

"Bearer of good and bad news"

Newsletter of the Legislative Training Programme

Department of Political Studies - School of Government
University of the Western Cape

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Issues and challenges for '96

After almost two years in existence, it is becoming quite evident that the challenges facing the provincial legislatures of the Eastern, Northern and Western Cape represent their diverse inheritances. It is clear that each legislature will have to confront their particular challenges to strengthen their own capabilities and be empowered to meet the development needs of the country.

In the Northern Cape political parties are building a legislature from scratch. In this context the legislature must stimulate a culture of representation and the institutional means to facilitate it. Moreover, they must do this with limited human and financial resources.

In contrast, the Eastern Cape Legislature must redress a long history of government tarnished by corruption and nepotism. The legislature has therefore prioritised measures to effectively eliminate avenues for corruption. These measures include the enforcement of accountability and transparency in decision making, particularly on financial matters. Undoubtedly the image of this legislature hinges on the success of these measures.

Finally, the Western Cape has the benefit of an inheritance of strong institutional resources for the legislature and more advanced infrastructure in the province. Nevertheless, the legislature faces many challenges and must marshal its resources to promote broad-based

development throughout the province.

Whilst the challenges this year might differ between the legislatures, they do have a common goal to build provincial unity, and to promote the profile of the legislatures among their constituencies. In all three provinces a deliberate and organised public awareness campaign is being planned and implemented. Conferences are on the cards in the three provinces, involving a wide range of interest groups to develop optimal strategies for improving the accessibility of the legislatures.

In this first edition of INTLOLA we focus on the obstacles facing the legislatures for 1996 and the goals they have set for themselves. We also look briefly at some vital statistics of the provinces, and provide some background information on two of the most important leaders in the legislatures -- the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker.

Editorial

INTLOLA is a publication of the Legislative Training Programme (LTP) based at the University of the Western Cape. It is published to provide a forum for the exchange of information on the workings and deliberations that take place in the provincial legislatures. INTLOLA espouses the principles of independence and non-partisanship, and seeks to be analytical and informative. Because this publication is intended to facilitate a broad political dialogue, members of various legislatures and the public in general are invited to send their contributions.

The LTP was started in July 1995 by the Political Studies Department of the School of Government, in collaboration with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), an American based NGO that conducts democracy training programmes in many countries around the world. The functions of the LTP include, but are not limited to, training workshops to enhance the skills and expertise of legislators for effective and good governance, as well as the gathering, dissemination and exchange of information, especially concerning provincial legislatures through this publication. Presently the scope of the LTP covers the legislatures of the Eastern, Northern and Western Cape provinces. However, it is intended that, in the future, its services will be extended to other provinces.

The provincial legislatures in the Cape region provide three contrasting examples of South Africa's new democracy. The Western Cape has the only legislature where the National Party has a firm governing majority and the African National Congress is a one-third minority. In the Eastern Cape the legislature is dominated by an ANC governing majority. Finally, the Northern Cape Legislature is nearly an even split between the ANC and the National Party increasing the influence of the smaller minority parties such as the Democratic Party and the Freedom Front.

Through our coverage of these varying examples of democratic dispensation, Intlola hopes to explore the vibrant political debates which are certain to emerge and to strengthen South Africa's new democracy by promoting broader and more informed political debate. In this first issue, Intlola examines the visions of key leaders for these provincial legislatures. These visions, which were obtained through in-depth interviews with Intlola journalists, should provide a yard-stick by which the progress of these legislatures may be measured in future.

'Bring Parliament to the people'

"Bring parliament to the people" says Deputy Speaker of the Northern Cape Legislature Mr George Mokgoro. There are two major difficulties to achieving this goal. The first is the lack of resources in a legislature

that is only two years old. The second is the challenge of representing a sparsely populated but vast geographical area.

Mokgoro asserts that the constituency should know "how they can make use of and how they can access themselves to this institution". Part of his intended programme of public education is hampered by the lack of resources in the legislature. He notes that there is an unevenness in resources enjoyed by the various legislatures as a result of some inheriting resources from the previous dispensation, and others, such as the Northern Cape, having to build up a capacity from scratch. He emphasised interestingly that the Deputy Speaker, for example, does not have access to an official motor vehicle.

Mokgoro highlighted the objective to train legislators and staff to build human resource capacity as a major aim of the legislature this year. He observed particularly the need for training in the basic formulation of budgets by committee chairpersons because "its our aim that in the next budget, we should not draw up a budget for them, that they should draw up budgets for themselves, based on the activities of that particular committee."

An equally important objective the legislature needs to address, says Mokgoro, is the need to develop a research capacity as a service to members of the Legislature who have to make important policy decisions. He noted that on his recent trips to the United States and Canada he observed that members had researchers who assisted them immensely in making inputs and decisions.

Before the Legislature of the Northern Cape is able to realise its goal of being open and transparent to the people it must first decide in which building it is going to be located. The legislature will not be able to increase its human resource capacity until it has decided on a building site to alleviate a lack of office accommodation.

This process has generated disagreement and controversy between the political parties, says Mokgoro. Once a decision is made and the controversy resolved, it should go a long way toward facilitating the future development of the capacity of the legislature.

Ethne Papenfus, Speaker of the Northern Cape

Ethne Papenfus grew up in Johannesburg, where she attended Johannesburg High School for Girls and the University of the Witwatersrand. She qualified as a teacher, specialising in English and history and taught for 22 years, eleven of which was spent as the principal of Kimberley Girls' High School. She involved herself with the South African Teachers' Association and the Open Schools' Association. Mrs Papenfus is the leader of the Democratic Party in the Northern Cape, and since 1994 has served as Speaker of the Legislature. She is married and has two children.

Northern Cape -- the facts

The Northern Cape is by far the largest province in South Africa, comprising nearly one-third of the country's total land area. Despite its enormous size the Northern Cape has the smallest population of all the provinces. The Northern Cape ranks in the middle or near the top in most quality of life indicators. The HDI ranking of ,76 is the second highest in South Africa. Economically, the Northern Cape comprises a small share of the over-all GNP, roughly in proportion to its share of the population.

Fast facts

capital:	Kimberley	Real GGP:	R2,7bn
land area:	363 389km	% of total SA GGP:	2,3
% of SA total:	29,7%	GGP per capita:	R5 890
population:	763 900	unemployment:	32,5%
density:	2,1 (persons per km ²)	literacy rate:	67,6%
life expectancy	64	% of SA total:	1,9
infant mortality:	31,5 (per 1 000 live births)	% under 15:	1,8
growth rate:	0,79% (1985 - 1993)	personal disposable income:	5,5bn
principal languages:		% of SA total:	1,9bn
Afrikaans	65%	per capita disposable income:	R7 403
Setswana	22%		
Xhosa	4%		

Provincial Government

The 1994 provincial elections produced a hung legislature - 15 of the legislature's 30 seats went to the ANC, and the other 15 split between the NP, Freedom Front and DP. After the DP's lone MPL, Ethne Papenfus, cast her vote to elect the ANC's Manne Diplico Premier, she was elected Speaker of the Legislature.

Provincial Breakdown:

Party	Seats	Number of Votes	% of Total
ANC	15	202 431	49,7%
NP	12	191 580	40,5%
FF	2	24 438	6,0%
DP	1	7 738	1,9%
TOTAL	30	407 306	100%

ANC Vision for the Western Cape

ANC spokesperson Cameron Dugmore says the ANC is "fully committed to work with the NP," in this NP-led province, but voiced reservations about the NP's ability to promote provincial unity. He questioned whether Premier Hernus Kriel's opening address delivered to the legislature on 14 February "reflected a provincial vision, as opposed to a National Party vision".

Dugmore emphasized that the ANC has only a third of the seats in the legislature. Therefore it is possible for the National Party and the three other minority parties (DP, FF and ACDP) to pass a provincial constitution without ANC consent. The NP appears committed to working with the ANC and Dugmore maintains that the ANC is committed to the constitution writing process. Dugmore did however raise concerns about "a lack of consultation to date with the ANC and the public".

Strains are apparent over the two party's differing visions of the province's relations with national government. The NP wants more power devolved to the provinces. Dugmore, however, says the ANC "supports cooperative government," a term used to describe the ANC's vision that provinces share in policy-making at national level through a Council of Provinces. Dugmore insists that the ANC is "very committed to strong provincial government," and that "cooperative government offers a South African solution" to the federalism debate.

For 1996 the ANC aims to introduce conflict of interest legislation which will require MPL's to disclose their financial interests; a ban on the tot system which has been historically used on wine farms to pay workers in wine; a legislative framework for re-structuring the civil service; and changing the rules of the legislature to reflect South African realities, rather than European traditions. MEC for Finance, Chris Nissen of the ANC, will also introduce the Western Cape Investment Act to create an investment promotion agency.

Dugmore noted that a new provincial body called the Provincial Development Council (PDC), has the potential to "create a provincial vision lacking among political parties". The PDC will bring together representatives from business, labour and government to discuss and recommend strategies for cooperation and growth. The PDC will also, he hopes, "engage unions in dialogue," a prerequisite to improving the province's competitiveness. "Dialogue, not confrontation, will teach the hard facts of international competitiveness".

Dugmore views progress in the RDP as a key for boosting investment and blames the NP for obstructing the RDP by delaying the local elections. He also failed "to see in the Premier's vision any role for local government," which he sees as the first line in the delivery of services.

NP Vision for the Western Cape

NP Chief Whip Piet Meyer asserts that the NP-led government of provincial unity in the Western Cape will prove that his party is best equipped to deliver economic development in South Africa. The National Party, according to Meyer, "has the experience needed to govern, and over the years has made international friends who know that their money will be safe under a National Party Government".

Meyer identified the economy as the NP's top priority for 1996. "Real and sustainable growth," in the words of Premier Henus Kriel in his opening address to the legislature, "will serve as the catalyst that can and will improve the quality of life." Meyer mentioned the Provincial Development Council (PDC) as an example of how the province is moving to attract investment and facilitate growth. He went on to name the Saldanha Steel Project as an example of the kind of investment the NP will win for the Western Cape.

Meyer cited improving education, especially trade schools, and improving working conditions to "blunt the appeal of unions" as top priorities. "Unions," he warned, "are not used to negotiations and are mostly political instruments for some political parties". This, according to Meyer, is a problem aggravated by the fact that the Labour Act passed last year "is more friendly to employees than employers".

On the RDP, Meyer cited the Western Cape's relative success in implementation as proof of the NP's commitment. He also stated the importance of the Masakhane Campaign and the principle that "people must pay for their services".

In his opening address, Premier Kriel said it was the intention of the NP to pass a provincial constitution by the middle of this year. Meyer

said the NP wants a "widely accepted constitution", hence his commitment to working with all parties during the process. When asked if there are any issues which may become contentious, Meyer emphasised property rights which the NP supports.

Meyer identified three pieces of legislation the NP plans to introduce. These include a Gambling Act to legalise gambling; legislation to create a provincial tourism structure; and a Planning and Development Act.

On the whole Meyer voiced optimism about the working relations between all the parties in the legislature. He described his office "as the engine room" powering the whole legislative process, and with a smile said "he wants everyone to be happy".

ACDP Plans for Righteous Government

Michael Louis, the sole member of the ACDP in the Western Cape Legislature, identified the provincial constitution as a matter of priority. His party wants a constitution that "creates a righteous government, which puts the Lordship of the True God back on the Throne," a phrase which he believes should be included in the Preamble. Louis also emphasised the devolution of power to the lowest level, and policies that incorporate sound investment strategies. Plans for specific legislation include a flat 15% personal income tax, limits to free speech in the areas of obscenities, pornography and racial slurs, and a ban on gambling.

DP Plans for Western Cape

Democratic Party Chief Whip Joe Marks identified economic development and delivery of services to the poor as the DP's two top priorities for 1996. Marks welcomes the formation of the Provincial Development Council (PDC) as a first step towards "co-ordinated development". He also explained DP support for the proposed Gambling Act and the Olympic Bid in the context that both will generate wealth for the province "which after all is the only means of financing development and delivery of services".

Marks views the "persistent bickering between the NP and ANC as a threat to provincial unity and ultimately the delivery of a better life for all". He places the blame primarily on the ANC, who he accuses of "opposing anything the Nats do," especially in the run-up to the local government elections on 29 May.

Marks sees an increasingly important role for the DP which received 6% of the provincial vote in the Western Cape. He points to effective DP leadership of the Provincial Constitution Committee as an example of the future role of his party. DP leader Hennie Bester chairs the multi-party committee charged with drafting the province's constitution. The appointment of Bester, according to Marks, will help place the constitutional debate in the context of what is best for the province, as opposed to what is best for the National Party or the ANC.

As for the future, Marks predicts the longer the Government of Provincial Unity fails to deliver to the people of the province, the more support will grow for the DP. Could the Western Cape become the first DP-led province? "It is not only possible," Marks answered, "but likely".

Western Cape -- the facts

The Western Cape enjoys the second highest personal disposable income in South Africa, highest HDI, highest literacy rate and lowest infant mortality rate. The principal languages of the province are Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. The Western Cape contributes 13% of

the country's GDP.

Fast facts

capital:	Cape Town	Real GGP:	R15,7bn
land area:	129 386km	% of SA total:	13,0%
% of total:	10,6%	GGP per capita:	R7 326
population:	3 360 200	unemployment:	17,3%
% of total:	8,9%	literacy rate:	71,9%
% under 15:	7,0%	life expectancy:	64,8
growth rate:	1,7% (1985 - 1993)	%infant mortality:	26,8 (per 1 000 births)
principal languages:		personal disposable income:	45bn
Afrikaans	63%	% of SA total:	15,3%
English	20%	per capita disposable income:	R12 387
Xhosa	16%		

Provincial Government

The 1994 provincial elections produced a decisive National Party victory. The NP won 23 of the legislature's 42 seats. The Premier, HERNUS KRIEL, served as Minister of Law and Order in former President FW de Klerk's National Party cabinet.

Provincial Breakdown:

Party	Seats	Number of Votes	% of Total
NP	23	1 145 127	53,3%
ANC	14	708 990	33,0%
DP	3	141 798	6,6%
FF	1	45 117	2,1%
ACDP	1	25 781	1,2
TOTAL	42	2 148 456	100%

Making a clean break with the past

Interviews with ANC Whips in the Eastern Cape, Lydia Bici (chief whip), Mkgangeli Matomela, Atwell Manyosi and Matthews Makhallima, as well as Anne Nash, Deputy Speaker and member of the National Party.

The principal issues facing the Legislature of the Eastern Cape, according to ANC whips, are: effective and corruption-free government administration, actively instituting participatory democracy, removing the urban-bias reflected in expenditure, giving serious and systematic consideration to the impact of policy on gender relations, and strategising with national government to speedily resolve violence in the Eastern Cape.

Of these concerns, the one given highest regard is that of making a clean break with the reputation of the previous government administration as corrupt and self-serving. Concrete measures to achieve this goal are already under discussion. One such measure

that will allow the legislature to fulfill its function as overseers of government departments, is that departments be required to submit weekly reconciliation statements, which will then be discussed at monthly meetings. In this way, departments will be required to justify their expenditure systematically, in an ongoing forum.

Corruption-free administration is one element of an effective participatory democracy. A point later reinforced by Deputy Speaker, Anne Nash, raises another major obstacle faced in the province, that being the low level of public awareness surrounding the role and responsibilities of the legislature. Public attendance at sessions is minimal and it has been suggested that a widespread campaign be held to educate constituents in this regard and enhance communication between themselves and the legislature. A further measure to broaden public participation, suggested by Nash, is to make the legislature building more accessible to disabled persons.

A campaign of this nature would have to specifically take into account the situation of rural people in the Eastern Cape. The majority of poll supporters reside in rural areas, yet they have been discriminated against in the spending patterns of government, which favour urban residents at their expense. According to Atwell Manyosi, "We cannot continue like we were doing in the past because the influx of people into the urban areas is due to the fact that the rural areas have been neglected... Provision of clean water, maintenance of roads - even if dirt roads, supplying of electricity and all other basic needs of our people."

The problem of violence is a further impediment to development in the province and affects the tourism industry in particular, an industry which is seen as having major potential for revenue. It has two distinct manifestations in this region. One of these is taxi violence. In this regard, the Departments of Safety & Security and Transport are working together with other stakeholders, including the representatives of the taxi industry, to reach binding solutions to the current crisis. The other aspect is that of cross-border stock-theft. In the Matatiele and Mount Fletcher areas, this conflict has taken on a national character, with South Africans clashing with Basotho nationals. Here, the province is working together with national government to resolve the problem.

Beyond the crisis-management level, the legislature is also taking serious consideration of aspects of sustainable development. A women's caucus has been formed, which is keeping abreast of progress towards the Gender Commission. Using the Beijing Platform for Action as a guiding document, the caucus is lobbying for the main streaming of budget allocations for women. Rather than setting aside specific amounts for women's development, they propose that the gender implications of all policies and their affiliated budgets be considered in advance as a matter of course.

The whips recognise that the skills of legislators need enhancing. Chief whip, Lydia Bici, pointed out, "We don't have an in-depth understanding of government policy. You see a programme in the budget, without knowing how to tie the budget with the policy". She emphasised that legislators need to improve their ability to follow up on implementation of government policy. These improvements should empower legislators to better address the needs of their constituency.

Eastern Cape -- the facts

The Eastern Cape ranks near the bottom in most quality of life indicators. Unemployment hovers around 45%, personal disposable income is less than half that of the Northern Cape, and less than a

third of that in the Western Cape. The major languages in the province are Xhosa, Afrikaans and English.

Fast facts

capital:	Bishko	Real GGP:	R8,9bn
land area:	170 616km	% of SA GDP:	7,4%
% of total:	13,9%	GGP per capita:	R2 317
population:	6 690 000	unemployment:	45%
% of SA total:	16,4%	literacy rate:	59%
% under 15:	18%	life expectancy:	59,6
growth rate:	2,6% (1985 - 1993)	infant mortality:	58,2 (per 1 000 births)
principal languages:		personal disposable income:	23bn
Xhosa	85%	% of SA total:	8%
Afrikaans	9%	per capita disposable income:	R3 616
English	3%		

Provincial Government

The 1994 provincial elections produced an overwhelming victory for the ANC - 86% of the vote. The National Party received 10% of the vote, securing it one seat on the Executive Council.

Provincial Breakdown:

Party	Seats	Number of Votes	% of Total
ANC	48	2 453 790	86%
NP	6	286 029	10%
DP	1	59 644	2%
PAC	1	59 475	2%
TOTAL	56	2 858 938	100%

Speaker of the Legislature of the Eastern Cape: Mr Gugile Nkwinti (ANC)

Born in 1948, in Grahamstown, Mr Nkwinti has had an extensive career which includes over ten years with the Department of Health, the last four as a Professional Nurse specialising in Psychiatry. Mr Nkwinti has also been a researcher at the Department of Psychology at Rhodes University, the Director of the Eastern Cape Development Forum in Grahamstown, and spent the last two years prior to his current position as Speaker of the Legislature, as the Director of ACORD, a Reconstruction and Development Programme in Grahamstown. Mr Nkwinti's educational background includes a Diploma in Nursing Psychiatry, and a BA degree from Unisa. He is currently completing a diploma in Economic Principles with the University of London. Mr Nkwinti served as general secretary for both the UDF and the ANC in the Eastern Cape.

Deputy Speaker of the Legislature of the Eastern Cape Mrs Anne Nash (NP)

Born into the farming community of Cradock, Mrs Nash has been involved in a wide range of activities, from nursing, to farming, to serving on the Graaf Reinet Commando. She served as a member of

the President's Council, and is a long time campaigner for increased access to water. She is also a mother of two and a grandmother to three.

Speaker of the Legislature of the Western Cape: Mr Willem Doman (NP)

Willem P. Doman was born in Kimberley on the 8th October, 1950. He obtained BA and B.Th Degrees, as well as a Masters Degree in Clinical Theology from the University of Stellenbosch. Mr Doman served as SRC chairperson at Stellenbosch and was also an executive member of the Afrikaanse Studentebond. Mr Doman served for 12 years as minister of religion in the Dutch Reformed Church in Kimberly and Goodwood, and was also a councillor on the Goodwood Town Council. He also served in Parliament from 1989-1994, thereafter he became a member of the Western Cape Legislature.

Deputy Speaker of the Legislature of the Western Cape: Ms Mampe Ramotsamai (ANC)

Mampe Cecillia Ramotsamai, born in 1955, has extensive administrative, general management, public relations, and marketing experience, gained through work in NGO's, Womens Movements, and social upliftment programmes. She is the regional organiser of the ANC Women's League, has been a trainer with Funda Ubugciso, a senior field worker for the Western Province Council of Churches, and a Community Worker for the Women's Movement for Peace.

INTLOLA welcomes your comments, contributions and suggestions for future editions. If you would like to receive INTLOLA (free of charge) please contact:

INTLOLA
Department of Political Studies
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535
Tel: (021) 959-3230
Fax: (021) 959-3621

STAFF OF THE LTP

Programme Advisor: Prof. Chris Tapscott
Programme Director: Siphon Maseko
Admin Coordinator: Ntombiswazi Tai Tai
Assistant Admin Coordinator: Zwelibanzi Shiceka
Media Officer: Suren Pillay
Assistant Media Officer: Sulona Reddy
Assistant Media Officer: Jeremy Ball
NDI Programme Consultant: Sir Roger Berry

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LTP goes to Bisho

The Legislative Training Programme held a second workshop with the Legislature of the Eastern Cape on 5-6 March. In the previous workshop, the LTP assisted the Legislature in its attempt to formulate a Vision and Mission Statement for itself. The March workshop, held at the King Williams Town Club, focused on Budgetary analysis and Lobbying.

Ismail Adams, Head of the Economics Department at the UWC, spent the first day taking the Legislators through a programme which included looking at how to "develop a critical capacity for understanding and analysing a Budget", the theory of Fiscal policy for growth and stability, and fiscal policy instruments. The theory was put to the test when participants had to, in small groups, develop a coherent fiscal programme for a two year period.

Continuing with 'Financial Planning', was Singa Ngqwala, Secretary to the Treasury on Financial Planning and Budgeting, who argued that the underlying basis of good and accountable government was human development. This could, according to Ngqwala, be achieved through the effective implementation of sound principles of financial planning and budgeting systems.

On day two, participants dealt with developing expertise which would make them effective Lobbyists. Brian Kidney, former Chief Clerk of the California State Legislature, looked at utilising lobbying in the budgeting process. Kidney emphasised that "lobbying is a key tool for legislators to represent the interests of their constituents" and looked at useful political strategies for lobbying. In the working groups participants had to develop a strategy for lobbying on certain key issues.

Participants found the workshop to be most useful, and showed a particularly keen interest in developing their insights with regards to budgets even further, according to the evaluation. Reports on this workshop are obtainable from the LTP office.

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