



DA
ONE NATION. ONE FUTURE

DA MANIFESTO
ELECTION 2009





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INTRODUCTION LETTER BY HELEN ZILLE

Vote to win!

Introduction by Helen Zille – Leader of the Democratic Alliance



Dear Voter

This election is a contest between two political philosophies, each of which will take our country in a fundamentally different direction. These diametrically opposing options can be described, in summary, as the “open, opportunity-driven society for all” versus the “closed, crony society for some”.

The Democratic Alliance believes in the open, opportunity society for all. It is a belief that shapes everything we say and do.

In such a society, everybody has the opportunities and the space to shape their own lives, improve their skills and follow their dreams. The government’s key role is to expand and promote equal opportunities for all. People are not held back by arbitrary criteria such as gender, religion, or colour, or the

prejudice of those in power. In the open, opportunity society, outcomes are linked to opportunity, effort and ability, not special favours dispensed by a ruling clique in the ruling party. When the government is doing its job as the Constitution intended, real opportunities are extended to more and more people. Opportunity is not a zero-sum game where some progress at the expense of others. In a functional open society, everyone can have real opportunities. And the more people use their opportunities, the more they create for others.

In the closed, crony society, the prospects of each individual are determined by his links and access to the small leadership network in the ruling party. The leadership promotes and protects the network (inside and outside the party) and the network, in return, protects and promotes the leadership. It is a closed circle based on reinforcing mutual interests. Mutual enrichment soon becomes the primary focus. This inevitably results in corruption and power abuse. Merit and competence are entirely incidental in this kind of system. The people with prospects are those loyalists who can be relied upon to extend and entrench the network’s control over all levers of power both inside the party, and throughout society, and follow its instructions.

The difference between the open, opportunity society and the closed, crony society is the difference between success and failure in an emerging democracy. We have the clearest example of the ultimate failed state – the closed, crony society of Robert Mugabe’s Zimbabwe – right on our doorstep. We must make the conscious choice to move in the opposite direction.

The DA is the only party in South Africa that promotes the open opportunity society in principle and – in those municipalities we govern across the country – practice.

When I make these points people often say to me: we are not interested in political philosophy. What are you going to do about poverty? I reply that a strong foundation in political philosophy is essential to develop policies that have positive practical outcomes. Our policies offer South Africans the best chance we have of overcoming poverty and ensuring progress. A closed, crony government results in steady decline. The simple truth is that corrupt leaders make poor people poorer. Their promises are irrelevant and unattainable.

The DA’s vision is reflected in our manifesto, which is based on a package of carefully costed and mutually reinforcing policies that set out practical steps to attain our vision of an open, opportunity society for all. Our manifesto addresses our top five policy priorities: reducing poverty; improving the quality



of education; healthcare; fighting crime and corruption; and protecting and defending the Constitution. Creating opportunity is the focus of all our policies, because we believe that the only way to reduce poverty is by expanding opportunity through sustained job-creating economic growth, a significantly improved education system, a highly functional criminal justice system and efficient delivery of basic services.

Of course, we believe in alleviating poverty through an appropriate social safety net of state grants, too. That is why we support a Basic Income Grant. But we tie opportunity to responsibility, because individuals have the responsibility to use their opportunities to improve their lives and become the best they can be.

People cannot use their opportunities unless they are educated, healthy and safe.

At the moment, our schools are poorly resourced – often, the state cannot even deliver textbooks on time – and millions of learners leave school illiterate and innumerate because of poorly managed and sub-standard teaching. To improve the quality of education, the DA will set performance targets for teachers and schools, and reward good performance. We will focus on making dysfunctional schools work better by establishing task teams and implementing a mentoring programme. To ensure that pupils from poor families have access to quality education, we will introduce a per-child pre-school state subsidy (weighted according to parental income) and encourage a national network of community-based early childhood education centres.

Our public hospitals are in a state of decay: they are badly managed, queues are long, medicine cabinets are empty, and there is an exodus of doctors and nurses from the public health care sector. The DA will build a system of hospitals and clinics that delivers prompt, quality service to all our citizens by ensuring that every hospital is capably managed, by bringing the private sector into state hospitals, and by running a full-throttle campaign to train and recruit more doctors and nurses.

Crime is out of control because most criminals are confident they will get away with it. They know that most criminals are never caught, and even when they are, the conviction rate in court is only 11%. Criminals get away with crime because our criminal justice system is dysfunctional at every level. It cannot prevent crime, apprehend criminals, gather evidence, prosecute and convict them successfully, secure them in prisons or rehabilitate them there. The DA will increase the total number of police officers on the beat, improve detection rates, reduce court backlogs, and ensure that criminals serve the time they deserve. For the DA, "life means life". We will also make prisoners work, both to equip them with skills they can use outside prison and to allow them partly to atone for their crimes.

Finally, the DA wants to protect and defend the Constitution, and to put power back where it belongs – in the hands of citizens. We believe that the open, opportunity society for all can only come into being on the basis of democratic, transparent and accountable governance. Although the Constitution provides for such governance in principle, we need to make it work in practice. That is why the DA proposes the direct election of the President, Premiers and Mayors, and a mixed proportional representation (PR)-constituency electoral system to elect MPs and MPLs. This would create a direct link between voters and their public representatives to increase accountability.

The DA can and will deliver on the promises in our manifesto. We are a party of government, and our track record in local government proves that we match our words with deeds.

This time, we can win. But we need your vote to do it. So vote for the open, opportunity society for all, and vote to win.

Best wishes

INTRODUCTION

The DA has a vision for South Africa

In this vision, men, women and children living anywhere in the country are able to go about their daily business in their communities knowing that they are safe from criminals; that their local government provides basic services quickly, efficiently and affordably; that the public transport system allows them to move around quickly and safely; and that help with housing is available for those who need it.

This country is free and prosperous, and opportunities to use one's talents abound. For those who have been disadvantaged by our discriminatory past, measures exist to help them to catch up. For the new generation of South Africans, a quality education system, accessible to all, ensures that no young adult will ever again have to struggle under the burden of a substandard education. South Africa belongs to all its people equally.

Land is opportunity. This country ensures that South Africans who were deprived of the land by the apartheid government can be helped to reclaim their land and use it productively, while simultaneously ensuring that there is a vibrant and productive agricultural sector.

The government of this country knows that its duty is to work relentlessly to improve the lives of all its citizens. It runs a public service that is a help, not a hindrance, to its citizens.

It has a special responsibility towards the poor, who have available to them a range of measures to help them climb out of the poverty trap, and it provides basic income support to those who have no prospect of ever being able to support themselves.

This government provides a countrywide network of clinics and hospitals that ensures that no South African has to die from a preventable condition or be neglected by an overworked health system. Citizens who are vulnerable to abuse, and women and children in particular, know they can rely on an effective police service to protect them.

This country is a melting pot of cultures, in which all citizens are made to feel not only welcome, but also a vital part of the country's success. Our individual identities are celebrated, but we also embrace a vision of South Africa as united under a cherished national flag. This country is one in which everybody recognises the need to work together to preserve our rich and varied cultural history, and to care for an extraordinary natural environment that is the envy of the world.

For every facet of this vision, the DA has a complete and detailed policy programme to make it happen in every corner of the country in which the DA governs. This is a plan for the rainbow people – one nation with one future.









1. THE OPEN SOCIETY: THE CONSTITUTION IN ACTION

Only when the people of South Africa can vote freely for the public representatives of their choice, and demand that those who are elected put their personal interests aside and act only in the voters' interests, will our democracy be truly open, free and accountable.

Yet South Africa's list-based electoral system, and the government's reluctance to fully empower watchdog bodies, have left the people of our country with a system founded on patronage, where the needs of those without money and connections mean little.

The DA's governance policy aims to put power back where it belongs – in the hands of the voters and citizens.

The electoral system

The closed list proportional representation system used to elect our national and provincial representatives is fair and inclusive, but voters have no say over who represents them. Voters should be able to elect their public representatives directly, and know who their MP or MPL is, without sacrificing the fairness of a proportional system. The DA, therefore, proposes a system that is a mixture of proportional representation and constituencies. 75% of national and provincial public representatives will be elected in 90 three-member constituencies, while 25% of national and provincial representatives will be appointed on the basis of a list system in direct proportion to their party's share of the vote. In this way, the composition of Parliament will reflect the election result.

This system ensures that most MPs are directly accountable to their voters, and the three-member constituencies allow voters to feel they have at least one representative who speaks and acts in their interests. At the same time, party lists ensure that the end result accurately reflects the electorate's choices.

Timing of national, provincial and local elections

Currently, elections in each sphere of government are held every five years. The DA will increase this period to six years, to give an administration enough time to achieve its goals while leaving voters with regular chances to remove those who fail.

However, the DA will separate elections at the different spheres of government so that voters can properly consider the different national, provincial or municipal issues and candidates. An election at one of these levels will take place every two years, on a specific date that is fixed in legislation.

An electoral threshold

The South African electoral system encourages a proliferation of very small parties that add very little value to Parliament. The DA will limit the emergence of marginal parties by requiring every party to attain a minimum of 1% electoral support before they can send representatives to Parliament, legislatures or municipal councils.

Election of the president, premiers and mayors

The existing system by which the president, premiers and mayors are elected (by other public representatives) takes power away from voters. The DA will give voters, not the party, the final say over who their leaders should be.

Presidents, premiers and mayors will be elected directly using the 'two-round' or 'run-off' system. If a candidate receives more than 50% of the vote he or she is automatically elected to office. If no candidate receives a majority, the top two candidates run against each other, and the candidate that secures a majority in the second round is duly elected. These leaders will be required to abide by a strict two-term limit.

The DA will ensure that no person who has been convicted on any charge of corruption, fraud, theft or violent crime will be permitted to hold public office.



Federalism and provincial and local government

South Africa's provinces all too often merely clone centrally determined policies. This deprives South Africa of many of the benefits of a more federal system, including bringing government closer to the people and accommodating diversity. Therefore the DA will:

- * Reduce to a minimum the norms, standards and policies imposed on provincial and local governments by the national government.
- * Allow provinces to raise substantially more of their own revenue without increasing the overall tax burden, while guaranteeing them a share of the national revenue.

In provinces under our control, the DA will:

- Pass provincial legislation, as provided for in the constitution, to reflect the priorities and needs of those provinces.
- Devolve more real power to competent local governments, but intervene quickly and decisively when these powers are misused.

Institutions supporting constitutional democracy

Chapter 9 of the Constitution creates various bodies to support constitutional democracy and open government, such as the Public Protector. These institutions must be robust defenders and vigorous promoters of the open society. But some have been plagued by problems of politicisation and non-performance. The DA will strengthen them by requiring that:

- Ministers play no role in making appointments.
- Individuals who hold a high-level political post cannot be appointed to a Chapter 9 institution until one year has elapsed since they held that post.
- A multi-party Parliamentary committee is established to protect the interests of the Chapter 9 Institutions and address their concerns.

2. THE OPPORTUNITY SOCIETY: MAKING RIGHTS REAL

SCHOOLS

School education lies at the heart of the open, opportunity society; it is here that children start to formally develop the skills and talents that will allow them to make their way in the world and assert their rights. Yet millions of



South African children leave school illiterate and innumerate because too many poorly managed, under-skilled and apathetic teachers deliver one of the worst standards of education in the world.

By working closely with schools and teachers to improve their performance, and by creating a healthy learning environment, the DA will ensure that all children, no matter how deprived, are able to choose whatever career their natural talents and inclinations lead them towards.

Structuring schools for maximum performance

The DA will direct the education system towards valuing excellence and rooting out poor performance.

Schools which meet carefully defined performance criteria will be given more power to manage their own affairs, because experience shows that capable schools work best when they can manage matters such as staffing, discipline and timetables themselves.

However, around 60% of South African schools do not yet meet these performance criteria and they will be the focus of various initiatives including:

- Training for principals, deputies and heads of department.
- A review of all teacher appointments to ensure that they are appropriate.
- Regular management audits.
- Regular performance assessments aimed at building teacher capacity.

Bold steps are needed to confront schools that are completely dysfunctional. The DA will, among other things, create a dedicated dysfunctional schools task team to help these schools, implement a mentoring programme for them using school managers with proven track records, and set clear performance targets.

Categories of schooling

In order to inject new vision and energy into weak schools, the DA will create a new category of institution known as "step-up schools". Any group of individuals meeting certain requirements will be able to take over the management of a school and run it as a state school. The school will be rewarded for improved results, but will be closely monitored.

Early childhood education is crucial in preparing children for school. The DA will introduce a per-child pre-school state subsidy for this, weighted according to parental income.

The DA will place a strong emphasis on ensuring that the requirements of



special-needs learners are adequately met. State-provided schooling options will be available for learners with a range of special needs, and we will facilitate the establishment of more remedial classes within schools.

Funding school education

The DA will support fee-free schools. However, in allocating money, we will use a formula which takes into account schools' performance, to give those schools that consistently produce outstanding results an incentive to continue doing so.

To further increase the options available to poor parents, every state school will be required to accept a minimum percentage of non fee-paying pupils. In addition, the DA will institute a nation-wide bursary voucher programme aimed at giving the most academically promising 250 000 children from low income families the opportunity to receive a better school education.

School teachers

To increase the number of quality teachers we have available, the DA will:

- Work with universities to establish satellite teacher training campuses in remote areas.
- Institute full study bursaries for quality candidates who undertake to teach in specific under-privileged areas for two years.
- Pay teachers for performance, not years in the system.

It is imperative that teachers are able to properly convey their subject to their learners. The DA will ask all teachers to write standardised knowledge assessments in the subjects they teach, and we will make pay increases and promotions dependent on the results.

Curriculum, learning and evaluation

The DA will conduct a detailed review of Outcomes-Based Education, with a view to correcting defects with as little disruption as possible and ensuring that it is relevant to our needs. Schools should be able to opt out of the national curriculum if there is a demand for this in the school community, and if the proposed curriculum meets certain requirements.

To identify problems with schooling early, the DA will conduct systemic learner assessments at grades 3, 6, 9 and 12.

A decision on which language of teaching to use should be made by the school governing body in accordance with the Constitution. The DA will ensure the development of teaching materials and programmes in all the required languages in schools.

All children should be able to follow a vocational career path from early on, not just from grade 10 when Further Education and Training Colleges become accessible. The DA will extend the FET system to cover grades 8 and 9 as well.

The school environment

A healthy learning environment depends on respect for legitimate authority. The DA will give control of their classrooms back to teachers with a range of measures, including:

- Stronger support for the right to expel disruptive learners.
- A demerit points system for learners culminating in expulsion.
- Diversion programmes for youth at risk, taking them out of their damaging home environments and allowing them to learn valuable skills.
- Dedicated remedial schools for disruptive learners.

TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

When innovation, renewal and the pursuit of excellence are placed at the centre of a country's priorities, jobs multiply, services become more efficient, and citizens have a myriad of opportunities available to them. Yet the South African government has been unresponsive to international developments, and many parts of the country and the economy remain technologically far behind the rest of the world.

The DA will, by restructuring our higher education system, building constructive partnerships with private industry and research institutions, and making government a vigorous driver of technological innovation, make South Africa the flourishing centre of innovative development on the African continent.

An innovative environment

The DA wants to encourage an environment in which all South Africans work together to make our country work better. To build the systems and structures that will support and promote such an environment, the DA will:





- Create a new Ministry of Advanced Education and Technology, bringing together higher education and the functions of the current Department of Science and Technology.
- Fund important research institutions like the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research adequately, distance politicians from decision-making roles and protect their independence.
- Prioritise the liberalisation of telecommunications, which will slash the time and cost involved in communicating with each other and the world.
- Play an active role in bringing innovators across the SADC region together.

Innovative education

Building a culture of innovation starts with schools. Over the next five years, the DA will aim to double the number of maths and science passes with:

- Dedicated bursaries and schools for maths and science aimed at learners who show an aptitude for these subjects.
- Allocating more time to maths and science in all schools.
- Benchmarking learners' performance in science and maths, both domestically and internationally.

We will also ensure Internet access for every learner within five years by:

- Extending the DA's Khanya Programme, which provides software, computers and support to poor schools in the Western Cape, to the rest of South Africa.
- Partnering with private sector computer training companies to help with training teachers.

To build a stronger tertiary education sector, the DA will create three categories of public tertiary institution, each of which is aimed at achieving a specific purpose:

- Colleges of Higher Education will develop skills learnt at school, so that students are better prepared for the workplace or further studies.
- Universities will provide academic or technical training up to post-graduate level.
- A small number of universities in South Africa will be given the status of Centres of Research, driven largely by high-

level research and developed as centres of research excellence. We will ensure a high quality of output by:

- Establishing a unit to rank institutions according to quality of output.
- Driving national development goals through subsidy allocations.

Innovative government

A DA government will lead the way in innovation by incorporating innovative technologies and ideas into government services. Priorities will be:

- Safety: internet-based tracking systems will allow real-time recording of crime statistics, which will vastly improve the speed and accuracy of authorities response.
- Health: technology will allow pharmacies to link up to hospitals and clinics, so that state patients can collect medicines from closer to where they live.
- Correctional Services: GPS tracking devices will allow authorities to know exactly where any paroled prisoner is at any time.
- Information databases and tracking systems in departments such as Home Affairs and Housing, which will cut down on fraud, give more information to customers and improve quality control.
- Systems to allow for downloading documents (such as identity documents) and applying for services (such as grants) on-line.
- Systems to track municipal, provincial and government spending so that excessive debit amounts can be monitored and investigated centrally.

THE ECONOMY AND JOBS

An opportunity society gives citizens the ability to follow their dreams, use their talents, and support their families. However, while a small elite in South Africa is well protected in comfortable jobs, millions of others face a lifetime of futile searching for productive employment.

The DA sees a country where citizens are not satisfied with handouts from the state to survive, but are helped by their government to make the most of their individual talents and take charge of their own lives.



Unleashing potential

The lack of employable skills and capital to allow people to take opportunities affects all communities in South Africa. The government must not dictate economic development, but it has a critical role to play in creating the right conditions for economic growth and job creation. A DA government will increase savings and expand the tax base, so there is more money available to stimulate the economy, and we will implement specific measures to create meaningful black economic empowerment and develop skills.

Increasing savings

South Africa needs to boost its domestic savings rate so that more money is available for investment in opportunities for the people of our country. The DA will increase the pool of funds available for investment by:

- Introducing a mandatory retirement scheme for workers in the formal sector earning above R60 000 per annum.
- Eliminating all taxation on interest accumulated over 12 months or longer.
- Vigorously pursuing measures to reduce banking costs to make savings accounts more affordable.
- Promoting the wider use of retail bonds and municipal bonds.
- Protecting the tax base which generates the income the state needs with a sound, stable fiscal and monetary system.

Acquiring skills

The Democratic Alliance is committed to providing businesses with the right mix of incentives to hire more workers and develop their skills.

Millions of South Africans without market-related skills have been sidelined by the jobs market. In particular, the Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA) system, which is supposed to provide skills training, is costly, wasteful, overly bureaucratic and largely ineffective. Bureaucrats, rather than employers, identify the skills that businesses require.

The DA will scrap the SETA system and instead provide incentives to small, medium and large employers to invest in the productivity of their workers. We will fully reimburse employers for any money that they spend on their employees' productivity through approved training programmes.

To attract skills to South Africa, and encourage our own skilled citizens to return, highly-skilled immigration should be encouraged, with a simplified fast-track process for all work visa applicants with scarce skills.

Creating jobs

The DA will provide every possible encouragement to the small and medium business sector, which is the net job creator, to hire more people.

We will:

- Reduce our corporate tax rate to 27%, to align us more closely with our competitors in South Asia, East Asia and the Pacific.
- Design a specific and simplified VAT, income and provisional tax regime for small businesses. This will not only cut the costs of doing business but also draw more firms into the tax net.

The DA will use various measures to remove the impediments that employers face in taking on new workers by:

- Reviewing all labour legislation in partnership with labour and business.
- Introducing a six-month probationary period during which firms will face no punitive penalty for dismissing underperforming workers.

As a further incentive for job creation, the DA will give matriculants the right to claim a wage subsidy from the state for their first job. Individual employers, for example, will be able to claim a 150% tax rebate on the first R2400 of a new matriculant's annual salary.

An export processing and job zone (EPJZ) is a geographical area where trade barriers are eliminated and labour-intensive manufacturing is encouraged. South Africa's current Industrial Development Zones will be converted into fully-fledged EPJZs in which:

- Only labour-intensive industries will be permitted.
- New ventures enjoy a sustained tax holiday.
- Duty free imports of machinery, equipment and raw materials are allowed.
- Firms are exempt from some more onerous labour laws.

The DA will continue to use public works programmes; however, we will not use them simply as a poverty alleviation tool, but as a real opportunity for South Africa's most disadvantaged citizens to develop marketable skills. We will, therefore, require contracted employers to include a training element in their programmes, the cost of which they can reclaim through the tax system.

Broad-based black economic empowerment

Removing the discriminatory laws of the apartheid government is not enough



on its own to empower disadvantaged South Africans. The DA is fully behind broad-based black economic empowerment. If correctly implemented, it will pull people into the economy, reduce unemployment and stimulate growth.

However, BEE has become elitist rather than broad based, and as a result it has excluded millions of deeply disadvantaged South Africans from the economy. The DA will review the BEE scorecard to ensure that it accurately prioritises the interests of those who have fallen by the wayside, not those who are already reaping the rewards of the new South Africa. This review will focus on:

- Placing less emphasis on ownership, and more emphasis on skills training and socio-economic investment, in the weightings accorded to the various categories used to evaluate businesses.
- Developing ways to prevent credits from being used over and over again by the same individuals.
- Establishing an ombudsman to resolve questions of compliance quickly.

Whatever scorecard emerges from this process will be implemented properly, and any individuals found manipulating the requirements to suit their own interests will be excluded from any further opportunities to obtain government business.

Efficient government

The government is a major player in our economy and it must run as efficiently as possible. The DA will:

- Privatised assets that the state holds, including South African Airways, and liberalise services that the state has traditionally run, such as electricity generation, so that the private sector can run them more efficiently.
- Focus on improving the speed with which government at all levels provides services by, for example, recording of all calls made at service delivery points, placing ability at the core of staff selection processes, and acknowledging outstanding performance.

Promoting transparency and fighting corruption

Excessive regulation is destructive, but good regulations give more power to consumers, protect the vulnerable and create an open, clean and competitive environment. A DA government will put in place a sound regulatory system that allows all South Africans to benefit from a healthy, growing economy.

We will create a stable economic environment and we will clamp down on white collar criminals and price fixers.

Bolstering regulatory institutions

Various regulatory institutions help to enforce good business practices, protect consumers and create a stable economic environment. All of these must be strengthened and protected.

By maintaining a credible monetary policy, the South African Reserve Bank helps to attract investment and makes our economy more stable. The DA will give it the independence it needs to continue with its inflation targeting mandate, as inflation hurts the poorest of the poor and those living on a fixed income the most.

Organisations such as the Competition Commission, the Banking Ombudsman and the Pension Funds Adjudicator all fight on behalf of consumers to ensure compliance with legislation and good business practices. They must be given the authority and the financing they need to investigate complaints proactively.

A competitive environment

South Africa's economy is plagued by limited competition, high profit margins and restricted entry. The DA will strengthen the legal and technical measures available to combat anti-competitive behaviour by:

- Giving full immunity to the first individual who breaks ranks and reports anti-competitive activities.
- Ensuring that it is possible to hold senior managers of companies implicated in anti-competitive behaviour personally liable for their conduct.

Fighting corruption

Corruption makes a mockery of any attempt to create an open economy. To enforce transparency and independent oversight, the DA will:

- Introduce legislation to recreate the Directorate of Special Operations (the Scorpions), give them the powers they need to wage war on the corrupt, and ensure that they report directly to the Director of Public Prosecutions, not any political figure.
- Increase the budgets of other corruption-busting agencies, such as the Independent Complaints Directorate and Public Protector, and guarantee their political independence.

- Establish an *ad hoc* multi-sectoral commission to oversee the appointment of the National Director of Public Prosecutions.
- Stipulate that no one who has been convicted on any charge of corruption, theft or fraud ever be entitled to hold public office.
- Separate tendering processes completely from any political influence.
- Rewrite the existing whistleblower legislation to remove loopholes that institutions use to victimise whistleblowers and provide more protection to whistleblowers.

AGRICULTURE AND LAND REFORM

Agriculture is a core industry in South Africa. In the past it has allowed us to be a net exporter of food, and it has the potential to be a vibrant area of opportunity creation for disadvantaged South Africans. But agriculture has been neglected and the land reform programme has been shamefully mismanaged.

A DA government will take seriously the need to stimulate agricultural production and remove the bottlenecks holding up land distribution and restitution. We will thereby ensure that South Africa can once more become self-sufficient in food, and that many more people can benefit from the life-changing opportunities of a successful land reform programme.

Agriculture

The DA recognises the importance of South Africa's agricultural sector and we will re-energise it by:

- Building confidence by guaranteeing the willing seller/willing buyer principle.
- Reinstating the Territorial Reserves (the Commando system) to help with rural security.
- Reviewing the budgets and guaranteeing the political independence of research organisations like the Agricultural Research Centre.
- Planning adequately for financial and weather-related problems.
- Establishing or developing experimental farms to expand our knowledge of what can be achieved in our environment.

Land distribution

The DA will implement a land reform programme that seeks to speed up the pace of land reform. To do so the DA will:

- Increase the land reform budget to an amount that can realistically allow targets to be reached.
- Conduct an audit of the land held by the state, with a view to making the 1.2 million hectares of unsurveyed state land potentially available for redistribution.
- Become a far more active player in the land market. Even if only half of the land that comes onto the market every year is purchased, up to a quarter of privately owned land could be redistributed in 10 years.

Land restitution

Returning the land appropriated under apartheid laws is central to healing the divisions of South Africa's past. In addition to addressing funding short-falls that plague the restitution programme, the DA will:

- Help to build skills-transfer partnerships between beneficiaries, farmers and rural industries, while building on successful partnerships already in place.
- Ensure that the Land Bank is professionally managed and free of corruption, so that emerging farmers can get all the help they require to become productive.

SPORT

The DA recognises that sport can play a transformative role in shaping and influencing the identity of the people of South Africa, as individuals and as a country, as well as in enriching our lives and empowering us. Yet opportunities for sporting achievement are currently generally available only to a privileged few. The DA will give any South African with sporting talent, both able-bodied and disabled, the opportunity to use this talent.

The DA will establish a South African Sports Academy for both able-bodied and disabled sportsmen and women and build it up as a centre of sporting excellence, tasked with identifying and developing South Africa's potential heroes. The academy will be funded by the state, and report to Parliament, but operate independently. It will:

- Provide a venue where top-quality sports training facilities can be found.
- Send recruiters out to roam the country to identify new talent.
- Establish a bursary scheme designed to give anyone with potential the opportunity to develop and fulfil it.
- Recruit local and international coaching staff comprising the best available expertise in any particular area.



TOURISM

Tourism opens up enormous potential for opportunities and jobs. While South Africa is already attractive to tourists, there is much potential that has not been properly exploited. By 2014, the DA aims to make South Africa one of the top three destinations for any long-haul foreign tourist.

In developing our tourism potential, the DA will aim to:

- Showcase and protect our unique natural and cultural resources.
- Put impoverished rural areas on the tourism map.
- Create new tourist products and add value to our existing products.

To do this, the DA will:

- Develop public-private initiatives that grow tourist products at the lower end of the market.
- Improve skills training for new tour guides, tour operators, B&B owners and tourism safety officers by means of an educational voucher system.
- Improve tourist safety with a special unit in the police that tracks trends in crimes against tourists and responds accordingly.

3. THE CARING SOCIETY: HELPING THOSE WHO CAN'T HELP THEMSELVES

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

People born in conditions of disadvantage, or with disabilities, face a super-human struggle to take advantage of the opportunities that others take for granted. While an impressive social grants system exists in South Africa, it excludes many who need it and is exploited by many others who don't need it.

The DA recognises that the potential of millions of South Africans is compromised from the beginning of their lives, and we will expand the options available to all individuals to allow them to take advantage of an open opportunity society for all. At the same time we will ensure that these opportunities are used constructively and for the purposes intended.

Children

Children born into poverty must be able to access the food, health care and education they need to learn and grow. The DA will:

- Require a child's guardian to take specific steps, including providing adequate food and health check-ups and ensuring the child's school attendance, before being able to claim a Child Care Grant.
- Require that child support grants not be paid directly to any teenage mother, but instead to an adult family member.
- Investigate mechanisms, such as cash bonuses for teenagers who do not have children before they reach 21, to reduce teenage pregnancies.
- Ensure that the requirements of special-needs learners are adequately met with a range of state-provided schooling options.

Teenagers and young adults

Young adults must be given the opportunities they need to start careers and build their lives. Therefore, the DA will:

- Allow any South African aged between 16 and 24 to perform a year-long voluntary community service in the public service (in schools or hospitals for example), or in the SAPS or SANDF.
- Create a Youth Development Programme for youth at risk, which will give young people access to a skills development programme followed by six months of on-the-job-learning.
- Allow any young person who successfully completes matric to participate in voluntary community service, volunteering at the SAPS or the SANDF or the Youth Development Programme to claim an opportunity voucher to subsidise study costs or start a business.
- Encourage employers to take on young workers through learnership programmes and wage subsidies.

To accompany these programmes, the DA will crack down hard on drug and alcohol abuse – a problem that leads many young South Africans to destroy their lives. Among other things, we will reinstate the narcotics bureau, triple funding for the central drug authority and tighten up on bail for drug offences.

Adults

Social grants exclude millions of South Africans who are of working age but who have no prospect of ever finding gainful income. The DA will, therefore, make an Income Support and Unemployment Grant of R110 per month available to all South Africans earning below R46 000 per annum who do not receive another state grant.

Given the problems that many disabled South Africans face in obtaining their disability grant (DG) reliably, the DA will require that recipients be given adequate notices of reviews and that certain categories – such as cerebral palsy – are exempted from the review process. We will also investigate further tax concessions to disabled taxpayers and taxpayers with disabled dependents.

The elderly

The state old age pension is a lifeline for many elderly South Africans, but recipients must pass a means test, which excludes many needy people who have tried to provide for their old age. The DA will, therefore, provide a universal old age pension, available to all South Africans.

Current measures to protect the aged against abuse are inadequate. The DA will create an office of the Human Rights Commissioner for the Aged within the existing Human Rights Commission, charged specifically with investigating complaints of abuse and conducting regular investigations of facilities for the aged.

HEALTH

Only people who are healthy, energetic and mobile are able to properly use their talents, follow their dreams and care for their families. Yet the state health system is plagued by poor management and a catastrophic shortage of doctors and nurses, leaving sick patients queuing for hours and often unable to obtain even basic medicines and treatment.

The DA will build a system of hospitals and clinics that delivers a prompt, quality service to all our citizens. We will do this by ensuring that every hospital is well managed, by bringing the private sector into state hospitals, and with a full throttle campaign to train and recruit more doctors and nurses.

Hospitals

Under a DA government, every public hospital will be required to manage itself, not be managed from afar by the provincial administration, and it will be funded on the basis of the level and quality of care it provides. The management of South Africa's worst hospitals will be put out to tender, with private sector health providers being free to tender to take over the management of these hospitals.

To ensure high quality service:

- Hospitals will be subject to strict standards and rigorous performance requirements, similar to those currently expected of private hospitals.
- A quality rating system will be applied to all hospitals, and an independent Office for Standards Compliance will conduct these evaluations.

Primary health care

The DA will boost the ability of clinics to provide quality primary health care by:

- Using competitive tendering to delegate some services, such as nutrition programmes and preventive health, to community organisations, private doctors or other providers.
- Incorporating traditional healers into the formal health system structure. A voluntary registration system will give traditional healers access to certain benefits in return for, for example, maintaining proper patient records and offering some Primary Health Care services (provided they have been trained in this), such as vaccinations.







Human resources

The DA will substantially increase the number of doctors and nurses being trained in South Africa by:

- Reopening state-funded nursing colleges.
- Removing restrictions on nursing training in the private sector.
- Scrapping a policy which prohibits private medical schools.

We must also make it as easy as possible for anyone who qualified in any medical field in another country to work here, by:

- Working towards the creation of a protocol for the ethical employment of health staff across the SADC region, to allow South Africa to use medical skills across the entire region.
- Defining medical skills as Scarce Skills to allow applications to work in South Africa to be processed more rapidly.

Medicines

State patients often spend hours or days at hospitals waiting to collect medicines they have been prescribed. The DA will introduce the technology and systems that will allow patients to collect medicines from any accredited pharmacy, making collection much more convenient and far less time-consuming.

HIV/Aids

With one of the highest infection rates in the world, South Africa is feeling the full force of the devastation wrought by HIV/Aids. The DA will reduce the number of new infections by convincing South Africans to act to reduce their risk of infection. We will:

- Create a Deputy Ministry of HIV/Aids, and locate a Presidential Aids Campaign in the Minister in the President's office.
- Involve all public representatives in promoting Aids awareness.
- Integrate faith-based organisations into the prevention campaign.

An efficient, comprehensive antiretroviral treatment programme is a key part of South Africa's onslaught on Aids, and a Central Antiretroviral Treatment Centre, with a branch in each province, will manage the implementation of the programme, collate information and report regularly on results.

HOUSING

Every South African should be able to find a place that he or she can call home, and live safely and reasonably comfortably. Yet South African housing policies provide a handful of people quality formal housing while leaving millions of others homeless.

The DA will ensure that in addition to a formal housing programme millions more housing opportunities are created by focusing on releasing land, upgrading existing accommodation and providing decent services where people live.

The DA will focus on building sustainable communities and avoid wherever possible the social disruption and upheaval of relocating families.

Focus on opportunities

Millions of South Africans live in dilapidated and inadequate shacks, which expose them to disease, crime, foul weather and enormous discomfort. The reality is that the ANC government's subsidy programme will reach only a fraction of them.

The DA will, therefore, restructure the subsidy system so that it can reach many more people. Our programme will focus on:

- Providing *in situ* upgrades to existing accommodation, so that dwellings can be made safe and habitable.
- Freeing up land for housing opportunities, making services available on this land and giving freehold title to this land as rapidly as possible.
- Making space for the market to come in to construct low cost housing and assist with upgrades, by cutting the cost of land and subsidising building materials.

Ensuring fairness

In the allocation of housing opportunities, every South African in need must be given a fair and equal chance. Lists for beneficiaries will be determined according to processes that are open and transparent, lists will be publicly available and anyone who abuses the system will be prosecuted.



Ensuring delivery

The DA will find more land for housing opportunities by:

- Identifying run-down inner-city areas and underutilised industrial areas.
- Making more extensive use of mechanisms such as land swaps.
- Establishing a land fund to assist local authorities to acquire land.
- Freeing up underutilised state land.

Sustainable communities

The DA will encourage the development of towns and cities which are pleasant, and supplied with adequate services, and which work well. The DA will:

- Promote inclusionary housing zones, by setting a target for municipal councils of focusing 15% of all new housing developments on the affordable housing market, by introducing density bonuses to stimulate the development of affordable housing on private land, and by making the development of state land subject to a certain percentage of low-cost housing.
- Ensure that construction standards are realistic, enforceable and affordable.
- Reward innovation in housing development, particularly where the development can be adopted for mass housing benefit and more affordable designs and materials can be procured as a result.

In communities plagued by unemployment, crime, one-parent families, and poor education, conditions make the development of healthy communities difficult. The DA will put in place well-targeted interventions, in partnership with local communities, to help these areas by:

- Developing a basket of minimum public infrastructure requirements which must be provided in housing developments.
- Identifying slum areas across the country and targeting them individually with a rehabilitation plan, and supplying neighbourhood committees with support to implement the plan.
- Stamping down hard on drug abuse, and introducing intervention programmes for youth at risk of falling into crime.
- Ensuring that order for law-abiding citizens prevails. Criminals must not be allowed to occupy state-subsidised rental houses; steps must be taken to enforce payment of rates by those who can afford to do so; rates service

charges must be placed in the same position as income tax; and a rapid response must be developed for illegal land invasions.

Housing finance

To make home ownership more available and affordable, the DA will:

- Allow the first R5 000 of a retirement fund to be used for a deposit and legal fees on a first home.
- Permit pension-backed loans from retirement funds to fund home purchases.
- Introduce a "rand-for-rand" subsidy programme, whereby the State will match the amount accumulated by a low income home-buyer for a deposit with an equal contribution, up to a maximum of R2 000.
- Implement programmes to re-house families in accommodation that is affordable to them.
- Continue to look for ways for Stokvels to grow and encourage more people to place their trust in them.

4. THE SAFE SOCIETY: KEEPING OUR COMMUNITIES SECURE

People cannot take advantage of opportunities if their lives are under siege, if their rights are not respected by their fellow citizens or if their vision is limited by fear. Yet the web of terror that crime throws over South Africa is so strong and far-reaching that no-one is unaffected by it.

We do not need to accept crime as an inescapable reality. The DA will ensure that anyone who commits a criminal act knows that they will be swiftly found, prosecuted and punished by a proficient, professional and zealous criminal justice system, and we will promote a society that respects the law.

Preventing crime before it occurs

The more trained police officers on the streets, the better we will be able to prevent crime and bring criminals to justice. The DA will increase the number of SAPS members to 250 000 – in contrast to the government's target of 190 000.



This must go hand in hand with steps to improve these officers' performance. The DA will:

- Ensure that all police officers possess the correct basic skills and pass regular fitness tests.
- Employ police officers on the basis of merit, not quotas or political alignment.
- Empower the Independent Complaints Directorate to stamp down hard on corrupt officers.

Specific steps will be taken to identify likely criminals before they are irretrievably corrupted by prisons. Therefore, diversion programmes – along the lines of the DA's Chrysalis Academy in the Western Cape – must provide alternatives to young South Africans at risk of falling into a life of crime.

The DA will ensure that information on crime is shared widely and that local safety initiatives are encouraged. We will also develop ways to allow the private security sector and the SAPS to work together to strengthen the fight against crime.

Finally, crime prevention requires dealing decisively with the problem of drug and alcohol abuse. Among other things, the DA will reinstate the Narcotics Bureau, tighten up border security, and devote more funds to rehabilitation.

Detecting and responding to crime when it does occur

Successful crime control depends on quality information. The DA will create a Crime Information Management System that will give the SAPS and the public access to crime statistics on the internet as crimes are reported, so that information can be analysed, trends identified, and detailed statistics produced.

This will also allow individuals to make informed decisions about where it is safest to live and work, and to employ measures to protect themselves and their families.

To improve the reliability of our crime statistics, the DA will conduct a comprehensive annual victim impact study to

indicate the extent to which crime reporting in particular categories matches actual incidents.

Investigations are frequently undermined by the inability of our forensic science laboratories to process evidence. The DA will focus on reducing backlogs at these labs, implementing staff retention strategies and setting higher standards of training.

Our detectives are over-worked and under-trained. The DA will employ an additional 30 000 detectives, and create mechanisms to allow for lateral entry into the detective service from the private sector.

Specialised units to deal with specific types of crime allow expertise to be pooled and certain crimes to be prioritised. They must be reinstated. The Family Violence, Child Abuse and Sexual Offences Unit (to protect vulnerable women and children) and the Commandos (to help protect rural communities) will be priorities.

Successfully prosecuting and convicting criminals

Our criminal justice system must be able to guarantee that those charged with crimes are prosecuted speedily and given appropriate sentences – something it cannot do now.

In addition to a range of measures to improve conditions at courts, the DA will bring in private sector skills to speed up the process. Legal practitioners will be given tax incentives and other encouragement to spend a few hours a month in the public court system, and the DA will work to have a period spent working as public prosecutors or defenders as a requirement to be registered as a lawyer.

To ensure that criminals serve the time they deserve, the DA will:

- Ensure that "life means life" and there is no parole for life sentences.



- Require that exacerbating factors, such as the use of a weapon, result in longer sentences.
- Require prisoners to be drug free to qualify for parole.

Detaining and rehabilitating those convicted

To allow the prison population to be safely and properly managed, the DA will build an additional 8 prisons to house 28 000 prisoners.

First-time, minor offenders must be kept out of prison as much as possible, by diverting them into community service or reform schools and using electronic tracking bracelets to track their movements.

In addition, there is a need to dramatically increase prisoners' involvement in productive labour, both to equip them with skills they can use outside prison and to allow them to partly atone for their crimes. The DA will ensure that all able-bodied prisoners work. Income earned from this work will go towards the upkeep of the criminal and to a Victims of Crime Fund.

Income-generating and self-supporting halfway houses will be created in every district to give prisoners access to help to rebuild their lives on release.

Compensation and relief for victims of crime

In an open opportunity society for all, victims' rights are at the heart of the criminal justice system. The DA will create a statutory body called the Directorate for Victims of Crime, which will administer a toll-free helpline for victims, run a national victim support training centre, and administer a Victims of Crime fund. The fund will include money from various sources, including prisoners' earnings, and anyone suffering physical damage as a result of a crime will be eligible to claim from it.

In addition, a Victims' Register will enable victims of violent and sexual offences to register on a secure and confidential database and be kept updated on any developments relating to the case of the offender – including, for example, notification if bail or parole is granted.



5. THE EFFICIENT SOCIETY: EFFECTIVE AND ENABLING INFRASTRUCTURE

HOME AFFAIRS

A fundamental requirement for an open opportunity society is a set of ground rules on citizenship and residence that is reasonable and fair, and properly enforced. At the same time citizens, visitors and investors must be able to obtain documents and services they need to go about their lives reliably, efficiently and impartially. Yet South Africa's Home Affairs system appears to be designed to limit our potential and restrict choices, not expand them.

The DA will create rules on entry into South Africa that encourage people who want to contribute to our development, and we will maintain effective border controls to ensure that those who do not meet the requirements cannot enter. We will also ensure that no South African is denied schooling, a job or a grant because of bureaucratic inefficiency or patronage.

Registering birth

The DA will ensure that every hospital has one nurse accredited to register child births.

Focusing on skills needs

The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) is best placed to understand South Africa's skills and investment needs, yet it currently plays no role in deciding on policy on entry requirements for potential workers and investors. To place greater priority on skills and investment, the DA will place Immigration Services with the DTI, which will manage documentation for foreign citizens who want to visit, work, study or invest in South Africa. The Department of Home Affairs will be responsible only for services for South Africans.

The current immigration framework, based on quotas, is restrictive and cumbersome and makes it almost impossible to recruit desperately needed skills. In order to allow our immigration policy to contribute towards addressing the country's skills challenges, the DA will:

- Scrap the quota system and replace it with a points system, which will give preference to skilled immigrants without imposing absurd limitations on numbers.





- Actively encourage the assimilation of foreign nationals in our communities, to make immigrants feel at home. We will work with non-governmental organisations, community and cultural organisations to provide immigrants with training programmes about the country's diverse cultures and languages.

Encouraging tourists

The DA seeks to maximise the potential of tourism and we will open the country's borders to legitimate visitors. We will:

- Extend the validity period of a visitor's permit from three to six months.
- Allow students who have studied in the country or legal workers who meet certain criteria, and who have worked here for five consecutive years, to qualify for permanent residence.

Combating illegal immigration

Immigration policy must be designed to make it difficult for illegal immigrants to penetrate our borders. The DA will keep detailed electronic finger-print records of all arrested illegal immigrants, give the SAPS access to this database to help in the war on crime, and initiate a SADC treaty compelling the country of citizenship of illegal immigrants to bear all costs related to their repatriation.

The DA will also set up an Immigration Inspectorate within Immigration Services to deal specifically with immigration-related complaints, and introduce a proportional fine system for offending employers.

Tight border control

The integrity of our borders is central to maintaining peace and order, keeping social services costs under control and achieving our economic goals. The DA will:

- Permanently assign SANDF border patrols in high risk border locations, and use SANDF expertise and equipment to assist with patrolling and information-gathering. The government's decision to take the SANDF away from border operations has severely compromised border control.
- Establish and maintain special Border Units in the SAPS dedicated to border patrols, whose members will receive specialised paramilitary training, and permanently deploy specialised Rural Reaction Units to crime 'hotspots'.

- Commission a full, independent security audit along our borders as a priority to provide details on the state of our border fencing, resources, and success rates in meeting objectives.
- Conduct regular patrols of border areas to repair and maintain fencing.

Improving home affairs services

Citizens and foreign nationals must also be able to rely on a prompt, efficient and friendly service from their Home Affairs Office. In addition to quickly addressing staffing shortages, the DA will:

- Establish a Home Affairs Ombudsman to deal with complaints from the public about the services they receive.
- Create more accountability by recording all communication between staff and applicants and installing cameras in all offices.
- Launch a nationwide campaign, accompanied by intensive training for staff, titled 'My Home Affairs, My Pride' to encourage Home Affairs officials to take pride in their jobs.
- Make application processes more efficient with electronic submission systems, direct electronic link-ups between all Home Affairs offices, vending machines in all offices where documentation can be obtained without having to queue and the distribution of forms for identity documents at schools and clinics where they can be easily accessible.
- Set targets for the processing of documents, with staff being held accountable for not meeting targets and rewarded for exceeding them.

TRANSPORT

When people are able to move around the country and across our borders freely and quickly, and when goods can be transported easily from one end of the country to another or to any global market-place, then opportunities expand and the number of jobs available grows.

South Africa's commuter transport system is unreliable, unsafe and restricted. Transport of goods is limited by a dilapidated roads network on the one hand, and an inefficient rail transport system which remains many years behind the times, on the other.

The DA will create an integrated transport system embracing rail, road, sea and air to ensure that no South Africans are constrained in their work or play by limited transport.

Integrated transport

The DA will create an integrated transport system by bringing all forms of transport, including, for example, ports and airports, which currently fall under the Department of Public Enterprises, together under the Department of Transport.

Road infrastructure

To avoid toll roads wherever possible, and make enough funds available for maintenance, the DA will establish a dedicated Road Maintenance Fund, sourced primarily from the fuel levy, which will enable South Africa to eliminate the R120bn maintenance backlog over six years.

If toll road concessions are to be considered in the future, a percentage of their profits must go towards community development or a pool for subsidising rural transport.

Overloading by heavy duty vehicles is destroying our roads. The DA will:

- Reduce the maximum permitted axle weight and length of heavy vehicles in conjunction with other SADC countries, to meet international norms.
- Introduce mobile weighbridges.
- Require mandatory overloading and tyre pressure sensing devices on heavy-duty vehicles.
- Introduce legislation or regulations to enforce the transport of certain categories of goods by rail.

Road safety

South Africa has an unacceptably high accident rate which costs the economy dearly. The DA will entrench a culture of safe driving through a combination of education, zero tolerance for dangerous driving and higher driver testing and enforcement standards. We will:

- Recruit, train and accredit traffic officers at all levels of government to international norms and standards.
- Introduce a massive safety enforcement and education drive levelled at motorists and scholars alike in order to reduce our accident rate by 25% per annum.
- Use mobile testing stations and mobile jails (for example, specially equipped buses) to get people found to be under the influence of alcohol off the streets immediately.

- Make speed control devices on heavy-duty and public passenger vehicles mandatory.
- Phase in mandatory daylight running lights on all vehicles.
- Reintroduce compulsory basic balance of third party insurance for car owners.
- Embark on a massive drive to impound all unroadworthy vehicles through properly manned roadblocks.

Public transport

Our cities and towns are deeply congested as a direct result of the lack of convenient, reliable and safe public transport. The DA will aim to create a system whereby private providers deliver public transport services, but are governed by a sound regulatory system to guarantee safety and affordability. The DA will:

- Widen commuters' options with a state subsidy for a single, multi-use ticket applicable to all certified public transport users, including taxi-commuters.
- Introduce training programmes for taxi drivers to improve driving skills and compliance with the rules of the road.
- Allow pensioners and the registered unemployed to travel free of charge on subsidised local transport during off-peak hours.
- Create a Public Transport Inspectorate, responsible for ensuring that all vehicles are safe and user-friendly (particularly for the disabled).

Commuter Rail is key to reducing city congestion. The DA will expand the rail network and introduce new and speedier services, particularly from high density residential areas and airports.

Rail infrastructure

The state must retain ownership of the rail infrastructure, but assets and operations currently owned by the state will be transferred to the private sector or capable metros where this will improve their effectiveness. Signal failures and cable theft are prevalent. The system needs modernising, and exposed cables in vulnerable areas need to be placed underground.

Only half of Metrorail's coaches are operational. The DA will embark on an accelerated refurbishment programme involving all private sector coachbuilders. All new coach acquisitions must be supplied in kit form to enable assembly and material beneficiation to be optimised locally.

We will expand the Railway Police Service to other transport zones, including bus stations and taxi ranks.



Aviation and airports

The key to success in air transport is sound regulation and adequate support from the state, and healthy private sector competition.

SAA holds a monopoly on international and domestic routes. The DA will privatise SAA, and ensure that it cannot dictate the size of the market. Any airline should be able to supply any domestic or international route.

South African airports are the front desk to tourists and the international investor, and they must be welcoming and efficient. The DA will:

- Privatise the Airports Company of South Africa and split it into a separate entity for each South African airport, so that airports can compete against each other for business.
- Bind these entities to strict quality and service standards.

LAND AND TITLE

The right of every citizen to acquire land and enjoy it freely is central to a society based on opportunity. A DA government will work on changing the terms and conditions through which people hold, use, occupy and access land so that all South Africans can acquire land and enjoy property with secure title and the right to use and enjoy it.

To give all South Africans better access to land ownership, the DA will:

- Offer all households, rural and urban, freehold title to the land they occupy wherever possible, to help them access the capital value of the land.
- Guarantee security of title to any land legitimately purchased.
- Expedite the opening of localised registers in the deeds registry. Backlogs in registration of titles constrain many from being able to properly enjoy their title, and local registers will speed up the process.
- Work to develop a functioning secondary property market in poor areas by working with developers to increase the supply of affordable housing stock below R200 000, and with banks to develop more affordable mortgage finance plans. The statutory limitation on the sale of subsidy-linked houses within a certain period acts as a barrier to secondary market transactions and must be reviewed.

Communal land tends to be under-developed, because the people who use it

often do not have tradable security of tenure. The DA will help to liberate the users of this land by establishing a commission to investigate and survey the land held in trust by traditional leaders. This will be followed by a consultative process with community stakeholders and traditional leaders to find means to provide freehold title to the people who live on this land.

ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY

A degraded environment limits possibilities for all of us. Yet, although our natural environment is unique and valuable, its contribution to our economy and our lives is often ignored in favour of short-term special interests.

The DA will integrate the sound management of our environment and energy economy into all our policies. Human development will be integrally linked to environmental preservation by, for example, expanding access to alternative energy sources, protecting our sites of natural value, strictly controlling water use, and expanding opportunities in fishing.

Governance

The management of the environment will be realigned to create more clear-cut responsibilities. The DA will:

- Create the Office of Sustainable Development in order to monitor alignment across all government departments with the national sustainable development strategy.
- Ensure that in every provincial executive committee the MEC responsible for economic planning is not also responsible for environmental management. This will provide improved checks and balances.

Climate change

South Africa cannot afford to wait in responding to the challenges of climate change. The DA will focus on a number of mitigation measures, including identifying appropriate areas for carbon sequestration, and sectoral targets for improved energy efficiency. Adaptation measures will involve increased investment in water infrastructure, more rigorous planning for extreme weather events and education for communities likely to be affected by changing climate conditions, particularly in the field of agriculture.





Energy

Eskom's monopoly reduces options for alternative energy usage. The DA will make space for alternative energy by allowing any electricity producer access to the national grid. The DA will aim to generate 15% of energy from alternative sources by 2020.

The eventual establishment of a price for carbon, and the rigorous enforcement of environmental laws, particularly related to mining, water and air quality, will serve to increasingly internalise energy costs and make other energy sources more viable. To further encourage this, the DA will:

- Submit all energy generation sources to the rigours of long term planning, and improve public participation in determining the country's future.
- Introduce tariff support and incentives for the uptake of renewable energy.
- Ensure that one million domestic solar water heaters are installed by 2014.
- Make increased energy efficiency a national priority.

Sites of natural value

South Africa is one of the world's most important areas of biodiversity. We must protect these resources fiercely. The DA will:

- Allow no mining in any national or provincial parks or within coastal public property under any circumstances.
- Stipulate that not all land must be regarded as suitable for development.
- Ensure that government provides ongoing workshops around the country to empower communities, NGOs and local councillors with the knowledge required to understand and contribute to environmental management.

Transport

The use of vehicles has negative environmental consequences. Transport policy must minimise these consequences as far as possible. The DA will:

- Legislate to phase in the use of catalytic converters and unleaded fuel on all private and public transport vehicles over three years
- Support the introduction of electric and hybrid fuel efficient passenger cars.
- Adopt policies to limit noise pollution, air pollution and traffic congestion in our urban environments.

Water management

South Africa is headed for a water crisis unless we respond now. The DA will reduce this threat by working to ensure that:

- The ecological reserve is determined and defended for all rivers.
- All water users are strictly licensed, and that serious penalties for contraventions of licences are enforced.
- Planning for future industrial, mining and agricultural expansion takes into account the true capacity of catchment areas.
- We work with all stakeholders to encourage sustainable water use.

Pollution from acid mine drainage is severely compromising our water systems. The DA will ensure that:

- Mines are held responsible for treating water before it is released into rivers.
- Prospecting and mining licences are granted in areas of the country where the effect of mining operations will have the least impact on water systems.
- The State funds research into the effects of microcystins on human health.



The public has a right to be informed about the threats of poor water quality where they exist. The DA will ensure that water quality data is regularly published by municipalities, and a national hotline is established to allow citizens to alert officials to local problems.

Fisheries and ocean management

The sustainable management of South Africa's fisheries resources is important for the creation of opportunities in coastal communities. The DA supports the principle of co-management of our marine resources, and we will ensure that:

- The number of fishery control officers is increased.
- A unit within the SAPS is established to concentrate on cracking organised criminal operations that distribute and sell illegally removed fish.
- Total allowable catch is determined by science, and is not open to political manipulation.
- New job creating opportunities are created in the fields of aquaculture and non-consumptive use.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Every opportunity the government facilitates depends on a public service governed by the basic values of professionalism, efficiency and accountability. Yet South Africans have come to expect indifference and incompetence from a public service driven, at heart, by a belief that it is there to serve its own interests rather than those of our citizens.

The DA will transform South Africa's public service into an institution we can all trust and value, by creating a culture of service, by recognising the need for talent, not political allegiance, and by putting in place systems that are efficient and accessible.

Leadership

A public service can only be as good as those who lead it. Public service managers under a DA government will be

appointed on the basis of expertise, not political allegiance. They will be properly motivated and remunerated to do their jobs, but they will be obliged to enter into performance agreements with regular assessments as a standard feature.

Centralisation has created a senior management service that is rigid and overwhelmed by regulations and paperwork. Senior managers will be given flexibility to administer their own departments, introduce their own management systems and hire and fire their own personnel. As part of this process, the DA will abolish the Central Bargaining Chamber so that departments can negotiate directly with employees' organisations on terms which meet their specific needs.

However, with greater power comes greater responsibility and public servants will be answerable for their actions and expected to meet measurable targets.

Talent

There is a skills crisis plaguing the public service, and the more specialised the position, the more government is struggling to find skills.

A culture of constant learning (Tshanduko) needs to be promoted in the public service. The DA will establish a College of Excellence to train public servants, offering ongoing training courses to all public servants and specialised programmes for management level staff.

Training will equip public services not only with the necessary skills needed to deliver services efficiently and effectively, but will also instil a strong work ethic based on the values of hard work, diligence, responsibility, political neutrality and selfless service.

In addition to this, the DA will:

- Undertake regular comprehensive skills audits of the public service to identify the skills required.
- Set up a public service bursary programme targeting





talented matriculants, where their tuition fees are paid for in a field of study related to the public service in exchange for a determined number of years of government service.

An astonishingly high turnover rate in the public service means that money and time spent on developing public servants is wasted and delivery stutters. The DA will keep skilled workers in the public service, by:

- Improving selection processes, with accurate job descriptions and duty sheets and a clear focus on finding the right skills to match them.
- Ensuring that outstanding performance is acknowledged so that hard-working, valuable public servants feel appreciated.
- Providing employee wellness services and benefits, so that public servants feel valued and that their wellbeing is important to their employer.

Performance

There must be constant and ongoing interaction between the government and its voters at all times. The DA will, therefore, introduce a Citizen's Charter, setting minimum standards of delivery so that the public service can be held to account. Standards will include:

- A maximum 30-day turnaround time for national correspondence.
- Clear complaints and feedback mechanisms.
- The publication of national performance indicators.

A corrupt public service hampers service delivery and limits opportunities to a select few. To root out corrupt public officials, the DA will set up a Unit, along the lines of the Heath Special Investigating Unit, to investigate and oversee the prosecution of public officials who are found guilty of corruption.

The financial mismanagement of government departments destroys public trust and compromises service delivery. The DA will:

- Amend the Public Finance Management Act so that the

Auditor-General submits audit reports on departments and public entities directly to Parliament, separate from the departmental annual reports, to ensure that these reports are given exclusive attention.

- Establish a steering committee of top officials which will intervene to help entities who have received a qualified or adverse audit opinion from the Auditor-General three times in a row. The committee will appoint a team of consultants to intervene.

The DA will require every public servant, led first and foremost by the senior management, to sign a performance contract when they enter the public service, containing measurable and relevant performance indicators. Performance management assessments will occur on a regular basis and incompetent or neglectful public servants will be rooted out of the public service.

Across-the board pay increases and seniority-based salaries must be replaced by compensation based primarily on performance – the value each public servant creates in his or her field.

Efficiency

The government often does not know how much it costs to deliver the most basic of services.

Activity based costing is a highly effective way of providing managers with accurate and relevant information about the cost of their organisation's products and services and whether these are being provided in the most cost effective way. The DA will use activity-based costing to obtain an accurate idea of cost of service delivery in all spheres of government.

The private provision of services funded by the state can cut government expenditure and improve quality because the services are being purchased from competitive providers.

New policies often ignore the costs of implementation to both the government and the private sector. The DA will





introduce a Compliance Costs Act to require all legislation tabled in Parliament to be accompanied by a certified statement of the likely compliance costs to the public and private sectors.

In addition, we propose that:

- Before any new regulations or policies are introduced, an assessment of their regulatory impact be done to ensure that we are not creating more red tape, and that new rules and regulations will have the desired effect.
- All current policies and regulations in every department be evaluated, through a Regulatory Impact Assessment Test, in order to identify cumbersome areas of over-regulation.

A properly functioning e-service will expand citizens' choices and opportunities to access basic services needed to better their own lives, and the DA will close the gap between Government On-line and the aspirations and expectations of end-users by:

- Using public education programmes to make it clear what services can be obtained on line;
- Expanding the service-rendering ability of the 1020 Call Centre along the lines of commercial call centres;
- Employing sufficient and appropriately skilled people at public internet terminals and equipping community development workers with mobile internet devices.

6. THE SOCIETY THAT HAS A PLACE FOR ALL

A country that is one nation with one future does not mean a country which does not celebrate and protect our individual cultures and our diversity. The DA will work to build a common South African identity, while creating opportunities for self-expression to the many cultures and identities which enrich our nation.

Education

Schools must play an important role in making South Africans more tolerant and more appreciative of the diversity around them. The DA will:

- Support a national school pledge, but ensure that the process of deciding on the wording of this pledge is properly inclusive, and that those in positions of political power uphold the values it underlines.
- Ensure that children are empowered to engage with the future of their country, by teaching them about their rights and their responsibilities. Outcomes Based Education must be reviewed comprehensively to ensure that teachers are well placed to teach these values effectively.

Media

The media can be a powerful tool to encourage multiculturalism, diversity and tolerance. The DA will never allow the media to be used to promote ideologies or spread propaganda. But we will:

- Promote a weekly two-hour debate slot on a popular national radio station that deals with current affairs, with the aim of being educative, provocative and driving people to connect with other South Africans.
- Use the national public broadcaster to give different cultural groups a platform to talk to other South Africans about their language and their beliefs.
- Spread positive information about South Africa by, for example, introducing a competition encouraging South Africans to express what it means to them to be a South African.

The arts

South Africa has a rich artistic heritage which can help to build bridges across people's different understandings of our country. Aside from helping to develop the infrastructure for an active arts industry, the DA will:

- Encourage each province to establish its own regional arts festival.
- Create an annual National Arts Awards ceremony, with the aim of encouraging new audiences and developing the stature of all artists in our society. Through this artwork, South Africans will be able to deepen their understandings of the different experiences of being a South African.

Heritage

The DA understands that there is never a single, definitive truth about South Africa's past, and the heritage of each South African is the heritage of the whole country.



To ensure that heritage sites are as reflective as possible of our diversity, the DA will create a Protector of National Heritage to act as an advocate for the protection of cherished places, artefacts and landscapes, to manage complaints and consult on the development of new heritage sites.

Public participation

Making people aware of their potential to affect the destiny of the country will contribute to their sense of ownership of the country and will make them feel more South African:

- All South Africans should have the capacity to really influence the way the country is run, and the DA will create a constituency-based electoral system which will make public representatives directly accountable and responsive to their voters.
- Significant decisions, such as changes to street names, must never be made without taking the opinions of key stakeholders and representatives into account.
- More people must be encouraged to play a more active role in bettering the society around them by becoming more involved in civil society. A DA government will, among other things, maintain a comprehensive database of civil society organisations needing assistance from the public, and pay money owed to civil society organisations timeously.

Diversity

All South Africans have the right to feel equally at home in this country and to have their voices heard. To celebrate our diversity, the DA will:

- Change the focus of public holidays from commemorating past events to celebrating South Africa. A "South Africa Day" will be established to celebrate all things South African.
- Depoliticise national awards by replacing politically influenced titles with more inclusive designations.
- Allow any South African group that meets certain criteria to apply to establish a representative body that will maintain and promote its cultural interests. These bodies will then be registered and able to access funding and various kinds of assistance to help them to represent and display their cultural identity.

7. SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD

DEFENCE

In an Open Opportunity Society for All, citizens know that their government is able to physically protect them from external aggression and, if necessary, defend the integrity of other countries who share our values. Yet poorly selected, badly trained and inadequately managed members of the SANDF are in no position to protect our borders or values, and the poor state of the SANDF's equipment makes their burden even greater. The DA will maximise the SANDF's strength and capability by structuring it for more efficiency, by re-instilling discipline and by focusing clearly on creating a professional force.

Defence force structure

The DA will ensure that the SANDF is in the best possible state of combat readiness at all times with a small, professional full-time defence force and a much larger reserve force ready to play its part at any given moment.

The full-time force will be organised so that two rapid deployment battle groups are available, capable of being deployed within 24 hours to anywhere on the continent. We will create a Reserve component of between 80,000 and 90,000 personnel, which is more than four times the current Reserve component of 17,750 personnel. Employers should be encouraged through tax incentives to allow employees to serve in the Reserves and prohibited in law from discriminating against employees who perform voluntary military service in the Reserves.

Military discipline

The SANDF is an essential service, and it should operate as such, with rigorous discipline. The DA will improve the Military Justice System through targeted interventions with staff to make their employment packages and working conditions more attractive. Finally, the DA will clarify the role, status and powers of the military unions, and ensure that unions are held accountable for their actions, by means of legislation.





Human resources

SANDF training is outdated, inadequate and superficial. The DA will ensure that:

- The quality and content of SANDF Basic Training is upgraded and maintained.
- The number of training hours dedicated to both weapons and equipment training is increased for all defence programmes;

The military is not sheltered employment. By raising the bar for all recruits, the DA will ensure that the SANDF attracts only the best. At the same time, we will develop the SANDF's profile as an employer of choice with a marketing campaign and by changing internal processes so that all soldiers have equal opportunities for career advancement. The DA will enforce high levels of fitness and health requirements for all soldiers.

The DA will ensure that military veterans who have served their country well are adequately protected with medical cover and retirement benefits.

Accountability and leadership

SANDF members, and even senior leadership figures, are frequently not held accountable for failing to meet objectives. The DA will improve the accountability of the SANDF by:

- Developing military leadership at all levels across the SANDF by rolling out the University Reserve Training Unit (URTU) at all universities.
- Ensuring that SANDF leadership is held directly and personally responsible for what takes place under their watch.

Peacekeeping operations

The SANDF must shoulder its part in the responsibility for peace support operations. But certain criteria must apply:

- No external deployments must be authorised until internal commitments are adhered to.

- No operation should be acceded to without an agreement on funding, clear entry and exit criteria, and a domestic and international mandate.
- A contingency fund for any peacekeeping operation must exist, including a budget line set aside for unplanned or emergency operations. This will allow Treasury a degree of certainty with regard to financial planning, and will also ensure that we do not over-commit ourselves or make promises we cannot keep, while still fulfilling our regional obligations.

Equipment

The equipment acquired in terms of the Arms Deal is not suitable for all South Africa's needs. The DA will ensure that future equipment replacement happens on a programmatic and affordable basis. Equipment acquired by the SANDF must be:

- Matched to the vision and mission of the SANDF.
- Suitable for the military objectives and tasks it has to carry out.
- At the cutting edge of technological developments.
- Able to add to the deterrent capacity of the SANDF.

There are serious problems with the SANDF's ammunition stocks, with old ammunition allegedly being issued for use in training and deployment exercises. The DA will ensure that all old ammunition is recalled and replaced within one year.

FOREIGN POLICY

In an open opportunity society for all, a government must be willing to promote the values that underpin this society in every corner of the world. Yet the values that South Africa has promoted are reflective of brutality and oppression, not freedom.

The DA will ensure that South Africa becomes a vigorous promoter of democracy and freedom, and a fierce defender of human rights.

Foreign policy based on human rights

By placing individual human rights and good governance principles at the centre of South Africa's foreign policy, the DA will steer South Africa towards becoming a respected



voice in the world community and a leader in promoting democracy and human rights. The DA will:

- At the United Nations, fully support the landmark “responsibility to protect” resolution which authorises interventions when a state violates the human rights of its own people.
- End the “African solidarity approach” adopted by South Africa in regional bodies such as the AU. Rather, we will align South Africa’s practices and interests with other democratic states on the continent.
- Actively seek to ensure that all AU members subject themselves to the African Peer Review Mechanism, with a clear understanding that they will be given the resources and support needed to carry reviews out efficiently and with integrity.
- Use aid, trade and other preferential arrangements to incentivise the spread of democracy and dis-incentivise undemocratic practices on the continent.
- Push hard for an agreement in the African Union that Robert Mugabe must step down and the outcome of the most recent election be given effect.

A rules-based multilateral world order

The DA will work for a rules-based international order founded on multilateralism and a shared respect for common principles. We support attempts to reform international institutions, including the United Nations Security Council, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These organisations must better reflect current global realities, including a stronger voice for representatives of the developing world.

Advancing conflict resolution in Africa

South Africa, as one of the strongest voices on the continent, must play a part in helping to promote democracy and stability. The DA will:

- In alliance with our international partners, address the shortcomings of the African Union peacekeeping operations and pressurise the G8 nations to implement their commitment of support for the build-up of five African peacekeeping brigades.

- Establish public and cultural diplomacy agencies as an indirect but influential way of reducing conflict and instability elsewhere. These agencies will help export our own values, examples and aspirations of openness and prosperity to our continental and regional neighbours.
- Support the use of judicial instruments, including the International Criminal Court (ICC), to bring warlords and rights transgressors to justice.
- Use South Africa’s diplomatic strength to help repatriate billions stolen from the people of Africa by predatory leaders, using the Kimberley Process – which has helped De Beers cleanse blood diamonds from the world market – as a model.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

In an open opportunity society for all, the government uses the international stage to further its citizens’ interests and make more opportunities available to them. South Africa has neglected many opportunities and allowed ideology to trump realism in many of its international negotiations.

The DA will use South Africa’s international muscle to bolster South Africa and Africa’s trade, press for institutional reforms of the subsidy systems and policies of the EU, the US and others, which marginalise our region and markets, and promote our integration into the global marketplace.

South Africa’s stance in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and in other international bodies must work to the advantage of South Africa’s export industries and must be driven by trade interest, not ideology.

Specifically, the DA will:

- Press for the extension of the US Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), from which Africa as a whole has benefited.
- Lobby the European Union (EU) to ensure that its ineffective EBA (Everything But Arms) trade access initiative for Africa is reconfigured. In the light of the 2008 Doha development round collapse, we will re-initiate efforts to negotiate a free trade agreement between the Southern African Customs Union and the US.
- Work for consistency in requirements imposed by various regional bodies which often require contradictory positions.



- Continue to hold G8 nations to their 2005 agreement to double aid to Africa by 2010 and to provide debt relief for Africa's poorest nations – but to explicitly acknowledge that good governance is the key requirement for such enhanced assistance.

The DA will continue to help South African companies to move into Africa. In particular, we will help to grow development corridors, such as the successful Johannesburg-Maputo corridor, by:

- Prioritising the removal of bureaucratic and administrative impediments.

- Providing transparent and accountable commitments to the private sector to safeguard their investments.
- Providing neighbouring countries with technology and skills assistance.

Chinese investment in Africa is becoming increasingly important, and the DA will engage with the Chinese government to establish the rules of the road regarding its economic involvement in South Africa. China's rapidly expanding influence on the continent holds promise for Africa, especially for infrastructural development and exports. But there are also many concerns about China's record on the environment and worker protection.





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