



Not Speaking Out: Measuring National Assembly Performance

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This paper analyses the amount of contributions that members of the National Assembly made to parliamentary debate from September 2005 to October 2007 as one indicator of parliamentary performance. Although it has been speculated that some members of the National Assembly contribute very little to debates on bills and motions, as far as the IPPR is aware no research since independence has actually sought to quantify how much MPs contribute to debates in the House. The principal measure used for this research paper was the number of lines each MP contributed to debate in the Hansard – the official record of parliament. Originally, the IPPR had hoped to examine Hansard from the inception of the current parliament in 2005 until mid-2009. However, this has proved impossible because Hansard is not available from October 2007 onwards since editions have not been published since then. For this reason this analysis is based on a two-year period from September 2005 to early October 2007, which was felt to be a long enough period to make an assessment of how much MPs contributed to debate.

The methodology used by this research paper is restricted solely to the amount of lines that MPs have contributed to the official record of parliamentary proceedings. No attempt is made to assess the quality of those contributions as this would involve highly subjective value judgements. This paper also does not attempt to assess how MPs may contribute to other aspects of parliamentary life, for example the committee system. However, it is clear that many MPs hardly contribute to general debate nor pose questions or introduce motions. 36 MPs contributed less than 1,000 lines to Hansard over a two-year period.



1. Introduction

Namibia's National Assembly consists of 72 elected voting members and six non-voting members who are appointed by the President. The members of the National Assembly are elected every five years according to a closed party list proportional representation system. Swapo, as the ruling party, dominates the National Assembly with 55 seats, with the opposition occupying just 17 seats.

According to the Constitution (Chapter 7), "the legislative power of Namibia shall be vested in the National Assembly..." (Article 44). Members of the National Assembly "shall be representative of all of the people and shall in the performance of their duties be guided by the objectives of this constitution, by the public interest, and by their conscience" (Article 45).

The Constitution sets out the following requirements for members of the National Assembly in Article 47: They should not have been sentenced to death or have served a prison sentence of more than 12 months (unless this was more than ten years ago or unless the acts leading to the sentence were part of the struggle for Namibian independence); they should not be unrehabilitated insolvents; they should not be of unsound mind (as certified by a court); they should not be civil servants or members of the National Council, Regional Councils, or Local Authorities. The Constitution mentions no specific criteria about the qualities and experience that would-be MPs should possess. Such concerns are left to the political parties to consider when they choose their party lists.

This paper focuses on one aspect concerning the performance of individual MPs in the National Assembly – that is their contributions to parliamentary debates. Specifically, the paper examines motions introduced, questions posed and general contributions to debates – as an indicator of how much an MP contributed to the National Assembly's fundamental functions (Article 63 of the Constitution) which are listed in Appendix B of this paper.

The paper, in particular, examines the speaking records of seventy-six (76) members of the National Assembly¹. The paper makes no attempt to comment on the quality of contributions to debate, but restricts itself to the length of contributions.

MPs in the National Assembly are not directly accountable to constituents in geographical areas of Namibia as they are elected according to a closed party list system. Hence, it is impossible to gauge their performance on the basis of their responsiveness to constituents. Proceedings of parliamentary committee meetings are not generally available for scrutiny and therefore contributions to the committee system are difficult to assess. In view of this, a review of contributions in Hansard is one measurable barometer of parliamentary performance that seems to be worth monitoring and evaluating.

In addition to the national process of organising elections for November 2009, political parties are in the process of compiling their lists of candidates for the National Assembly election. According to the Electoral Act (1992 as amended), parties should nominate between 24 and 72 candidates on a date proclaimed by the president². The criteria that parties use to choose their candidates are unclear. However, it would seem obvious that candidates should be expected to have the ability and inclination to contribute to parliamentary debate on a regular basis.

¹ The 76 consist of the 72 elected members of the National Assembly plus the six non-elected members appointed by the President minus the Speaker (Theo-Ben Gurirab) and the Deputy Speaker (Doreen Sioka) since they do not contribute to general debate except to chair proceedings.

² Electoral Act of Namibia (1992), Sections 50 (1a) and 59 (1)

2 Research Methodology

To access the data necessary for determining the performance of MPs, the authors examined Hansard – the official record of National Assembly proceedings. Hansard services ensure the recording, transcribing, editing, publication and distribution of the verbatim official report of parliamentary proceedings. The assessment covered roughly two years of parliamentary proceedings, starting from September 2005 until early October 2007. It should be noted that the Hansards for the period from March to September 2005 are not available and that since October 2007 no Hansards have been published by the National Assembly. This means that the parliamentary record since then is not available to MPs. Neither is it accessible to researchers, journalists and interested members of the public³.

The analysis focussed on contributions to general debate, questions posed and motions, with the number of lines in Hansard allocated to each MP being counted over the two-year period. The font size and layout of Hansard remained standard during the period – making this a fair way of measuring contributions. Ministerial statements and responses were not included in the assessment as the paper's intent is to assess contributions to general debate.

3 Research Findings

The overall league table of 76 MPs measured in terms of overall contribution, questions, motions and general contribution to debate appears in Appendix A of this paper. For the purposes of making the research more accessible we have broken this down into several sub-categories: the top ten performers; the bottom ten performers; the performance of the non-elected MPs; the performance of the opposition; and the performance of Swapo backbenchers.

Top Ten

Table 1: The top ten MPs in terms of lines in Hansard

| | MP | Party | No. of lines |
|-----|----------------------|-------|--------------|
| 1. | McHenry Venaani | DTA | 9,080 |
| 2. | Ben Ulenga | CoD | 6,442 |
| 3. | Arnold Tjihuiiko | Nudo | 5,279 |
| 4. | Kazenambo Kazenambo | Swapo | 4,682 |
| 5. | Kuaima Riruako | Nudo | 4,267 |
| 6. | Nora Schimming-Chase | CoD | 4,149 |
| 7. | Nahas Angula | Swapo | 4,069 |
| 8. | Tsudao Gurirab | CoD | 3,959 |
| 9. | Philemon Moongo | DTA | 3,844 |
| 10. | Johan de Waal | DTA | 3,606 |

DTA MP McHenry Venaani tops the list of MPs who contributed most when measured by the number of lines in Hansard. Ben Ulenga, leader of the official opposition, Congress of Democrats is second. The list is dominated by eight opposition MPs. Kazenambo Kazenambo, Deputy Minister of Local and Regional Government, Housing and Rural Development, is the top Swapo performer. Interestingly, Prime Minister Nahas Angula is seventh in the list indicating that he contributes generally to debates as well as making statements as Prime Minister (which were not included in this assessment).

³ In addition to the unavailability of Hansard, the IPPR was also told by parliamentary officials that it could not review the attendance register for sittings of the National Assembly as this might 'embarrass' certain MPs.

The Bottom Ten

Table 2: The bottom ten MPs in terms of lines in Hansard

| | MP | Party | No. of lines |
|-----|---------------------|-------|--------------|
| 1. | Leon Jooste | Swapo | 0 |
| 2. | Gabes Shihepo | Swapo | 38 |
| 3. | Victor Simunja | Swapo | 48 |
| 4. | Paul Smit | Swapo | 216 |
| 5. | Petrina Haingura | Swapo | 219 |
| 6. | Ida Hoffmann | Swapo | 264 |
| 7. | Immanuel Ngatjizeko | Swapo | 305 |
| 8. | Lempy Lucas | Swapo | 326 |
| 9. | Evelyn Nawases | Swapo | 340 |
| 10. | Hidipo Hamutenya | Swapo | 348 |

The then Deputy Minister of Environment and Tourism Leon Jooste tops the list of the worst performers in the National Assembly. Between September 2005 and October 2007, Jooste did not contribute to any debates. Leon Jooste resigned from the National Assembly and as a Deputy Minister in January 2009.

The second worst performer was the late Gabes Shihepo, the then Deputy Minister of Safety and Security. He asked a single question and contributed once to general debate during the period under review. His level of participation could have been due to ill health. He passed away on the July 14 2008. Victor Simunja, Deputy Minister of Defence, made very few contributions, perhaps because he still considers himself a career soldier who will rarely venture beyond defence matters (he was previously a Commander in the Namibian Defence Force). There are six deputy ministers in the list (the top five were all deputy ministers during the period under review) – indicating that they do not see playing a prominent role within the National Assembly as a ticket to gaining full ministerial status, if deputies have such ambitions.

Immanuel Ngatjizeko (the then Minister of Trade & Industry) is the only Minister in the 'bottom ten' list. Between September 2005 and October 2007, Ngatjizeko made 11 interventions in the NA, asking a single question, contributing six times to general debates and introducing four motions.

Hidipo Hamutenya was also very reticent during this period – which followed his sacking as a Minister in May 2004 and subsequent failure to secure the nomination to be the Swapo presidential candidate. He resigned as an MP and as a member of Swapo in late 2007 before announcing the formation of the Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP).

Non-elected Members

Table 3: Non-voting members appointed by the President in terms of lines in Hansard

| | MP | Overall position | No. of lines |
|----|----------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1. | Becky Ndjoze-Ojo | 34 | 1297 |
| 2. | Alexia Manombe-Ncube | 40 | 1060 |
| 3. | Charles Namoloh | 51 | 558 |
| 4. | Reggie Diergaardt | 56 | 506 |
| 5. | Ida Hoffmann | 71 | 264 |
| 6. | Paul Smit | 73 | 216 |

Article 32 (5) (c) of the Constitution states that “the President shall have the power to: appoint as members of the National Assembly but without any vote therein, not more than six (6) persons by virtue of their special expertise, status, skill or experience.” President Hifikepunye Pohamba appointed the following people as his six choices for these non-elected positions: Reggie Diergaardt, Ida Hoffman, Alexia Manombe-Ncube, Charles Namoloh, Becky Ndjoze-Ojo, and Paul Smit. The above table illustrates how they are positioned in terms of the overall league table of 76 MPs.

Ida Hoffmann and Paul Smit are among the worst performers in the parliament, and the obvious question is why are these MPs contributing so little if they were chosen for their “special expertise, status, skill or experience”? Among the six appointees Becky Ndjoze-Ojo (Deputy Minister of Education) comes out the best, followed by Alexia Manombe-Ncube. It could be that in the case of the deputy ministers (Smit, Ndjoze-Ojo) and minister (Namoloh) among the appointees, their “special expertise, status, skill or experience” is contributed at the level of the executive, but for the other back bench MPs there seems little excuse for having such an insignificant impact on parliamentary life.

Opposition MPs

Table 4: Opposition MPs in terms of lines in Hansard

| Name | Party | Overall position | No. of lines |
|-------------------------|-------|------------------|--------------|
| 1. McHenry Venaani | DTA | 1 | 9080 |
| 2. Ben Ulenga | CoD | 2 | 6442 |
| 3. Arnold Tjihuko | NUDO | 3 | 5279 |
| 4. Kuaima Riruako | NUDO | 5 | 4267 |
| 5. Nora Schimming-Chase | CoD | 6 | 4149 |
| 6. Tsudao Gurirab | CoD | 8 | 3959 |
| 7. Philemon Moongo | DTA | 9 | 3844 |
| 8. Johan de Waal | DTA | 10 | 3606 |
| 9. Henk Mudge | RP | 13 | 2800 |
| 10. Elma Dienda | CoD | 14 | 2698 |
| 11. Jurie Viljoen | MAG | 16 | 2387 |
| 12. Kala Gertze | CoD | 19 | 2265 |
| 13. Katuutire Kaura | DTA | 20 | 2217 |
| 14. Michael Goreseb | UDF | 30 | 1358 |
| 15. Justus Garoeb | UDF | 32 | 1316 |
| 16. Asser Mbai | NUDO | 46 | 800 |
| 17. Gustaphine Tjombe | UDF | 66 | 372 |

The performance of opposition MPs varies widely. McHenry Venaani is head and shoulders above the rest, with 2,638 more lines than his nearest rival. In general, while a DTA politician

tops the list, the CoD is more consistent as a party with Ben Ulenga, Nora Schimming-Chase and Tsudao Gurirab all making significant contributions. The worst-performing party is the UDF as their MPs hog the bottom section of the table. Being the leader of a party does not seem to mean you will be the most voluble MP as Kuaima Riruako (President of Nudo) is eclipsed by Arnold Tjihuiiko, Justus Garoeb (President of the UDF) is just beaten by Michael Goreseb, while Katuutire Kaura (President of the DTA) is behind his three party colleagues in terms of contributions.

Swapo Backbenchers

Table 5: Swapo backbenchers in terms of lines in Hansard

| Name | Overall Position | Total Score |
|--------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1. Peya Mushelenga | 11 | 3363 |
| 2. Tommy Nambahu | 17 | 2304 |
| 3. Hage Geingob | 23 | 1795 |
| 4. Moses Amweelo | 25 | 1624 |
| 5. Chief Ankama | 28 | 1409 |
| 6. Elia Kaiyamo | 33 | 1308 |
| 7. Jeremia Nambinga. | 35 | 1281 |
| 8. Alexia Manombe-Ncube* | 40 | 1060 |
| 9. Loide Kasingo | 50 | 583 |
| 10.. Royal /Ui/o/oo | 55 | 521 |
| 11. Reggie Diergaardt* | 56 | 506 |
| 12. Hansina Christiaan | 57 | 476 |
| 13. Hans Booy | 61 | 424 |
| 14. Lucia Basson | 63 | 410 |
| 15. Hidipo Hamutenya. | 67 | 348 |
| 16. Evelyn Nawases | 68 | 340 |
| 17. Ida Hoffmann* | 71 | 264 |

*Non-voting member

Parliamentarians who do not hold ministerial office are usually known as backbenchers. Out of the 55 Swapo MPs 38 hold ministerial or deputy minister posts, leaving 17 who can safely be described as backbenchers. The level of contributions from Swapo's backbenchers varies widely. Peya Mushelenga, Tommy Nambahu, and Hage Geingob (who was restored to Cabinet in April 2008) top the list. But the bottom seven on the list when considered together did not even manage the level of contribution of Peya Mushelenga. Women backbenchers feature heavily in the bottom half of this table with Ida Hoffmann, Evelyn Nawases, Lucia Basson. Hansina Christiaan and Loide Kasingo making insignificant contributions during the two-year period.

It could be that some Swapo backbenchers feel constrained by being junior politicians in a party that dominates parliament. It may be that some MPs are concerned not to be seen stepping out of (the party) line and therefore prefer to keep quiet. It is easier for Swapo MPs to hide when there are 55 of them (the backbenches are even out of view of the public and press galleries). Non-performing opposition members are more noticeable simply because there are so few opposition MPs. However, all parties should encourage their MPs to contribute to debates on a regular basis.

4. Bills Passed by the National Assembly

Some 41 bills were passed during the two-year period of this study as follows (for a full list Appendix D):

Table 6: Bills passed by the National Assembly during the period under review

| Year | Bills Passed |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| 2005 (from Sept) | 7 |
| 2006 | 10 |
| 2007 (to Oct) | 7 |

Source: Table Office – Parliamentary Clerk

In general since independence the number of bills passed has declined quite dramatically. In 1990 the National Assembly passed 31 bills. The number rose to an all-time high of 36 in 1994. In the first ten years of independence, the number of bills passed per year never fell below 22. However, since the inception of the 2005-2010 National Assembly, the trend has been generally downwards with the ten bills of 2006 being an all-time low. Even given that the current National Assembly may still sit until March 2010, the 45 bills passed by the end of 2008 (see Table 5) is remarkably low when compared to previous parliaments.

There may be several explanations for this: the reforming zeal of government has dissipated over time resulting in less planned legislation; the key legal reforms were mostly made in the first period after independence and hence the drop-off was inevitable; or the process of drafting and approving legislation has dramatically slowed down due to a lack of capacity in government. The cause is unlikely to be laid at the door of MPs since it is Cabinet that is responsible for bringing legislation to the House. MPs would only be partly responsible if the House was constantly unable to continue proceedings due a lack of quorum. However, the lack of a quorum is still a relatively rare occurrence in the National Assembly. But the lower number of bills does mean that MPs are required to do less work. It should also be noted that over the years very few MPs have used their right to bring Private Members Bills before the National Assembly.

Table 7: Bills passed by the National Assembly since independence

| | |
|------------------|------------|
| 1990-95 | 166 |
| 1995-2000 | 133 |
| 2000-2005 | 136 |
| 2005-2008 | 45 |

5. Appropriation Bill

On an annual basis, parliament passes the Appropriation Bill to ensure the financial requirements of the State are met. The Appropriation Bill and ensuing budget debate form an important endeavour of the parliament. This bill is brought before the House to solicit inputs from the legislature in the form of questions, comments and suggestions. During the Appropriation Bill debates, the House sits until as late as 22h30 because of the urgency in passing of the budget bill. It was noted during the research that there is a general tendency for most MPs to say something about the Appropriation Bill. In other words the number of contributions is high during debate on the bill. MPs should be commended for contributing to the debate, but the question remains: Does the legislature add any value to the Appropriation Bill? Even though some MPs, usually members of the opposition, show their discontent with certain aspects of the bill, the budget is never changed.

Citing Professor Bill Lindeke, the leader of the official opposition, Ben Ulenga, had the following to say during the budget debate in 2007: “In terms of lawmaking, government in Namibia is simply Cabinet government. Although parliament debates bills and budgets, Cabinet has already determined the outcome. While both the chambers of parliament take months to debate the

budget, not one cent of the budget under consideration has changed as a result. The budget is fully cooked when it is placed on the Speaker's desk"⁴.

6. Separation of Powers: Strong Executive vs. Weak Legislature

The separation of powers doctrine, also known as *trias politica*, strives to limit too much concentration of power in some branches of the state. Separate and independent bodies are the preoccupations of this doctrine. Such a separation, it has been argued, limits the possibility of arbitrary excesses by government, since the sanction of all three branches is required for the making, executing, and administering of laws. By definition, the legislature is a branch of government mainly responsible for discussing and passing legislation and keeping a watch on the Executive. The lines are blurred in Namibia. This owes much to the fact that Cabinet Ministers (the Executive) form a large part of the legislature, which can serve to undermine the primary tenet of *trias politica*. Furthermore, parliamentary oversight and control of the executive forms an integral part of the system of separation of powers.

The National Assembly is dominated by the Executive in the sense that Ministers or Deputy Ministers make up about 44 percent of the 78 members leaving just 17 members on the Swapo backbenches and 17 on the opposition benches. Generally, opposition parties dominate the formal times set aside for asking questions. Most of the motions are moved by minority parties. But the ruling party can easily reject such motions and dismiss opposition points and questions.

As far as the answering of questions by Ministers is concerned, there is an inconsistent picture pertaining to the duration it takes for responses to be given. Even though questions are tabled one week in advance, the responses hardly ever come within the period of a week. Questions may drag on for more than a month without being answered on the grounds of 'more time being needed to do research' or questions being misdirected

Roger Southall has alluded to a significant weakness in the control functions of parliaments in Southern Africa by observing that: "parliamentary checks upon executives, as written into constitutions, have effectively been nullified by the predominance of ruling parties which operate in a hierarchical and disciplined fashion"⁵. Using Southall's assertion as a vantage point, active participation of the opposition is essential in a system where the ruling party is dominant. At the same time a smaller Executive, would make it possible for more backbench MPs from the ruling party to debate legislation without feeling the strictures of being a full member of the Executive.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

Parliaments all over the world play a crucial role in the political and economic life of their respective countries. Like any other institution they should be monitored and evaluated on a regular basis. A concern that parliament and some parliamentarians may not be performing to their full potential was the *raison d'être* for this paper. However, the purpose was not to denigrate individual MPs but rather to ask the question: are Namibian citizens getting full value from their National Assembly? The research for this paper goes part of the way towards answering this, but there is clearly a need for more monitoring, research and analysis.

Those who have clearly invested their energies in keeping parliamentary debate alive should be commended for a job well done. But individuals who have played an insignificant role should think long and hard about how they can improve their input for the remaining tenure of this parliament and if they are re-elected for another term.

⁴ Hansard Vol. 99, 2007:14. Ulenga was quoting from IPPR Opinion paper 21 (2007), Namibia's Parliament In a Presidential Age: Analysis and Opinion.

⁵ Southall 2003:52 cited in Eberlei & Henn (2003)

On the basis of this research, the authors would like to make the following recommendations:

- a) All volumes of Hansard should be published and made available as soon as possible. In addition these volumes should be made available on the parliament website.
- b) Parties should ensure they adopt criteria when choosing candidates for their party lists that would ensure such candidates are able and willing to play a full role in parliament. These criteria would include language skills, assertiveness, research aptitude, and speech-making skills.
- c) Parties should offer ongoing training to their elected representatives so that they can make effective and informed contributions in the National Assembly and other elected bodies. These should include language training and awareness of policy issues.
- d) The Chief Whips of parties should seek to ensure that their parties' MPs are contributing on a regular basis to National Assembly debates.
- e) Parliament should be as transparent as possible. As well as publishing Hansard in a timely manner, the National Assembly should also make other information available (such as the details of which MPs attend which sittings of parliament and the long overdue Register of Members' Interests) for public scrutiny.
- f) Further research should be undertaken as to why there has been a dramatic slowdown in the number of bills passed by the National Assembly and the number of bills being forwarded by Cabinet.
- g) Civil society organisations should start to closely monitor parliamentary proceedings, legislative programmes, and the performance of MPs with a view to broadening and deepening the national debate about proposed legislation and policies.

Appendix A: Lead Table

Below is a lead table that includes all the MPs assessed between September 2005 and October 2007. Questions from individual MPs are first reflected in numbers and then in lines. The same applies to general contributions and motions introduced. The grand total is then calculated, which determines the ranking of MPs in terms of total number of lines in Hansard.

Key:

QN – Questions in Number

QL – Questions in Lines

GCN – General Contributions in Number

GCL – General Contributions in Lines

MN – Motions in Number

ML – Motions in Lines

| <i>Name of MP</i> | QN | QL | GC N | GCL | MN | ML | Grand Total |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| 1. Venaani, M | 88 | 927 | 110 | 8049 | 9 | 104 | 9080 |
| 2. Ulenga, B | 77 | 1206 | 58 | 5148 | 5 | 88 | 6442 |
| 3. Tjihuike, A | 79 | 1292 | 60 | 3979 | 1 | 8 | 5279 |
| 4. Kazenambo, K | 19 | 258 | 63 | 4314 | 2 | 110 | 4682 |
| 5. Riruako, K | 18 | 192 | 104 | 4067 | 1 | 8 | 4267 |
| 6. Schimming-Chase, N | 39 | 630 | 48 | 3504 | 2 | 15 | 4149 |
| 7. Angula, N | 37 | 283 | 75 | 3758 | 3 | 28 | 4069 |
| 8. Gurirab, T | 27 | 346 | 65 | 3551 | 5 | 62 | 3959 |
| 9. Moongo, P | 114 | 1210 | 75 | 2626 | 2 | 8 | 3844 |
| 10. De Waal, J | 38 | 589 | 44 | 3017 | 0 | 0 | 3606 |
| 11. Mushelenga, P | 8 | 74 | 47 | 3282 | 1 | 7 | 3363 |
| 12. Ilonga, P | 59 | 565 | 71 | 2274 | 0 | 0 | 2839 |
| 13. Mudge, H | 14 | 166 | 28 | 2561 | 3 | 73 | 2800 |
| 14. Dienda, E | 59 | 768 | 35 | 1895 | 7 | 35 | 2698 |
| 15. Kuugongelwa- Amadhila, S | 7 | 37 | 38 | 2382 | 2 | 21 | 2440 |
| 16. Viljoen, J. | 49 | 482 | 30 | 1895 | 2 | 10 | 2387 |
| 17. Nambahu, T | 10 | 74 | 50 | 2230 | 0 | 0 | 2304 |
| 18. Mutorwa, J | 11 | 222 | 29 | 2030 | 3 | 15 | 2267 |
| 19. Gertze, K (Late) | 2 | 74 | 17 | 2125 | 6 | 66 | 2265 |
| 20. Kaura, K | 33 | 337 | 39 | 1838 | 6 | 42 | 2217 |
| 21. Katali, I | 17 | 204 | 32 | 1784 | 1 | 88 | 2076 |
| 22. Nujoma, U | 40 | 462 | 63 | 1498 | 3 | 79 | 2039 |
| 23. Geingob, H | 17 | 154 | 32 | 1575 | 2 | 66 | 1795 |
| 24. Iivula-Ithana, P | 15 | 208 | 35 | 1563 | 2 | 9 | 1780 |
| 25. Amweelo, M. | 17 | 149 | 40 | 1475 | 0 | 0 | 1624 |
| 26. Tjiriange, N | 20 | 213 | 35 | 1269 | 0 | 0 | 1482 |
| 27. Ekandjo, J | 14 | 91 | 29 | 1364 | 1 | 13 | 1468 |
| 28. Ankakama, S | 15 | 167 | 21 | 1232 | 1 | 10 | 1409 |
| 29. Shifeta, P | 3 | 14 | 18 | 1379 | 0 | 0 | 1393 |
| 30. Goreseb, M | 11 | 202 | 11 | 1156 | 0 | 0 | 1358 |
| 31. Tweya, T | 6 | 87 | 16 | 980 | 2 | 253 | 1320 |
| 32. Garoeb, J | 4 | 57 | 14 | 1259 | 0 | 0 | 1316 |
| 33. Kaiyamo, E | 4 | 26 | 23 | 1282 | 0 | 0 | 1308 |
| 34. Ndjoze-Ojo, B.* | 3 | 49 | 15 | 1238 | 1 | 10 | 1297 |
| 35. Nambinga, J. | 13 | 86 | 21 | 1195 | 0 | 0 | 1281 |
| 36. Amathila, L | 5 | 72 | 18 | 1184 | 1 | 5 | 1261 |
| 37. Nandi-Ndaitwah, N | 15 | 227 | 26 | 999 | 0 | 0 | 1226 |
| 38. Konjore, W | 13 | 129 | 28 | 1018 | 2 | 15 | 1162 |
| 39. Iyambo, A. | 8 | 71 | 22 | 995 | 0 | 0 | 1066 |
| 40. Manombe-Ncube, A | 2 | 12 | 16 | 1043 | 1 | 5 | 1060 |
| 41. Mungunda, M | 4 | 19 | 25 | 856 | 1 | 92 | 967 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|-----|----|-----|---|-----|------------|
| 42. Iyambo, N | 11 | 128 | 25 | 756 | 0 | 0 | 884 |
| 43. Pandeni, J (Late) | 27 | 183 | 25 | 692 | 0 | 0 | 875 |
| 44. Hausiku, M | 0 | 0 | 5 | 762 | 1 | 80 | 842 |
| 45. Kawana, A | 7 | 35 | 37 | 800 | 0 | 0 | 835 |
| 46. Mbai, A | 11 | 156 | 13 | 638 | 1 | 6 | 800 |
| 47. Mushelenga, T | 14 | 99 | 19 | 603 | 0 | 0 | 702 |
| 48. #Amathila, B | 4 | 20 | 23 | 597 | 0 | 0 | 617 |
| 49. Tsheehama, P | 5 | 52 | 10 | 542 | 0 | 0 | 594 |
| 50. Kasingo, L | 4 | 32 | 14 | 551 | 0 | 0 | 583 |
| 51. Namoloh, C* | 2 | 16 | 11 | 542 | 0 | 0 | 558 |
| 52. Kaapanda, J | 2 | 18 | 12 | 468 | 4 | 70 | 556 |
| 53. !Naruseb, A | 1 | 20 | 11 | 419 | 2 | 101 | 540 |
| 54. Nghidinwa, R | 16 | 110 | 17 | 430 | 0 | 0 | 540 |
| 55. /Ui/o/oo, R | 4 | 40 | 11 | 481 | 0 | 0 | 521 |
| 56. Diergaardt, R* | 0 | 0 | 7 | 506 | 0 | 0 | 506 |
| 57. Christiaan, H | 3 | 36 | 7 | 440 | 0 | 0 | 476 |
| 58. Mbumba, N | 7 | 59 | 12 | 398 | 1 | 13 | 470 |
| 59. Esau, B | 5 | 77 | 12 | 362 | 0 | 0 | 439 |
| 60. Dinyando, R | 11 | 106 | 11 | 319 | 0 | 0 | 425 |
| 61. Booy's, H | 5 | 50 | 14 | 374 | 0 | 0 | 424 |
| 62. Kamwi, R | 0 | 0 | 7 | 401 | 1 | 23 | 424 |
| 63. Basson, L | 2 | 20 | 8 | 378 | 1 | 12 | 410 |
| 64. Nghimtina, E | 0 | 0 | 5 | 388 | 3 | 15 | 403 |
| 65. Muharukua, A | 20 | 123 | 25 | 279 | 0 | 0 | 402 |
| 66. Tjombe, G | 3 | 48 | 3 | 324 | 0 | 0 | 372 |
| 67. Hamutenya, H | 1 | 7 | 4 | 341 | 0 | 0 | 348 |
| 68. Nawases, E | 0 | 0 | 3 | 340 | 0 | 0 | 340 |
| 69. Lucas, L | 1 | 5 | 7 | 321 | 0 | 0 | 326 |
| 70. Ngatjizeko, I | 1 | 21 | 6 | 249 | 4 | 35 | 305 |
| 71. Hoffmann, I.* | 0 | 0 | 2 | 264 | 0 | 0 | 264 |
| 72. Haingura, P | 0 | 0 | 5 | 219 | 0 | 0 | 219 |
| 73. Smit, P* | 0 | 0 | 2 | 203 | 3 | 13 | 216 |
| 74. Simunja, V | 0 | 0 | 2 | 48 | 0 | 0 | 48 |
| 75. Shihepo, G (Late) | 1 | 15 | 1 | 23 | 0 | 0 | 38 |
| 76. Jooste, L | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

*Non-voting member

≠ Resigned from National Assembly on the April 17 2007 and replaced by Clara Bohitile, who was not included in this study as the period she served as an MP during the period of review was only a matter of months

Appendix B: Bills Passed by the NA 2005-2007

| 2005 | | | |
|------|--|---|-------------|
| No. | Short Title | Introduced by | Date Passed |
| 1 | Appropriation Bill | Minister of Finance | 28.06.2005 |
| 2 | Accreditation Board of Namibia Bill | Minister of Trade & Industry | 18.05.2005 |
| 3 | Animal Diseases and Parasites Amendment Bill | Minister of Agriculture, Water & Forestry | 16.06.2005 |
| 4 | Transfer of Convicted Criminals Bill | Minister of Safety & Security | 16.06.2005 |
| 5 | Insolvency Amendment Bill | Deputy Minister of Justice | 12.07.2005 |

| | | | |
|-------------|---|--|-------------------------|
| 6 | Communal Land Reform Amendment Bill | Minister of Lands & Resettlement | 12.07.2005 |
| 7 | Standards Bill | Minister of Trade & Industry | 8.11.2005 |
| 8 | Metrology Amendment Bill | Minister of Trade & Industry | 26.10.2005 |
| 9 | Children's Status Bill | Minister of Gender Equality | 24.11.2005 |
| 10 | Forest Amendment Bill | Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Water & Forestry | 17.11.2005 |
| 11 | General Law Amendment Bill | Deputy Minister of Safety & Security | 15.11.2005 |
| 12 | Conferment of Status of Founding Father of the Namibian Nation Bill | Prime Minister | 29.12.2005 |
| 13 | State Owned Enterprises Bill | Prime Minister | 30.11.2005 |
| 2006 | | | |
| 1 | Financial Intelligence Bill | Minister of Finance | (Withdrawn on 9.3.2006) |
| 2 | Appropriation Bill | Minister of Finance | 28.04.2006 |
| 3 | Reconsideration of State Owned Enterprises Bill | Prime Minister | 11.07.2006 |
| 4 | Reconsideration of Children's Status Bill | Minister of Gender Equality & Child Welfare | 22.10.2006 |
| 5 | Financial Intelligence Bill | Deputy Minister of Finance | 26.10.2006 |
| 6 | Local Authorities Fire Brigade Services Bill | Deputy Minister: RLGHRD | 17.10.2006 |
| 7 | Combating of the Abuse of Drugs Bill | Minister of Safety & Security | 21.10.2006 |
| 8 | Additional Appropriation Bill | Minister of Finance | 23.10.2006 |
| 9 | Electoral Amendment Bill | Minister: RLGHRD | 21.10.2006 |
| 10 | Bio-safety Bill | Minister of Education | 21.10.2006 |
| 2007 | | | |
| 1 | Income Tax Amendment Tax | Minister of Finance | 22.11.07 |
| 2 | Labour Bill | Minister of Labour & Social Welfare | 05.07.07 |

| | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------------|----------|
| 3 | Value Added Tax Amendment Bill | Minister of Finance | 11.04.07 |
| 4 | Motor Vehicle Accident Fund Bill | Minister of Finance | 15.11.07 |
| 5 | Vocational Education & Training Bill | Minister of Education | 05.07.07 |
| 6 | Electricity Bill | Minister of Mines & Energy | 12.07.07 |
| 7 | Appropriation Bill | Minister of Finance | 26.04.07 |
| 8 | Environmental Mgt. Bill | Minister of Environ. & Tourism | 10.10.07 |
| 9 | Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Bill | Minister of Health & Social Services | 02.10.07 |
| 10 | Companies Amendment Bill | Minister of Trade & Industry | 02.10.07 |
| 11 | Veterans Bill | Minister of Veterans Affairs | 15.11.07 |
| 12 | Affirmative Action Amendment Bill | Minister of Labour & Social Welfare | 13.11.07 |

Source: Table Office – Parliamentary Clerk

Appendix C: Functions and Powers of the National Assembly

Article 63 of the Namibian Constitution

- (1) The National Assembly, as the principal legislative authority in and over Namibia, shall have the power, subject to this Constitution, to make and repeal laws for the peace, order and good government of the country in the best interest of the people of Namibia.
- (2) The National Assembly shall further have the power and function, subject to this Constitution:
 - (a) to approve budgets for the effective government and administration of the country;
 - (b) to provide for revenue and taxation;
 - (c) to take such steps as it considers expedient to uphold and defend this Constitution and the laws of Namibia and to advance the objectives of Namibian independence;
 - (d) to consider and decide whether or not to succeed to such international agreements as may have been entered into prior to Independence by administrations within Namibia in which the majority of the Namibian people have historically not enjoyed democratic representation and participation;
 - (e) to agree to the ratification of or accession to international agreements which have been negotiated and signed in terms of Article 32(3)(e) hereof;
 - (f) to receive reports on the activities of the Executive, including parastatal enterprises, and from time to time to require any senior official thereof to appear before any of the committees of the National Assembly to account for and explain his or her acts and programmes;
 - (g) to initiate, approve or decide to hold a referendum on matters of national concern;
 - (h) to debate and to advise the President in regard to any matters which by this Constitution the President is authorised to deal with;

- (i) to remain vigilant and vigorous for the purposes of ensuring that the scourges of apartheid, tribalism and colonialism do not again manifest themselves in any form in a free and independent Namibia and to protect and assist disadvantaged citizens of Namibia who have historically been the victims of these pathologies;
- (j) generally to exercise any other functions and powers assigned to it by this Constitution or any other law and any other functions incidental thereto.

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