

August 22, 2011

Democracy or Economy Which Comes First?

The Clerk of Parliament, Austin Zvoma (AZ), spoke to The Herald's Zvamaida Murwira(ZM), on the operations of the august house and below is an extract and our reactions.

ZM: Can you give us an overview of the past Parliamentary session and its main challenges and achievements?

AZ: From an administration and procedural aspect our challenges remain that of resources to undertake programmes for Parliament.

ZM: What are these challenges?

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The Bottom-line

The major casualty for limited resources was Committee work, which entails enquiries, study and familiarization visit for them to put their reports into context. **They need to see on the ground rather than read newspapers.**

CDF: Good Intentions,

Bad Implementation

The Constituency Development Fund, a case of a brilliant initiative which has gone wrong! With more than 100 Members of Parliament failing to account for how they used US\$50 000 drawn under CDF, it is evident that some of the legislatures thought this was one of those benefits they can abuse. Investigations by PMT Zimbabwe have shown that there are areas of concern raised by communities over the implementation of CDF.

In most cases, the communities said they were not consulted by their respective House of Assembly representative on which initiatives to take.

Consultation, by both governmental and non governmental players, remains a grey area in initiating development in Zimbabwe and the implementation of CDF has also gone to show this. The results? White elephants, irrelevant development initiatives and duplication of initiative as was the case in one constituency where the MP bought a water tank for a school which already have enough reservoirs. "We could have done better with say more pipes to supply water to teachers' houses," the headmaster of the school said. It was also evident that despite having been representatives for more than two years, some of the MPs did not have a clear developmental agenda for their constituencies. There were cases of MPs rushing to prepare irrelevant proposals in a bid to draw down on the fund with no significant changes to the communities. Apart from the lack of consultations it has also been shown that

in implementing CDF, MPs used the fund as a an instrument of patronage. In some cases, the MPs used it as a to the people that they had sourced funds for development. The truth is these were government fund. In some cases, the media failed to play a critical role in mentioning that this development in initiative was part of the implementation of CDF. It was very unclear in the electronic media how the MP sourced US\$50 000.

MPs also used this as a carrot lying there was no clarity on what the fund was all about and who had made resources available. Some of the MPs who had not done

anything used it as a form of pay-back to those who supported their bid for election in 2008. The result? There were impromptu projects some of them very unsustainable while others were irrelevant to the aspirations of the communities. In some constituencies, it was clear that some of the communities were not aware what was happening referring to some of the projects as councilor so and so's effort. There are a number of lessons learnt from the implementation of CDF and to avoid the same pitfalls both MPs and government should take note of some of the issues raised by constituencies. It is important that after the full implementation of CDF round 1, there is proper monitoring and evaluation of the projects undertaken. It is important to note that despite the apprehension expressed by MPs when Finance Minister Tendai Biti announced CDF during the presentation of the 2010 budget access has been open.

It is important to note that CDF was the first time that government introduced a specific fund for constituencies as prior to this, decentralised project funding from the fiscus was through local government structures especially at provincial and district levels. This deviation from the structured approach, which had proven a failure, generated interest amongst communities, MPs, the central government and civic society. CDF is not unique to Zimbabwe as it was also introduced (in 2003) in Kenya through an Act of Parliament though. Decentralisation in Zimbabwe has presented a number of problems and the institution of CDF was aimed at addressing development in the country and at the same time surmount the problems presented by decentralized development. Problems presented by decentralized development include the conflict between political leaders and administrators, the elected members of parliament and district administrators (DAs). A comparative analysis between Zimbabwe and Kenya (where CDF has also been implemented) shows that there are administrative and structural differences between the two. Kenya introduced CDF in 2003 and there is an independent organ that looks at the administration of the fund unlike our case here. This fund is also a creation of an Act of Parliament and a certain percentage (2.5%) of the budget goes into CDF. In Zimbabwe, the Ministry of Constitutional and Parliamentary Affairs administers the fund. A lot can be learnt from Kenya's implementation of CDF.

Perspectives from the Gallery: **Nothing covered, Nothing more to Expect!**

By Prince Tongogara

It is with trepidation that Zimbabweans should look forward to President Robert Mugabe's expected official opening of parliament's fourth session this week. Nothing on the ground shows Mugabe tabling a legislative agenda that revisits democratic reforms as his eyes are set on an early election. The 7th parliament despite having evenly balanced representation among the main political parties has had debates bordering on political expediency which are more often than not staid and sterile. The house conveniently stayed away from democratisation agenda clearly articulated in the Sadc facilitated GPA in the first three sessions since 2008. If the last two sessions do not produce something extraordinary then the seventh parliament looks set to go down the annals of history as having betrayed Zimbabweans' hope for a democratic state. It would be remembered for having the opportunity to

amend Posa, Aippa, Electoral Act and regulating the pervasive powers of the CIO but fluffed it on the altar of political expediency. Three years into its five year term, the house is yet to make any significant moves on these matters. The complaint parliament is still waiting for a dysfunctional executive to give it directions which are certainly not coming any time soon. The highlights so far in the House that sat minimally were the clipping of RBZ governor Gideon Gono's profligacy in using state funds. The house did this by passing the RBZ Amendment Bill, Office Audit Bill and the Public Finance Management Bill. Other laws that were passed are merely ceremonial like Constitution Amendment 19 that created the office of prime-minister and his deputies. The National Security Bill that theoretically disbanded the powerful Joint Operations Command (JOC) and minor amendments to 15 pieces of legislation under General Laws Amendment Bill. Innocent Gonese (MDC-T) tried

but failed to amend Posa as a Private Members Bill in three sessions because the executive did not buy into the project. MPs, however, showed unanimity across the political divide when they pushed for their welfare: new cars, increased allowances and better working conditions. This contrasted with the enthusiasm they showed in debating issues that are paramount for democracy and economic recovery. Some committees like the Mines and Energy has flexed their muscles against the executive when they investigated the SMMH saga and Gwaradzimba's conduct after the mines were put under administration. And finally, MDC-T scored a double over Zanu PF when Love-more Moyo was reelected speaker after his initial victory had been nullified by the Supreme Court in March this year. This followed Jonathan Moyo's application that the election was not procedural. **(Tongogara is a Mutare based writer and activist)**

MPs Anti-Social Media

How many MPs tweet, have a blog, are on facebook or use social media generally? If you get 50 on any of the above then you may have started counting at 30 or included those with profiles but rarely go there. Our MPs, both houses, are afraid of IT. The reasons may vary but the results are that they are missing an excellent opportunity to engage. Zimbabwe has close to 1.5 million internet users, at 11.8 penetration rate making it one of the countries in Africa with the highest penetration rates. It then boggles the mind why our MPs do not harness the current ICTs to further reach their constituencies.

There are some MPs who regularly tweet. Internet and the social media that comes with it is lateral and point to point that brings together individuals without intermediacy. One has to look at how difficult it is to get their MP's telephone number or a meeting with them since they are always busy. However with social media, there is interaction, though being given the chance to speak does not mean you are heard, there are no strictures and hierarchies which have seen MPs being protected from meeting the people who voted them. (see pages 4 & 5) There is no filter of popular passion as is the case when an MP uses trusted lieutenants to ascertain people's aspirations. The other advantage is immediacy. There are some MPs who are afraid of

social media saying the unmediated conversations can be undisciplined, very private, polarizing and unproductive. However, the benefits of coming on board mitigates against these negatives. What MPs need to know is that there is a new generation of voters who can be engaged not on a rally but virtually, at no cost and without the need for police clearance. Until they realize this, then they will continue boasting of their good cellphones which are only utilized at 30% as they insist on voice communication. We await the new generation of MPs who engage regularly, tweet, post interviews, issues on policy on youtube etc.



Virtual Public Gallery



Using Social Media to Monitor Parly

PMTZ's facebook group Parliamentary Monitor is an interactive virtual public gallery where instead of being spectators, citizens raise issues and seek solutions. As part of the integration of the social media platform and this e-newsletter, we take excerpts of some of the posts on the facebook group and share with others.

Below are posts by MDC President Prof Welshman Ncube and the responses. PMT Zimbabwe copies and paste the posts with minimum editing

Welshman Ncube

It is unfortunate that the PM did not take Zimbabweans into his confidence and let them know what it is that we did or did not do which led him to conclude that we have retreated into being a regional party. If he had, we would be in a sufficiently informed position for us to respond to him and if necessary to take corrective measures so that we could undo whatever it is we did to render ourselves...s a regional party. As things stand we are left to speculate as to why the PM might have suffered a momentary lapse of judgement for we have no doubt in our minds that we remain as national a party as we ever have been. Infact, we have no doubt that we are much more national in our outlook and structure of our leadership than his MDCT party is. Our national leadership is far more balanced and representative of the national outlook than his party is. For the record, I as President of the Party, originate from the Midlands, in Lower Gweru, right at the heart of the country. I am Ndebele. The Vice President, Edwin Mushoriwa, is Manyika, but was brought up by his mother, who is Zezuru, in Chikomba. The National Chairman, is Goodrich Chimbaira, from Chitungwiza, but originally from Chikomba. He is Zezuru. The Vice National Chairman, Frank Chamunorwa, is from Chihota and lives in Harare. He is Zezuru. The Secretary General is Pricila Misihairabwi-Mushonga. She is Karanga originally from Masvingo but grew up in Mt Darwin. Her Deputy is Moses Mzila Ndlovu from Bulilima. He is Kalanga. The Director of Planning and Strategy is Miriam Mushayi née Mangwende originally from Buhera but married in Chinhoyi. She is Zezuru. Her deputy is Joshua Mhambi, originally from Gwanda district. He is Ndebele. The Treasurer General is Paul Themba Nyathi from Gwanda district. He is Sutho. His deputy is Teresa Marimazhira-Muchovo. She is Karanga originally from Bikita but now lives in Gweru. The Women's Assembly Chairwoman is Mrs Thandiwe Mlilo, originally from Masvingo

but married in Mberengwa. She is Karanga. The Women's Assembly Secretary General is Ellen Gonyora, from Mashonaland East. She is Zezuru. The Youth Assembly Chairman is Gideon Mandaza from Mashonaland East. He is Zezuru. The Youth Secretary General is Discent Bhajilla from Homestead village in Matopo. He is Ndebele. The rest of the National Executive members are elected in such a way that each of the 12 Provinces have 3 persons each in the national executive. There are only 3 Matebeleland provinces. Seven Mashonaland ones and two Midlands Provinces. This means the overwhelming number of members of the national executive are from Mashonaland Provinces. Of course we have provincial executive committees elected by Provincial Assemblies in each of the party's 12 Provinces. We have district executive committees elected by district assemblies in each district and so forth down the line to ward level. Thus it is plain that our party is as National as a party could possibly be. I do not know what seized the PM to cause him to accuse us of retreating into being a regional party. Could he be suggesting that a Party becomes regional once its President originates from outside Mashonaland and his or her mother language is Ndebele? I hope not. As a nation we should never seek to treat any of our citizens as second class citizens whom we constantly humiliate by accusing them of being regional this or regional that. We are all equal nationals and citizens of Zimbabwe. I am, by my common citizenship, as much a national leader as Tsvangirai is. He should never seek to make himself more Zimbabwean and more national than I am. It is sad that the PM of Zimbabwe has reduced us to the level where we have to debate the ethnic and regional origins of our leadership. Zimbabweans deserve better. We should be debating ideas, policies and programmes to take our country and our people to prosperity and not this. We invite the PM to a debate any place, any time on any issue of policy or on any subject concerning the welfare and interests of the people. We have no desire to debate him on fiction. I hope that this is the last time we have to sink to this level of shamelessness, despicability and emptiness!!! The people of Zimbabwe are suffer-

ing. Millions live in poverty and have no jobs. Millions more are in both political and economic exile. They need a serious leadership to bring back prosperity to the country where all citizens are equal and have equal opportunities and are all treated fairly, justly and with respect. Just for the record, I wish to assure the PM that we will contest his party, himself, ZANUPF and its leader, at the next election, in every ward, every constituency and in the Presidential election. We will seek the vote of every Zimbabwean in every village, every city, every town and every compound where ever found. We promise the PM that he will not only find us in the region he presumes our Party is found in but in every other region of the country. We will run a National campaign to win the confidence of all the people from all regions so that we can obtain their mandate to form the next government. A government that will respect the rights of all citizens, that will work tirelessly for the prosperity of ALL our people without regard to race, ethnicity, language, place of origin, sex or other considerations. We will create opportunities for all. We will ensure justice and fairness to all. We will never practice discrimination. This is our pledge!! Our bond!! Our promise! We will not fail! We have a national leadership equal to the task both in terms of capacity and love for ALL our people!! (Welshman Ncube President Movement For Democratic Change 05 August at 22:08) Subscribe 3 people like this.

Ishmail Kauzani Cheap politics we don't expect a person of your caliber to act in such manner. Why were saying vote for ndebele president its true you are regional. 05 August at 22:20 via Facebook Mobile · Like

Daniel Muzenda Go back to MDC T u are wasting your time president. You are divisive vanhu havakudi. Check your rallies and the those Morgan hate him or love him he has more supporters than your party and zanu pf.

06 August at 07:22 via Facebook Mobile · Like
Mutambara J Mutambara Putting the record straight, as it is. Policies not personalities and origins or ethnicity. Lets have openness on issues of national interests first. Great

Please turn to page 4



From page 3 minds discuss ideas but small minds thrive on character analysis they are gods.
06 August at 07:42 via Facebook Mobile · Like · 1 person

Kurauone Chihwayi The mdc is not a regional party, vana Kauzani tinokuzivai munorarama nekunanzva Tsvangirai chi thug nekuvenga Welshman Ncube will never help you. President wenyu idofa anogona zve trade union kwete politics. chengetedzai party yenyu ye mazedzuru. 06 August at 08:44 via Facebook Mobile · Like

Ishmail Kauzani ?@Chihwai can you please talk facts, why did he split from main MDC in 2006, why did he break away recently from Mutambara is it not his selfishness, greediness and regionalism, let me correct you kura leaders are born not made TSVANGIRAI is a National leader weather hate him or love he was born leader. What makes you think I hate Ncube. Just for record MT is loved in matebeleland than an other province. Why people call you are regional you have only support from few desperaty indevidual ndebele speaking pple. Tsvangirai is a national leader come rain come sunshine you and Ncube knows that its only what you do is to please your masters zanu pft lead by blood thirst dictator Mugabe. MDC is a National party they enjoy support from Zambezi to limpopo, plamtrees to nyamapanda. 06 August at 09:18 via Facebook Mobile · Like

Mutambara J Mutambara Popularity without delivery, based on identity with one's origin, promotes mediocrity and under-performance. If the duties and deliverables are well defined, then CVs should be considered. Why should we be led by someone who needs an advisor for every word he utters? Why brag about popularity instead of service delivery? This reminds me of Chiyangwa when he was Mash West Zanu PF Chairman addressing a rally "ndikatengesa butsu dzangu idzi ndinokutengerai ma323 four". He also drank from the well. 06 August at 10:09 via Facebook Mobile · Like · 1 person

Trevor Maisiri This makes very sound and interesting explanation Prof. Ncube. I always respect Zimbabwe's diversity and the opportunity to allow space to all political persuasions. Your conviction Prof. gives me a better perspective of your party and the seriousness with which you are intending to occupy your space. We must always be protective of democratic space by allowing each party to play its part. Well done 06 August at 19:39 via Facebook Mobile · Like · 1 person

Brian Mubariiki well explained prof. ncube. the biggest problem is that tsvangirai will never be accommodative because he has made himself the godfather of opposition politics, he will continue to play to his own constitution to allow me more space to lead because he thinks he is the best thing that has ever happened in politics.. 06 August at 20:32 · Like · 2 people

Walter Dongo Mr prof ncube chokwadi munochiziva chekuti Mr tsvangirai mukuru wenyu 07 August at 11:05 · Like · 1 person

Kurauone Chihwayi Mukuru pakudini? 07 August at 13:33 via Facebook Mobile · Like

Ishmail Kauzani Look guys lets not fool ourselves you know the truth, what happened in 2008 W Ncube he lost his seat and you only win 11 seats only from Matebeleland you didn't even win one in another province because you are regional party weather like it or not. When Tsvangirai said you are regional he was referring to the above mentioned. 07 August at 13:52 via Facebook Mobile · Like

Tawanda Bvumo so u need an explanation kuti mukuru ndiani MORGAN TSVANGIRAI ang welsh? poor u 08 August at 16:53 · Like

Jupiter C. Punungwe Well Professor the truth of the matter is that issues of regionalism are a mere red herring. The real problem with Zimbabwean politics is that it is dominated by egotistic people like yourself, Morgan Tsvangirai, Robert Mugabe and even that Johnny-come-lately boy, Mutambara. 08 August at 19:46 · Like

Jupiter C. Punungwe The whole bunch of you will not let political discussion progress beyond your personalities. Political discourse has been reduced to mere spectacle of you leaders and your supporters hurling insults at each other. For example your recent posts have all been dealing with the personality of Tsvangirai in relation to yourself. No talk about which roads are in a bad state. No talk of any ideas on how to resolve such problems. Each day you drive through ravines of potholes yet all you can think about is what Tsvangirai is saying about you. I would expect you as a national leader to spend more time talking about these problems because it is your duty and responsibility to put forward ideas even when you are not in power. Until we can get a leader who can steer debate beyond personality issues Zimbabwe is doomed. 08 August at 19:58 · Like · 2 people

Brian Mubariiki ?Jupiter C. Punungwe, u are my hero for the day, we politicians are like diapers, we constantly need regular changing and basically for the same reasons. We need to focus on what we will do for people. Lets all get Zimbabwe working again.

08 August at 20:28 · Like

Welshman Ncube ?@jupiter - what you are saying echoes what we are saying we shouldn't be discussing petty issues but things that affect us all. I'm not sure what you have access to on this profile, but we've been talking of matters that affect Zimbabweans not personalities. 08 August at 20:37 via Facebook Mobile · Like

Mutambara J Mutambara Every party by virtue of its inception has geographical strongholds. Reducing another alternative to the same problem into tribalism gubbarrish is mischievous and borders

on betrayal of the same democratic principles they want to push for. Zimbabwe is suffering again from another anarchy syndrome in opposition politics. This is the best chance we have as Zimbabweans to market and trade our ideas on how best to deal with our challenges. Next thing we will hear I put own jockeys from Marks and Spencer London not Kuala Lumpur or east. We need mature debates from our leaders. Any he displays what those who have passed their best by date. Replacements are long overdue. The engine has lost steam, overhaul in that house needed urgently. 08 August at 20:39 via Facebook Mobile · Like · 1 person

Welshman Ncube For instance, if you take the last 20 posts, 1 is about Feedback from a Zimbabwean, 4 about policy, 2 communication, 6 vision for the country, 1 about MDC rallies, 2 about industry and commerce, 3 are a response to the PM, and 1 other 08 August at 20:41 via Facebook Mobile · Like

Welshman Ncube if you take the last 40 posts, 3 are about Feedback from Zimbabweans, 7 about policy, 7 communication, 10 vision for the country, 1 about MDC rallies, 10 about industry and commerce, 8 are a response to the PM, and 1 other 08 August at 20:42 via Facebook Mobile · Like

Welshman Ncube Indeed our focus is not about personalities but about Zimbabweans and communicating our vision for this country and bread and butter issues that will improve the lives of Zimbabweans 08 August at 20:46 via Facebook Mobile · Like

Welshman Ncube ?@mutambara - I like your thinking 08 August at 20:49 via Facebook Mobile · Like

Brian Mubariiki in Zimbabwe we lack political tolerance, we need to learn to embrace other people's views and not label them undemocratic, unpatriotic, dividers of votes. The responsibility of tolerance lies with those who have the wider political vision. 08 August at 20:54 · Like

Jupiter C. Punungwe I have heard you Professor. Nonetheless I intend to keep bricks under your intellectual feet hot. And a word of advice to not waste lengthy replies to non-substantive issues like the PM's accusations against your party. Concentrate on substantive issues and then make short and sharp replies in passing. 08 August at 21:13 ·

Don't miss the next week's issue where Parliamentary Monitor Group Members (on facebook) assess the MPs

Feedback? info@pmtz.org



From page 1

AZ: The major casualty for limited resources was Committee work, which entails enquiries, study and familiarization visit for them to put their reports into context. **They need to see on the ground rather than read newspapers.** These require substantial resources. We are also mindful of the fact that the economy, although things have improved, still faces challenges. As the legislature, Parliament has performed its function in terms of its mandate in the Constitution, **legislating, representative and oversight role**, but it is still being allocated from the same fiscus; so everyone is affected. Yes we have had increases, but the increases do not translate to the levels that cover all the activities of Parliament. **That still remains a challenge until the economy is able to perform to near maximum capacity.** It means we have had to curtail some of the activities of Parliament and we have to share some of these limited resources equitably. At one

time committees were not able to travel as much as they are doing now, so these remain challenges but with explanation. **The facilities remain a challenge, limited facilities, we don't have enough space for committee meetings, we don't have enough committee rooms, committees are sharing rooms, and so scheduling of committee meetings is a big challenge. (Our emphasis is in bold.)**

Our reactions:

Our democracy is intensive care unit as Committees, with a mandate to exercise an oversight role, have failed to travel and rely on newspaper reports. One wonders how accurate these reports could be and whose agenda they push. On the constitutional mandate of Parliament - **legislating, representative and oversight role**, nothing critical has been achieved in the last three years, in terms of legislating, see opinion on page 2. While Parly has a representative mandate, it has to be brought

to attention that up to 20 constituencies are crying out for representation which is a significant number given that we have 270 MPs. One need not revisit the oversight role since it was highlighted that there are times when committees may fail to travel. It is worrisome that we have for an economic recovery to improve the workings of Parly. What if it does not recover? It is a chicken egg affair here. We strongly believe that a functional Parly, supports a healthy democracy which is plus to the economy. Thus it is better we start with institutional rebuilding than wait for the economy. The failure, by Parly to carry out its mandate is a clear sign that we, as a nation, do not take the august body seriously. It is not well capacitated to carry out its constitutional mandate and yet we expect it to check on the executive?



Navigating through social media source : ebay.com



Hear! Hear!

Shattering global records:

A 19 year old from Canada won a seat the country's federal Parliament, probably becoming the youngest lawmaker not only in that country but across the world. Pierre-Luc Dusseault had planned to work a summer job at a golf course if his foray into federal politics had not worked out. Instead of working his way around the golf course green fairways, he started his new engagement in May at a starting salary \$157,731. Dusseault ran a grassroots campaign in the university town east of Montreal.

(<http://pakihungama.blogspot.com/2011/05/routers-19-year-old-sets-record-as.html>)

And for the other side.....

In 2008 during Malaysia's 12th General Election an 89 year old candidate stood for a parliamentary seat. The 89-year old kain songket trader and granny-of-seven Maimun Tok Mun Yusof said she had been trying to be candidate for 20 years, but her nomination papers had been rejected. At 89 she was probably the oldest parliamentary candidate in the 21st century. However, there have been other older legislators in other countries. While there is no conclusive answer on some of the oldest lawmakers, in the United Kingdom it's believed that Sir Francis Knollys (c.1550-1648) was MP until his death at 97 (some say 98) years of age.

Parly Parlance

A Bill is a proposal for a new law, or a proposal to change an existing law, presented for debate before Parliament. A Bill can start in the Senate or the House of Assembly and must be approved in the same form by both Houses before becoming an Act (law).

Steps followed are:

*Pre-legislative scrutiny: Not undertaken for all bills; usually a joint committee of both houses will review a bill and vote on amendments that the government can either accept or reject. The report from this stage can be influential in later stages as rejected recommendations from the committee are revived to be voted on.

*1st reading: This is a formality; no vote occurs. The Bill is presented and ordered to be printed and, in the case of private members' bills, a date is set for second reading.

*2nd reading: A debate on the general principles of the bill, followed by a vote. Committee stage: This usually takes place in a public bill committee in the Commons and on the Floor of the House in the Lords. The committee considers each clause of the bill, and may make amendments to it.

*Consideration (or report) stage: this takes place on the floor of the House, and is a further opportunity to amend the bill. Unlike committee stage, the House need not consider every clause of the bill, only those to which amendments have been tabled.

*3rd reading a debate on the final text of the bill, as amended. In the House of Lords, further amendments may be tabled at this stage.

*Passage: The bill is then sent to the other House (to the Lords, if it originated in the Commons; to the Commons, if it is a Lords bill), which may amend it.

*The House in which the bill originated considers the amendments made in the other House.

*Presidential assent

* Do you know that an "Act of parliament" was military term for small beer, five pints of which, by an act of parliament, a landlord we as formerly obliged to give to each soldier gratis. Source: 18u Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue.

....backbenchers gone **KAPUT**

.....and for the back page



One wonders what he will report back to his constituency (islandmix.com)



Serving the people?
(poldraw.wordpress.com)



The power of the social media explained



Bill going through reading stages, how Govt and Opposition try to win support

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