate positive intergovernmental relations, and resolution of intergovernmental disputes within and between the spheres of government;

Seventhly, providing a framework of municipal capacity building and supporting municipalities;

Eighthly, the national sphere of government is responsible for the fiscal provisions for local government, including managing the system of intergovernmental fiscal relations;

Ninthly, situating local government's fiscal powers within the national tax structure and passing legislation to determine local government's equitable share of revenue raised

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nationally and on a range of other related topics such as municipal budget forms and processes; and

Finally, they must also monitor and do oversight in order to ensure that the necessary levels of compatibility, uniformity, consistency ... and national government needs to develop an overall framework for a system of monitoring and oversight within which other organs of state, particularly provincial governments, will perform these functions.

Provincial government is primarily responsible for the intervention. National government will also need to intervene, together with the provincial government, in instances where a provincial government fails to intervene or where national fiscus resources are implicated or where such intervention is required.

We need to maintain economic unity ... [Inaudible.] ... national standards, national security or to prevent unreasonable actions that are prejudicial to a province or the country as a whole. Provincial governments must tailor their approaches of supporting local government according to specific conditions which prevail in each area, which include

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a strategic role with respect to developing a vision and framework for integrated economic, social and community development in the province through the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy. They should ensure that the municipal IDPs combine the form of a viable development framework across the province and are vertically integrated with the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy.

Provincial government has the responsibility of processing grants to municipalities for bulk infrastructure, housing and public works, and must ensure that municipal planning and budgeting processes give priority to the basic needs of the community and promote the social and economic development of a community as required by section 153 of the Constitution.

In terms of intergovernmental role, provincial government must play an intergovernmental role in relation to local government by establishing forums and processes for the purpose of including local government in decision-making processes which affect ...

Provincial government can promote horizontal co-operation and co-ordination between municipalities in the province and ...

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[Inaudible.] ... contained in section 155(7) of the Constitution, which gives national and provincial government the legislative and executive authority to see to the effects of the performance of municipalities, of their functions in respect of matters listed in schedules 4 and 5 by regulating exercises by municipalities in their executive authority. By the way, they already play a critical role in monitoring the financial status of municipalities through the provincial task teams of project viability. This monitoring role may be extended. Provinces have a critical role in building the financial management capacity of municipalities and intervening with necessary ... to ensure local financial viability.

Their ability to effectively monitor local government can be enhanced through tabling the Auditor-General's reports on each municipality, together with municipal comments at the Provincial Public Accounts Committee. All the provincial members of the executive council for finance are also represented on the budget forums. Hence, they play a key role in determining budget allocations for local government.

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Provincial government has an interventionist role with powers of intervening in the affairs of local government in order to provide, safeguard, protect ... [Inaudible.] ... standards.
[Applause.]

Afrikaans:

Mnr A ARNOLDS: Agb Adjunkvoorsitter van die NRVP, ek groet graag ons opperbevelvoerder en president, agb Julius Malema en ons adjunkpresident, agb Floyd Shivambu van die Ekonomiese Vryheidsvegters – die vinnigste groeiende en mees progressiewe party beweging in Suid-Afrika.

Verlede week het die inwoners van die land weereens gekyk an geluister na 'n leë toespraak van 'n President wat geen benul het van wat gedoen moet word om die uitdagings van die armes, die grondloses, die haweloses en werkloses aan te spreek nie. Inteendeel, hy dink dat die probleme van ons land opgelos gaan word deur komisies en deur 'n network van getaakte joernaliste.

Inteendeel, Mnr Ramaphosa het ingekom en himself voorgehou as iemand wat korrupsie gaan uitwis en die land terug plaas op die pad van ekonomiese groei.

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Drie jaar later, en hy het niks om te wys nie.

Die President is aan leiding van die grootste staatskapingsprojek wat die land nog ooit gesien het.

Swart Suid-Afrikaners bly aan die agterste speen suig terwyl wit Suid-Afrikaners in die land bly van melk en heuning. Hulle besit 72% van die land, en is minder as 10% van die populasie, terwyl 80% van die populasie net 4% van die land besit. Dit is die grootste onreg wat gedoen word aan ons mense.

Die vernietiging van Eskom, Denel, Transnet en SAA en vele ander is doelbewus gedoen om dié wat Die Presidensie gekoop het, terug te betaal.

Vandag leef 55% van ons mense in armoede. Die uitgebreide definisie van werkloosheid staan op 44%. Die oorgrote meerderheid van ons mense bly in haglike omstandighede. Kinders moet skole bywoon wat swak gehalte onderwys aanbied. Ons gesondheidsorg fasiliteite val uitmekaar uit.

English:

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Chairperson, just in July last year, the level of desperation and hunger almost plunged this country into an unled uprising. Instead of blaming poverty and suffering, the President blamed it on Zulu people and encouraged racist Indians and whites to kill our people, as they did in Phoenix.

July was not an unexpected moment; things have been falling apart for a while. Your government and its security institutions have, on countless occasions, been caught by surprise by incidents occurring in the country, thus demonstrating their incompetence.

Our national key points stand unguarded. We deliver our responses to the state of the nation address on the ashes of a Parliament burnt down.

You and your cadres have milked the state dry. Your sole intention is to continue looting. You hate black people, that is why you are killing them with poverty, that is why you are killing the hopes of our young people. That is why you killed them in Marikana in defence of the crumbs the whites give you! [Applause.]

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Our state-owned enterprises are barely holding it together as they are in a state of disaster plagued by mismanagement.

[Interjections.]

It is the state that must redistribute the land, not your whites ...

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Hon Arnold, please take a seat; a point of order has been raised. Go ahead, hon member.

Mr B A RADEBE: Deputy Chairperson, the member has cast aspersions on the character of the President by insinuating that he killed people in Marikana. Such an assertion can only be made through a substantive motion being brought to the House. Thank you.

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Thank you, hon member. We take note. We will have to consult Hansard and make a ruling before the end of this sitting. Please continue, hon Arnolds.

Mr A ARNOLDS: Our state-owned enterprises are barely holding it together as they are in a state of disaster plagued by mismanagement and corruption. Eskom, SAA, the Post Office and

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Denel all stand dysfunctional, yet the President takes no accountability for our current state of affairs.

The President is but out of touch with the state of the nation and ultimately the needs of our people. The ANC is offering nothing to our people today. There is no plan, no vision, no capable men and women in that organisation.

It is for this lack of vision that the President now wants to hand over key state institutions to the private sector. Sir, for a country as divided and unequal as ours is, it is the state that must play a leading role in industrial development, which will create jobs. It is not your whites. It is not the state. It is the state that must redistribute land, not your whites.

It is the state that must ensure that there is sufficient energy, not those who bought your presidency. Thank you.
[Applause.]

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Hon members, there so much noise being made while speakers are at the podium that we cannot hear them clearly.

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BUSINESS SUSPENDED AT 17:27 AND RESUMED AT 18:00.

UNPARLIAMENTARY LANGUAGE

(Ruling)

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, before we proceed with our speakers, I would like to make a ... Hon members, on the 14th, during a debate on the state of the nation address, hon Shivambu raised a point of order to the effect that the Minister of Police, hon B Cele, had cast aspersions on hon Malema's character after he stated that hon Malema and the National Commissioner of Police had met to hatch a plot to get rid of the Minister.

Mr Shivambu contended that such an allegation against a fellow member could only be brought to House by way of a substantive motion in terms of Rule 85(2). However, this Rule applies to the conduct of members of the Assembly. Joint Rule 14(p) governs such conduct during Joint Sittings.

During his point of order, Mr Shivambu also referred to the Minister as, I quote: "Useless". Having studied Hansard

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recordings, I wish to rule as follows: Within the context of Joint Rule 14(p), presiding officers have consistently ruled that no member may impute improper motives to any other member or cast personal reflections upon a member's integrity or dignity or verbally abuse a member in any other way. It is an established practice that unsubstantiated allegations against another member are not allowed as such statements attack the integrity or cast aspersions on a character of a member. Such allegations can only be brought by way of a substantive motion comprising of a clearly formulated and properly substantiated charge, that in the opinion of the presiding officer, prima facie warrants consideration by the House and such a motion would need to be considered in the relevant House.

This being a Joint Sitting, I therefore ask the hon Cele to withdraw his statement about hon Malema. Such allegations can only be made by way of a substantive motion. Hon Minister.

Thank you, the hon member has withdrawn. [Interjections.]

Hon members, having heard the context and the tone in which the hon Shivambu used the word "useless" in referring to the Minister, I find that he has also breached Joint Rule 14(p), I

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therefore request the hon Shivambu to withdraw the remark that the Minister is useless. Hon Shivambu. Hon Shivambu, I have just read a ruling that in describing the hon Minister as useless yesterday, you breached Joint Rule 14(p) and we therefore request you to withdraw.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: I didn't hear the judgement. Can you please repeat it? Repeat the judgement.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have ruled ...

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: I want to hear the basis of the judgement before I apologise.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: No.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: But it is a fair thing.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon ...

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: Repeat the judgement so that I can hear. I was not here.

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Shivambu, I have pointed out what relates to you directly now.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: Yes, read the entire judgement so that we can be able to ... [Inaudible.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Shivambu, you have a choice to make right now.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: But I am asking you to give me the judgement.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: The answer is no.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: Why are you saying that?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, the rule ...

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: Okay, can we raise a point of order first in terms of ... It can never be correct that in Parliament that

we cannot call the executive useless. How else are we going to expose their weaknesses in terms of what happened?

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member ...

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: And I see the intention is that because you are fearful of what we are going to do later on when we close this debate. You think that we are going to fall into the trap. We are still going to expose the weaknesses and expose all the lies that are told by different members of the executive. I withdraw, but I am not withdrawing from deep in my heart. I am not convinced about the withdrawal. I withdraw. It's fine. ... [Interjections.] ... We will meet when we come back ... [Inaudible.] ... you will see.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I request you to take your seat. We don't really accept your conditional withdrawal. I will not pursue it now because we have time constraints for the House to proceed with its business. Hon members ... [Interjections.]

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: On a point of order.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: What is the point of order?

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Mr N F SHIVAMBU: I have withdrawn and have told you the what are the conditions of the withdrawal. You must take note that we are going to appeal that in an internal Rules process, and if it means we go to court ... because it can never be correct under no circumstances that we can't say people are useless. It must be in the minutes that we are going to appeal that in the internal process. If it means that we are going to court, we will go to court to expose this irrational and senseless judgement that says we cannot say people are useless when they are useless.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Shivambu, you are repeating the offensive language you used even with the Minister. It is inappropriate and I request you to withdraw it unconditionally.

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: He withdrew.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Withdrew unconditionally?

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: He did.

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, I am not talking to you, I am talking to hon Shivambu, and he is your leader, please, respect him. [Interjections.]

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: What am I withdrawing? Didn't I say I withdraw but you know what are the conditions my ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I said withdraw unconditionally.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: I withdraw.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Thank you very much. Don't proceed.

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: We are going to expose you.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, take your seat.

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: What's your point of order, hon member?

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Ms H O MKHALIPHI: In your ruling, you said the Minister must withdraw, but he didn't speak to the mic. We didn't hear his withdrawal. Can you be fair and ask the Minister to speak to the mic so that we can have records of the Minister withdrawing? Can you just be fair once in your life?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I repeated what the Minister said. If you didn't hear ... [Interjections.] ... and ...

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: Deputy Speaker, I am just raising a simple thing that just be fair. The Minister must speak on to the mic as you have directed deputy president of the EFF to speak on the mic.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: I didn't do that.

Ms H O MKHALIPHI: No, why do you allow that? What is this mic for? What is this thing here? You must be fair, Deputy Speaker. We know that you hate the EFF with passion, but occupying that chair, you must be fair to Members of Parliament because we have been voted to be here. You are not making any favours for us to here. Don't treat us as stepchildren in this Parliament.

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, take your seat.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: On a point of order.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: What is the point of order, hon Ndlozi?

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Thanks, Deputy Speaker. Deputy Speaker, you are not useful ... [Interjections.] ... if you do not become fair ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, withdraw that statement now.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Why?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: If you don't, then you are in trouble. You withdraw that statement.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Hon Deputy Speaker ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Withdraw that statement first.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Which statement?

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: The one you just made now. The one you started with.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: I said I am rising on a point of order.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: And?

Dr M Q NDLOZI: You, as the Chair, are not useful.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Withdraw that statement, hon member.

[Interjections.]

Dr M Q NDLOZI: So, you are useful? Hon Deputy Speaker, you are useful.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member ...

Sesotho:

... Ke kopa re etse tjena, moshaneso. Mamela ... [Kenohanong.]

English:

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Hon Deputy Speaker, you are useful.

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Sesotho:

MOTLATSI WA SEPIKARA: Mamela, ke kopa re etse tjena. Ke kopa o tlohele ho bapala. [Kenohanong.]

Ngaka M Q NDLOZI: Tjhe, o ka se bapale le nna.

MOTLATSI WA SEPIKARA: Re mosebetsing mona. [Kenohanong.]

Ngaka M Q NDLOZI: Nna le wena ha re bapale. O ka se bapale le nna.

MOTLATSI WA SEPIKARA: Re mosebetsing wa setjhaba mona.
[Kenohanong.]

Ngaka M Q NDLOZI: Ha re metswalle. Re ka se bapale monghadi.

English:

... You are very useful. We see you there so high on your chair and very useful.

Sesotho:

Nna le wena re ka se bapale. Nna le wena ha re metswalle.

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English:

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, can you take your seat?

Ms E N NTLANGWINI: On a point of order, Deputy Speaker.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: What's your point of order?

Ms E N NTLANGWINI: Deputy Speaker, you would know that Minister Bheki Cele didn't speak on the mic. He just said: "by the way". You know Hansard didn't pick him up. He is not on record that he has withdrawn. You allow that to continue or is it that you are protecting him to not do it and you are biased as usual.

The Minister must withdraw on the mic and you know that for a fact that for Hansard to get the information, he needs to withdraw on the mic. What is this thing of people just sitting and say, yes, I withdraw? This is not his house. He can make those rules at his house and the people that he bullies at police stations, not here. He must withdraw on the mic so that we can hear him because what he said about the commander-in-chief was on the mic. Why doesn't he now have balls enough to

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use the mic today again and say I withdraw? Let him show us how big his balls are? Let's hear it. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, I request that we proceed - no - hon members, we are proceeding. If you are going to speak on the same matter, it is out of the Rules. No one is allowed to speak on a matter I have ruled on. ... [Interjections.] ... Hon member, what's your point of order?

The DEPUTY CHIEF WHIP OF THE MAJORITY PARTY: Hon Deputy Speaker, on a point of order. We are supposed to be hon Members of Parliament. [Interjections.] The use of offensive language in this House is not allowed. Can we be protected as citizens and Members of this Parliament from the EFF? We want to proceed with the business of this House, which is the debate. We have been sitting, some of us from eight o'clock in the morning busy with the business of Parliament. We cannot be held at ransom by the EFF. You have made your ruling, hon Deputy Speaker. Can we please proceed with the business of the House, then you'll come back and deal with the other matter? I thank you.

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, I wish to appeal to you that I have ruled on this matter, I will not allow anybody else to speak about it. What do you want to speak about, hon member? What are you rising on?

Ms N K F HLONYANE: Deputy Speaker, I rise on a point of order.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes.

Ms N K F HLONYANE: Deputy Speaker, it is the Rules of this House that when a member withdraws, they must speak to the mic. We are asking you ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, I have addressed ...

[Interjections.]

Ms N K F HLONYANE: ... so that it can be recorded. The hon Cele ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, I have addressed that matter ... [Interjections.]

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Ms N K F HLONYANE: You have not addressed it, Deputy Speaker, because he hasn't stood up and speak into the mic.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: You are insisting on continuing to talk on a matter I ruled on. If you proceed, hon member, there is a door there that you might have to use.

Ms N K F HLONYANE: Deputy Speaker, I am not afraid at all.
[Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes.

Ms N K F HLONYANE: Deputy Speaker, we are asking that hon Cele stands up ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Give the service officer that microphone.

Ms N K F HLONYANE: ... and speak to the mic and must withdraw.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: No.

Ms N K F HLONYANE: What he said yesterday, was absolutely out of order ...

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have ruled on that matter ...

Ms N K F HLONYANE: Deputy Speaker, we are asking ...

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have ruled on that matter. Thank you very much.

Mr L MPHITHI: Thank you, Deputy Speaker, I am glad that we can get back to the work that we are here to do, which is to represent the people of South Africa. Hon Deputy Speaker, hon members, Mr President, unemployment is often described as an economic issue, but what it really is, is harm to human dignity. Today I remind this House of a declaration made 26 years ago.

We, the people of South Africa, recognises the injustices of the past, honour those who suffered for freedom and justice, respect those who have worked to build and develop our country, and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.

These words stand as the preamble of our Constitution, an intent of law, an indication of what is to follow. But much

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deeper than that, they stand as a promise. A promise that imagines that in a caring South Africa human dignity, always. That in a booming South Africa we all can dream and have chance of making those dreams come true. Today the youth of South Africa stand at the periphery of that promise, denied of their potentials and dreams, their talents ignored, their hopes destroyed and their trust broken.

I raise these experiences to show them what it means to be put first and to be centered in debate like this. A generation that is victim to only one thing; an organisation that has become so destructive and cancerous for many young people, the ANC. Mr. President it was only 2018 where you stated that 800 000 jobs would be created by government. In 2019, you stated 1 million jobs would be created; and you did the same in 2020 and 2021. Of course, we all know that these promises did not come to fruition because, we became the highest country in the world with the highest unemployment rate.

In this year's state of the nation address, you agreed with the DA that in fact it is not government's role to create jobs, but to enable the private sector to do so. However, the Radical Economic Transformation, RET, faction, in your party

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does not seem to agree. One side says this, the other says that. It's so deep that even the ghost that masquerade as the ANC Youth League today is just as confused as its mother body. The RET faction says that government is failing across all sectors, the reformers says, government is working.

Again, the other side says this, the other says that. The call to support structural reform by supporting small, medium and micro enterprises, SMMEs, investing in infrastructure, and assisting the economy in creating new sectors is what we call in the DA, clear blue water. I am sure the President already knows what that is, because he studied our manifesto. The DA welcomes the effort to expand the criteria for participation in the Employment Tax Incentive, ETI. Since 2012, the DA has been calling for the ETI to be implemented by government. But to simply expand the ETI without proper thought of young people located in poorer provinces or who are less mobile, and have no work experience would be a misstep.

The DA has long called for a focus on the green economy and the blue economy, which are future sectors that have the potential to create employment. Mr President, in your response tomorrow, may you please indulge the young people of South

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Africa by answering the following questions: Firstly, for young people who have small business and are struggling to get their products and their ideas out into shops like Shoprite, Spar, Fruit and Veg, what type of support will your government provide for these young people?

Secondly, government has been silent on the matter of lowering data costs in South Africa after much promise. How far is government with this idea? What have they done to ensure that young people are able to lower data costs, and ensure that we are able to log into the internet to be able to find jobs?

Thirdly, Mr President what attempts have been made to understand the failure of the Presidential Stimulus Programme, particularly because, in the two years since its implementation, unemployment remains high amongst young people? Poverty is much more than a lack of access to resources. It is about being excluded from the levers of the economy.

This is why in DA-run and DA-led coalition metros and municipalities we are focused on closing the skills gaps amongst young people because we understand that, unemployment has a causal link with poverty and indignity. This is

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something your Ministers do not understand. They are weak. Perhaps that is the reason you have decided to centre a number programmes within your office because your Ministers, ...

IsiXhosa:

... bamuncu ...

English:

... Mr President, ...

IsiXhosa:

... abasebenzi.

English:

But further than that, hashtag Minister Maite-Mashabane must also resign. These commitments though welcomed, Mr President, remain just words without substantive action. As it stands, young people spend an average of R1 300 per month looking for a job, and with the rise of cost of living ...

[Interjections.]

Mr X NQOLA: Deputy Speaker.

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, please take your seat and pass on the mic to the person who wants to speak.

Mr X NQOLA: I already got the mic.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Okay, go ahead.

Mr X NQOLA: Hon Mphithi has just said that, the Ministers of the President ...

IsiXhosa:

... bamuncu, ...

English:

... and you have just ruled on the offensive language used in Parliament. Can hon Mphithi be made to withdraw that, failing which, you apply your Rule 14 of the joint rule. Thank you very much.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member ...

IsiZulu:

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... ukushilo lokho abakushoyo ukuthi bamuncu, ngabe ukushilo yini?

English:

No, I am not hearing you. I want to hear you, hon member.

IsiXhosa:

Mnu L MPHITHI: Bamuncu, nditshilo. [Uwele-wele.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Do you confirm?

IsiXhosa:

Mnu L MPITHI: Ewe!

USEKELA SOMLOMO: Mamela ke, sicela uyirhoxise loo nto, akuthethwa njalo. [Uwele-wele.]

Mr L MPHITHI: [Inaudible.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: That is not proper, hon member. Yes, hon member. I am addressing the man here. Are you going to respond?

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Mr L MPHITHI: Deputy Speaker, I said ...

IsiXhosa:

... bamuncu ...

English:

... because they are sour. That's what it means. They are sour. [Interjections.]

IsiXhosa:

USEKELA SOMLOMO: Lungu elihloniphekileyo, ndicela urhoxe.

Mnu L MPHITHI: Ukuthi bamuncu?

English:

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: ...it is not appropriate, and it is not parliamentary to refer to a member. Yes, hon Chief Whip of the Opposition.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY: Here we go, not that I need the mic. Deputy Speaker.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yes.

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The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY: There is absolutely nothing unparliamentary about using the word, sour. In fact, it is the common phrase to say sour grapes. I have been called a white racist throughout the day today, and not one single point of order has been called on me called a white racist, and I absolutely refuse to have my member to withdraw the word, sour. This is a debate, and people must know that in the political debate we have a right to express our opinion.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, you have a choice to accept the advice of your Chief Whip or to accept the advice of the Presiding Officer who asks you to withdraw. If you are unhappy with that ruling, you know what you must do; if you are unhappy with it. Hon Chief Whip, we want to proceed with the debate, and the rules requires that if you are unhappy, you know what to do. Yes, what are you saying, hon member?

An HON MEMBER: Deputy Speaker.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: No, the person speaking is here in front of me.

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An HON MEMBER: I wanted to correct the distortion of the word
...

IsiXhosa:

... umuncu.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, may I suggest we do this. I am suggesting to please proceed. Hon Chief Whip of the Opposition, I made a ruling with this matter. If you are unhappy with my ruling, please let us know in writing so that it can be addressed properly in the right forums. You know, we can do that, instead of haggling over this matter. You are now delaying your member's address to the House. I am basically appealing to you.

The CHIEF WHIP OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY: Deputy Speaker, I want my member to finish what he's saying. But I maintain that, the level of discourse and the level of debate allows the word, sour, to be used, and please expect a very strongly word and letter from our desk to yours.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Chief Whip of the Opposition, can I please appeal to you not to enter the debate, I have made a

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ruling on this matter. This question of interpretation, I have based my thinking on what I understand was said here. So, ...

IsiZulu:

Ngicela ukuthi ningayingeni, ngiqedile ngayo. Qhubeka ...

English:

... hon Mpithi and withdraw first. You have to withdraw first. You do want to finish, right? So, withdraw.

Mr L MPHITHI: Thank you, Deputy Speaker. I withdraw the word ...

IsiXhosa:

... bamuncu, ...

English:

... they are weak. Deputy Speaker, these commitments though welcomed remain just words without substantive action. As it stands young people spend an average of R1 300 per month looking for a job. With the cost of living continuing to be more expensive, what comfort, Mr President do you have to ensure that these young people are able to find jobs in the

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near future? Mr President, we must hold our values and principles against the hard realities in this nation and see if we are indeed measuring up to the legacy of our forbearers and the promise of future generations in this country.

Mr President, it is the promise in the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. It's the promise to a young person who hopes to find a job and be able to support their families, is possible. It's the hope that a small-scale entrepreneur who wants to grow their business will not be stifled by red tape, but will be able to grow their business in this country. It's the hope that young people's talent will not be lost or overlooked, but in fact, they will be found and preserved and made sure that they grow for whatever career that they choose for themselves.

It's about the audacity, Mr President, to ensure that your words are backed up by action. Indeed, Mr President, our hopes lie with the decisions that you will make, to separate yourself from the RET faction, and make sure that you take our country forward. Thank you. [Applause.]

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The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE AND TRADITIONAL AFFAIRS (Ms T Nkadimeng): Hon Deputy Speaker, His Excellency President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Deputy President, Mr David Dabede Mabuza, the acting president of the SA Local Government Association, Salga, they can all forget to greet you but not me, fellow South Africans, good afternoon.

Ms Nkomo-Ralehoko, I wouldn't have articulated the local government legislation better than you have done. But, in the same vein, allow me to feel honoured to say additional words by being afforded the opportunity to address in response to the state of the nation debate which President Ramaphosa delivered on 10 of February, coincidentally my birthday.

Hon President Thomas Sankara warned us, "It's really a pity that there are observers who view political events like comic strips. There has to be a Zorro, there has to be a star." Hon John Steenhuisen, when it becomes so complex to comprehend, you become the star, dance to your comic show happening in your mind. Your address, hon President, left hon John Steenhuisen with no words to say. Instead of saying ...

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Setswana:

... ke laka leo ...

English:

... that is my word, and nod in agreement. He says, "the script is mine." He reminds me of a young, rich boy who has the advantage of having a ball. When he gets beaten at the ground, he takes the ball away from the poor boy and goes back home. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

Since when can the DA be more democratic than the ANC? Since when can the DA advise and lead the revolutionary movement and advice? Since when? Hon John Steenhuisen, the ANC January 8 statement clearly articulates what the President was mandated by the party to do and that was mainly contained in the state of the nation address.

Hon Arnolds from the EFF saw nothing, heard nothing. He only sees things that are falling apart. We are enjoined by tenets of the progressive Constitution to recognise the fundamental principles of co-operative governance, interdependent and interrelated and distinctive. Admittedly, there are complex issues which you fail to comprehend and you think the script

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can only be written dictated by you. We have collectively harnessed all public resources behind the common goals within the framework of the District Development Model, DDM. We will give now quality assurance which are led by the offices of the premiers to all the One Plans, 39, 10 which are still in the drafting stage to articulate the drive for delivery at local government level.

Ethekwini, for example, is expected to be a key export hub led by Transnet. O R Tambo, together with the Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries, has launched the green economy and the Ocean Economy Master Plan in March 2020. Where was the one who was speaking before me not knowing that ...

IsiXhosa:

... uze uyokufunda tata.

English:

The plan is aimed at unlocking the full potential of the oceans economy and focuses on connecting the proposed small rural beach towns to form a string of beads to ensure connectivity and accessibility to these towns. But to supplement this, we have moved beyond the stature of local

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government being dysfunctional, moving the 64 municipalities identified by the Cabinet as dysfunctional. We are providing skills, capacity development and technical support to municipalities, especially the low and medium capacity municipalities. As we are talking, hon President, 153 personnel of engineers and planners have been deployed to those municipalities for support. [Applause.] That is in line with our DDM plan.

Recruitment and placement of graduates has already happened. Eighty-nine apprentices have been afforded an opportunity in the various municipalities. Thirty-nine experiential learners have been afforded an opportunity to deal with and assist in municipal operations and maintenance. Eighty-two bursaries have been awarded to civil engineering and town and regional planning students to deal with spatial planning.

Three hundred and sixty-two municipal officials are afforded an opportunity to refresh their technical skills.

[Interjections.] But listen to where they are coming from, Sol Plaatje, Midvaal Municipality, Bojanala, Gamagara, the City of Cape Town, is a beneficiary, the City of Tshwane, where you fared so nicely, Ba-Phalaborwa and Matatiele. [Interjections.]

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Dr M Q NDLOZI: Deputy Speaker, on a point of order: Is it parliamentary to scream at us? [Laughter.] [Interjections.] The hon member must withdraw screaming at us. It's not parliamentary. She is very close to the mic; we can hear her. It's not parliamentary, especially if you are a Deputy Minister to scream. [Interjections.] Don't scream.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member! Hon member, I would have expected you to understand what a point of order is and you don't, clearly. Proceed.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE AND TRADITIONAL AFFAIRS- Ms T NKADIMENG: Thank you very much, Deputy Speaker.

SiSwati:

NgiwuMagutshwa, ngiwuSimelane, ngiwuMpembe kaLokothwayo.

IsiZulu:

Ngikhuluma ngendlela engifuna ngayo.

English:

Forty-eight municipal officials enrolled in the Recognition of Prior Learning Programme and this leg of the programme targets

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mainly municipal general workers. We are re-engineering the shape of local government from what we have. A general labourer will become a professional. We are targeting them areas of electrical support, diesel mechanics and plumbing.

Emondlo Wastewater Treatment plant in the Abaqulusi Local Municipality is already a beneficiary of this; Ebhokhwe Water Project in the Zululand District; the distressed Makhanda Municipality, from the same team, received a 3,8km dual road. The Labour Intensive Construction method programme has been rolled-out in KwaZulu-Natal in Umzimvubu, Alfred Nzo, Dr J S Moroka in Mpumalanga, Mogalakwena in Limpopo and the hon President has visited both programmes.

The Innovative Waste Management Program is targeting 45 municipalities, and we have reworked the municipal infrastructure grant, Mig, programme. We now allow municipalities to purchase and plan with the Mig but also provide maintenance. And 154 municipalities and SMMEs have been given support to deal with this programme of recycling and the Sakhisizwe Local Municipality has built a buy back centre to create jobs using the same Mig fund.

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Research indicates to us, led by the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection, Mistra, we have seen an increase beyond the 2016 Local Government Elections dealing with the practical expressions of the people, the voters, which has given us coalitions that moved from 27 municipalities to close to 70. But nothing amazes us as the Mistra warned us that these start as marriages of convenience and at the end of it all they become marriages of inconvenience. They are convenient to all those who think they would want to take the ANC out of power by starting their marriage with the sole intention of removing the ANC from power at all costs. Their intention is nowhere from there. No plan. No goal. No vision. No programme of action. Stop and go. Can we elect committees? They take six months. Can we adopt a budget? They take six months. They have already started to falling apart in Ekurhuleni, the statement has been out. They are falling out in Tshwane from the previous term. Tshwane is one of the municipalities which should have been like ...

SiSwati:

... emhlambathini ...

English:

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... because you could not even adopt ward committees which, by law, your budget should have been restrained. You talk about those who are buying at Pick and Pay; you are going to buy at Pick and Pay just like those whose budgets will not be released. So it is very wrong to assume that your municipalities are ... you talk about the abolishment of cadre deployment. Hon John Steenhuisen, the Stellenbosch Municipality was fined R750 000 by a court of law. How? For what? You deployed a matriculant over a coloured, Honours degree-bearing woman who took you to court and won.

[Applause.] We are the best. The ANC does cadre deployment, R750 000, Melissa Nel, a matriculant favoured over an Honours degree-bearing ... in your cadre deployment. How bad.

[Interjections.]

IsiXhosa:

... ndinawo umsindo, ...

English:

... wait ...

IsiZulu:

... ngisasele nemizuzu emine.

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English:

So it is untruthful that you do not do that. To deal with the municipal issues, early warning systems together with National Treasury for provision of any diagnosis and treatment have been dealt with. Our Community Works Programme, in partnership with the National Youth Development Agency, NYDA, has been made, and we have recruited 100 participants in tourist guiding; to deliver, with Takealot, in a partnership of ensuring that our young people are ignited in getting this.

It truly is a time that we all need to appreciate and accept that progress has been made. One hundred small towns are going to benefit from our Small Town Regeneration Programme with bankable projects which have already been done. We have taken a setback with regard to the Local Government Elections as women. Of the 9 473 councillors who won, 63% are men and 37% are women. All of us need to say, this must change. To date, the ANC has ensured that 90% of households have access to electricity in 2020; 89,1% of households have adequate water.

83,2% of households have access to flushing and pit latrine toilets; 60,5% have access to waste removal. On top of all these, the ANC government still offers free basic services, 6

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000kilololitres for free, 50 kilowatts for free. [Applause.]

South Africa is a much better place for an African than it was in 1994. Hon Emam, we didn't get freedom; we fought for it. I thank you very much. [Applause.]

Mr M G E HENDRICKS: Hon Deputy Speaker, South Africa signed the International Labour Organisation, ILO, convention on decent work and President Mandela was the first recipient of an award promoting decent work and Winnie Mandela was a second recipient. Therefore, when I hear about the private sector delivering jobs I hope that it will be decent jobs, not the jobs that we had in apartheid where we had a dop system in place where all the requirements of the ILO will not be met. Therefore, those of us who support decent work are very sceptical that private sector will deliver. How can you expect the allies of the apartheid to deliver jobs? They don't want to deliver jobs and make African governments successful.

Hon Deputy Speaker, the President in his first state of the nation address mentioned that it is one of his objectives that every family in South Africa shall have a warm plate of food. President Ramaphosa has delivered and is the first African President to ensure that everyone has a warm plate of food and

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it will only get better ... [Applause.] ... Your Excellency, our leader, when you called for a revised social compact and consensus within 100 days the magic potion or the silver bullet is collaboration, working together to uplift all South Africans.

However, the opposition parties will politic, you've had two days of classic politicking and they will try to derail your programmes ... [Applause.] ... Al Jama-ah wants our constituency to benefit from the programmes. Therefore, I want to thank the National Executive Committee, NEC, of the ANC for sending special envoy, Jeff Radebe, to meet with me.

[Applause.] The Al Jama-ah Think Tank is meeting in Umzinto near Scottburgh on Friday to attack your programmes for implementation. We are also having a workshop organised by councillor of Municipal Public Accounts Committee, M-Pac, Asghar Khan to brainstorm the first steps to dramatically change some villages in the Ugu District to smart villages which is part, hon President, of your second smart city.

We won a seat in Mazakhele Village in Harding and Sheikh Saeed did well. Other villages we are changing to smart cities include Mpame village which has an ocean and a forest and

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Mthubatuba where we've funded 25 villages to attend a two-day Small Enterprise Development Agency, Seda, workshop become compliant for informal business grants. Therefore, hon Chair, Al Jama-ah submitted a petition to the Speaker on behalf of Mpame village for electricity. Hon President, let it happen within 100 days. Al Jama-ah is ready to take the first steps in some of South Africa's rural and deep-seated villages to change them into smart villages. The Presidency and all Members of Parliament, MPs, are, in fact, invited to join our webinar on Saturday morning via Zoom.

Therefore, Al Jama-ah must strengthen, and you must listen very carefully, even in a small way the ANC because it is the only political party of substance left from our dear liberation movement ... [Applause.] ... Africans will only get the real freedom, be free from poverty, get jobs and live prosperous lives if a strong and resolute ANC governs. This is written in our history and must guide us in our future.

[Applause.] I must also bank for my own constituency, Deputy Speaker. We are still waiting patiently for Muslim wives to have their marriage ceremony generate a legal South African marriage certificate.

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Therefore, Mr President, get the job done in 100 days. We have two Private Members Bills, one that will benefit Muslim wives and the second one all women seeking improvement to our maintenance laws. Let's get the job done in a 100 days. The country's security is now embedded in the Presidency and under your leadership Al Jama-ah is looking forward to removing the objection of the State Security Agency to grant Palestinians visas on arrival like they give to Zionists from Israel. When Madiba from this very same City Hall thanked the international community for their contribution to the antiapartheid struggle, he obviously did not include apartheid Israel and friends of Israel and Israel orientated opposition political parties.

Hon President, we need to speed up the e-visa system because there is a 10 million Indonesians that want to come here as tourists. And I have already spoken to the City of Cape Town which is ready to welcome them. Hon Deputy Speaker, I want to ask the President not to ... [Inaudible.] ... of government's responsibilities of study grants to students and leaving them as ... [Inaudible.] ... to the banks. It is shameful after so many years National Student Financial Aid Scheme, NSFAS, is not performing efficiently and leaves thousands of students

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and parents in despair. They fail to reply to students and parents' inquiries and that neglect is like torture, Mr President. Thank you very much, hon Deputy Speaker. [Time expired.] [Applause.]

IsiZulu:

UNGQONGQOSHE WEZOLIMO, UKUBUYEKEZWA KOMHLABA NOKUTHUTHUKISWA KWEZINDAWO ZASEMAKHAYA: Sekela Somlomo yeNdlu yesiShayamthetho, Somlomo weNdlu yesiShayamthetho, uSihlalo neSekela lakhe boMkhandlu weziFundazwe nohulumeni basemakhaya, Mongameli welizwe Mnu Ramaphosa, Sekela Mongameli baba uMabuza, malungu ahloniphekile eNdlu yesiShayamthetho ngiyanibingelela kule ntambama yanamhlanje.

English:

There are moments in the life of a nation when old certainties are unsettled, and new possibilities emerge. In these moments, there is both the prospect of great progress and the risk of reversal. Today, we are faced with such a moment. The path we choose now will determine the course for future generations.

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Mr President, I decided to quote from your speech when tabling the state of the nation address, sona, last Thursday. You reminded us of how, when faced with enormous challenges, we must respond, appreciating that whatever we do and whatever decisions we take today has implications for future generations.

In June 2019, when you tabled the SONA following the provincial and national elections, none of us anticipated the emergence of COVID-19 in the following year and the devastation it would cause to human life and economies across the world. This challenge called for leadership and consensus on the response measures in our society to save lives and livelihoods.

IsiZulu:

Khumbula ke Mongameli isithukuthuku senja siphela eboyeni. Loko kusho ukuthi noma wenze into enhle kwesinye isikhathi ayibongwa.

English:

Indeed, the old certainties were unsettled, new possibilities emerged as we rebuild the nation from the scourge of COVID-19.

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The use of information communication technology, ICT, and reorganization of work intensified in our country, in our continent and across the world. Despite COVID-19, we had to continue to save lives and livelihoods.

In solidarity with one another, we contributed financial and non-financial resources to Solidarity Fund to save lives and livelihoods. The consultations you undertook with political parties, here in this legislature, the civil society and co-ordination amongst spheres of government showed possibilities of how the nation can work together to address its challenges.

IsiZulu:

Mongameli, khumbula inkonjane yakhela ngodaka. Kusho ukuthi noma bekugxeka, bekhuluma, bekuncimfa kodwa ungapheli amandla.

English:

... you must stay the course.

Mr President, the social compact you spoke about is the heart of our economic recovery efforts. The development of masterplans which you have mentioned here across various sectors of our economy brings together industry-specific

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relevant stakeholders to agree on what is needed to grow our economy inclusively particularly on how we can prioritize employment and the scourge of unemployment that faced our country.

The Agriculture and Agro-processing Master Plan, which we will conclude by March 2022, working with business and organized agriculture as well as our workers has identified specific issues that we need to address if this sector has to grow inclusively and boosts employment opportunities in rural South Africa.

We must appreciate that in a society of higher poverty levels, inequality and low growth, getting agriculture going is critical for various reasons. I will highlight some of these. Firstly, growth in agriculture is two to three times more effective at reducing poverty than an equivalent amount of growth generated outside agriculture. Secondly, the advantage of agriculture over non-agriculture in reducing poverty is largest for the poorest in society and ultimately disappears as countries become richer. Thirdly, the growth in agriculture in reducing poverty can also extend to other welfare outcomes such as food insecurity.

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Among various interventions we will focus on in the coming year is to deal with the issues of animal diseases, which is critical for human health and safe meat for our consumers. The team of experts that we have brought together from industry, academia and the department has already given us their preliminary reports on areas of improvement in our animal and health system. The possibility of partnerships on animal vaccine development without compromising the state capacity such as the Onderstepoort Biological Products factory is critical.

IsiZulu:

Bab'uMasipa kuthiwa ngesiZulu ungaboyibamba inhlwa ivele ngekhandu. Kushiwo lokho ngoba uma ukhuluma into kungakabi nesiqiniseko sayo kungenzeka ukube ukhuluma amampunge.

English:

I just want to address the matter you have raised on two counts. Firstly, the matter you have raised with hon Sikwatsha, where you say he has shown disregard of supporting farmers. You did not mention the farmer neither did you give him an opportunity to respond whereas you are the member of the portfolio committee. I think that is not in order.

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Secondly, with regards to the issue of Onderstepoort Biological Products as well as Onderstepoort Veterinary Institute, OVI, - You know very well, we reported in Parliament that when the Good Manufacturing Practices, GMP, facility was not concluded we had to undertake an investigation to see what was the problem. We said we will come back on the decisions that we needed to take following the investigation. Some of that investigation is what led to Mr Dungu who was the CEO of that company to actually undergo a disciplinary hearing and thereby he chose to leave. I don't think it is really honest for you to come to this Parliament and raise the issues in the manner that you have.

With regards to the OVI, there has been challenges of stealing the intellectual property of the Agricultural Research Council. And we have said clearly that if we have challenges of the vaccine, we would work with the private sector to address the issues of the livestock industry. We have dealt with this matter with the animal red meat forum as well as the animal health forum. So, to come here and say as government, we actually are not taking these matters seriously cannot be far from the truth.

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Hon members, our agricultural sector is export-oriented. We export about half of what we produce in value terms. In 2021, amid challenges at our ports and unrests in the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng, government, business, and labour managed to work collaboratively to ensure the continuous flow of the export products. The statistics we have for the first eleven months of 2021 show that South Africa's agricultural exports reached a record of US\$11,5 billion. This speaks to the large agricultural production of the past year and the social compact approach to facilitating exports.

Mr President, you spoke of the ports of infrastructure, which is critical for agriculture, mining, manufacturing, and automobile industry. We are engaging with Transnet together with organized agriculture to respond to the near term congestion challenges and long-term strategic intervention that boost the efficiency of our ports.

In our endeavours to assist farmers, produce transportation challenges, we concluded in Mkhuze a Mkhuze rail siding to support small-scale farmers for the transportation of their sugarcane by rail to Felixton Mill. This project is assisting about 1 900 Makhathini small-scale sugarcane farmers who are

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struggling to transport their produce after Tongaat Hulett sugar stopped the transportation subsidy. Working with Transnet and this commodity development organization, we made a good stride in completing a road to rail initiative to this farmer.

Hon members, I have raised some of the positive things that have been happening in this industry. However, it is also important for us to raise some of the challenges. Some of these challenges relates to the issue of access to land by black farmers. It also relates to access to land for human settlements in order for us to deal with the spatial planning that steal remains the architect of apartheid. We have agreed as hon Masondo mentioned here yesterday that we will work collaboratively across government in order to make sure that we fast-track land reform.

We will continue to make sure that land reform is driven within the confines our legislation and our Constitution. We have commenced the process of engaging our traditional leaders and their communities on ways in which we can unlock the development opportunities in their areas while at the same time ensuring that customary tenure systems are legally

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secure. Our intention to hold the Land Summit last year may have been delayed, however provincial consultations led by Deputy Minister Skwatsha working with Deputy Minister Bapela, have enabled us to get necessary inputs from traditional leaders and their communities on how best we can conclude this matter.

Siswati:

Nine baseBukhosini makhosi endzabuko, siyabonga nine bekunene kutsi nisibeketelele, sakwati kusebentisana nokufakana imilomo kute kutsi kuphuculwa kwetindzawo tasemakhaya kube yindlela yokutsatsa imiphakatsi nebaholi bayo sihlangene nahulumeni kuya phambili.

Ngiyati kutsi labanye benu bacele umhlangano naSekela Mongameli kutsi sifakane imilomo ngaletinye tinkinga letibukene nebaholi bendzabuko nemiphakatsi. Loko kutawusita phindze kusimamise indlela yokusebentisana. Yona lendlela bowuyisho Mongameli nawetfula inkhulumo yakho yebume besive ngaLesine evikini lelendlule.

Mr President, despite the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic, the commitments you made in 2020 and 2021 have been achieved,

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and some are nearing completion. You announced in 2020 that government would release 700 000 hectares of agricultural land to individuals and communities. I want to report to this House Mr President that a majority of these hectares have been transferred to communities.

However, there are challenges in areas of Gwatyu farms that require speedy resolution. I wish to thank the portfolio committee led by the chairperson, hon Mandela for the oversight in Gwatyu early this month. They saw for themselves the challenges that we are facing and I hope collectively we would be able to find a lasting solution to this matter.

Public works have released land for restitution and agriculture, as we saw in Tafelkop farms which were in the hands of the state handed over to the small farmers. Transformation of Certain Rural Areas Act, TRANCA, a land that was designated by the then tri-cameral Parliament earmarked for coloured communities in the Northern and Western Cape has also been released. The outstanding land transfers will continue to be prioritised. I want to say here ...

IsiZulu:

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... malungu e-DA ...

English:

It is important to appreciate that collective work can actually help of us to grow. In Matzikama in the Western Cape where TRANCA land had been released, we as the national government put the bulk water infrastructure to assist those farmers. The Western Cape Department of Agriculture supported with production and other facilities to ensure that those farmers succeed. So, you know as well as I do that working together we can do more.

Communal land identified for development by traditional leaders and their communities has been released as per application to the Ministers for development.

Siswati:

Ngiyabonga kakhulu. Ngiyetsemba kutsi loku lesikukhulumako sitakwenta njengokusho kwakho Mongameli uma utsi sisebentisane ngokubambisana. Ngiyabonga. [Lihlombe.]

Mr N F SHIVAMBU: Thank you very Deputy Speaker and Deputy President, I acknowledge only people who are here. I don't

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know why Parliament engages in wasteful expenditure and hire imbongi for the accompanying of President. Because, there's plenty of them here, while he has just left his podium now, sikhumbula President. It can be easily a poem which can be utilised to accompany the President whenever he comes for SONA debates.

We want to take this opportunity to again congratulate the commissars and the ground forces of the EFF, who have brought the ANC below 50% in the 2021 local government elections [Applause.] and, specifically appreciate the ground forces at KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng Province, where we have decisively dealt with the former liberation movement, because it was misrepresenting our people. But, if you listen to people who speak here you will think that nothing is wrong, they are not even acknowledging the fact that, they are now in their thirties in Gauteng. They are going to be in their twenties very soon.

The commander-in-chief of the EFF is in Gauteng to attend to a case that was brought by a racist organisation, AfriForum, to defend a song which was a battle cry, to defeat the colonial

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and apartheid racist system in its entirety. And, I am sure that we will do that successfully.

We are meeting here in the City Hall because Parliament was burnt down due to negligence of the state. And, I think we must then treat this with - there's silver lining that says, let us take this opportunity to relocate Parliament to a central place, to one capital city [Applause.] because the location of this Parliament, we all is a result of colonial pact of some white men only, who were trying to share power amongst themselves. They say that the four colonies must have capital cities, with Orange River Colony having the judicial capital, Transvaal, administration capital, the Cape... We are still here, more 100 years later because of colonial pact. Let us discontinue that, as part of the decolonisation project, that we must then engage in.

What this SONA debate has revealed over the past two days, is that in the former liberation movement. We've got a lot of opportunists, careerists, intellectually incapable and dishonest Members of Parliament. Both old and young, we have seen a lot of people coming here to blow hot air. And even

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justifying, try to contextualised things that were not said here. Of course, although it has been withdrawn.

We are not going to entertain the childish accusations that were made against the commander-in-chief about the plot to remove a certain Minister. But also, how do you as a Minister come and badmouth your commissioner of police. Whatever personal differences you have. And then you still expect society to have faith in the police system, [Applause.] where in Parliament you've got a Minister who openly does that in press conferences and then he repeats gossip as if is intelligence. If we were to do that as well, we were going to spread gossip here and say that there are Ministers who are hiring inkabis to kill Members of Parliament, who are about to expose them of corruption. We are not going to do it today we will do it once we have gathered proper facts.

We are going to give a critical analysis of the state of the nation address which was themed around building a new consensus, which in anyway the President is saying it's not concluded. He said amongst other things that within the next 100 days, the social partners are going to finalise a comprehensive compact. Which is going to grow the economy to

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create jobs and combat hunger, that is what he is saying. And then he said something which is not true, and said that we all know that government does not create jobs, business creates jobs.

That is conceptually and empirical false. So, the correct statement should have read like this, that we all know that the ANC government will not and does not intend to create jobs and will depend on white businesses to create jobs.

[Applause.]

It is empirical, like ... it's even from a basic logic point of view. You can't say government does not create jobs. You have got one million government employees. Those jobs were created to deliver certain services - you are trying to create lousy jobs called Expanded Public Works Programmes, EPWPs, those are jobs so to ... it's factually incorrect. And, you come here and to try to justify.

But, the most shocking thing that I got to realise here is that, on the 11th of February, the South African Careerist Party, SACP, issued a statement to say that the President must withdraw an assertion that government does not create jobs, it

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is fatally flawed. But you had members here, Masondo, Mantashe, Thulas, everyone else - they never even repeated that in their characterisation, that is a fatal error. To say, it's fundamentally wrong, even suppose ... to show that they even try to ascribe a developmental state and defend a developmental state to a President, who never spoke about the developmental state. It's one of things that we then have to deal with much more differently.

Now, let's deal with some of the factual issues. One, is that currently, the fastest growing economy in the world, is Chinese economy, the People's Republic of China. And it's led by Communist Party, is centrally planned. The state plays a significant role in the creation of jobs and the development of the productive forces. More than 133 corporations in the world, global 500, are Chinese companies and more than 100 of those are state-owned by the People's Republic of China in terms of what gets to happen.

And China has alleviated poverty of more than 800 million people under capable state leadership. With someone comes with a philosophical confusion here to say the state does not create job, business does. They are termed by the principal of

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the ANC school, they say if someone said is the principal an ANC school, was trying to misascribe the state which does create jobs to a developmental state is not the fact.

Like, the state is South Africa, is a bourgeois neocolonial liberal state, that is what it is [Applause.] What we need, a developmental state is not a bourgeois state. So, a proper characterisation of a bourgeois neoliberal state, is a state which Karl Max says manages the common affairs of the whole bourgeois. That is the role of this state, that is why you said, you admitted here that you cannot create jobs, meaning that you cannot develop the productive forces.

There are so many things that we mention in terms of the progress that have been made, in Singapore, in many part of the developmental state, not bourgeois state, that were state led and at the centre of that was state leadership and guidance, in terms of what happens. Now, also like this mentioning of infrastructure, this that and that. Last week the President of the ANC was in a village in Limpopo to open a pavement of a road. We always say that there must be infrastructure programs.

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I want to give you an example of what infrastructure programs are happening in the entire continent. In Kenya, they have just completed the 570-km Standard Gauge Railway Project. In Tanzania, there are going to complete between Morogoro and Dar Es Saalam and National Guard Regulation, NGR program as well, which is gonna spend more 1500-km. And that is building of course on Tazara which was built under Chairman Mao's guidance between 1970 and 1975, which is a railway project between Zambia and Dar Es Saalam. In Ethiopia, they have completed a railway project which is between Addis Ababa and the neighbouring country of Djibouti, in terms of what happens. And in addition to completion of a \$150 billion, new capital city in Egypt, they are also establishing Suez Canal, special economic zone, which going to employ millions of people in terms of what happens.

There as so many proper projects that are happening in the continent that are seeking to build the intercontinental infrastructure to link the entire continent. It's part of what Agenda 2063 says should the flagship programs of the African Union, of what has to be done to interconnect the entire continent with railway project. Not pavements [Applause.] not

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40-km pavement, which is not even concluded, in terms of what happens.

Let give you a simple project which you have been failing to fulfil since many years ago. So, in 1994 former Minister of Defence Joe Modise, handed over a landing strip in the northern part of Kruger National Park to the Mhinga Dynasty. That landing strip has got a potential to be turned into potential commercial opportunity that can turn the northern part of Kruger National Park into a tourism hub.

Xitsonga:

Hosi Mhinga, Hosi Xilungwa Mhinga II ...

English:

... has been pleading with the South African National Parks, SANParks, and different agencies to say that let us convert that landing strip into a proper commercial international airport and receive tourists there and have activities that that is going to empower a lot of our people in the same way the strategic role is being played by the Kruger National Park Mpumalanga Tourism Corridor. And none of those things have been done, in term of what happens.

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We have spoken about this, I think we have illustrated enough basic logic. It's not true that the state does not create jobs. It's not true that the state does not lead development productive forces, in actual scientific terms. You must go home and study this or ask your researchers, ask everyone.

There's no nation in the world, in the past 40 years that has rapidly developed its productive forces without state decisive leadership. Neo liberalism has never worked. To say that you must an invisible hand that drives the economy and market. It doesn't work anywhere; it is collapsing even the World Economic Forum [Applause.] has attributed that this invisible hand has not there.

All the economies that have caught up now, had clear decisive state leadership and to want to disassociate the state from the people is not a proper philosophical, ideological, system and approach. It has to be changed, and we must also say that, because it's factually incorrect.

These ones of the DA can repeat that, it's an ideological commitment. But this who spoke here on Thursday is a President of the Republic. He is going to repeat that in front of people

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elsewhere, they will think all of us agree to that.

[Applause.] So, you must never ever repeat that thing anywhere. Because is factually incorrect, people gonna say that, in means people of South Africa are not literate, how can the whole country say ... because he says "we all know that government does not create jobs" you must go and repeat that in a Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa, BRICS Forum, then they will say this is pure madness. They will say this is pure foolishness. That is how we are going to be characterised because, these people have experienced the real hand of the state in driving development, in driving the productive forces.

But all of these things will only happen once we have defeated the ANC. We are making progress now. We have to remove the ANC from power. [Applause.] The future does not have space for both the ANC and the EFF. [Applause.] And one must die, it has to be the ANC. It has to be the ANC; it has outlived its purposefulness. It doesn't know whether it's a liberation movement or what. It doesn't know what it stands for.

This nonsense that the economy is going to be grown by the private sector was super imposed by President Mandela, when he

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introduced Growth, Employment, and Redistribution, GEAR. Unemployment was 16% in 1996, is 34% now. Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa, AsgiSA, you said that let's just accelerate growth maybe there will be some jobs and redistribution happening, it never happened. New Growth Path, NDP, all of those things.

What we are basically doing is to see that we have got a crisis in your family. That there is a food item which has got a poison. You continue to give the food poison, people are dying. And then you think the solution is to add more and more poison. This neoliberal conviction, it's madness, it must come to an end, you must study properly what has led to the development of all the economies, that got caught up with countries that got industrialised first. It is not neoliberalism; it is not the invisible hand of the state. It's a state that is decisive and intervenes on the direction of the economy. It's a state that determines the form, the content, the nature, the direction of what development must take. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND CORRECTIONAL SERVICES: The hon President of the Republic, His Excellency Cyril Ramaphosa, the

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hon Deputy President, His Excellency David Mabuza, the Deputy Speaker, hon members and everyone in the House, the relationship between the national democratic state and all private capital, including monopoly capital, is one of 'unity and struggle', co-operation and contestation. That is a strategy and tactic of the ANC that the President quoted when he was here delivering his state of the nation address. What hon Shivambu has just said is the distortion of the highest level of the conceptualisation of the role of the state in the economy. [Interjections.] The President was very clear about the role of the state in helping creating jobs and also in helping for the creation and also for economic growth.

What hon Shivambu has said about China. China has got socialism with Chinese characteristics. And Chinese characteristics allows for private sector direct investment into the economy in China. [Applause.] In Singapore, Singapore was also built by the state allowing the private sector to invest and also international direct investment. There was a role of the state but there was also a role of the private sector. It's a complete distortion by hon Shivambu to say that it was only the hand of the state. Even in China as we speak today, the big corporations in China, Alibaba and many more

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are private sector corporations which also accept foreign direct investment. This started during the period of Xi Jinping the opening up in China. So, there cannot be a distortion moving away and breaking away from a cultural revolution of Mao Tse-tung in China. [Interjection.]

So, hon Shivambu must not distort the economic trajectory of the peoples of the Republic of China. These happened in all the Asian Tigers countries, Singapore, South Korea and all of them. [Applause.] There is no country today that does not operate allowing foreign direct investment and also allowing the private sector to play a role in the economy. That is what the President of the ANC said here by speaking about the mixed economy and the role of the state in that mixed economy.

[Interjections.] I want to come hon Speaker to the reality of conceptualisation of us having a consensus as a country.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Minister, just hold on and take a seat. What are you rising on, hon member?

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Hon Speaker, can I ask a question to the hon Minister about the role of the state in creating jobs.

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Wait, wait.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Okay, sorry.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Minister will you take a question?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND CORRECTIONAL SERVICES: No, hon Deputy Speaker.

Dr M Q NDLOZI: I knew it.

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND CORRECTIONAL SERVICES: I am not shocked of poor Ndlozi, hon Speaker. The supreme leader has taken all the minutes. The only thing he can do is to disrupt the speakers. [Applause.] That is his only chance of speaking. [Applause.] Hon Speaker, I want to quote from the former President of the Republic Nelson Mandela when he spoke about the role of the state and the Constitution. The authority of government comes from the people through the Constitution. Your tasks and responsibilities, as well as your power, come to you from the people through the Constitution. The people speak through the Constitution. The Constitution

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enables the multiple voices of the people to be heard in an organised, articulate, meaningful and principled manner.

I will dare add, attacks against the Constitution disguised through revolutionary sounding phrases, remain counter revolutionary, they are against the people. It is a language aimed to replace people's institutions with a personality cult such as the supreme leader of the EFF where only one person thinks, speaks and acts on behalf of the entire organisation. He now wants to act on behalf of the whole nation. We must not allow that as South Africans. The struggle is about the people.

This Mr President, will be our war cry as the battle soul for our country. And we are armed with an incredible instrument, the Constitution, which is a culmination of battles and legions of South Africans of all races, Africans, and the world at large. Our commitment to Constitutionalism is a product of blood and sweat of our fallen heroes. From the 1912 the *African Claims*, *Ready to govern*, the *Women's Charter* and all documents. The ANC has emphasised the role of the people, the role of the state and the economy and the role of

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government in ensuring that the people participate in the governance of their country.

A decade later, we are still standing on our Constitutional principles. The DA cannot want to claim to be more constitutionalist than the ANC. Because our founding fathers are the ones who taught us about the Constitution. The ANC is an organisation deeply embedded in constitutionalism. Hon Steenhuisen and hon Mazzone are new to these issues.

[Applause.] We have always stood against the immoral nature of apartheid and replaced it with Constitutionalism.

Constitutionalism proclaims the desirability of the rule of law as opposed to rule by arbitrary judgment or mere declaration of public officials. It is a role we are continuing to play in this country to ensure and involve South Africans to participate in the governance of this country.

Hence they are also able to come here in this podium and speak lots of things that do not relate to the building of a better south Africa, as hon Shivambu was doing now. Our constitution is a transformative document and changing the character and the nature of our economy for the benefit of the people as a whole and to build social cohesion and also to ensure that

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everyone plays a role in building a society that we envisage through the Freedom Charter.

I know, hon Deputy Speaker, that the National Prosecuting Authority, NPA, is breaking the shackles which constrained it. Despite capacity challenges and budget constraints, our law enforcement and criminal justice agencies have achieved noteworthy success. To strengthen the capacity of the National Prosecuting Authority, we will be implementing sections of Reconstruction, and Development Funding Act. Furthermore, to strengthen the human capital of the NPA, we will continue to invoke section 38 of the NPA Act which enables the NPA to acquire the services of persons who have suitable qualifications and experience to perform services in specific cases.

The NPA is also prioritising appointments at a senior level, this process will be concluded speedily. The Fusion Centre, established by government to bring together the key law enforcement agencies to strengthen the collective efforts to prevent, detect, investigate, and prosecute COVID-19 related corruption, has enrolled 45 cases in court with 101 accused facing charges as of January 2022, 16 of these cases have been

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finalised with a guilty verdict. [Applause.] To say nothing has happened Mr Steenhuisen is to mislead the nation.

The NPA's Asset Forfeiture Unit has recovered R168 millions on COVID-19 related matters. The Special Tribunal announced by President Ramaphosa in 2019, has recovered R500 million through preservation, review and setting aside orders. The NPA's Investigating Directorate is seized with 37 high profile state capture cases with 14 matters enrolled in court relating to the various sectors it is focused on. In the next month, the Investigating Directorate will be enrolling additional three seminal matters.

In terms of asset forfeiture, the Gauteng High Court granted an order to seize assets worth R1,4 billion belonging to accused implicated in the corruption scandal involving the construction of Eskom's Kusile power station. In the Bloemfontein High Court, the NPA has been granted an unlimited restraint order to the value of R520 million for assets in relation to various Gupta-linked companies. Hon Maotwe, you will now see that the President is serious about the fight against corruption. He is not a shapeless amoeba nor a jelly fish.

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IsiZulu:

Indaba yethu iqondile ayifuni irula. Siyaphambili! [Ihlombe.]

English:

A preservation order was filed by the NPA for the Optimum Mine estimated at R8 billion. This is on the back of R870 million and R1,1 billion recovered from McKinsey & Company for their involvement in the Transnet saga, R217 million has been recovered from Bain and Company and the SIU has recovered over R 1,5 billion from ABB South Africa. You will also realise that these are big multilateral companies. There is no holly cow. The NPA is going after everyone to bring back the money into the fiscus. [Applause.]

We have also seen that our capacity to address white collar crime is on the rise, this among others, is demonstrated by the prosecution of fraud amounting to some R3,5 billion in the Tongaat matter which is laudable. There has been criticism that the NPA does not deal with white collar crime, including the Hawks. R3, billion is a matter before our courts as we speak. Steinhoff remains on the radar of law enforcement agencies. I know that soon they will be able to update the nation as to how far they are on the matter of Steinhoff.

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A total of 5451 sexual offence cases were finalised with a verdict and 4098 convictions were obtained. This represents a conviction rate of 75,2% of the highest conviction rate achieved in the past five years. The President's commitment to fight against gender-based violence and sexual offence is real. It is taking route in our court and our criminal justice system. [Applause.] So, what the President has said here is real and in action. It is a reflection in terms of these convictions, that compacts work. Government alone cannot be able to succeed to fight crime.

We need all sectors of society, civil society NGOs and everyone. We want to thank the role that was played by civil society in the three GBV base. We also want to state that access to justice is increasing under President Ramaphosa. Legal Aid South Africa will soon from the 1 March this year be implementing a program to deal with evictions against farm workers across the country. [Applause.] A farm worker will be able to have a lawyer hand-in-hand to be able to go to any court in this country to defend themselves on issues of evictions by farm owners across this country. [Applause.] This is to broaden the role of access to justice.

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Hon Malema referred to Thohoyandou Management Area, popularly known as Matdhatse, where he claimed Correctional Services was procuring items from Polokwane, at the expense of local businesses. We want to assure South Africans that through the self-sufficiency model, inmates are producing their own food across management areas. As a result, Correctional Services no longer procures items such as eggs and pork.

Thohoyandou Management Area, in the current financial year, through offender labour, produces fruits, vegetables, beef and pork for inmates' rations resulting in a huge saving to the Fiscus. Where we need to procure items which we do not internally produce in enough quantities, we always prioritise local businesses. Any insinuation suggesting otherwise by hon Malema, the supreme leader of the EFF, display lack of knowledge and highest level of ignorance.

Correctional Services will through the Self Sufficiency Strategic Model, continue providing skills to inmates and to empower the victims of crimes. With regards to infrastructure, it is not correct that the President only delivers infrastructure to paving. [Interjections.] Paving is important particularly with regards to rural routes but the President

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has delivered infrastructure in many parts of this country. If you look at streets in Kwazulu-Natal as we speak today ...

[Inaudible.] ... that are moving in the City of eThekweni. It is the work of this government and will continue to deliver reliable infrastructure across the country. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Mr A N SARUPEN: Deputy Speaker, this was an utterly bizarre two days! I say that because, if the theme of the President's address was courage for reform, then the ANC speakers missed the memo! Their theme was Alice in Wonderland!

According to what we heard from the ANC in this debate, the education system is fine, the roads are all fine, the police system is working, everyone has water and energy, government projects are delivered on time to world-class standards, and the state capturers have been dealt with.

These out-of-touch Ministers and MPs clearly don't understand what is going in the real South Africa because, outside of the ANC's Wonderland, the state capturers have not been dealt with

- the Guptas are in Dubai, not behind bars, let's start there
- the roads are littered with potholes, people go for days

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without water, the cost of living is rising, and corrupt, inefficient state officials demand bribes for simple things like renewing driver's licences - assuming that the machine works!

In this tale of the ANC in Wonderland, we heard ANC Ministers and members contradict themselves, each other and the President effortlessly, without a hint of irony. We saw this effortless contradiction when Minister Mantashe started by calling the DA "rightwing". And then he quoted Chris Hart and the International Labour Organization, ILO, to justify his policies, positioning himself to the right of a party he calls rightwing. And then, moments later, hon Frolick came up with a very sensible speech about climate change and a just energy transition, as if his own Minister didn't just effectively declare that the ANC's policy is to burn every fossil fuel in sight! Only an ANC in Wonderland can do this.

We saw contortions and verbal gymnastics when the education Minister came up here and quoted the NDP and then the New Growth Path as though those documents do not contradict each other. And then, without a trace of irony, she told us that the education system is doing fine, despite the fact that, by

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every measure and outcome, it is considered one of the world's worst education systems. Only an ANC in Wonderland can do this. [Applause.]

In this debate we saw from the ANC's side that the blades were not sharp and the tigers did not roar. [Laughter.]

We saw effortless contradictions again and again when ANC speaker after ANC speaker contorted or walked back the President's assertion that the state creates an enabling environment while business creates jobs. I have never seen this much contortion before. People pivoted to a mixed economy on the one side. One ANC member even, despite the President saying this, stood at this podium today and said the state must own the means of production. I quote that verbatim. This is the antithesis of an enabling environment. Only an ANC in Wonderland can do this.

The less said of the Minister of Communications the better. We just hope she doesn't offer Denel the same ... sorry. We hope that she doesn't offer the SABC the same services as Denel. Let's just leave it at that.

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But the President's statement itself was bold. It is clear that his Ministers and MPs will never let it become policy. They have taken to online platforms and newspapers to condemn their own President. Some of them call themselves the RET grouping, but there is nothing radical about RET policies. If you want to see their outcome, they have been tried. Go to visit the Estina Dairy Farm. It was great that we had the Premier of the Free State up here; maybe she can give you a tour.

There are two volumes of a judicial enquiry into state capture that shows us exactly what the consequences of RET policies are.

When the President told us in his address that there was a criminal syndicate that had infiltrated the state to engage in state capture, he forgot to tell us that they were all ANC members, mostly in the RET faction, and that this network included his predecessor.

There are two key ANC policies that enable state capture that the DA has comprehensively demolished in this debate, namely black economic empowerment, BEE, and cadre deployment. Black economic empowerment is an innocuous-sounding policy, but its

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real intention is to use race to enrich ANC members, using government contracts. Cadre deployment ensures that you stick party members onto the tender committees, and tell them who the tenders must go to. That's a corrupt network and system right there. If the President is serious about dismantling this corrupt network, he needs to dismantle these policies.

But we see that these RET faction folk want to continue with this. As I said, their policies are not radical; they are old, outmoded and deeply conservative. They were tried in the 1960s, and they have been rejected the world over.

So, I think the President made his statement in order to shore up economic confidence and tell investors that his own party has closed the book on ideas that collapsed with the fall of the Berlin Wall.

But, he cannot move because he cannot dismiss Cabinet members who attack the judiciary. He doesn't dismiss members who fail to co-ordinate the response to the July riots, and he doesn't dismiss Ministers who fail to Gazette his own energy proposals year in and year out.

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Sir, how can we trust that all of this will happen when we need an enabling environment that has world-class infrastructure, but you have a Minister of Public Works that builds a washing line for a border fence.

We need clear, simple, flexible labour legislation for the enabling environment, but you can't do that with a Minister of Labour who believes that a swimming pool is a fire pool!

You cannot sort out SOEs when you have a Minister of Public Enterprises who has such contempt for Parliament that he has stopped answering most questions.

So, with all these effortless contradictions and contortions, the President is stuck. He has a moribund party. That is why we are going to help him remove his Cabinet in order to get this country moving forward again. Thank you. [Applause.]

Mr Q R DYANTYI: Hon Deputy Speaker, the President of the Republic and the Deputy President of the Republic, I salute. This year as we celebrate the 25th anniversary of the launch of our Constitution it is important to reflect upon three key principles encapsulated in the preamble: nation building,

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social cohesion and unity. These principles are critical for a social compact to rebuild, renew and unite our country against the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

In a speech to the National Assembly by former President, the then Deputy President, hon Thabo Mbeki, on 29 May 1998 he defined nation building as:

The construction of the reality and the sense of common nationhood which would result from the abolition of disparities in the quality of life among South Africans based on racial, gender and geographic inequalities we all inherited from the past.

He further says:

A major component part of nation building is defined by and derived from the material conditions in our society which have divided our country into two nations: one black and poor, the other rich and white.

I'll say more about that in the context of the Western Cape.

[Interjections.]

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From the above there is a very clear alignment between our constitutional values and the ANC's vision which is to build a united, democratic, nonracial, nonsexist, national democratic and prosperous society. This alignment is not accidental, it emanates from historical ANC policies and principles of Pan Africanism and human rights such as the Africans Claim, the Freedom Charter and Harare Declaration.

I complete this grounding about the importance of our Constitution with the candid words of our retired judge, Judge Albie Sachs, in a lecture delivered at University of Cape Town, UCT, in 1991, titled Perfectibility and Corruptibility:

We realised at the time that we needed protections against ourselves, against the tendencies of power, not only to marginalize the weak but to corrupt the powerful.

A nation that confronts itself, that questions more about what it is doing, how it is doing it and why it is doing it, that learns by doing and learns from that experience, is one that will develop and grow.

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The politically rich state of the nation address by the President has sparked rigorous debate and is a reflection that it was indeed the content of that address, that a debate is acknowledged.

We entered the debate speaking of a social compact, mindful of the fact that we don't all share the same perspective about it. What has been reaffirmed though by most speakers is that we have a very serious socioeconomic situation in this country which requires us to unite and work together behind a plan and in a social compact to substantively address this situation.

In the university of life, a set of questions comes back to those who claim they have definitive and absolute answer. On whose authority do you speak, where do we find in what you say authority and what does this authority add in dealing with the national contradictions we facing?

In a constitutional democracy authority derives from the Constitution of a country, that which brings us together. The intention of our Constitution is to bring about social justice, social cohesion and nation-building. We have responsibility, therefore, to build a nation based on the Bill

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of Rights and we have an equal responsibility to bring everyone into this cause to construct a country that we all want. To promote that which binds us together rather than that which divides us.

A new consensus based on what we broadly agree, which is the current conjuncture, is achievable and is within our grasp.

As the President indicates, a consensus that is born out of common understanding of our current challenging situation and a recognition of the need to address the challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality.

South Africa, therefore, needs a new consensus that embraces the understanding of the need to redistribute wealth and assets for the greater good of the nation, currently and in the future. It means dealing with the structure of the economy and ensuring far greater ability for the masses of the nation to acquire assets to sustain themselves.

The implementation of economic structural reforms is not limited to the regulatory environment. Dedicated measures, many of which are in place, are required to support economic

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growth, support to businesses and cooperatives, with special focus on informal, survivalist and microenterprise activity.

In essence, the call for 2022 has four major interventions to which the social compact has to apply itself, and these are: publicly funded employment; support to companies to increase private sector employment; support to enable productive livelihoods; and expanded social protection.

These initiatives must result in a new national employment policy that supports the employment-centred framework and retains the employment standards that the International Labour Organization, ILO, has credited us with.

In other words, and this is where challenge starts, interested parties seek to arrive at a social compact with conditionalities and this is where progress will then begin to stall. Political and Economic history is littered with good intentions but an inability of the stakeholders to work together in the interest of the majority as they cling to their sectional interests.

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I raise this because unless we are honest and frank with how we at times are the biggest stumbling block to progress, we are destined to repeat same political and economic history mistakes.

Today we have over 20 million people who either don't bother to register or vote or don't exercise their right to vote. Fewer people vote than those who don't and this should wake us up to a fundamental right in the Constitution that our people have decided to walk away from.

As it is the case in any country, the state must remain at the centre and facilitate a new consensus and social compact. Consciously, opposition in this debate, both in the so-called pre-state of the nation address briefings and the debate itself, have tried to drive the narrative that the centre is the market and the private sector, yet some thought that a centralised office that will dictate to all, which is a typical of a republican party leadership style of insurrection against what you don't like.

Both fail to appreciate that a compact is made out of the people and it is they who must assist to shape its character.

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When we say people must be their own liberators, that's exactly what we mean. There are shared responsibilities that we have towards one another and for the compact to succeed it requires that we pull together. Our focus must be centred on dealing decisively with hunger, economic exclusion, poverty, unemployment and inequality.

As we build a new consensus and a social compact, the contradictions which are in themselves forces for change and development will confront us, firstly, in the form of the unresolved national question, the land question and the consequences of the structure of the economy which drives an exclusionary pattern of reproduction.

Our essential element is a common history, one of dispossession, struggle and liberation struggle out of which a new nation emerged from the community of origins and community of cultures. We are a nation as the totality of peoples united by a common fate.

In building the common consensus and social compact it must be informed by progressive values that we find in our Constitution of nonracialism, nonsexism, respect for human

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rights and democracy. It means defeating backward tendencies, narrow nationalism, racism and patriarchy.

What essentially distinguishes a nation from an ethnic group is its political dimension, which is most obvious in a national political movement. Hence a nation is led and it does not operate spontaneously and in this regard the state must lead.

In nation building we have to look past our ethnicity and we must think to a higher form of consciousness.

With regard to our particular role as Parliament, Comrade President, clearly your message is one which will guide this government for the year. For Parliament in 2022, it's going to be an extremely busy year for our constitutional responsibility in terms of oversight.

The battalion of back benchers of the ANC are ready to lead that oversight in a very progressive and vigorous manner.

[Applause.] This is an opportunity that the opposition have missed because they came here to lament about oversight.

Oversight in our understanding is not an opposition to the

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executive. Oversight is about ensuring that there's an impact, it is about following the money, it is also about making sure that we hold the executive through to its commitment.

[Applause.] We have already started to do that as members of the ANC.

I was surprised to listen to hon Gwarube lamenting about an ANC blocking the oversight in favour of the executive. Quite clearly she's got it wrong because where we are sitting, whether you go to the justice committee or home affairs and others, the ANC members are leading that discussion.

[Interjections.]

Maybe the issue that I think we are going to need to deal with [Interjections.] ... I was just about to go there because I am, as a citizen of this city, have experienced both oversight. I come from the Western Cape where the DA would block any oversight to the executive. And when I came here as a member of the ruling party I saw exactly a back bencher of the ANC driving that oversight.

Maybe the issue I need to go to now is to reflect and give you feedback as an opposition. For the whole day yesterday and

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today [Interjections.] what we have heard from the opposition are some of the following issues: they have spent time to tell us about death wishes, about obituary of the ANC, about divide and rule, about all sorts of issues.

I want to take and start with the DA. [Interjections.] The DA makes the issue about the President having 'copy and paste' their policy. Clearly what is happening there, this is the template of the DA, and is not just about jealousy, it comes back to 2009. The issue that the DA is driving is driven by white supremacy mentality. [Applause.] [Interjections.] That it is only them that can do good things. Anything that is commendable that is done by the ANC they have to appropriate and claim it. [Interjections.] And that also extends further as an example on the issue of cadre deployment.

On the issue of cadre deployment, when it is done by them it is a correct thing to do. When the ANC does it, it is wrong to do it. That is the DA for you. [Interjections.]

But also, if you take the issue of the DA in relation to what Comrade Thabo Mbeki explained about the two nations. I come

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from Khayelitsha; since December 2021 what you had in Khayelitsha was a sewerage that took two months to be fixed.

Hon Steenhuisen is correct when he says as the DA they do. This is how they do it: they do it for the rich and the white. [Applause.] They don't do it for the people of Khayelitsha. What they want from Mitchells Plain are black votes, they don't want to serve those communities. So, he's correct when he makes that point because when you compare in the same city they have two types of services. In Durbanville a drain never blocks for a week, when you go to Khayelitsha that issue happens; it happens here in the Western Cape.

But also, they've developed and perfected what you call divide and rule. They are saying to us Radical Economic Transformation, RET, members of the ANC must go [Interjections.] and we want to say to them as the ANC we speak here as one organization, you are not going to dictate to us what to do. You are not going to tell us which Cabinet Minister that must we reshuffle. [Applause.]

But further than that, in the DA-led, and maybe that's how you do it, hon Steenhuisen. On the issue of employment you deal

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with interns and you mobilize that for sexual favours in this province. [Interjections.] Hon Albert Fritz is one example, that you are starting to hide [Interjections.] [Applause.] and yet you rise and say you are against gender-based violence, GBV. Poor communities and children who are looking for employment get abused, you use your power to do those kind of things. [Interjections.]

One of the things that I think both yourself and the EFF have gone around getting excited about, you moving from the premise that the November elections is a victory to yourself.

[Interjections.] Just to quickly summarize that, the November elections the DA declined and dropped; the EFF declined.

[Interjections.] The ANC in November, our voters stayed at home, they did not vote for the DA, they did not vote for the EFF [Interjections.] [Applause.] they've stayed at home and said to us: we warning you, please fix these kinds of issues.

[Interjections.] This state of the nation address is a beginning of us addressing that. You seem to have won the elections before the elections. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

In a way, Deputy Speaker ...

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The DEPUTY SPEAKER: What are you rising on, hon member?

Take your seat hon member on the podium! Hon Dyantyi, take your seat.

Yes, what are you rising on?

Dr M Q NDLOZI: Hon Deputy Speaker, I wanted you to offer the hon member water because he's dry. [Interjections.] The EFF didn't decline at all. Drink some water man, it's tough out there. It's very tough. You're supposed to sweep, man. Drink water. It's very difficult, it's very tough. The EFF didn't decline, that's a fact. [Interjections.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon member, that's not a point of order.

Go ahead, hon member!

Mr Q R DYANTYI: Thank you very much, hon Deputy Speaker. Let me just conclude on the issue of unanswered questions and oversight, hon Gwarube. This is a matter that we have attended in the Rules Committee before we closed and rise in 2021, that this matter was concluded in a manner that gives a process

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that says for every quarter we are going to get a report. I don't know which Ministers that you are talking about that have not answered questions because we have not received that report that indicates [Interjections.] to us that these are the Ministers that are not ... I think you are playing to the gallery in raising that particular issue. We are also leading that as members of the ANC. Thank you very much, Deputy Speaker. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, that concludes the speakers' list. The President will reply to the debate tomorrow. The Joint Sitting is adjourned.

The Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly adjourned the Joint Sitting at 19:59.