



**PARLIAMENT**  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

# IN SESSION

"YOUR SEAT IN PARLIAMENT"

Vol. 9 ISSUE 4 APRIL 2009



SPECIAL REPORT: FULL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE 4<sup>TH</sup> DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENT

# Symbols of authority



Black Rod of the National Council of Provinces

## Vision Statement

To build an effective people's Parliament that is responsive to the needs of the people and that is driven by the ideal of realising a better quality of life for all the people of South Africa.

## Mission Statement

As the freely elected representatives of the people of South Africa, our Mission is to represent, and to act as a voice of the people, in fulfilling our Constitutional functions of passing laws and overseeing executive action.

## Strategic Objectives

1. Increasing oversight
2. Increasing public participation
3. Building an efficient, effective institution



Mace of the National Assembly



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Mr Max Sisulu and Mr Mninwa Mahlangu

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## OUR IDEALS

### VISION

To build an effective people's Parliament that is responsive to the needs of the people and that is driven by the ideal of realising a better quality of life for all the people of South Africa.

### MISSION

As the freely elected representatives of the people of South Africa, our mission is to represent, and act as a voice of the people, in fulfilling our Constitutional functions of passing laws and overseeing executive action.

### VALUES

Our values guide the management of Parliament. Our values are formed by that which we treasure and hold dear. It forms the foundation that will give rise to policies, which provide guidance in the implementation of everyday services and projects. The values of Parliament are derived from the role that Parliament plays in the context of our democracy. Therefore our values are formed by the people of South Africa, the Constitution, our co-operation with other arms of government, and our will to act with professionalism and good institutional governance.

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- DVD presentation on the National Symbols and the new Parliamentary Emblem in our multimedia centre
- Guided tours of Parliament including history, the functions of Parliament, an explanation of how Parliament works and how you can get involved in the Parliamentary processes
- Observe debates from the public galleries in the National Assembly or National Council of Provinces.
- Meeting with a member of Parliament.
- Presentations on the Structure of Parliament, Committees of Parliament, How a law is made, Parliament's oversight role, etc
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# Editor's note

One of the hallmarks of democracy is the periodic holding of elections. Elections allow citizens to play an active role in determining who governs the country and they also give those representatives a mandate to speak, and act, on their behalf. All South African citizens over the age of 18 had an opportunity to cast their vote on 22 April this year, in the fourth national elections since the advent of democracy.

By world standards South Africa is a relatively young democracy. What is encouraging though, is that it is maturing. And while maturing democracies tend to see a decrease in the number of people taking part in elections, South Africa has seen an increase.

It bodes well for the future that the youth of our country are taking an interest in voting. This is evidenced by the increase in registration and voting by young people, including first time voters. The voter turnout was an impressive 77.30%, which means that out of 23,181 997 registered voters, a total of 17,919 966 people voted. Thirteen political parties made it to the fourth Parliament, two fewer than the third Parliament.

The National Assembly (NA) has 400 seats and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) has 90 seats of which 54 are permanent delegates. Political parties were accorded seats in the Houses as follows:

<b>National Assembly</b>		<b>Permanent delegates in the National Council of Provinces</b>	
African National Congress (ANC)	264	ANC	35
Democratic Alliance (DA)	67	DA	10
Congress of the People (COPE)	30	COPE	7
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	18	IFP	1
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	4	ID	1
Independent Democrats (ID)	4		
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	4		
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	3		
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	2		
African People's Convention (APC)	1		
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	1		
Minority Front (MF)	1		
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	1		

The fourth democratic Parliament has been established and the Members of Parliament (MPs) inducted. Final touches are being made to the appropriate structures and the composition of Committees is being finalised. Parliament will be steered by two able leaders, the Speaker of the National Assembly (NA), Mr Max Sisulu, and the Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), Mr Mninwa Mahlangu. They will be supported by the Deputy Speaker of the NA, Ms Nomaindia Mfeketo, and the Deputy Chairperson of the NCOP, Ms Thandi Memela.

There will be no time to spare once the Committees are in place, and work will commence as soon as the Chairpersons are appointed. The fourth democratically elected President, Mr Jacob Zuma, will deliver his first State of the Nation Address to the first joint sitting of Parliament early in June.

In this Issue, we bring you the list of your representatives in the NA and the NCOP. We explain the workings of Committees, and describe the handover from the third to the fourth Parliament. In our Guest Column, Prof Lesiba Toffe of the University of Limpopo asks where to from here for the new Parliament, and Estelle Randall lets us in on what happened at the Results Operation Centre of the Independent Electoral Commission in Pretoria.

**Welcome to the fourth democratic Parliament. Enjoy the read.**

**Momelezi Kula**  
**Editor**





*Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr Max Sisulu*

Message from the

## National Assembly

### Let's be open to all

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you all to the fourth Parliament. This is an exciting period in the life of our democratic government, because our Parliament is more diverse than ever before (certainly in terms of political views represented) and as such, it offers a unique opportunity to develop and deepen our democratic culture.

As some of you may know, I sat on the Independent Panel Assessment (of transformation) in both Houses of Parliament. Many useful observations and recommendations were made in our report. Everyone should be reassured that these will be taken forward.

More importantly, we want all elected Members of Parliament (MPs) to play a fully active role in this Parliament as representatives of our people. An ongoing training schedule for MPs has been initiated to help MPs to conduct their work with dignity, dedication and honour. There is a lot of work to be done in this fourth Parliament. Our immediate focus will be to constitute Committees of both Houses and to make all other institutional arrangements. We must ensure that the programme of Parliament is designed to effectively conduct oversight, monitoring and evaluation of government departments.

Like MPs, I look forward to serving in a Parliament where inputs can be expressed constructively and freely, without fear or favour. I hope that the debates we have will be well-informed, meaningful and respectful. We also need to give serious attention to the ways in which MPs interact with the public and we must rededicate ourselves to the true meaning of keeping the doors of Parliament open.

Together we must continue the transformation of our Parliament and ensure that it remains relevant to the many challenges our people face, and the hope they have invested in all of us.

Let's build our Parliament. 🇿🇦

**Mr Max Sisulu**  
**Speaker of the National Assembly**



## Message from the National Council of Provinces



*Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces,  
Mr Mninwa Mahlangu*

### The future beckons

I would like to extend a special welcome to all Members of Parliament who are joining the institution for the first time. I hope that everybody is geared to start work, especially after the interest shown by the electorate in the national and provincial elections on 22 April, 2009. To both new and returning MPs, you are part of what promises to be an exciting new fourth Parliament of democratic South Africa. There is urgency to respond to the mandate of the people. There is also urgency to ensure that our promise of a better life for our people becomes a reality. The task of ensuring that our people benefit from democracy is in your hands.

In South Africa, the legislative authority of the national sphere of government is vested in Parliament (as set out in section 44 of the Constitution). Parliament comprises the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces. The National Assembly is elected to represent the people and to ensure government by the people under the Constitution. It does this by choosing the President, by providing a national forum for public consideration of issues, by passing legislation and by scrutinising and overseeing executive action. The mandate of the National Council of Provinces is to represent the provinces to ensure that provincial interests are taken into account in the national sphere of government. It does this mainly by participating in the national legislative process and by providing a national forum for public consideration of the issues that affect the provinces.

The role of Parliament is to act as the voice of the people and to represent their interests. It is reflected in Parliament's vision statement: *To build an effective people's Parliament that is responsive to the needs of the people and that is driven by the ideal of realising a better quality of life for all the people of South Africa.*

In essence, Parliament is there for the people. The other important pillar of Parliament is the Committee system. These Committees serve as the engine room for Parliament. They provide a mechanism through which to implement the work of Parliament. Parliament has the responsibility of overseeing government action. This responsibility requires capacity, that is, MPs must have the support that they need to carry out their work, especially the capacity to interrogate government information and programmes. The third Parliament began the process of building support capacity in the form of research and content analysis. One of the big challenges for Parliament in the area of oversight is to follow up on legislation passed since 1994, in order to judge its impact on the lives of our people (1 070 pieces of legislation were passed between 1994 and the end of the third Parliament). Parliamentary oversight must be informed by, among other things, the commitments that government makes to the electorate.

Welcome to the fourth Parliament. 🇿🇦

**Mr Mninwa Mahlangu**  
**Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces**

# The 4<sup>th</sup> Parliament is born

*Where to from here?*

This article was written by **Prof. Lesiba Teffo**, University of Limpopo, and it does not necessarily reflect the views of the publishers of INSESSION.

The architects of our Constitution tried to ensure that the objectives and values that underpin it, as lived by all South Africans, are aimed at a united, non-racist, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society that can play a pivotal role in building a better world. The current ruling party would say “together we can do more in the next five years.”

Parliament is a vehicle that should ensure that these objectives and values become a reality. Not everything can be achieved in the next five years, but if this Parliament is to build on the notable achievements of the three previous ones, its Members would be well advised to focus on areas of concern.

## Improving education

The manifestos of almost all parties in April’s national elections decried the current state of education, and President Kgalema Motlanthe alluded to this in his State of the Nation Address. My own contention is that the government invests adequate resources in the system but the problem lies with the bureaucracy, heavily politicized teachers’ unions, and most importantly, a failure to appoint people on merit – including top officials in the Department of Education. If you want to kill an institution, you do not have to shut it down. Appoint mediocre people and they will destroy it with almost ruthless efficiency. Evidence of this abounds across the public institutions of South Africa.

## A non-partisan public service

There is also an urgent need to remove the element of party politics from the public service. A dangerous precedent was set through the “cadre deployment” strategy. This must end forthwith, and where possible certain appointments should be reviewed. The country does not need bureaucrats to compete for the attention and favour of the electorate, in the course of rendering service. Bureaucrats who belong to different parties inevitably end up trying to sabotage each other, at the expense

of service delivery.

## Electoral system reforms

The present electoral system has become anachronistic and voters are calling for it to be reviewed. Given the dynamics of South Africa, a mixed system of direct and proportional representation is supported by many people. A dispassionate debate on this subject should be encouraged by all interested parties, across the nation and in the nine Provincial Legislative Assemblies.

## Quality healthcare for all

The country’s health infrastructure in terms of equipment and human capital is a cause for concern, and affordable, quality healthcare is the preserve of a few. Therefore, the mooted introduction of a national health insurance policy should be expedited. South Africa is fairly well endowed, and should be able to afford minimum health insurance, in some form or other. Should it be achieved, the maxim of a better life for all would be closer to fulfillment, and this would resonate with everyone.

Other areas of concern include service delivery and the Republic’s foreign policy, especially in the past five years. Our performance during our sojourn in the Security Council and our ambivalent position on Zimbabwe nearly turned us into the skunk of the world. Parliament must review its foreign policies and panelbeat that dented image.

Each Ministry and Department would be well advised to revisit people’s concerns about poor service delivery. The frequency and intensity of protest marches over service delivery could be harbingers of worse things to come. In this regard I would urge Parliament to consider policies and legislation that are pro-poor, and primarily inclined towards agrarian reform and rural development.



*Frontbenchers await induction into the fourth Parliament*

A judicial service review is imperative but like a heart transplant, it would need experts with professional integrity to facilitate it. The judicial service is sacrosanct and Parliament should act with prudence and in the best interests of the country, rather than of parties or individuals. Until now, the judiciary has constantly been under stress and we should refrain from abusing it in the pursuit of political agendas.

### **Affirmative action must go**

South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world. The past 15 years have witnessed a big growth in unemployment, and destitute people easily become restless. I would hope that despite the global financial crisis, Parliament and the corporates would seek policies and legislation to alleviate their plight.

But while the policy of affirmative action was necessary to redress the imbalances of the past but it cannot forever remain on our statutes and in our mindset. It must be reviewed in all

its ramifications, and sunset clauses must be established and pronounced. In great part the greed and corruption that is so endemic in our body politic can be attributed to it. Moreover, the skills drain is often linked to this policy.

Black Americans waged war for civil liberties, but in the end, after a critical consideration, they recommended that affirmative action should be scrapped. Nobody can claim that President Barak Obama is the President of USA because of the colour of his skin, or because of historical considerations. To borrow the words of Martin Luther King Jnr, "I fervently wish that my three children will one day live in a South Africa where they will be judged not by the colour of their skin, but by the content of their character." 🇿🇦

*Prof Lesiba Teffo is an independent Political Analyst and Executive Dean, Faculty of Humanities at the University of Limpopo. He writes this in his personal capacity.*

# IEC delivers on election

by Estelle Randall

In every national election of the democratic South Africa since 1999 the Tshwane Events Centre, formerly called the Pretoria Showgrounds, has been the centre stage of the Independent Electoral Commission's Results Operation Centre in South Africa's general election.

Then, the place that is associated with agricultural shows plays host to a battalion of journalists, international election observers and anxious political party leaders and members.

In just three weeks, 12 000 square metres of floor space split across two levels were covered with 44 000 carpet tiles and equipped with 450 personal computers, about 300 telephone units, more than 22 kilometres of fibre cabling for data and telephone points, about 1 000 power points and around 200 lights.

Seven radio stations, five television broadcasters (South African Broadcasting Corporation, E-TV, British Broadcasting Corporation, CNN and Eurovision), and seven newspapers were ensconced in the centre, while organisers and representatives of 26 political parties took their place in party offices and on the floor of the Results Operation Centre (ROC).

The 26 political parties that contested the April 2009 general election each had a small office and a table on the main floor of the ROC with a personal computer and telephone connections to enable party representatives to keep in touch with their agents in the field.

In the end, the giant results boards at the front of the hanger-like space that had been transformed into the national ROC, showed that half of the contesting parties had made it to Parliament.

The 13 parties and their seat allocation in the 400-member National Assembly are:

African National Congress (ANC)	264
Democratic Alliance (DA)	67
Congress of the People (COPE)	30
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	18
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	4
Independent Democrats (ID)	4
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	4
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	3
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	2
African People's Convention (APC)	1
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	1
Minority Front (MF)	1
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	1



The message of this year's general election, in which 77.3% of the country's 21,6 million registered voters cast their vote, is that South Africans have confidence in the institutions of democratic South Africa and their ability to bring about change.

The key institution through which change can be implemented is Parliament, and on 6 May the fourth democratic Parliament started to establish itself.

This was when Parliament's National Assembly (NA) met for the first time to swear in its 400 new MPs, to elect its Presiding Officers and to elect the President of the Republic of South Africa.

On 7 May, Parliament's National Council of Provinces (NCOP) went through a similar process of swearing in MPs and electing Presiding Officers.

Committees for both the NA and the NCOP have since been established.

These Committees are the primary vehicles through which Parliament exercises its roles, as set out by the Constitution, of law-making, oversight over government and facilitating public participation in national issues affecting South Africa.

Given the changes to the government, with new cabinet positions having been established and changes made to others, Parliamentary Committees in the fourth democratic Parliament may look quite different to those of its predecessor. 🌐

***Estelle Randall works in the Media Management Unit for the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa.***

# Euro aid boosts democracy

by Abel Mputing

The Legislative sector says it wants to breathe new life into our democracy, and to help it succeed, the European Commission (EC) has pledged both diplomatic support and an annual funding commitment.

The EC's financial commitment since 1996 has resulted in the Parliamentary Support Programme, later called the Legislature Support Programme (LSP), which currently encompasses all nine Provincial Legislatures. The legislative support component is under the stewardship of the Speakers' Forum of South Africa (SFSA).

EC support will continue under a third programme, the "Legislative Sector Policy Support Programme" with an additional 15 million Euro (€15m) to the fourth Parliament and Provincial Legislatures.

The former Chairperson of the SFSA, Ms Baleka Mbete, says the adoption of the sector's coherent policy directives and all its developmental approaches will indeed help it fulfill its constitutional mandate.

"The SFSA has, with the assistance of the European Union funded Legislature Support Programme, developed various institution-specific strategies aimed at helping to implement critical legislative business. These will ensure that there is sustainability and that the co-ordination of the legislative sector is strengthened. We also appreciate their assistance and we look forward to continuing this strategic relationship," Ms Mbete said.

The SFSA is a voluntary association with full capacity as a separate legal entity. It consists of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly (NA), the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) and Speakers and Deputy Speakers of all nine Provincial Legislative Assemblies.

The SFSA, as the contracting authority, has been overseeing the management and co-ordination of EC donor-fund programmes for the past ten years. The ongoing management of these programmes was effected through a programme steering committee, nominated and reporting to the SFSA. Most of all, SFSA has with the help of the LSP brought unity to entities that were previously operating independently of each other. The main objectives of the SFSA are to develop a common understanding from shared experiences from which a legislative

sector evolves, to co-ordinate work on areas of common interest and to develop and manage programmes that cover the entire sector.

Video conferencing has been a great help, states the Legacy Report. This facility is intended to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the main constitutional functions of the various legislatures, which includes law-making, oversight and public participation. Video conferencing will also help the NCOP and various Provincial Legislative Assemblies to have virtual meetings without actually getting together under one roof.

The Legacy Report states that for the SFSA to contribute effectively to democracy and good governance, it first had to formulate coherent policy directives through the LSP that would govern it as an entity with its own legal and constitutional jurisdiction. The SFSA's aim has been to develop policy guidelines and operational frameworks for the individual legislatures. Sectoral framework documents for public participation, gender and disability have been adopted and there is an oversight model in the pipeline. Such policy directives would also influence the bilateral and multilateral missions of South African Legislatures.

A sectoral policy for the legislatures should be informed by the reality that South Africa has become a member of the international legislative community. Parliament and the Provincial Legislatures therefore participate in unison in international bilateral and multilateral engagements led by Parliament. The Legislatures have agreed that the South African legislative sector should take part in these engagements, be it the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) or Pan-African Parliament (PAP), and be represented as one delegation from a unitary country.

Most important is the potential of all the legislatures working together to promote South Africa's nation-building agenda. This hinges on the deepening of both our representative and parliamentary democracy.

The Legacy Report adds that while South Africa is largely regarded as a successful democracy in Africa, there is a constant need to strengthen the Legislatures so that they continue to be the backbone of successful representative democracy. And to a great extent that depends on effective elections. 🇿🇦



# Wrapping up SA's Finance

by Yoliswa Landu



Public Division of Revenue hearings a success

**From Left to Right:**  
**Back Row:** Marius Robertson, Zolani Rento, Daniel Botha  
**Front Row:** Thoko Xaso, Abbie Mchunu, Tutu Ralane (Chairperson), Denise Robinson, Elliot Sogoni, Zolile Kolweni

**N**ot every Member of Parliament has been out there promoting the political fortunes of his or her party in the run-up to the recent general elections. Some remained in Parliament for the better part of the month preceding the election wrapping up the work of their Committees. Among these were the MPs in the National Council of Provinces' Select Committees on Finance.

The Committee held public hearings from 24 February to 3 March on the Division of Revenue Bill. The Bill provides for the equitable division of revenue among the national, provincial and local spheres of government for the 2009/2010 financial year. It was passed by the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) on 19 March and sent to the President for assent.

The National Assembly referred the Bill to the NCOP after the Budget Speech delivered by Minister of Finance, Mr Trevor Manuel, in February 2009. Mr Manuel presented a total national

budget of R738.5bn for the 2009/2010 financial year, out of which the National Government was allocated R483.6bn, the Provinces R231bn and Local Government R23.8bn over the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF).

Government Departments made presentations to the Committee. The expenditure plans, the budget and key outcomes of the third quarterly report for conditional grants formed part of these presentations. Conditional grants are allocations to Provinces, local government or municipalities from the National Government's share of revenue.

Some of the departments that appeared before the Committee include Transport, Health, Public Works, Agriculture, Treasury and Local Government.

The Director General of the Department of Transport, Ms Mpumi Mpofu, told the Committee that the budget allocations for



## Target: halving unemployment by 2014

bus subsidies had been insufficient since 2005/2006, and this has led to the declining levels of service, and an escalation in costs, during a time of growth in demand.

Efforts to change this for the 2009/2010 financial year were underway and they included a decision to have bus subsidy funding as a conditional grant, managed under the Division of Revenue Act. All interim contracts which were previously run by Provinces would be converted to negotiated, kilometre-based contracts by September this year.

This was an attempt to avoid a repeat of what happened earlier this year when bus operators and the Department clashed over bus subsidies, and the project would also help to improve the monitoring and enforcement of all contracted public transport operations, Ms Mpofu said.

She told the Committee that the Gautrain Rapid Rail Link introduced in the 2006/07 financial year would be completed in September 2011.

“The project was slightly behind schedule in relation to 2010. The delay is as a result of re-engineering that had to be done.”

Indications were that phase one of the project, the link between OR Tambo International Airport and Sandton, would be completed in September 2010, but the Department was negotiating for the first phase to be completed in June next year, she said.

The Department of Health’s Director General, Mr Thami Mseleku, told the Committee that there might be problems with the rollout



*Back on track for Sept 2011: Gauteng’s Rapid Rail Link*

of the comprehensive HIV and AIDS plan. Mr Mseleku said his Department had requested R1.4bn from the National Treasury, but had only received R200m. The Committee expressed concern about the underfunding of the Health Department in respect of HIV/Aids and requested that the Treasury note this concern, because it was a national priority.

In her presentation, the Chief Financial Officer of the Department of Public Works, Ms Cathy Motsisi, told the Committee that the Expanded Public Works Programme would continue until 2014. The main objective of the programme was to create two million jobs for the poor and unemployed, in order to contribute to halving unemployment by 2014. She said the first phase of the EPWP had achieved its target of one million job opportunities ahead of schedule. 🌱

# Passing the baton

*As a new Parliament prepares to take forward its work, **Modise Kabeli** looks at the work of committees and their legacy*

**A** big task that awaits the new incumbents of Parliament is the wide range of Committee work to be shouldered from day one.

Committees are where much of the work of Parliament is done. It is also in Committees where members of the public are often given an opportunity to express their opinions, or to try to

influence the outcomes of Parliament's decisions.

So far, the fourth Parliament has appointed 49 Committees, each with its own function. Committees monitor and oversee the work of government Departments and hold them accountable, they oversee the accounts of the Departments and State institutions, they consider Bills and can initiate legislation,



## *Taking Parliament to the People*

NCOP select Committee on Agriculture meets local farmers in the Eastern Cape

and they consider the proposals of private Members and Provincial Legislatures, as well as special petitions.

International treaties and agreements are considered by Committees, and on a more domestic note, in-house issues are dealt with by Committees of Parliament.

Committees have considerable power and may summon any person to appear before them. They use a variety of tools to perform their role of parliamentary oversight.

Committees can ask for briefings from government Departments and parastatals, and they visit institutions to see for themselves what is happening. They can call for public submissions and petitions on specific issues and they can subject the examination of strategic plans, budget and annual reports to public hearings.

Crucial legislation passed during the third Parliament after having been thrashed out in Committee, include the National Prosecutions Authority Amendment Bill, the South African Police Amendment Bill, the Constitution Sixteenth Amendment Bill, the Cross-Boundary Municipalities Laws Repeal and Related Matters Amendment Bill, the Reform of Customary Law of Succession and Regulation of Related Matters Bill and the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Amendment Bill.

The Constitution Sixteenth Amendment Bill and the Cross-Boundary Municipalities Laws Repeal and Related Matters Amendment Bill were processed respectively by the Select Committee on Security and Constitutional Affairs, and the Select Committee on Local Government and Administration. The Constitution Sixteenth Amendment Bill aims to amend the Constitution in order to redefine the geographical areas of the provinces of Gauteng and North West Province, which will result in the reincorporation of the Merafong City Local Municipality into Gauteng.

The Cross-Boundary Municipalities Laws Repeal and Related Matters Amendment Bill seeks to amend the Cross-Boundary Repeal Act, in order to provide for a new demarcation of the boundaries of the Dr Kenneth Kaunda and West Rand District Municipalities.

“We are putting a final nail in the coffin that buries unhappiness protests from the people of Merafong in general, and Khutsong in particular. We have reached the end of the journey taking the people of Merafong to where they belong. These people were incorporated into North West Province against their will,” said the Minister of Provincial and Local Government, Mr Sicelo Shiceka, during his address to the National Council of Provinces.

Merafong was moved from Gauteng to North West following the abolition of cross-border municipalities in 2005. Mr Shiceka said the Bills were “a product of an extensive consultative process with the people of Merafong, Parliamentary Committees and the Provincial Legislatures”.

The Committee system lends itself to in-depth discussion of complex issues.

For example, the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy (TOP) Amendment Act which empowered Health MECs in the provinces to approve health institutions which may terminate pregnancies, was passed in 2007. After being thrashed out in detail, the Amendment Bill was eventually passed. This Act now allows all facilities (public and private) that have a 24-hour maternity service to terminate pregnancies of up to 12 weeks, without the approval of the MEC. It makes it an offence for any person to terminate or allow termination of pregnancy in a facility which has not been approved. Only registered midwives and nurses, who have undergone prescribed training, are allowed to perform termination of pregnancy (TOP) procedures.

As the Chairperson of Parliament’s Portfolio Committee on Justice and Constitutional Development, Mr Yunus Carrim’s Committee dealt with the National Prosecutions Authority Amendment Bill which resulted in the integration of the Scorpions (Directorate of Special Operations) into the South African Police Service (SAPS).

“Parliament didn’t just hurriedly implement the (ANC’s) Polokwane resolution on the Scorpions. Parliament is not some sub-committee of the ANC. We did not abandon our legislative role. We had extensive public hearings. The submissions were organised in reports and examined in detail. To achieve greater consensus, two representatives each from the SAPS and the Scorpions participated throughout the process. We drew in technical experts. We considered five organised crime-fighting models,” Mr Carrim said.

However, not all Bills discussed by Committees during the third Parliament could be completed and passed. The Criminal Law (Forensic Procedures) Amendment Bill, for example, is being processed by an ad hoc Committee. The Bill is intended, among others measures, to expand the powers of the SAPS to collect and store DNA samples and fingerprints, to establish and administer a national DNA database and to give police access to the electronic databases of the Department of Home Affairs. The Bill is also intended to expand the powers of the police to collect and store DNA samples and fingerprints, to establish and administer a national DNA database and to give the SAPS access to the electronic databases of the Department of Home Affairs.

# How exactly do Committees operate ?

One of the hallmarks of the South African Parliament is the fact that the Committees are open to the public, and may only be closed for a good reason. The Constitution states that Committee meetings may only be closed to the public if it is “reasonable and justifiable to do so, in an open and democratic society”. Both Houses have been appointing Committee members from different parties, and more be be created for specific purposes. Committees can be created in terms of the Constitution, or legislation, or by general consensus. The National Assembly has already appointed members of different parties in the fourth Parliament to three Committees (the Committee on the Auditor General, the Committee on Public Accounts and the Committee on Private Member’s Legislative Proposals and Special Petitions), three Joint Committees (those on Defence, Ethics and Members’ Interests, and the Joint Constitutional Review Committee), and two Standing Committees (the Standing Committee on Appropriations and its counterpart on Finance). It has also made multi-party appointments to 30 Portfolio Committees. So far, the National Council of Provinces has appointed 12 Select Committees. The work of Committees is not restricted to government: they may investigate any matter of public interest that falls within their area of responsibility.

The general practice is that the National Assembly appoints from among its members a number of Portfolio Committees to shadow the work of the various national government departments, one to each Minister and Department, although two or even more Departments may be combined under one Ministry.

Each of the larger Committees has between 17 and 19 full members, and a number of alternate members. Portfolio Committees consider Bills, deal with Departmental budget votes, oversee the work of the Department they are responsible for, and enquire and make recommendations about any aspect of the Department, including its structure, functioning and policy.

- For Portfolio Committees to approve a measure a simple majority of 50% plus one is sufficient.
- For a measure to gain the approval of the Select Committees of the National Council of Provinces, it would require the vote of five out of the nine provinces.

- However, any changes to the Constitution would require a two-thirds majority. Section 74 of the Constitution says that if Parliament wants to change the Constitution then at least two-thirds (66%) of the members of Parliament must vote to change it AND at least 6 provinces in the National Council of Provinces must vote to change it.

Ad hoc Committees are called together for a special purpose either by the National Assembly (NA) or the National Council of Provinces (NCOP). The ad hoc committee is disbanded when its purpose has been met.

Joint Committees and Joint Standing Committees can be appointed by and consist of MPs of both the NA and NCOP. The Joint Standing Committee on Intelligence, for example, will discuss matters of security and national intelligence. Because of the particularly sensitive nature of its oversight role, the Joint Standing Committee on Intelligence is the only committee that routinely meets behind closed doors.

Portfolio Committees deal with the work of the National Assembly, and the subject matter that will come before it is limited to that portfolio.

Rules (House, or Internal) Committees deal with the internal functioning and business of Parliament.

Select Committees are appointed by the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) to deal with legislation that has been referred to them by the National Assembly. For example, when the NCOP Select Committee on Finance considered the Division of Revenue Bill, they sent it for the signature of the President.

Sub Committees can be appointed to share the workload of any of the above categories of Committee.

Working in Committees allows Parliament to increase the amount of work that can be done, because it is more efficient for a large group to delegate its work to smaller ones than to tackle it all as a single entity. Smaller groups also ensure that issues can be debated more extensively than in plenary sessions, because more time is available to focus on details. 🌐

# Giving communities access to Parliament

## *Sectoral gems unearthed*

by Sakhile Mokoena

In 2004, Parliament launched public participation programmes focusing on specific sectors of society with a view to unearthing and addressing issues peculiar to those groups.

Through these programmes, Parliament has provided a platform for ordinary citizens to participate in law making and governance of the country. The programmes, also called Sectoral Parliaments, started at the beginning of the third democratic Parliament in 2004, when the institution committed itself to reach out to ordinary citizens and to improve their involvement in the parliamentary process.

The *Youth Parliament* and the *Women's Parliament* were two Sectoral Parliaments established to give specific groups a parliamentary platform to discuss issues directly affecting them.

### Youth Parliament

The *Youth Parliament* aims to encourage young people to take part in decision making and legislative processes which directly affect them. Every year in June, South Africa's Youth month, young people from all over the country gather in Parliament to take part in the event.

It is a national discussion platform provided by Parliament to give young people an opportunity, through active debates, to take part in shaping the country and deepening democracy. The programme also serves as a suitable manner to pay homage to the valuable contribution of the youth in the liberation of this country.

Through the programme, Parliament also seeks to ensure that the youth continue to play a critical role in social transformation, reconstruction and development in post-apartheid South Africa. *Youth Parliament* is a sectoral initiative that serves as a consultative forum between policy makers

and the youth. Young people across the world are faced with serious challenges such as poverty, unemployment and discrimination.

### Women's Parliament

*Women's Parliament* is one of the many mechanisms that Parliament uses to measure progress towards the realisation of a non-racial and non-sexist democratic society.

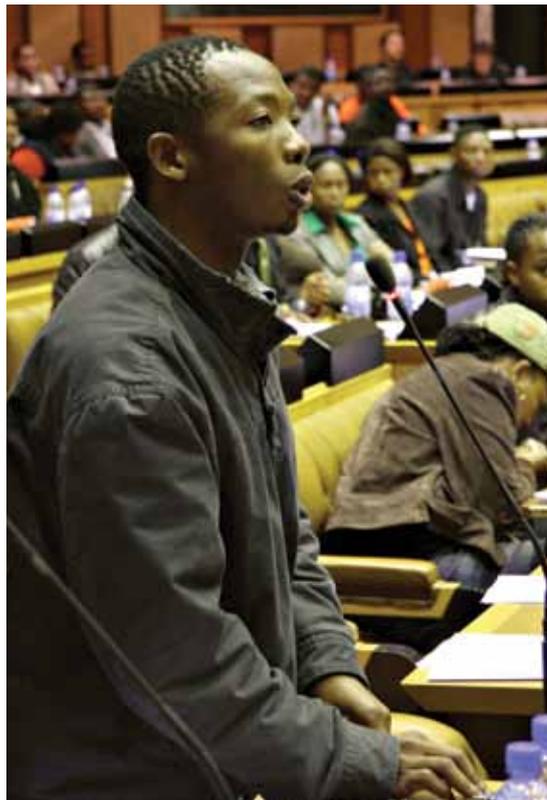
This gathering of women in September, Women's month, aims to create a platform for lobbying and networking on issues affecting the quality of life of women.

This annual event began with a small gathering of women from all nine provinces in 2004 in the context of the ten-year celebrations of South Africa's democracy. The aim of this gathering was to encourage women to share their experiences and the impact on their lives of ten years of democracy. Addressing last year's event, National Council of Provinces (NCOP) Chairperson, Mr Mninwa Mahlangu, said the idea of the Women's Parliament was born out of the need to join in the national effort to address challenges faced by women. "*Women's Parliament* has offered us the opportunity to reflect on how far we have come, and to

plan the road ahead towards addressing the effects of the systemic and sustained oppression endured by women. We need to look into how our laws accommodate the needs of women and how we ensure that women benefit from our empowerment policies," Mr Mahlangu said.

Mr Mahlangu said he believed that the third Parliament had established a strong foundation for the next Parliament to continue the struggle for the total emancipation of women.

Participants in both the *Youth Parliament* and *Women's Parliament* were selected according to gender, disabilities, marginalised groups, rural/urban, civil society, religious bodies and other formations, to ensure that all groups were represented. 🌍

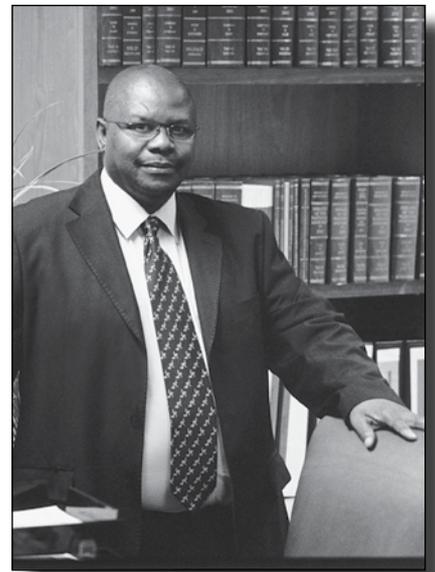


*In full flight at the Youth Parliament, 2008*

# Q&A

## New Model for Parliament

by Mava Lukani



House Chairperson of the National Assembly,  
Mr Obed Bapela

**INSESSION speaks to Obed Bapela, House Chairperson of the National Assembly and Chairperson of the Task Team that created the oversight-by-consensus model.**

**Q** How would you describe the birth of the Oversight and Accountability Model?

**A** “The model contains certain proposals on refocusing Parliament’s oversight roles. Even though Parliament has been engaged in an oversight role all these years, we are now taking matters to a higher level and the model therefore proposes mechanisms that need to be introduced by the overseer, that is, Parliament. Some aspects have been taken to the maximum in order to give effect to the oversight roles that Parliament is constitutionally obliged to play.”

**Q** What is the difference between the current system and the new model?

**A** “We inherited a Westminster-type oversight system and modified it to fit the needs of our democratic Parliament, for example, as regards the questions to Ministers and members’ statements. The new model looks at that Westminster approach and tries to create a new chamber for Parliament modeled on “the African way” of debating issues. In the African way, there’s less voting but in the end debates arrive at a solution for the community. So why not engage in that manner?”

**Q** How does the new model aim to improve public participation?

**A** “We have found that we lose track of issues that have been raised in forums. People raise issues that affect them in society. Then we come back to prepare a report and we publish it internally and we do not refer the matter

back to the Committees. So, with the new model as soon as the report is ready, such matters must be referred by the Speaker or the Chairperson to a specific Portfolio Committee or Select Committee, which has to follow up on the matter and report back to the Houses (the National Council of Provinces, or National Assembly) on the action taken and any follow ups that were done. In general, we must ensure that the Executive complies. So, we will no longer just have a *Youth Parliament*, a *Women’s Parliament* or people attending a “talking shop” with nothing transpiring from the issues. Those issues will find their way into a Committee of Parliament because Committees are the engine room of Parliament.”

**Q** How does the model position South Africa’s Parliament globally?

**A** “There’s criticism in the media about Parliament being a lame dog and yet we are praised by visitors regarding the transparency, openness and the style of democracy that exists in South Africa. We’re not saying don’t criticize us, but also give us credit where it’s due. Our Parliament is a constitutional body and it is democratic in its nature. That’s a far cry from other countries where Parliament exists at the mercy of the Executive and the President. Ours is not a Presidential country. The President can only convene Parliament when there is a Head of State visiting, for the State of the Nation Address, or on a matter of national importance. In other words, our Parliament is convened independently of the Executive. It does not function at the mercy of the Executive, and we can criticize the Executive. Thus, our Parliament fulfills its mandate. Also, the model took cognisance of the fact that Parliament can’t just be seen as being in opposition to the Executive in its effective role, because the Constitution says there are three arms of State: the Judiciary, the Executive and the Legislature. They are independent of each other but they’re interrelated and enjoined by the same Constitution.”

Based on its vision and mission statements and the requirements of the Constitution, Parliament has developed a mechanism to guide its work on oversight. 🇿🇦

# SPECIAL Report

## 4th Parliament, 4th President

The race for the National Assembly's seats has ended and no fewer than 13 political parties have made it to the fourth democratic Parliament. For the next five years, these parties have been allocated their share of the 400 seats in the National Assembly, to send their representatives to Parliament, to make and refine laws, and be part of the government of South Africa. In the National Assembly (NA), Chief Justice Pius Langa started swearing in the newly elected members shortly after 10:30 on Wednesday 6 May. Earlier, Mr Jacob Zuma arrived at Parliament and took his seat, followed by the elected representatives of the various Parties. Members filed in formally, with the ruling ANC to the right of the Speaker's chair and opposition parties on the left. Following the national anthem, Chief Justice Langa convened the meeting in terms of the Constitution and explained procedures.

### Joy and abstention

Brimming with delight, amid spontaneous song and laughter, the 400 National Assembly (NA) MPs took the oath or gave their solemn affirmation in batches of ten. First in line was the President of the ANC Mr Jacob Zuma, in a group that included long-serving Finance Minister Trevor Manuel, and veteran politician Winnie Madikizela-Mandela. Once all the MPs had been sworn in, they elected the new Speaker, Max Sisulu of the ANC. Speaker Sisulu, the first male to hold this position in the democratic Parliament, took the chair, and former Cape Town Mayor Ms. Nomaindia Mfeketo was duly elected Deputy Speaker. The official Opposition, the Democratic Alliance abstained when proceedings were resumed at 14:00 to elect the new President of South Africa. A secret ballot was held, with two candidates: the Parliamentary leader of the Congress of the People (COPE), Dr Mvume Dandala and Mr Jacob Zuma, who won by 277 votes to 47, with three spoiled ballots.

### Zealous scenes at first sitting

In his acceptance speech, Mr Zuma said: "I am overwhelmed by the responsibility that is being thrust upon my shoulders. As President, I will do my best to lead the country towards Madiba's vision of a non-sexist, reconciliatory and forgiving South Africa." He made it clear that there would be no time wasted when he told the House that his new Cabinet would start working on the following Monday, the same day Ministers were sworn in. "The Cabinet will assume office on 11 May so that we get down to business and work hard at the necessary speed." The President-elect said key priorities for his team in this "busy five years" were education, health, land reform and rural development, crime and employment. "However, the most immediate (requirement) is to respond to the challenges raised by the world economic crisis. We need to act swiftly to protect our jobs and economy," said the President-elect Mr Jacob Zuma.

Political parties congratulated Mr Zuma and pledged their support to him and the Office of the President. They reminded him that the electorate had high expectations of him, mentioning crime, job creation and service delivery among issues that needed urgent attention. With his investiture as President of the Republic of South Africa due to follow within days in front of an international audience at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, Mr Zuma must duly resign as a Member of Parliament, in terms of the Constitution. The April election has seen the number of parties represented in Parliament trimmed down from 15 to 13. Three smaller parties have disappeared from the benches while parliamentary newcomer, the Congress of the People (COPE), won 30 seats in its first election. 🌐

# Members of the National Assembly

SURNAME	FULL NAMES	TITLE	PARTY	LIST
ABRAM	SALAMUDDI	Mr	ANC	Free State
ADAMS	LUZELLE HENRIETTA	Ms	COPE	National
AINSLIE	ARTHUR ROY	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
BALFOUR	BRYCE MATHEMBA	Mr	ANC	National
BALINDLELA	ZISIWE BEAUTY	Ms	COPE	National
BALOYI	MASENYANI RICHARD	Mr	ANC	National
BAPELA	KOPENG OBED	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
BAM-MUGWANYA	VATISWA	Ms	ANC	Eastern Cape
BHENGU	NOZABELO RUTH	Ms	ANC	National
BHENGU	PHUMZILE	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
BHOOLA	ROYITH BALOO	Mr	MF	National
BIKANI	FAITH CLAUDINE	Ms	ANC	Free State
BLAAI	BUYISWA CORNELIA	Ms	COPE	Western Cape
BOGOPANE-ZULU	HENDRIETTA IPELENG	Ms	ANC	National
BOINAMO	GEORGE GAOLATLHE	Mr	DA	Gauteng
BONHOMME	TREVOR JOHN	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
BOOI	MNYAMEZELI SHEDRACK	Mr	ANC	National
BORMAN	GLORIA MARY	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
BOSHIGO	DALITHA FIKI	Ms	ANC	Limpopo
BOSMAN	LOURENS LEMMER	Mr	DA	Mpumalanga
BOTHA	YOLANDA RACHEL	Ms	ANC	National
BOTHA	TOZAMILE	Mr	COPE	National
BURGESS	CECIL VALENTINE	Mr	ANC	National
BUTHELEZI	MANGOSUTHU GATSHA	Mr	IFP	National
CARRIM	YUNUS ISMAIL	Mr	ANC	National
CARTER	DEIDRE	Ms	COPE	National
CEBEKHULU	RUSSEL NSIKAYEZWWE	Mr	IFP	KwaZulu-Natal
CHABANE	OHM COLLINS	Mr	ANC	National
CHAUKE	HLOMANE PATRICK	Mr	ANC	National
CHIKUNGA	LYDIA SINDISIWE	Ms	ANC	Mpumalanga
CHOHAN	FATIMA ISMAIL	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
COETZEE	THEO WILLEM	Mr	DA	Free State
COETZEE	RYAN	Mr	DA	Western Cape
COLEMAN	ELSIE MMATHULARE	Ms	ANC	National
CRONIN	JEREMY PATRICK	Mr	ANC	National
CWELE	SIYABONGA CYPRIAN	Dr	ANC	National
DAMBUZA	BEAUTY NOMHLE	Ms	ANC	National
DANDALA	HAMILTON MVUMELWANO	Rev	COPE	National
DAVIDSON	IAN ORMISTON	Mr	DA	Gauteng
DAVIES	ROBERT HAYDN	Mr	ANC	National
DE FREITAS	MANUEL SIMÃO FRANCA	Mr	DA	Gauteng
DE LANGE	JOHANNES HENDRIK	Mr	ANC	National
DE LILLE	PATRICIA	Ms	ID	National
DEXTER	PHILLIP DAVID	Mr	COPE	Western Cape
DHLAMINI	BONGINKOSI WESLEY	Mr	IFP	Gauteng
DIALE	LETSAU NELSON	Mr	ANC	Limpopo
DIKGACWI	MGOLODI MOSES	Mr	ANC	Western Cape
DITSHETELO	IPUSENG CELIA	Ms	UCDP	North West
DLAMINI	BATHABILE OLIVE	Ms	ANC	National
DLAMINI-ZUMA	NKOSAZANA CLARICE	Dr	ANC	National
DLODLO	AYANDA	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
DLULANE	BEAUTY NOMVUZO	Ms	ANC	National
DOIDGE	GEOFFREY QUINTON MITCHELL	Mr	ANC	National
DOMAN	WILLEM PHILLIPS	Mr	DA	Western Cape

# Members of the National Assembly

SURNAME	FULL NAMES	TITLE	PARTY	LIST
DREYER	ANCHEN MARGARETHA	Ms	DA	Gauteng
DU TOIT	NICOLAAS DEETLEFS	Mr	DA	Western Cape
DUBAZANA	ZEPHROMA SIZANI	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
DUBE	MOLEBOGENG CHRISTINA	Ms	ANC	National
DUDLEY	CHERYLLYN	Ms	ACDP	National
DUMA	NDLELENI MOSES	Mr	ANC	National
DUNCAN	PETRONELLA CATHERINE	Ms	DA	Western Cape
DUNJWA	MARY-ANN LINDELWA	Ms	ANC	Eastern Cape
EBRAHIM	EBRAHIM ISMAIL	Mr	ANC	National
ELLIS	MICHAEL JAMES	Mr	DA	KwaZulu-Natal
FARISANI	TSHENUWANI SIMON	Mr	ANC	Limpopo
FARROW	STUART BRIAN	Mr	DA	Eastern Cape
FIGLAN	ARCHIBOLD MZUVUKILE	Mr	DA	Western Cape
FIHLA	NKOSINATHI BENSON	Mr	ANC	Eastern Cape
FRANSMAN	MARIUS LLEWELLYN	Mr	ANC	Western Cape
FRITZ	ALBERT THEO	Mr	DA	Western Cape
FROLICK	CEDRIC THOMAS	Mr	ANC	Eastern Cape
FUBBS	JOANMARIAE LOUISE	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
GAEHLER	LENNOX BOGEN	Mr	UDM	Eastern Cape
GASEBONWE	TSHOGANETSO MPHO ADOLPHINA	Ms	ANC	Northern Cape
GCUME	NONKULULEKO PRUDENCE	Ms	COPE	Eastern Cape
GCWABAZA	NDABAKAYISE ERASMUS	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
GELDERBLOM	JOHAN PIETER	Mr	ANC	Western Cape
GEORGE	MLULEKI EDITOR	Mr	COPE	National
GEORGE	DION TRAVERS	Mr	DA	Gauteng
GIGABA	KNOWLEDGE MALUSI NKANYEZI	Mr	ANC	National
GINA	NOMALUNGELO	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
GODI	NELSON THEMBA	Mr	APC	National
GODONGWANA	ENOCH	Mr	ANC	National
GOLOLO	CHRISTOPHER LANCASTER	Mr	ANC	Mpumalanga
GONA	MPUMELELO FREDERICK	Mr	ANC	Western Cape
GOQWANA	MONWABISI BEVAN	Mr	ANC	Eastern Cape
GREYLING	LANCE WILLIAM	Mr	ID	Western Cape
GROENEWALD	PETRUS JOHANNES	Mr	FF Plus	National
GUMEDE	DONALD MLINDWA	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
GUNGUBELE	MONDLI	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
GXOWA	NONKUMBI BERTHA	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
HAJAIG	FATIMA	Ms	ANC	National
HANEKOM	DEREK ANDRE	Mr	ANC	National
HANGANA	NOMATYALA ELIZABETH	Ms	ANC	National
HENDRICKS	LINDIWE BENEDICTA	Ms	ANC	National
HOGAN	BARBARA ANNE	Ms	ANC	National
HOLOMISA	SANGO PATEKILE	Mr	ANC	National
HOLOMISA	BANTUBONKE HARRINGTON	Mr	UDM	National
HOUSEN	MOHAMMED HANIFF	Mr	ID	National
HUANG	SHIAAN-BIN	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
JACOBUSA	LORETTA	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
JAMES	WILMOT GODFREY	Mr	DA	Western Cape
JEFFERY	JOHN HAROLD	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
JOEMAT-PETTERSSON	TINA MONICA	Ms	ANC	Northern Cape
JOHNSON	MLUNGISI	Mr	ANC	National
JORDAN	ZWELEDINGA PALLO	Mr	ANC	National
KALYAN	SANTOSH VINITA	Ms	DA	KwaZulu-Natal
KEKANA	CHARLES DANNY	Mr	ANC	Gauteng

# Members of the National Assembly

SURNAME	FULL NAMES	TITLE	PARTY	LIST
KENYE	TANDIWE ELIZABETH	Ms	ANC	Eastern Cape
KGANARE	DIRATSAGAE ALFRED	Mr	COPE	Free State
KGANYAGO	NTOPILE MARCEL	Mr	UDM	National
KHOARAI	LEFU PETER	Mr	ANC	Free State
KHOLWANE	SIKHUMBUZO ERIC	Mr	ANC	Mpumalanga
KHUMALO	FIKILE EUNICE	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
KHUNOU	NTHABISENG PAULINE	Ms	ANC	Free State
KILIAN	JULIANA DANIELLE	Ms	COPE	Gauteng
KLOPPERS-LOURENS	JUNITA CAROLINA	Ms	DA	Gauteng
KOHLER-BARNARD	DIANNE	Ms	DA	KwaZulu-Natal
KOMPHELA	BUTANA MOSES	Mr	ANC	Free State
KOORNHOF	GERHARDUS WILLEM	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
KOORNHOF	NICOLAAS JACOBUS J V RENSBURG	Mr	COPE	National
KOPANE	SEMAKALENG PATRICIA	Ms	DA	Free State
KOTA-FREDERICKS	ZOLISWA ALBERTINA	Ms	ANC	Western Cape
KOTSI	CECILIA MAMPE PAPADI	Ms	COPE	National
KRUMBOCK	GREGORY RUDY	Mr	DA	KwaZulu-Natal
KUBAYI	MMAMOLOKO TRYPHOSA	Ms	ANC	National
LAMOELA	HELEN	Ms	DA	Western Cape
LANDERS	LUWELLYN TYRONE	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
LEE	TREVOR DONALD	Mr	DA	Eastern Cape
LEKGETHO	GEORGE	Mr	ANC	North West
LINE	HELEN	Ms	ANC	National
LORIMER	JAMES ROBERT BOURNE	Mr	DA	Gauteng
LOTRIET	ANNELIE	Ms	DA	Free State
LOUW	ANDREW	Mr	DA	Northern Cape
LOVEMORE	ANNETTE THERESA	Ms	DA	Eastern Cape
LUCAS	ERIC JAMES	Mr	IFP	KwaZulu-Natal
LUTHULI	ALBERTINAH NOMATHULI	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
LUYENGE	ZUKILE	Mr	ANC	Eastern Cape
MAAKE	JEROME JOSEPH	Mr	ANC	Limpopo
MABASO	XITLHANGOMA	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
MABEDLA	NOMFUNELO ROSE-MARY	Ms	ANC	National
MABUDAFHASI	THIZWILONDI REJOYCE	Ms	ANC	National
MABUZA	MANANA CATHERINE	Ms	ANC	Limpopo
MAC KENZIE	GRAHAM PETER DALZIEL	Mr	COPE	KwaZulu-Natal
MADIKIZELA-MANDELA	NOMZAMO WINFRED	Ms	ANC	National
MADISHA	WILLIAM MOTHIPA	Mr	COPE	Limpopo
MADLALA	NOMOPO MAGGIE	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
MADUNA	PEARL	Ms	ANC	National
MAFOLO	MAPULE VERONICA	Ms	ANC	North West
MAGAGULA	VUSELELO VINCENT	Mr	ANC	Mpumalanga
MAGAMA	HARGREAVES TISETISO	Mr	ANC	National
MAGAU	KGOMOTSO RUTH	Ms	ANC	Free State
MAGAZI	MAVIS NONTSIKELELO	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
MAGWANISHE	GRATITUDE	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
MAHLANGU-NKABINDE	GWENDOLINE LINDIWE	Ms	ANC	National
MAKASI	XOLISWA CAROLINE	Ms	ANC	Western Cape
MAKHUBA	HELEN NONHLANHLA	Ms	IFP	National
MAKHUBELA-MASHELE	LUSIZO SHARON	Ms	ANC	National
MAKHUBELE	ZONDI SILENCE	Mr	ANC	Limpopo
MAKWETLA	SAMPSON PHATHAKGE	Mr	ANC	National
MALALE	MOTSWANE ISHMAEL	Mr	ANC	National

# Members of the National Assembly

SURNAME	FULL NAMES	TITLE	PARTY	LIST
MALGAS	HOPE HELENE	Ms	ANC	Eastern Cape
MALULEKE	JOHANNA MMULE	Ms	ANC	North West
MANAMELA	KGWARIDI BUTI	Mr	ANC	National
MANANA	MDUDUZI COMFORT	Mr	ANC	Mpumalanga
MANDELA	ZWELIVILE M DALIBHUNGA	Mr	ANC	Eastern Cape
MANGANYE	JANE	Ms	ANC	North West
MANGENA	MODJADJI SARAH	Ms	ANC	Limpopo
MANGENA	MOSIBUDI AARON	Mr	AZAPO	National
MANUEL	TREVOR ANDREW	Mr	ANC	National
MAPISA-NQAKULA	NOSIVIWE NOLUTHANDO	Ms	ANC	National
MARAIS	SAREL JACOBUS FRANCOIS	Mr	DA	Western Cape
MARAIS	ERIK JOHANNES	Mr	DA	Western Cape
MARTINS	BENEDICT ANTHONY DUKE	Mr	ANC	National
MASANGO	FRANS TING-TING	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
MASANGO	SUHLA JAMES	Mr	DA	Mpumalanga
MASHIANE	LORRAINE MMAKGOSI	Ms	COPE	National
MASHIGO	REFILWE JUNIOR	Ms	ANC	National
MASHISHI	AGNES CHRISTIN	Ms	ANC	Limpopo
MASILO	JOYCE MABEL	Ms	ANC	National
MASUTHA	TSHILOLO MICHAEL	Adv	ANC	National
MATABOGE	DANIEL KABELO	Mr	ANC	North West
MATHEBE	DUDU HELLEN	Ms	ANC	Limpopo
MATHEBE	PIET MOHLAMME	Mr	ANC	Limpopo
MATHIBELA	NOMVULA FRIEDA	Ms	ANC	Limpopo
MATLADI	MAVIS NTEBALENG	Ms	UCDP	National
MATLANYANE	HELEN FLORA	Ms	ANC	National
MATSHOBA	JOEL MNTWABANTU	Mr	ANC	Eastern Cape
MAUNYE	MAGGIE MARGARET	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
MAVUNDA	DIVILI WILSON	Mr	ANC	Limpopo
MAYNIER	DAVID JOHN	Mr	DA	Western Cape
MAZIBUKO	LINDIWE DESIRE	Ms	DA	KwaZulu-Natal
MBALULA	FIKILE APRIL	Mr	ANC	National
MBILI	MANDLENKOSI ENOCK	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
MC GLUWA	JOSEPH JOB	Mr	ID	National
MDA	ANELE	Ms	COPE	National
MDAKA	NOMAKHAYA MAVIS	Ms	ANC	Eastern Cape
MDAKANE	MZAMENI RICHARD	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
MDLADLANA	MEMBATHISI MPHUMZI SHEPHERD	Mr	ANC	National
MENTOR	MABEL PATRONELLA	Ms	ANC	National
MESHOE	KENNETH RASELABE JOSEPH	Rev	ACDP	National
MFEKETO	NOMAINDIYA CATHLEEN	Ms	ANC	National
MGABADELI	HLENGIWE CHRISTOPHINA	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
MICHAEL	NATASHA WENDY ANITA	Ms	DA	Gauteng
MJOBBO	LINDIWE NTOMBIKAYISE	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
MKHIZE	HLENGIWE BUHLE	Ms	ANC	National
MKHIZE	LANGALAKHE NICHOLAS	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
MKHULUSI	NOMFUNDO NTOMBENHLE PENELOPE	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
MLAMBO	EMMANUEL MUSAWENKOSI	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
MLANGENI	ANDREW	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
MMUSI	SAMUEL GAAESI	Mr	ANC	North West
MNCWANGO	MANGAQA ALBERT	Mr	IFP	National
MNGUNI	PAUL BUSHY	Mr	COPE	North West
MNISI	NOKHAYA ADELAIDE	Ms	ANC	Mpumalanga

# Members of the National Assembly

SURNAME	FULL NAMES	TITLE	PARTY	LIST
MNQASELA	MASIZOLE	Mr	DA	Western Cape
MOCUMI	POPPY AUDREY	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
MOHALE	MANKWANA CHRISTINAH	Ms	ANC	National
MOKGALAPA	STEVENS	Mr	DA	Gauteng
MOLAO	SANNA KEIKANTSEENG	Ms	COPE	Northern Cape
MOLEBATS	MAAPI ANGELINA	Ms	ANC	National
MOLEWA	BOMO EDNA EDITH	Ms	ANC	National
MOLOI-MOROPA	JOYCE CLEMENTINE	Ms	ANC	National
MONARENG	OUPA EPHRAIM	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
MORE	EMMA	Ms	DA	Gauteng
MORGAN	GARETH RICHARD	Mr	DA	KwaZulu-Natal
MORUTOA	MASEFELE ROSALIA	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
MOSS	LINDA NELLIE	Ms	ANC	Eastern Cape
MOTAU	SEJAMOTOPO CHARLES	Mr	DA	Gauteng
MOTIMELE	MALUSI STANLEY	Mr	ANC	Limpopo
MOTLANTHE	KGALEMA PETRUS	Mr	ANC	National
MOTSHEKGA	MATSIE ANGELINA	Ms	ANC	National
MOTSHEKGA	MATHOLE SEROFO	Dr	ANC	National
MOTSOLEDI	PAKISHE AARON	Dr	ANC	National
MPAHLWA	MANDISI BONGANI MABUTO	Mr	ANC	National
MPHAHLELE	LETLAPA MOROATSHOGE	Mr	PAC	National
MPONTSANE	ALFRED MKHIPHENI	Mr	IFP	KwaZulu-Natal
MSIMANG	CHRISTIAN THEMBA	Mr	IFP	National
MSWELI	HILDAH SIZAKELE	Ms	IFP	KwaZulu-Natal
MTHETHWA	EMMANUEL NKOSINATHI	Mr	ANC	National
MTHETHWA	ENOCK MUZI	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
MTSHALI	ERIC	Mr	ANC	National
MUBU	KENNETH SILILO	Mr	DA	Gauteng
MUFAMADI	THABADIWA ALFRED	Mr	ANC	National
MULDER	PIETER WILLEM ADRIAAN	Dr	FF Plus	National
MULDER	CORNELIUS PETRUS	Dr	FF Plus	National
MUSHWANA	FONI FLORENCE	Ms	ANC	National
MUTHAMBI	AZWIHANGWISI FAITH	Ms	ANC	Limpopo
NCHABELENG	MAMAGASE ELLECK	Mr	ANC	Limpopo
NDABANDABA	LINDUMUSA BEKIZITHA GABRIEL	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
NDABENI	STELLA TEMBISA	Ms	ANC	Eastern Cape
NDEBELE	JOEL SIBUSISO	Mr	ANC	National
NDLOVU	VELAPHI BETHUEL	Mr	IFP	KwaZulu-Natal
NDUDE	HILDAGRADE NIKIWE	Ms	COPE	National
NEL	ANDRIES CARL	Mr	ANC	National
NELSON	WENDY JOY	Ms	ANC	North West
NENE	NHLANHLA MUSA	Mr	ANC	National
NEWHOUTD-DRUCHEN	WILMA SUSAN	Ms	ANC	National
NGCOBO	BEATRICE THEMBEKILE	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
NGELE	NOMBUYISELO JOYCE	Ms	ANC	National
NGONYAMA	LULAMA SMUTS	Mr	COPE	National
NGWENYA	WINNIE	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
NGWENYA-MABILA	PHUMUZILE CATHERINE	Ms	ANC	National
NHANHA	MLINDI ADVENT	Mr	COPE	Eastern Cape
NHLENGETHWA	DUMISILE GOODNESS	Ms	ANC	Mpumalanga
NJIKELANA	SISA JAMES	Mr	ANC	National
NJOBE	MAKHOSAZANA ABIGAIL ALICIA	Ms	COPE	Eastern Cape
NKOANA-MASHABANE	MAITE EMILY	Ms	ANC	National
NKWINTI	GUGILE ERNEST	Mr	ANC	Eastern Cape

# Members of the National Assembly

SURNAME	FULL NAMES	TITLE	PARTY	LIST
NONKONYANA	MWELO	Mr	ANC	National
NOVEMBER	NOMATHEMBA THERESIA	Ms	ANC	National
NQAKULA	CHARLES	Mr	ANC	National
NTANZI	SEENG PATRICIA	Ms	IFP	National
NTAPANE	STANLEY ZOYISILE	Mr	UDM	National
NTSHIQELA	PHUMELELE	Mr	COPE	Gauteng
NTULI	BONGI MARIA	Ms	ANC	National
NTULI	ZWELIFILE CHRISTOPHER	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
NXESI	THEMBELANI WALTERMADE	Mr	ANC	National
NXUMALO	MUNTU DOREEN	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
NYALUNGU	RAESIBE EUNICE	Ms	ANC	Mpumalanga
NYAMA	MAMAGANA MALOSE ANNA	Ms	ANC	Limpopo
NYANDA	SIPHIWE	Mr	ANC	National
NYANDA	MTOMBIZODWA FLORENCE	Ms	ANC	Mpumalanga
NYEKEMBA	ERIC	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
NZIMANDE	BONGINKOSI EMMANUEL	Dr	ANC	National
ODENDAAL	LYNDA MAY	Ms	COPE	National
OLIPHANT	MILDRED NELISIWE	Ms	ANC	National
OLLIS	IAN MICHAEL	Mr	DA	Gauteng
OOSTHUIZEN	GERHARDUS CORNELIUS	Mr	ANC	National
ORIANI-AMBROSINI	MARIO GASPARE	Mr	IFP	National
PADAYACHIE	RADHAKRISHNA LUTCHMANA	Mr	ANC	National
PANDOR	GRACE NALEDI MANDISA	Ms	ANC	National
PETERS	ELIZABETH DIPUO	Ms	ANC	National
PHAAHLA	MATHUME JOSEPH	Dr	ANC	National
PHALISO	MERIAM NOZIBONELO	Mr	ANC	National
PILLAY	SIVAPRAGAS MARIMUTHU	Mr	ANC	National
PILUSA-MOSOANE	MAROPENG ELIZABETH	Ms	ANC	Limpopo
POHO	PAKISO DAVID	Mr	COPE	Gauteng
PRETORIUS	PETRUS JOHANNES CHRISTIAAN	Mr	DA	Western Cape
PULE	DINA DELIWE	Ms	ANC	National
RABIE	PIERRE JACQUES	Mr	DA	Western Cape
RABOTAPI	MPONENG WINSTON	Mr	DA	North West
RADEBE	JEFFREY THAMSANQA	Mr	ANC	National
RADEBE	BHEKIZIZWE ABRAM	Mr	ANC	Free State
RADEBE	GOODWILL SBUSISO	Mr	ANC	Mpumalanga
RAMATLHODI	NGOAKO ABEL	Mr	ANC	National
RAMODIBE	DOROTHY MAPULA	Ms	ANC	National
RANTSOLASE	MACHEJANE ALINA	Ms	ANC	National
RASOOL	EBRAHIM	Mr	ANC	Western Cape
ROBINSON	DENISE	Ms	DA	Western Cape
RWEXANA	SINDISWA PATRICIA	Ms	COPE	National
SAAL	GERTROEDH	Ms	ANC	National
SCHÄFER	DEBORAH ANNE	Ms	DA	Western Cape
SCHMIDT	JACOBUS	Mr	DA	Free State
SCHMIDT	HENDRIK CORNELUS	Mr	DA	Gauteng
SCHNEEMANN	GREGORY DAVID	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
SEFULARO	MOLEFI	Dr	ANC	North West
SEGALE-DISWAI	MORWESI JOHANNAH	Ms	ANC	North West
SELAU	GAOLAOLWE JOSEPH	Mr	ANC	North West
SELFE	JAMES	Mr	DA	Western Cape
SEXWALE	TOKYO MOSIMA GABRIEL	Mr	ANC	National
SHABANGU	SUSAN	Ms	ANC	National
SHICEKA	SICELO	Mr	ANC	National

# Members of the National Assembly

SURNAME	FULL NAMES	TITLE	PARTY	LIST
SHILOWA	MBHAZIMA SAMUEL	Mr	COPE	National
SHINN	MARIAN ROBIN	Ms	DA	Western Cape
SIBHIDA	NTOMBIKAYISE NOMAWISILE	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
MAYENDE-SIBIYA	NOLUTHANDO AGATHA	Ms	ANC	National
SINGH	NAREND	Mr	IFP	KwaZulu-Natal
SISULU	LINDIWE NONCEBA	Ms	ANC	National
SISULU	MAX VUYISILE	Mr	ANC	National
SITHOLE	SHEILA COLEEN NKHENSANI	Ms	ANC	National
SIZANI	PHUMELELE STONE	Mr	ANC	Eastern Cape
SKOSANA	JAMES JIM	Mr	ANC	Mpumalanga
SKOSANA	MOLEEANE BEN	Mr	IFP	National
SMILES	DONALD CECIL	Mr	DA	Eastern Cape
SMITH	PETER FRANCIS	Mr	IFP	KwaZulu-Natal
SMITH	VINCENT GEORGE	Mr	ANC	National
SMUTS	MUDENE	Ms	DA	Western Cape
SNELL	GRANT TREVOR	Mr	ANC	Eastern Cape
SOGONI	ELLIOT MSHIYENI	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
SONJICA	BUYELWA PATIENCE	Ms	ANC	National
SOSIBO	JABU ELSIE	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
SOTYU	MAKHOTSO MAGDELINE	Ms	ANC	Free State
SPIES	WILLIE DURAND	Mr	FF Plus	Gauteng
STEELE	MARK HARVEY	Mr	DA	KwaZulu-Natal
STEYN	ANNETTE	Ms	DA	Eastern Cape
STEYN	ARRON CECIL	Mr	DA	Gauteng
STOFILE	MAKHENKESI ARNOLD	Mr	ANC	National
SUKA	LITHO	Mr	ANC	Eastern Cape
SULLIMAN	EBRAHIM MOHAMMED	Mr	ANC	Northern Cape
SURTY	MOHAMED ENVER	Mr	ANC	National
SWART	STEVEN NICHOLAS	Mr	ACDP	National
SWART	MARIUS	Mr	DA	Western Cape
SWATHE	MPOWELE MEXAN	Mr	DA	Limpopo
TERBLANCHE	JOHANNA FREDRIKA	Ms	DA	North West
THABETHE	ELIZABETH	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
THOBEJANE	SETLAMORAGO GODFREY	Mr	ANC	National
THOMSON	BARBARA	Ms	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal
TINTO	BULELWA	Ms	ANC	National
TLAKE	MANANA FLORENCE	Ms	ANC	Free State
TOBIAS	THANDI VIVIAN	Ms	ANC	National
TOLO	LEKOBA JACK	Mr	COPE	National
TROLLIP	ROLAND ATHOL PRICE	Mr	DA	Eastern Cape
TSEBE	SUSSANA REBECCA	Ms	ANC	North West
TSEKE	GRACE KEKULU	Ms	ANC	Mpumalanga
TSENOLI	SOLOMON LECHESA	Mr	ANC	National
TSHABALALA-MSIMANG	MANTOMBAZANA EDMIE	Dr	ANC	National
TSHIVHASE	TOVHOWANI JOSEPHINE	Ms	ANC	National
TSHWETE	PAMELA	Ms	ANC	Eastern Cape
TSOTETSI	DIKELEDI REBECCA	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
TUROK	BENJAMIN	Mr	ANC	National
TWALA	NTOMBIKAYISE MARGARET	Ms	ANC	Eastern Cape
VADI	ISMAIL	Mr	ANC	Gauteng
VAN DALEN	PIETER	Mr	DA	Western Cape
VAN DEN BERG	NICOLAAS JACOBUS	Mr	DA	Gauteng
VAN DER LINDE	JACOB JEFFREY	Mr	DA	Western Cape

## Members of the National Assembly

SURNAME	FULL NAMES	TITLE	PARTY	LIST
VAN DER MERWE	SUSAN COMBER	Ms	ANC	National
VAN DER MERWE	JACOBUS HERCULES	Mr	IFP	National
VAN DER WESTHUIZEN	ANDRICUS PIETER	Mr	DA	Western Cape
VAN DYK	SALOMON MARITZ	Mr	DA	Gauteng
VAN SCHALKWYK	MARTHINUS CHRISTOFFEL JOHANNES	Mr	ANC	National
VAN SCHALKWYK	HELENA CLAUDINA	Ms	DA	Northern Cape
VUKUZA-LINDA	NOLITHA YVONNE	Ms	COPE	Gauteng
WATERS	MICHAEL	Mr	DA	Gauteng
WENGER	MARTA	Ms	DA	Gauteng
WILLIAMS	ADRIAN JOHN	Mr	ANC	Mpumalanga
XABA	PHINDISILE PRETTY	Ms	ANC	Gauteng
XASA	TOKOZILE	Ms	ANC	Eastern Cape
XINGWANA	LULAMA MARYTHERESA	Ms	ANC	National
YENGENI	LUMKA ELIZABETH	Ms	ANC	National
ZIKALALA	CONSTANCE NTOMBIKAYISE ZERISH	Ms	IFP	National
ZONDI	KEITH MUNTUWENKOSI	Mr	IFP	KwaZulu-Natal
ZULU	LINDIWE DAPHNE	Ms	ANC	National
ZULU	BHEKIZIWE ZEBLON	Mr	ANC	KwaZulu-Natal

## Permanent Delegates of National Council of Provinces

PROVINCE	NAME	SURNAME	TITLE	PARTY
<b>EASTERN CAPE</b>	SIPHIWO SAM	MAZOSIWE	Mr	ANC
	DAPHNE ZUKISWA	RANTO	Ms	ANC
	AGNES NOLUTHANDO DAPHNE ZOLA	QIKANI	Mr	ANC
	ELIZABETH CHRISTINA BONISILE	MLENZANA	Mr	COPE
		VAN LINGEN	Mr	DA
		NESI	Mr	ANC
<b>FREE STATE</b>	DARRYL ARTHUR	WORTH	Mr	DA
	MOJI LYDIA	MOSHODI	Ms	ANC
	TJHETA MAKWA HARRY	MOFOKENG	Mr	ANC
	BAFUMANI AARON	MNGUNI	Mr	ANC
	DENNIS VICTOR	BLOEM	Mr	COPE
	MBUYISELO PATRICK	JACOBS	Mr	ANC
<b>GAUTENG</b>	AMOS GERALD	MATILA	Mr	ANC
	BUSISIWE VERONICA	MNCUBE		ANC
	DIRK BENJAMIN	FELDMAN	Mr	ANC

# Permanent Delegates of National Council of Provinces

PROVINCE	NAME	SURNAME	TITLE	PARTY
	BERTHA PEACE	MABE	Ms	ANC
	SEDIANE DANNY	MONTSHITSI	Mr	ANC
	SHERRY SU-HUEI	CHEN	Mr	DA
<b>KWAZULU NATAL</b>	DUMISANI DENNIS	GAMEDE	Mr	ANC
	MUNTUKAPHIWANA MILTON			
	MBONGISENI	ZULU	Prince	IFP
	ROY DEAN	MACPHERSON	Mr	DA
	LEWIS PAUL MUSAWENKOSI	NZIMANDE	Mr	ANC
	THANDI CECILIA	MEMELA	Ms	ANC
	NOSILIVERE WINNIFRED	MADLALA	Mr	ANC
<b>LIMPOPO</b>	LIVHUHANI	MABIJA	Ms	ANC
	MAFEMANE WILSON	MAKHUBELA	Mr	COPE
	MASEFAKO CLABAH	DIGKALE	Mr	ANC
	MATOME HUMPHREY	MOKGOBI	Mr	ANC
	TLHALEFI ANDRIES	MASHAMAITE	Mr	ANC
	MNINWA JOHANNES	MAHLANGU	Mr	ANC
<b>MPUMALANGA</b>	MALESANE PRISCILLA	THEMBA	Ms	ANC
	ARMISTON	WATSON	Mr	DA
	BUDANG LEMIAS	MASHILE	Mr	ANC
	MMATLALA GRACE	BOROTO	Ms	ANC
	ARCHIBOLD JOMO	NYAMBI	Mr	ANC
	MTIKENI PATRICK	SIBANDE	Mr	ANC
<b>NORTHERN CAPE</b>	CHARELI JACOBUS	DE BEER	Mr	ANC
	IAN JOHANNES	GUNDA	Mr	ID
	KENNETH ANDREW	SINCLAIR	Mr	COPE
	WILLEM FREDERIK	FABER	Mr	DA
	RASERITI JOHANNES	TAU	Mr	ANC
	GAUTA GEORGE	MOKGORO	Mr	ANC
<b>NORTH WEST</b>	RACHEL NOMONDE	RASMENI	Mr	ANC
	MOKOANE COLLEN	MAINE	Mr	ANC
	TEBOHO EDWIN	CHAANE	Mr	ANC
	MAMOSOEU WENDY	MAKGALE	Ms	ANC
	SWAPHI HENDRICK	PLAATJIE	Mr	COPE
	HERMANUS BERNADUS	GROENEWALD	Mr	DA
<b>WESTERN CAPE</b>	FREDDIE	ADAMS	Mr	ANC
	NOSIPHO DOROTHY	NTWANAMBI	Ms	ANC
	JACOBUS MARTHINUS	BEKKER	Mr	DA
	ONELL	DE BEER	Mr	COPE
	MICHAEL JACOBS ROLAND	DE VILLIERS	Mr	DA
	TIM	HARRIS	Mr	DA

# Zumanomics

# REVIEW

## BOOK

**Title:** Zumanomics  
**Edited:** Raymond Parsons  
**Published:** Jacana Media  
**Reviewed:** INSESSION

### Challenges for a New Government

The 2009 election for a fourth democratic Parliament has come and gone, and a new-look Cabinet is in place to run South Africa for the next five years. The country is at a political and economic crossroad, with more tough times looming for consumers and business.

Changes in the business cycle in South Africa are coinciding with major political and global shifts. What kind of politics will and should a Zuma government follow? How will business and investors respond to the country's future economic policies and how will South Africa strategically engage with globalism, to our best advantage?

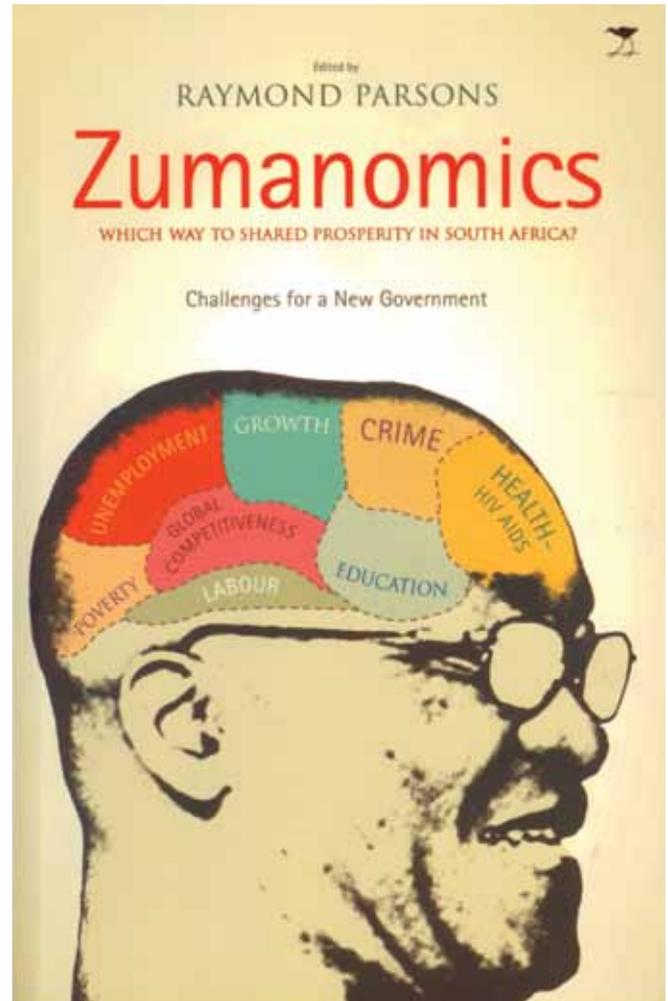
Zumanomics is a range of eleven essays on socio economic imperatives, both domestic and international. We still want to make South Africa a leading emerging market and a first-choice destination for investors. Although it dominates the local scene, South Africa must be poised to take advantage when the world economy improves, as it must. It faces and will face highly-productive global competitors. So what is in store with Zumanomics?

Charlotte du Toit and Johan van Tonder open the series of essays with a review of our economic performance to date. Serious policy and implementation constraints are limiting the country's future growth, labour absorption and poverty alleviation, and they scrutinise some of the proposed solutions.

Lefentse Nokaneng and Chris Harmse assess what can be learnt from key East Asian countries.

Stan du Plessis focuses on monetary policy, inflation targeting and interest rates. He concludes that unless inflation targeting remains in place, South Africa will be served with a bill of higher inflation and no gain in growth, and the poor will suffer most.

There is an analysis of future fiscal policy by Iraj Abedian and Tania Ajam, while Riaan de Lange and Reyno Seymore explore trade, industry and competition policies. They stress the interdependence of these factors, and draw on past examples to suggest some recommendations on restructuring.



Glen Robbins comes to grips with industrial policy and its relation to national competitiveness. South Africa needs a bold industrial policy, but not at the risk of too much centralisation.

Carel van Aardt deals with the labour market and job creation and concludes that the real focus of labour policies should be the creation of "decent" work opportunities. This means "pillar-based" policies rather than the current holy cows of labour market policies.

The links between health policy and economic development are addressed, and so is the human-oriented development agenda, disputes and all.

The editor, Raymond Parsons, addresses the long-standing question of the appropriate role of the state in the South African economy.

In essence, this book takes a well-timed look at where we are and where we are likely to go under a new President and a new Cabinet.

**Reviewed by InSession**



*Editor-in-Chief: Luzuko Jacobs*

Dear Sir,

Please let me raise an issue that is of concern to language groups who feel that other languages are given prominence over theirs, wherever they are in the country. The naming of things in South Africa must be carefully considered; location, and therefore (local) languages, should be included in the deliberations. Let me be straightforward: to name the official Presidential residence Mahlamba Ndlopfu when it's in Pretoria is wrong and it must change. Pretoria is home to Setswana- and Sepedi-speaking people and any naming must consider this. I call for the name of the residence to be changed to one of these languages. The people where these national structures are located must feel part of them and must have some sense of attachment to them. This would give the impression that their languages are important and so that they can relate to it. It is not the case with Mahlamba Ndlopfu, and in fact people feel dominated even in their home provinces. I know that even if I am the only one raising this, you will listen as this represents 99 % of people in Pretoria. (Letter shortened- Editor.)

**Frans Tsoenyane, Pretoria**

Dear Frans,

Mahlamba Ndlopfu refers to the time when the elephants wash, that is, at dawn. Remember that it is in the city of Tshwane, which used to be called Pretoria, after the voortrekker Andre Pretorius. Tshwane is a Setswana name, which combines several concepts. Mhalamba Ndlopfu in the city of Tshwane is there for everyone to take pride in, just like everyone should enjoy our country in all its diversity, in its rainbow colours and its many colourful tongues. Perhaps it is time we give meaning to the statement of commitment: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it - united in their diversity."

# Citizen's Forum

Dear Sir,

How many seats are there in our national parliament? What does two - thirds majority mean? And what does 8% in parliament mean?

**Solly, email**

Dear Solly,

There are 400 seats in Parliament's National Assembly, and the seats are allocated according to the number of votes each party gets in the national election. Therefore, the party that gets the most votes gets the most seats, and with more than 11 million votes in the April elections, the African National Congress was just short of a two thirds majority, that is, nearly two seats out of every three went to the ANC. This could also be expressed as a percentage, which measures the number out of 100. If a party gets 8%, it means that party has eight seats out of every 100, and since there are 400 seats that would be about 32 seats (sometimes there are fractions left over). The time allocated to each party to address the National Assembly (NA) during debates, is worked out according to its number of seats.

Dear Sir

How many votes are required for a Bill to become law?

**Anandrai Domu , Johannesburg**

Dear Anandrai,

The Constitution prescribes different voting requirements for the four different categories of Bills, depending on whether they amend the Constitution, affect Provinces, do not affect the Provinces, or are Money Bills. Changes to the Constitution must have the support of 75% of National Assembly (NA) members, and six of the nine Provinces. Bills that affect the Provinces as well as the national sphere of government, need a straight majority of the votes (50% plus one), in both the NA and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP). Bills that do not affect the Provinces need a straight majority as well, but in this instance the votes in the NCOP are counted as individual votes, not as part of the provincial delegations. The final category is Money Bills, which must have the support of the majority of members both in the NA and the NCOP, voting in their individual capacity.

Dear Sir,

I would like to take this opportunity to state that I'm just a concerned citizen of this country and I like visiting Parliament's website on regular basis, so I would like to know if Parliament is open every day from Monday to Sunday, and who arranges visits to Parliament: meaning what are the relevant offices which would be available most of the time, thank you.

**Sizwe Khumalo, University of North West**

Dear Sizwe,

Parliament is open to visitors on weekdays, excluding public holidays and a period of three weeks over the festive season in December and January. Bookings can be made through our bookings office, and details are given on page 4 of this edition of INSESSION.

Dear Sir,

I am a young African lady who would very much like to enquire about what one has to do to maybe get a part-time job or experience in parliament. I ask because I am studying Politics and one day I want to be a researcher for the UN, and from this perspective working in the Parliament would of great help to me. Thank you.

**Yanga Fesi**

Dear Yanga,

A visit to Parliament is a good first step towards confirming that this is what you really want to do, and working hard at your studies is one of the best ways to keep your options open. Being able to do good research is a very special skill, so work hard at it.

Dear Sir,

I am a young gentleman at Kingsway High School in Amanzimtoti, Durban. This year I am in grade 12, and I am very interested in South Africa and the way it is governed and run. Can I ask: How does one land a seat in the National Assembly, how does one becomes a whip, and must I be a member of a certain political party?

I look forward to serving the people of South Africa at National level. There has been talk on radio about starting a Junior Parliament. Can I please work for it as a chief whip, or as an environmental minister or even as spokesperson for parliament or for someone? Next year, I will be studying environmental science and I hope that by 2014 the next president will ask me to join his cabinet. Please help with advice on how I can get there one day.

**Thulebona Ngubo, Durban**

Dear Thulebona,

Knowledge of a special discipline, such as environmental science, is always a recommendation in politics, and so is being of service to the people who live all around you. A good first step is probably to identify what people in your area want fixed, such as a river that is fouled up, and to get a campaign going to improve it. If you are willing to roll up your sleeves and work hard, you will be noticed. It also helps to get elected to a local body like a church or youth group, to give you some experience in administration. Fund-raising skills are much in demand in any venture or group, and this can take many different forms. The Youth (Junior) Parliament that was mentioned on radio is not a permanent creation, but it may be repeated by Parliament. As for your ambition to be in the 2014 cabinet: that may be a bit too soon, because there is so much to do. For now, work hard at getting the best possible results so that you can pursue further studies. Good luck!

**If you have questions, views or opinions on issues relating to Parliament, please email us and take part in Parliament. You too can receive a free annual subscription to our monthly Magazine INSESSION: Visit [www.parliament.gov.za](http://www.parliament.gov.za) for more information.**

## BILLS SIGNED INTO ACTS

- ▶ The following Bills have been signed into Acts by the President of the Republic of SA:
- ▶ Division of Revenue Act, 12 of 2009
- ▶ Reform of Customary Law of Succession and Regulation of Related Matters Act, 11 of 2009
- ▶ Financial Management of Parliament Act, 10 of 2009
- ▶ Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act, 9 of 2009
- ▶ Cross-boundary Municipalities Laws Repeal and Related Matters Amendment Act, 8 of 2009
- ▶ Western Cape Inherited Debt Relief Act, 7 of 2009
- ▶ Second-Hand Goods Act, 6 of 2009
- ▶ National Land Transport Act, 5 of 2009
- ▶ Broadcasting Amendment Act, 4 of 2009
- ▶ Bible Society of South Africa Act Repeal Act, 2 of 2009



**OUR SOUTH AFRICA – THE SUN**

The sun heals the divisions of the past, improves the quality of life of all South Africans, frees the potential of each person and builds a united and democratic South Africa, taking its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.



**OUR PEOPLE – THE PROTEA LEAVES**

Our people, building on the foundation of a democratic and open society, freely elect representatives, acting as a voice of the people and providing a national forum for public consideration of issues.



**OUR PARLIAMENT – THE DRUM**

The drum calls the people's Parliament, the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces, to consider national and provincial issues, ensuring government by the people under the Constitution.



**OUR CONSTITUTION – THE BOOK**

Our Constitution lays the foundation for a democratic and open society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights. It is the supreme law of our country, and ensures government by the people.

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