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**PROCESSES AND PROCEDURES OF PASSING A LAW IN PARLIAMENT : THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY[[1]](#footnote-1).**

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# INTRODUCTION

This paper looks at Parliaments mandate as a legislative authority. It traces the stages followed in developing a Bill into a law. The Paper starts by spelling out sections of the Constitution that give Parliament powers to makes laws. For the purposes of the Portfolio Committee on Small Business Development, which is a National Assembly committee this paper, focuses mainly on the National Assembly and the Section 75 Bills as stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The paper explains the different types of Bills, the different ways of initiating a Bill in Parliament and the processes followed by committees in passing a law. The details are provided in the sections below.

# THE COnstitution and law-making IN PARLIAMENT

The Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) is an organ of state and its functions are set out in Chapter 4 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. The Constitution stipulates that the Parliament is the country’s national legislative authority or law making body with powers to pass new laws, to amend existing laws, and to repeal old laws[[2]](#footnote-2).

According to section 44 of the Constitution, the national legislative authority as vested in,

Parliament-

*(a)* confers on the National Assembly the power to-

(i) Amend the Constitution;

(ii) Pass legislation with regard to any matter, including a matter within a functional area listed in Schedule 4, but excluding, subject to subsection (2), a matter within a functional area listed in Schedule *5;* and (iii) to assign any of its legislative powers, except the power to amend the Constitution, to any legislative body in another sphere of government; and

*(b) Confers* on the National Council of Provinces the power to-.

(i) Participate in amending the Constitution;

(ii) Pass, legislation with regard to any matter within a functional area listed in Schedule 4 and any other matter required by the Constitution to be passed and

(iii) Consider, any other legislation passed by the National Assembly.

The same power is exercised by Provincial legislatures in the provincial sphere of government in respect of provincial laws, and by municipal councils in the local sphere of government in respect of municipal by-laws[[3]](#footnote-3)

**2.1 Objective of making laws**

The Constitution states that the purpose of making laws, should be to;

* Maintain national security;
* Maintain economic unity;
* Maintain essential national standards;
* Establish minimum standards required for the rendering of services; or
* Prevent unreasonable action taken by a province, which is prejudicial to the interests of another province or to the country as a whole.

The Constitution prescribes that Parliament and provincial legislatures should make laws in relation to areas that are mentioned in Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution. In Schedule 4 national Parliament and provincial legislatures have the power to make laws in matters relating to the following areas; agriculture, consumer protection, health, housing, public transport and regional planning and development[[4]](#footnote-4).

In Schedule 5, the Provincial legislatures have the power to make laws that pertain to provincial planning, liquor licensing, provincial roads and traffic and provincial sport. In addition, under Part B of Schedule 4 Municipal Councils can make and administer by-laws for the local government on building regulations, municipal health services and trading regulations) and Part B of Schedule 5 (for example control of public nuisances, fencing and fences, local amenities and street trading) to the Constitution[[5]](#footnote-5).

# OVERVIEW OF BILLS

A Bill or law is a piece of legislation that has been drafted to equalise or establish standards, maintain order, resolve disputes and protect rights of citizens. Members of Parliament and Provincial Legislatures play a vital role in this process. The general purpose of a Bill is to improve or any problem that might emerge in a state[[6]](#footnote-6). An Amendment Bill is a Bill that proposes changes to an existing law called the Principal Act[[7]](#footnote-7). A Bill is the draft version of a law or Act. It may be proposing either an entirely new Act, or an amendment to an existing Act, or it can simply repeal an existing Act[[8]](#footnote-8).

In terms of the Constitution there are four main types of Bills that come before Parliament:

* Section 74 Bills   – Bills amending the Constitution;
* Section 75 Bills   – Ordinary Bills not affecting the provinces;
* Section 76 Bills   – Ordinary Bills affecting the provinces; and
* Section 77 Bills   – Money Bills (that is Bills that deal with appropriations, taxes, levies or duties).

**3.1 Section 74 Bills   – Bills amending the Constitution**

The aim of a Constitution Amendment Bill is to make changes to the “basic values of the Constitution”. This requires a supporting vote of at least 75 per cent of the Members of the National Assembly and a minimum of six provinces in the NCOP. Proposed changes to the Bill of Rights require a minimum vote of at least two-thirds of the members of the Assembly and at least six provinces in the NCOP in order to be passed. If a Constitution Amendment Bill affects the NCOP; or changes the boundaries, powers, functions or institutions of a province; or amends a provision specifically dealing with a provincial matter, such a Bill requires a supporting vote of at least two thirds of the members of the Assembly and of at least six provinces in order to be passed; any other proposed amendment of the Constitution only requires a supporting vote of at least two-thirds of the members of the National Assembly in order to be passed. If a Constitution Amendment Bill affects specific provinces, the NCOP may not pass the Bill unless it has been approved by the relevant Provincial legislatures[[9]](#footnote-9).

**3.2 Section 75 Bill - ordinary Bills not affecting the provinces**

An ordinary Bill that does not affect the provinces can only be introduced in the NA. Once it has been passed by the NA, it must be sent to the NCOP. In this case, delegates in the NCOP vote individually and the Bill must be passed by a majority of delegates present. If the NCOP rejects a Bill or proposes its own amendments, the Bill is returned to the NA which will pass the Bill with or without taking into account the NCOP amendments or it may decide not to proceed with the Bill. The NCOP's therefore plays a limited role in Bills that do not affect the provinces. It can delay a Section 75 Bill, but it cannot prevent it from being passed[[10]](#footnote-10). Only the Assembly can amend section 75 Bills, whereas the Council may propose amendments. These proposed amendments can either be accepted or rejected by the Assembly[[11]](#footnote-11). A Bill that has been passed by the National Assembly must then be submitted to the President for assent.

**3.3 Section 76 Bill - ordinary Bills affecting the provinces**

A Bill that affects the provinces may be introduced in either the NA or the NCOP, but must be considered in both Houses. Members of the NCOP do not vote as individuals on Section 76 Bills but rather as provincial delegations. Each provincial delegation has one vote so there are nine possible votes regarding Bills that affect the provinces. These Bills must also be discussed by each provincial legislature so that each legislature can give its NCOP delegation a voting mandate[[12]](#footnote-12).

This makes it necessary to have six-week legislative cycles so that a number of Bills can go to each province at one time. Bills are usually considered by a provincial Committee, which may hold public hearings on the Bill to receive comments and suggestions. These Committees make recommendations to their legislatures, which then decide on their position on each Bill and mandate their NCOP delegation accordingly[[13]](#footnote-13).

The four special delegates to the NCOP (who are supposed to be chosen according to their expertise and knowledge of the Bills being debated) go to Cape Town to join the six permanent delegates. The full delegation of ten people participates in the national debate on the Bills, thus enabling the provinces to contribute to national legislation that affects them. The delegation then casts its one vote on behalf of its province and in accordance with the provincial legislature's mandate. The NCOP must pass, amend or reject a section 76 Bill. If the Bill was introduced in the NA, however, the NA could override the NCOP decision with a two thirds majority of its Members[[14]](#footnote-14).

**3.4 Section 77 Bill -** **Money Bills**

A money Bill (Bills that deal with appropriations, taxes, levies or duties) must be introduced in Parliament by the Minister of Finance. and they must be introduced in the National Assembly. They follow the same procedure as that for Bills that do not affect the provinces (Section 75 Bills). The 2008 Money Bills Amendment Procedure and Related Matters Act is the legislation that permits Parliament to not only debate but also amend Money Bills[[15]](#footnote-15).

# INITIATION OF BILLS

Section 73 (2) states that “only a Cabinet member or a Deputy Minister, or a member or committee of the National Assembly, may introduce a Bill in the Assembly, but only the Minister of Finance can introduce the money Bill in the NA[[16]](#footnote-16).

**4.1 Private Members’ Bills**

Section 73(2) of the Constitution determines that a Member who intends to initiate or prepare legislation in an individual capacity as member of the Assembly may introduce a Bill, other than a money Bill, in the Assembly[[17]](#footnote-17).

Prior to the decision of the Constitutional Court in the (“Ambrosini case”), a matter of **Oriani-Ambrosini, MP v Sisulu, MP Speaker of the National Assembly** Members of Parliament were required to obtained the permission of the relevant House before they could introduce legislation. Following the Ambrosini judgement, the Assembly adopted interim rules setting out the process for Private Members Bills. These rules removed the requirement for Private Members to obtain permission to introduce Bills. Members can now introduce a Bill, which would be referred to the relevant Portfolio Committee for consideration[[18]](#footnote-18).

In the 9th edition of the NA Rules, NA Rule 272 deals with Private Members Bills. Before introducing a Bill to the Speaker of the NA or Chairperson of the NCOP, the Member must prepare a draft Bill and supporting memorandum or an explanatory summary of the Bill. To achieve this the Office of the Chief State Law Adviser (OCSLA) in the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development has a team of legislative drafters who assist Members to develop and draft Bills[[19]](#footnote-19).

The Member must submit the final draft to the parliamentary legal adviser for a legal opinion on the classification of the Bill. The next step is to go to the Chief Parliamentary Legal Adviser who will certify that the draft is;

(a) Consistent with the Constitution and existing legislation; and

(b) Properly drafted in the form and style which conforms to legislative drafting practice[[20]](#footnote-20).

The Member then should approach the NA/ NCOP Table to assist her or him publish the draft in the government gazette. The draft must give an explanation on the financial implications of the Bill for the state. The name of the Member who is introducing the Bill must appear on the cover page of the Bill. In addition, it must contain an invitation to interested persons and institutions to submit written representations on the draft legislation to the Speaker within a specified period. According to NA Rule 276, the Speaker should reimburse the Member for any reasonable costs incurred in the publication of the Bill, if the expenses were approved by the Speaker[[21]](#footnote-21).

Thereafter the Member must submit the Bill to the Speaker of the NA or Chairperson (NCOP), and the NA Table or NCOP Table staff will then forward both the Bill and certificate to the Bills Office. The Speaker will then refer the explanatory summary of the Bill, or the draft Bill, to the relevant Committee to;

(a) Assist the committee in planning its work; and

(b) Enable the committee members to familiarise themselves with and to develop their positions with regard to the proposed legislation[[22]](#footnote-22).

**4.2 Committee Bills**

Section 73(2) of the Constitution and NA Rule 268(1) allows for the National Assembly committees to initiate legislation in the Assembly however, that Committee must first get permission from the permission of the Assembly. The NA Rule 273, outlines the procedure of getting permission from the NA as follows;

* The Committee must table a memorandum containing the following,
* Details of the proposed legislation,
* An explanation of the objects of the legislation
* An account of the financial implications for the State
* View of the Executive on the objects of the legislation[[23]](#footnote-23)

In terms of NA Rule 275 the Speaker should place the proposed legislation on the Order Paper for the NA to take a decision on whether to refuse or give permission or request the Committee to reconsider the proposal. If the Assembly gives the Committee permission to proceed with the proposed legislation the Committee must prepare a draft Bill and a memorandum with the assistance of the Chief Parliamentary Legal Office[[24]](#footnote-24).

The Committee needs to obtain a copy of the legal opinion by the parliamentary legal advisor. In addition, the final draft needs to be certified by the Chief Parliamentary Legal to ensure that it is drafted properly and consistent with the Constitution and relevant legislation. The Committee should also consult the JTM for advice on the classification of the Bill. The Committee, with the help of the Committee Section, is also required to publish the draft Bill or an explanatory memorandum on the Bill to give prior notice of its introduction in the Gazette[[25]](#footnote-25).

The Before introducing its Bill, the NA Rules require the Committee to conduct public participation in the following manner;

* Give the public and institutions at least three weeks to comment on the proposed legislation;
* Give the Executive in the relevant department or national sphere of government enough opportunity to make submissions to the committee;

On introducing the Bill to the NA, the Committee must submit a copy of the permission to proceed, the Bill and a memorandum to the Speaker. The memorandum must, inter alia explain the objects and of the Bill; give account of the expected financial implications for the State; contain a list of all persons consulted; and a legal opinion and certification by a parliamentary legal advisor on the proposed classification of the Bill and its compliance with the Constitution and drafting conventions respectively. In addition, the name of the Committee that is introducing the Bill must appear on the cover page of the Bill.

All the work in the Committee is done prior to introduction on a draft Bill. When the Bill is introduced, it does not have a first reading and is not referred to a Committee. After classification it is placed on the order paper for second reading and transmission to the Second House[[26]](#footnote-26).

**4.3 Executive Bills**

According to Parliament, about 90 per cent of the Bills in national legislature are Executive Bills. Only Ministers and Deputy Ministers can introduce Executive Bills to Parliament. Departmental specialists, sometimes assisted by consultants, after consultation with interested persons and institutions, prepare the first draft of the Bill.

From 1 June 2015 all Cabinet Memoranda that seek approval for draft Bills or regulations must include an impact assessment that has been vetted by the Socio Economic Impact Assessment (SEIAS) Unit, which is situated in the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation in the Presidency[[27]](#footnote-27). The aim of the assessment is to help drafters to evaluate the implementation and compliance costs as well as the impact of the draft legislation on the following national priorities;

* Social cohesion and security (safety, food, financial, energy and etc.)
* Economic inclusion,
* Economic growth, and
* Environmental sustainability[[28]](#footnote-28).

The DPME reports that “drafters may overestimate or underestimate the cost and benefits of succeeding in implementing a new rule. For instance, for many years the benefits of providing anti-retroviral treatment for people with HIV were underestimated, leading to inadequate policies in this regard”[[29]](#footnote-29).”

The Department will then submit the draft to Cabinet for approval. Once the Cabinet approves a draft Bill, submitted to Office of the Chief State Law Advisor for final certification. This is to make sure that the draft is “consistent with the Constitution and properly drafted in the form and style which conforms to legislative practice”[[30]](#footnote-30).

The state law adviser is also required to express an opinion on the classification or tagging of the Bills tabled in Parliament. This opinion is included in the memorandum that accompanies the Bill for introduction[[31]](#footnote-31). If the State Law Advisers are satisfied that the Bill is technically correct and its provisions are legally sound the Bill is then ready to be formally submitted to Parliament.

The Executive must first publish a notice to introduce the Bill in the government Gazette. The explanatory summary of the Bill or the draft Bill must be included in the notice. The cover page of the Bill must contain a reference to the Cabinet member or Deputy Minister as the person introducing the Bill.

In Parliament the Bill is submitted to the Presiding Officers. The Bills Office ensures that this compliance is announced in the ATC. On receipt of the certification on a draft Executive Bill, the Bills Office checks the draft bill for completeness and sends it to the printer for **first proofs**. The Speaker will refer the Bill, to the responsible portfolio committee in order to assist the committee in planning its work; and enable the committee members to acquaint themselves with and to develop their positions with regard to the proposed legislation[[32]](#footnote-32).

The Executive Bills introduced in the NA have a First Reading which consists of an introduction by the Member in charge followed by a debate. The First Reading being confined to the principles of the Bill as contained in the Long Title of the Bill and as may be elaborated on in the supporting memorandum[[33]](#footnote-33).

The state law adviser responsible for the certification of a Bill attends the meetings of the Parliamentary Committee who deliberates on the Bill. During the deliberation processes, the state law adviser may be called upon to assist the Executive by providing verbal or written legal opinions on any question of law raised in the Committee, on behalf of the Executive [[34]](#footnote-34).

# INTRODUCTION OF BILL

The Speaker must refer the draft of the proposed Bill and the memorandum to the responsible portfolio committee in order-

(a) to assist the committee and legislatures in planning their work; and

(b) to enable the committee members and legislatures to acquaint themselves with and to develop their positions with regard to the proposed legislation[[35]](#footnote-35).

**5.1 Classification of Bills and the Joint Tagging Mechanism**

The first important step, after a Bill has been introduced in Parliament it needs to be classified into one of the 4 categories (mentioned above) by the Joint Tagging Mechanism (JTM). This is called “tagging” and will determine the procedures the Bill must follow to become law. The JTM consists of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker, and the Chairperson and permanent Deputy Chairperson of the Council. These office-bearers are assisted by the parliamentary legal advisors[[36]](#footnote-36).

The process of classifying a Bill into one of the four categories above is called "tagging" and will determine the procedures the Bill must follow to become law. Bills are tagged by the Joint Tagging Mechanism (JTM), a Committee consisting of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairperson and Permanent Deputy Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces. They are advised by the Parliamentary Law Adviser. The JTM decides on the classification of the Bill by consensus[[37]](#footnote-37). For the purposes of all parliamentary proceedings the JTM’s classification of and findings on a Bill are final and binding on both Houses[[38]](#footnote-38).

Referral of Bills to National House of Traditional Leaders

(1) The Secretary must refer a Bill to the National House of Traditional Leaders if the JTM has made a finding that the Bill pertains to customary law or customs of traditional communities in accordance with Rule 192 of the Joint Rules.

**5.2 First and Second Reading Procedures**

The Bill is referred to a committee and to the JTM at the same time. When a Bill introduced in the NA is referred for the first time to the Assembly, the person in charge of the Bill i.e. the Cabinet Minister or Member of the NA must submit a notice of First Reading of the Bill to the Speaker. The Speaker will then table the Bill and its supporting memorandum in the NA. The Bill must be placed on the Order Paper for the First Reading[[39]](#footnote-39).

The First Reading of a Bill consists of an introduction by the Member in charge followed by a debate. The First Reading is restricted to the principles of the Bill as contained in the Long Title of the Bill and as may be elaborated on in the supporting memorandum[[40]](#footnote-40).

The Programme Committee will schedule and allocate time for the debate. The person in charge must be allocated 15 minutes to make an introductory speech and to reply to the debate. There is no speakers’ list. The Presiding Officer will recognise Members and allow them to speak three minutes. Only the person in charge of the Bill is allowed to speak more than once in the debate. At the conclusion of the First Reading debate on the Bill, no decision on the Bill is taken by the House but it will be noted that the Bill has been read the first time. The Speaker will then refer the Bill and its annexures to the relevant Portfolio Committee[[41]](#footnote-41).

A Bill initiated and introduced by an Assembly committee does not have a First Reading but upon introduction must be placed directly on the Order Paper for Second Reading. The Second Reading of a Bill consists of a debate on the substance of the Bill and a decision on the Bill by the Assembly[[42]](#footnote-42).

# COMMITTEE PROCESSES AND DELIBERATIONS

The Assembly committee to which the Bill is referred must give interested persons and institutions an opportunity to comment on the Bill by way of invitations, press statements, advertisements or in any other manner, invite the public to comment on the Bill. In case of a Private Member’s Bill the Committee must notify the Member in charge of the Bill before it considers the Bill[[43]](#footnote-43).

The committee will then inquire into the subject of the Bill and report on it to the Assembly. In the process of inquiring into a Bill, the committee must, where applicable, as far as possible apply the following separate formal stages:

* Briefing by relevant Department - The purpose of the briefing is to provide the background, policy position and objectives of the piece of legislation under consideration. The briefing provides members with an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the contents of the Bill and to ask clarity-seeking questions on the content of the Bill. This process is not required for provincial legislatures[[44]](#footnote-44).
* Public hearings – In terms of the Constitution the NA and NCOP have an obligation to facilitate public involvement in their legislative and other processes (section 59 and section 72). Public involvement may take different forms, including but not limited to public hearings, a call for written and or oral submissions, and the issuing of press releases. In this era of the 4IR Parliament will probably also look at voice notes and video call submissions. Public hearings may be held at Parliament or in provinces to allow interested parties to express their views on the draft legislation.
* Informal consideration – Members of the Committee will meet to discuss the public inputs received and/or made during the public hearings. This is also an opportunity for Members to present their party political views on the Bill. The department will also respond to questions and expresses a view on whether amendments put forward during public hearings could be implemented. The Committee then meets to discuss input received and possible amendments to the Bill, if any and raise questions of clarity to the Department officials and State Law Adviser[[45]](#footnote-45).
* Formal consideration – The Committee deliberates on the Bill ‘clause by clause’. The Committee considers each clause of the Bill through comments, questions or proposal of amendments. The formal consideration of the Bill may span over a couple of days[[46]](#footnote-46).
* After deliberating on the Bill, the Committee votes on the Bill. In some instances, the Chairperson will put the motion of desirability to signal the start of the Committee’s voting on the Bill. The motion consists mainly of the long title of the Bill. The putting of the motion signals the beginning of voting on the content/clauses of the Bill. The Committee votes clause-by-clause on the Bill. Amendments to clauses are also put for decision, thereafter the clause, as amended, is put for adoption[[47]](#footnote-47).
* Where a Bill has been amended, the State Law Adviser and the Parliamentary Legal Adviser are responsible for drawing up the list of amendments. The Committee Secretary ensures that the amended Bill is produced and that the list of amendments and the amended Bill are printed by Creda (printers). These products are referred to as the proof copies of the Bills[[48]](#footnote-48).
* After voting on the Bill, the Committee adopts a report. In its report the Committee must indicate whether it recommends approval of the Bill, with or without amendments, or the rejection of the Bill. The Rules of the Assembly and the Council provide that in its report, a Committee must, if it is not a unanimous report, specify in which respects there was no consensus and, in addition to the majority report, express the views of any minority concerned. In the case of a Portfolio Committee of the Assembly, a question may be decided only if a majority of members is present and there is agreement among the majority of the members present[[49]](#footnote-49). In the event of an equality of votes, the Chairpersons of the Portfolio Committee and the Select Committee can exercise a casting vote in addition to the deliberative votes as ordinary members of the committees[[50]](#footnote-50).
* After a Committee has agreed to the Bill with or without amendments, the Committee’s report is published in the ATC document. Thereafter the House places the amended Bill on the Order Paper for consideration.

The Second Reading then takes place where the Bill is debated and voted on at a sitting of the National Assembly. If there is a majority of votes in favour, the Bill is passed and the Bill is then referred to the NCOP for consideration. The NCOP can accept or reject the Bill or propose amendments to it. If the NCOP passes the Bill without amendments, it goes to the President for his assent and signature and the Bill then becomes law. The Act appears in the Government Gazette and comes into effect on a date determined by the President. If the NCOP proposes amendments to or rejects the Bill, it must go back to the National Assembly for reconsideration. The National Assembly can pass the Bill with or without the NCOP amendments, or it can reject the Bill[[51]](#footnote-51).

# Signing a Bill into law

A Bill is referred to the President after it has passed through the National Assembly and NCOP. The Constitution requires that the President must assent to and sign a Bill. However, if the President has reservations about the constitutionality (whether the provisions of a Bill are in line with the Constitution or not) of a Bill, he or she may refer it back to the National Assembly for reconsideration. If the Bill affects the provinces, the NCOP must participate in the reconsideration of the relevant Bill. If a reconsidered Bill accommodates the President’s reservations, the President must assent to and sign the Bill. However, if a reconsidered Bill does not fully accommodate the President’s reservations, the President must either assent to and sign the Bill or refer it to the Constitutional Court for a decision on its constitutionality. If the Constitutional Court decides the Bill is constitutional, the President must sign it**[[52]](#footnote-52)**.

A Bill that has been assented to and signed by the President becomes an Act of Parliament and must be published shortly thereafter in the *Gazette*. An Act takes effect (becomes binding on everyone) when it is published in the *Gazette* or on a date determined in terms of the Act.

Sometimes an Act may require certain actions to be taken by the Department before it can be implemented, for instance subordinate legislation (regulations, determinations, rules etc) may have to be prepared and promulgated to further regulate aspects in terms of an Act. In such instances an Act contains a provision that provides that the Act comes into operation on a date determined by the President by proclamation in the *Gazette*. Once the necessary actions have been finalised, the President is approached and requested to put the Act into operation on a certain date. After the President has assented to the implementation of the Act, a proclamation is published in the Gazette and the Act comes into operation on a date determined in the proclamation[[53]](#footnote-53).

1. Draft – not edited [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/legprocess.htm [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/legprocess.htm [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/legprocess.htm [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/legprocess.htm [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. https://www.sals.gov.za/docs/pubs/Practical-Guide-for-MPs-and-MPLs-2019.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. https://www.sals.gov.za/docs/pubs/Practical-Guide-for-MPs-and-MPLs-2019.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. https://pmg.org.za/page/legislative-process [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. https://www.justice.gov.za/legislation/legprocess.htm [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. https://pmg.org.za/bills/explained/ [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. https://www.parliament.gov.za/storage/app/media/ProjectsAndEvents/2017-10-02\_SALGA\_Members\_Induction\_Programme/docs/Legislative\_Process.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. https://pmg.org.za/bills/explained [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
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16. https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/images/a108-96.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Legislation: Drafting Principles - Session 2 (2017) [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
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26. Legislation: Drafting Principles - Session 2 (2017) [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
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