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A BETTER SOUTH AFRICA

Introduction by Tony Leon MP – Leader of the Opposition and of the Democratic Alliance

Dear Voter,

The Democratic Alliance believes in the power and potential of the South African people. We believe in our nation's future. We are proudly South African. We marvel at the miracle of our country as it renews and heals itself after centuries of strife and struggle and discrimination.

While we acknowledge the past, we cannot live in it. We are not offering you, the people of South Africa, "a better yesterday". Our prospectus is for the future. The Democratic Alliance, together with the people of South Africa, can create an open, opportunity society in which every South African enjoys freedom and security and prosperity. No one must be left behind: every man, woman and child must be given a chance to fulfil his potential and to reach her destination.

Our profound belief is that each individual South African is precious. It is from this core value that all our policies and programmes flow.

We also believe that the individual can be strengthened by bonds of family and a supportive community. We acknowledge that South Africa is a nation of communities and we celebrate the rich diversity of language and culture and religion which we both respect and wish to strengthen.

This is our vision. It inspires and motivates the Democratic Alliance. It is in pursuit of this vision that we offer our election manifesto and our Party in the service of the people of South Africa in the 2004 election.

South Africa has made significant and impressive progress as a nation over the past ten years. We have established a functioning democracy; we have a Constitution with an entrenched Bill of Rights that protects individuals and communities; our economy is underpinned by a responsible fiscal policy that has achieved important reductions in debt and inflation; certain basic services are now in the hands of many of the people. Once again, we are proud members of the international family of nations.

We rejoice in these achievements – and we are very proud to have played a full role in helping to achieve them.

But for millions of South Africans, these successes have been overshadowed by the ANC government's broken contract with the people of South Africa: its failure to deliver the better life it promised in 1994.

Because government has failed to achieve meaningful gross domestic product growth and to break the cycle of unemployment and bring down levels of violent crime, it has, in a very real sense, failed the people.

Since this government has been in office, at least one million jobs have been lost; a quarter of a million South Africans have been murdered; and violent crimes like rape and child abuse have increased dramatically and disastrously. The disposable income of the poorest South Africans has fallen whilst a staggering 21 million South Africans still live in poverty. Although the ANC has accumulated more and more power unto itself, the people of South Africa have been left behind, outside the winners' circle – reserved for the ANC party elite – when it comes to jobs and safety and real delivery.

The apocalypse of death from AIDS has raged across our country unchecked for more than a decade. We now face the spectre of five million of our fellow South Africans diagnosed HIV positive. It is estimated that nearly 500 000 of them will die of AIDS before this year is out.

South Africa deserves better.

And South African can have better! That is the core of our campaign and the crux of our message.

That is why the Democratic Alliance has spent two years drafting this manifesto – in discussion with the people of South Africa and some of our country's top thinkers. It is a programme for real change that will deliver to the people of our great country, proper security and lasting prosperity; and bring opportunity and hope to their lives and justice into their midst.

Ten key pledges in our manifesto include:

- Creating the conditions for one million new, sustainable jobs within five years, by promoting policies and conditions that will lead to at least 6% GDP growth per annum; by reforming labour market laws; and by creating new opportunities for skills development.
- Deploying 150 000 trained and equipped police officers on the streets by 2007 and bolstering and prioritising the fight against crime;
- Providing free anti-retroviral drugs to every person living with AIDS. By making greater use of generic drugs, we can easily do this within the existing health budget.
- Safeguarding our democracy and reviving the rainbow nation. Preventing further ANC encroachment upon the Constitution, and guaranteeing South Africa against the perils of a one-party state and the creeping authoritarianism of the ANC; restoring the link to the voter.
- Introducing a basic income grant of R110 per month for every person living in poverty without access to another welfare grant, to be funded through a mix of savings, a fractional increase in the budget deficit and related measures. South Africa remains one of the most unequal societies in the world, and the humanitarian, social and economic costs of not providing for the destitute are unacceptable.
- Dealing swiftly and decisively with corruption in both the public sector and the private sector.
- Ensuring that all South African children emerge from school literate and numerate at internationally benchmarked levels, and fully prepared for the modern economy.
- Giving poor people more choice in housing, and creating living communities, not slums.
- Building confidence in our economy by rapid privatisation, by freeing the labour market, by removing the crutches holding up inefficient state monopolies and by sending out an unambiguous welcome message to potential investors.
- Striving for democracy, restoring respect for human rights to the centre of our international relations – and in particular, addressing the crisis in Zimbabwe with a Road Map to Democracy – and ending South Africa's association with rogue regimes and autocratic rulers.

The Democratic Alliance has grown to become South Africa's only serious alternative to the ANC. We are committed to, and motivated by, the people's cause. Our support has grown among voters from all communities, from all races and backgrounds. Other than the governing party, we are the only political organisation in South Africa to have political reach in every province, capable of forming the central pillar of a democratic alternative.

As a nation, we have faced serious challenges together. In this election, we face a choice: carrying on with the failed policies and old divisions of the past – or going forward united with a prospectus for change.

It is in this spirit – and with great hope and optimism – that I introduce the Democratic Alliance manifesto for the 2004 general election.

Read it. Respond to it. Join our campaign for real change in our country. Because South Africa deserves better.

*Best wishes,
Tony Leon*



Why South Africa deserves better: The ANC's failure to deliver: 1994 - 2004

In every key area, the ANC has failed to deliver on the promises made in its 1994 and 1999 election manifestos. The ANC goes into this election with a serious credibility problem. For ten years, it has made promises to the South African people; and for ten years, it has failed to deliver on them.

1. CRIME - In the ten years since the ANC came to power, crime has increased in all the key areas. Significantly, violent crime has increased across the board. At the same time, the South African Police Service has shrunk. There are fewer police officers on the street and the SAPS is under-resourced. Courts are overloaded and prosecutions have declined.

2. UNEMPLOYMENT - The ANC's failure to make the tough calls which would bolster growth and increase jobs means that there are more unemployed people now than there have ever been in South African history. Job-crushing labour legislation, over-regulation of the economy and a tax regime which makes us internationally uncompetitive have driven down growth and driven up unemployment.

3. THE ECONOMY - During the past ten years the South African economy has failed to attract significant foreign direct investment; investment has in fact declined. South Africa ranks below comparable developing countries when it comes to competitiveness and economic freedom, and it remains defined by inequality.

4. HIV/AIDS - Some seven million people are currently infected with HIV/AIDS. AIDS remains the highest single cause of death in our country. It has caused life expectancy to drop dramatically. After five years of relentless pressure, including a judgement against it by the Constitutional Court, the ANC government finally conceded and agreed to implement an anti-retroviral roll-out plan. But it has yet to be properly implemented.

5. HEALTH CARE - Under the ANC, the South African health system has fallen into decline. The ANC has treated the concerns of our doctors and nurses with contempt, and it has refused to address their horrifying working conditions. As a result, it has driven many of our desperately needed medical professionals out of the public sector and out of the country. Poor planning means that our hospitals have become more and more dilapidated and ill-equipped, and patients have to queue for longer and longer.

6. POVERTY - A third of South African households, or 21 million people, live in poverty. A large number of poverty relief programmes have failed, and the ANC has failed to deliver basic services to a large majority of rural households. Over ten years, billions of welfare rands went unspent by the ANC government.

7. EDUCATION - South African education is characterised by gross shortages in staff and facilities. Few children reach matric, and of those who do, only 15% pass maths and science. The number of teachers is declining. The physical standard of schools is declining. There has been no significant increase in adult literacy. The number of learners writing matric has fallen, and although we spend more money on education than any other country in Africa, South African learners have the worst numeric skills on the continent.

8. HOUSING - 70 % of houses built by the government are of an unacceptable standard. Cost-cutting has produced hundreds of thousands of uninhabitable houses, which in turn has precipitated rent boycotts. 1.8 million South Africans still live in shacks. 30% are forced to use paraffin or candles for heat and light, and only 32% of South African homes have piped water.

9. ZIMBABWE - In Zimbabwe, the ANC has ignored human rights abuses, an illegal election, the plundering of an economy and the tyrannical reign of a dictator; it has supported illegal land invasions and turned a blind eye to the systematic destruction of a once prosperous country. The ANC's failure to act has damaged the South African economy and choked off investment to the entire SADC region. It has also severely dented our country's standing in the international community and sabotaged the implementation of NEPAD.

10. GOVERNMENT EXTRAVAGANCE – Too often, the ANC government has turned its back on those in real need, and instead devoted precious resources to pampering its own politicians – with a personal jet for the President and lavish expenditure on overseas trips and consultants. Instead of confronting poverty with a Basic Income Grant, it has spent billions of rands on new weapons. Further billions are piling up unspent because provincial governments can't or won't spend the money allocated towards social development.

11. DEMOCRACY – Our young constitutional order is threatened by the ANC government's increasing willingness to undermine the principles and practice of democracy. Supposedly independent organisations, including the SABC and the SAPS, are headed by ANC loyalists; the watchdogs which are supposed to hold the Executive to account have been transformed into powerless lapdogs; and provinces have too often become mere extensions of the will of the national government.



INTRODUCTION

The DA's manifesto for real change is divided into five parts, each addressing one of the five key challenges that must be met in order to realise our vision for an open and prosperous South Africa.

1. Creating opportunity

The DA's top priority, along with fighting crime, will be to create opportunities for South Africans to use their talents and better their lives. We will fire up our economy so that it will generate one million new, sustainable jobs within five years. We will give all children the chance to pursue their dreams by making schools work better, and we will empower the marginalised and poor with a broad-based programme of economic empowerment and an accelerated land reform programme.

2. Fighting crime

Ordinary South Africans deserve a revamped criminal justice system that works for them, not for criminals. The DA will ensure that the fight against crime is restored to the top of the government's agenda. We will put 36 000 new police officers on the street, and properly train and equip them so they can do their jobs. We will ensure justice for the victims of crime with a tough sentencing policy, a fund for victims of crime and emergency measures to create more courts. We will keep prisoners where they belong by using boot camps and by breaking up gangs. We will ensure that the fight against corruption starts at the top, by reopening the investigation into the arms deal.

3. Improving living conditions

The DA recognises that progress is impossible without dramatic improvements in the living conditions of impoverished South Africans. Policies aimed at stimulating economic growth and job creation will bring this about in the medium and long term. But the reality of the present is that millions of South Africans are destitute. The DA will ensure that no South African is without food, water and other basic requirements of survival by introducing a Basic Income Grant. At the same time, we will create an affordable, effective and patient-centred health system and take action against HIV/AIDS with credible treatment and prevention programmes.

4. Building communities

The DA recognises that real change for the better also depends on building stable and healthy communities in which families can grow and thrive. We will act decisively to make local governments both financially accountable and community-focused. We will eliminate the housing backlog with creative partnerships between the government and the people. We will deliver a transport system which is safe, reliable and affordable. We will preserve our natural resources, for ourselves and for future generations, in a responsible and sustainable way, and we will protect the cultural identities and languages of our diverse population.

5. Safeguarding democracy

The 1994 election was a social and political miracle. A nation which had been torn apart by conflict was brought together peacefully under a democratically elected government. But unless we fiercely guard our fledgling democracy and our newfound peace, we risk losing everything we have worked so hard to gain. The DA will be vigilant in ensuring that South Africa lives up to the democratic values of accountability, responsiveness and openness reflected in our Constitution.

CREATING OPPORTUNITY

1. IT'S ALL ABOUT JOBS!

Without a single-minded commitment to creating jobs, real change for the better in South Africa will be impossible. The shackles on growth and job creation must be removed, and all South Africans must be given access to the opportunities they need to prosper.

The DA will make increasing employment a top priority, and it will make faster economic growth non-negotiable, in order to create the conditions for the generation of one million new, real and sustainable jobs over the next five years.



WHAT THE DA WILL DO

If South Africa continues on its present track, economic models forecast that our growth rate is unlikely to exceed 1,5% a year. At this rate of growth, rather than creating jobs, we will lose another one million jobs over the next five years. On the other hand, if we put in place measures to fire up our economy sufficiently that it expands at a rate of at least 6% a year, we will see the creation of at least one million proper new jobs within five years. A 6% growth rate is not outside the bounds of possibility. But it requires the introduction of a comprehensive package of measures to reform our economy into one that is growth-friendly and jobs-friendly.

More investment, less regulation and one million jobs

To create the conditions for one million new jobs, South Africa must build confidence in our economy and stimulate investment. The DA will do this by:

- Accelerating privatisation. This will create more opportunities for investors; improve the efficiency and profitability of industries, such as telecommunications, which are critical to our economic growth prospects; and ease fiscal pressures by reducing government debt.
- Reducing the tax burden to a level which makes us more internationally competitive. The DA will abolish capital gains tax, estate duties, donations taxes and secondary tax on companies; it will halve the tax on retirement funds; and it will eliminate fiscal drag and keep tax on the income of individuals and companies to a minimum.
- Removing unnecessary regulatory barriers. High regulatory costs are associated with more poverty, higher unemployment, longer delays and more corruption. The DA will scrap those regulations which are not essential for health, safety or the protection of the environment, and it will subject all new laws to a Regulatory Impact Assessment.
- Developing a system of incentives, including, for example, reimbursement of certain start-up costs, to encourage foreign businesses to locate in South Africa.
- Creating certainty and transparency around black economic empowerment, and taking the cost of implementing BEE into account in reviewing legislation.
- Lobbying for the removal of trade barriers and the extension of free trade agreements.
- Introducing a sunset clause into the Employment Equity Act.
- Making property ownership more affordable by, for example, abolishing all tax on property transfers to first-time property owners.
- Cutting telephone and Internet costs through privatisation and competition.
- Removing all exchange controls within five years.

A jobs-friendly environment

Pro-poor policies must go hand-in-hand with pro-jobs policies. It is crucial that we halt the growing trend towards mechanisation of jobs and the phenomenon of “jobless growth”. The DA will stimulate job creation by:

- Radically amending labour laws to create more flexibility and make it easier for employers to take on new workers. As a result of rigid labour laws, an estimated 40% of South African companies have taken specific measures to cut jobs.
- Reviewing minimum wage legislation to make it more appropriate to our economic environment.
- Introducing a two-tier labour market system. The first tier would be the formal economy, where labour law requirements can be implemented with a relatively small impact on jobs. The second tier would be the entry level, labour-intensive sector, which would be freed from compliance with legislation which discourages low-skilled employment, and where the minimum wage would be set at a level equivalent to the state old-age pension.
- Creating Export Processing Zones in labour-intensive industries in which minimum wages will not apply.
- Enhancing South Africa’s position as a world-class tourist destination. Tourism is a fertile source of low-skilled jobs.
- Allowing businesses to deduct 150% of the first R2 000 per month of new employees’ salaries for tax purposes.
- Letting households deduct domestic workers’ salaries from their taxable income.
- Making available Opportunity Vouchers of R3 000 each to about 300 000 matriculants and 200 000 young unemployed people per year, to be used either for further education, for subsidisation of their employment or to start a small business. Funds will be obtained from various currently under-utilised job-creation funds, including the Umsobumvu Fund. Recipients will be able to decide for themselves how to use the vouchers, thus maximising the effectiveness of the system and simplifying its administration.

Skills for a booming economy

The South African economy is starved of skilled professionals. There are about 500 000 vacancies around the country for people with particular skills, and until we rectify this shortage, our economic growth rate will be constrained to below 3%. The DA will raise skills levels and make our economy more productive by:

- Abolishing immigration quotas and other unnecessary restrictions on skilled immigrants, and actively encouraging the immigration of skilled people.
- Scrapping the existing ineffective SETA system, and instead introducing a programme of incentives to businesses to encourage the development of an extensive, private sector-driven skills training programme.
- Safeguarding the academic freedom of universities and technikons. Only by allowing these institutions to judge for themselves the needs of the market can they properly meet the skills requirements of our economy.
- Opening up the tertiary education sector to new entrants by welcoming the presence of quality foreign institutions and supporting low-cost, high-quality tertiary education initiatives.
- Ensuring that there are enough good quality technical colleges to meet the country's needs.

2. A PARTNERSHIP FOR EMPOWERMENT



There are unacceptable income, opportunity and skills gaps in our society. The prosperity of all South Africans hinges on closing these gaps. But all too often, economic empowerment has come to mean racial quotas and crony enrichment, with opportunities available only to a small elite.

Real change for the better will happen only when bold, accelerated steps are taken to improve the lives of all South Africans who are disadvantaged as a consequence of South Africa's past, not just a privileged few.

The DA will put in place policies and programmes that will ensure equal opportunity for all, and that focus on merit, not race.

Equal opportunity for all

The main focus of empowerment should be on empowering South Africans who at present do not have the skills to take advantage of opportunities to improve the quality of their lives. People are empowered when they are able to take control of their own lives and destinies.

Deracialising ownership of large, listed companies is desirable, but it is no substitute for broad-based empowerment, which must address the urgent needs of ordinary people at grassroots level.

Providing opportunities to work is the surest way of empowering the marginalised and the poor. The DA will ensure that the economy grows in such a way as to create as many opportunities as possible for those whose previous disadvantage is denying them opportunities now. The DA will:

- Accelerate economic growth so that our economy can create more jobs.
- Introduce skills development programmes to boost skills levels.
- Make property ownership easier and cheaper, particularly for first-time property owners. Formal ownership of land is a ticket out of poverty.
- Small and medium businesses are critical to empowerment. The DA will use Business Support Centres to help entrepreneurs set up and run their own businesses, and it will remove unnecessary regulations and improve access to finance by incentivising venture capital.
- Lower the barriers to entry into the jobs market by amending burdensome labour legislation.
- Build a high-quality education system so that children are prepared for the knowledge economy of the 21st century.
- Introduce effective poverty alleviation programmes to ensure that the weak and vulnerable, and those for whom there is simply no place in South Africa's economy, are able to survive.

An end to quotas

Our challenge is to redress inequalities based on race without defining our future as being race-based, entrenching entitlement, or undermining democracy because of a lack of delivery and unfulfilled promises.

Proactive steps need to be taken to overcome historical disadvantage and right the wrongs of the past. But these steps must not help those who are no longer in need of help, or exclude from the economy those who are not defined as disadvantaged.

By interpreting affirmative action as discriminatory quotas, pure and simple, the ANC government has failed to meet this challenge. It has sown seeds of new bitterness in our diverse society; excluded many skilled and capable people; and placed severe constraints on economic growth. It has also compromised the delivery of critical services like housing, water and protection, thereby punishing many of the people its empowerment policies are intended to help.

The DA will strive to eliminate racial imbalances in our economy with measures that focus on individual merit, not race, and which strive for equality of opportunity. We will not allow empowerment to become a form of window-dressing and elite empowerment which leaves most of the people no better off than before.

The public sector

The DA will strive to eliminate racial imbalances in the public sector through carefully managed programmes.

With regard to appointments, race will not automatically take precedence over talent and skills, but will be considered along with other relevant factors. The DA will consider the need to promote diversity only when two candidates are otherwise found to be of equal merit. The DA will balance diversity with excellence. Programmes to correct imbalances will not be reduced to simplistic head-counting exercises.

With regard to procurement, the DA will give preference to small and medium businesses which are not firmly established, but can show they are able to do the job, irrespective of the race of the owners. But it will set a ceiling on the value of tenders for which preferential treatment can be given.

The private sector

The private sector and civil society should be encouraged to implement empowerment programmes, and the government should help whenever asked to do so. In addition, the DA will:

- Increase the number of stakeholders in the private sector by encouraging imaginative employee share option schemes through the tax regime.
- Amend the Employment Equity Act to make it more attractive to employers. The DA will, for example, exclude small businesses from its provisions and emphasise incentives rather than coercion.
- Incorporate sunset clauses into affirmative action laws, so that they automatically expire in 2010.

3. LIBERATION THROUGH EDUCATION

All children deserve the chance to pursue their dreams and develop their talents. Education is the key. But too many South African schools cannot provide pupils with even the basic fundamentals of learning.

The DA will ensure that all South African children emerge from school literate and numerate at internationally benchmarked levels, and that their education has fully prepared them for the modern economy. The key to achieving this will be to take control of schooling away from the state and give it back to parents and teachers.



WHAT THE DA WILL DO

Harder-working schools

Where schools are already performing well, the DA will give them the freedom to manage themselves. Schools that are delivering quality education must not be subjected to unnecessary interference, centralisation and stultifying uniformity. The DA pledges to repeal all laws which have taken control over children's education away from schools and governing bodies and placed it in the hands of the state.

Where schools are not performing, the DA will:

- Use targeted intervention programmes to address specific problems.
- Establish “Whole School Development Teams” to work directly with the weakest schools.
- Give principals of poorly performing schools three years to meet set performance targets or face removal from office.

The DA will introduce a voucher system whereby pupils can take their education vouchers to any registered school of their choice. The state will monitor standards and withdraw registration if it is not providing education of an acceptable quality.

South Africa needs to mobilise all available resources to provide pupils and teachers with well-constructed and properly equipped schools. The DA will eliminate the backlog in schools and classrooms within five years through a massive local and international fund-raising and construction effort.

It will also:

- Institute a nation-wide bursary voucher programme to give the brightest 350 000 children from poor families the chance of a better education. The programme will cost R1,2 billion per year when it has been fully implemented, which is easily budgeted for within the scope of the current education budget.
- Guarantee a “core minimum” of resources for each school, including electricity and running water.
- Fund schools on the basis of the income levels of the communities they serve, so that schools in poor areas receive more state funding.
- Increase the range of options available to poor parents by requiring every school to accept a minimum percentage of non fee-paying pupils.

More effective teaching

Teachers

The DA will encourage more people to become teachers, and allow teachers already employed to teach more effectively, by:

- Immediately putting a stop to centralised teacher appointments and redeployments. It must be left entirely up to schools to decide whom to employ.
- Letting schools use their own funds to retain hard-to-replace teachers.
- Introducing programmes to encourage talented people to see teaching as an exciting career, including bursaries for quality candidates.
- Tying teacher evaluation to real consequences. The DA will reward teachers on the basis of performance, not years of service.
- Allowing Master Teachers with scarce skills to rove between schools to share their knowledge more widely.
- Introducing regulations to support the authority of principals, including codes of conduct and disciplinary procedures.

Curriculum

The DA will reverse the damage caused by the ill-conceived Curriculum 2005 by introducing a syllabus containing specific guidelines and clearly defined outcomes. It will also:

- Give all children an email address and Internet access through their schools within five years. The DA will enforce a 50% reduction on telephone and Internet costs for schools and run a programme to re-use donated outdated computers.
- Conduct national exams in key subjects at Grades 3, 6, 9 and 12.
- Allow governing bodies to decide on the language of instruction.

Higher education

The South African economy is dependent on a steady supply of well-qualified graduates, which can only be produced by well-functioning tertiary institutions. The DA commits itself to:

- Safeguarding the academic freedom of universities and technikons.
- Providing tax rebates for tertiary education.

- Supporting low-cost, high-quality tertiary education initiatives.
- Correcting the imbalance between university and technikon student numbers.
- Welcoming the presence of quality foreign institutions.

5. LAND FOR ALL

Change for the better requires altering South Africa's skewed patterns of land ownership. Access to productive land will open up enormous new opportunities to South Africa's poor.

The DA will ensure that rural land reform is not about simply filling numerical quotas: our land reform programme will be carried out with the very clear objectives of making life better for the beneficiaries of land reform and increasing the prosperity of South Africa as a whole.



WHAT THE DA WILL DO

More effective land reform

The DA will increase the budget for land reform from R1,6 billion to R3 billion, to allow the Land Claims Commission to do its job more effectively. The small increase in the size of the budget, in comparison to the national budget as a whole (R331,5 billion), means that the increase can easily be accommodated.

The slow and cumbersome processes involved in releasing land will be tackled. The DA will:

- Separate beneficiary selection from land acquisition, so that land can be acquired without having to first identify a beneficiary.
- Devolve the job of finding and acquiring land to the private sector.
- Refer land tenure cases to ordinary courts, to take the pressure off the Land Claims Court.
- Review procedures to ensure that land reform does not interfere unreasonably with the use of land while negotiations are taking place.

Meaningful post-settlement support

Successful farming requires access to agricultural extension services and training. The ANC government has sorely neglected this. To improve access to support, the DA will:

- Offer rebates on loans to established farmers taking part in mentorship schemes.
- Ensure that agricultural research bodies are properly funded, and are left to manage themselves without political interference.
- Permit no land restitution to take place without a prior, negotiated agreement on post-settlement development.

Tenure reform

The DA will conduct a land rights inquiry as part of a review of communal land ownership rights. On the basis of this inquiry, we will introduce legislation for a fair and just communal land rights system.

To make property ownership easier for all South Africans, the DA will:

- Abolish all tax on property transfers for first-time property owners.
- Develop a simple, low-cost form of registration, and definition of land boundaries by description. High standard and costly land surveys should not be a precondition for the granting of secure ownership rights if they are going to cause long delays.

The DA will put in place strong measures to prohibit the unlawful invasion of any portion of land for occupation, farming, grazing, mining or prospecting.



FIGHTING CRIME



According to Interpol statistics, South Africa still ranks as one of the most violent countries in the world among those not at war. Few people feel secure in their homes or on the streets. Crime goes undetected and criminals go unpunished. Rising levels of crime are threatening everything South Africans have achieved, and everything our future holds for us.

The DA views crime as a national crisis. South Africans deserve a criminal justice system that will guarantee their safety, restore their confidence in society and show would-be criminals that crime does not pay. We will ensure that such a system is put in place.

A police force that means business

Crime is a national crisis, but the SAPS is in disarray. The DA will win the war on crime with a fundamental overhaul of the SAPS, aimed at transforming it into an efficient and effective force which can be held properly accountable for its performance.

To do its job properly, the SAPS must be properly staffed, trained and equipped. The DA will:

- Increase the number of police officers on the beat to 150 000 by recruiting 36 000 new police officers, who will serve in areas most directly affected by crime. The DA will recruit and train 12 000 entry-level constables each year for three years, at a total cost of R4,5 billion. A real increase of approximately 4% in the current Safety and Security budget will be necessary. The bulk of the expenditure will fall in year three, by which time the rationalisation of the SAPS' civilian component, as well as outsourcing, will have generated considerable savings.
- Free police officers for active crime-prevention by outsourcing non-core activities, such as vehicle maintenance and secretarial services.
- Create a committed and skilled police service by introducing a comprehensive programme of in-service training adhering to a world-class syllabus.

The public has a right to demand certain minimum levels of service. Members of the SAPS should have to meet quantifiable performance targets, and failure to meet these targets should have consequences. The DA will:

- Conclude performance-based contracts with SAPS employees at all levels, from the National Commissioner to Station Commissioners.
- Require each Station Commissioner to make a promise on the level of service that his or her station will provide. His or her job will be forfeited if targets are not met.
- Negotiate a set of minimum performance indicators with unions, with which all SAPS members must comply. It is not acceptable, for example, to have cops who cannot write or drive a car, or who have a criminal record. A simple exam on basic police principles will identify officers who can no longer be accommodated in the SAPS, and these officers will be encouraged to retire.
- Clarify the law on use of force, so that police officers know where they stand. The law must take account of the situations of high stress and danger in which officers frequently find themselves.

Policing must become smarter by using and collecting crime intelligence information better. The DA will:

- Create an information-sharing network linking up the Criminal Records Centre, the Integrated Ballistics Identification Centre, the DNA database, the Forensic Science Laboratory and international agencies.
- Carry out regular victim surveys to assess real crime levels rather than reported levels, which are often underestimates.

The DA will establish Municipal Police Forces in municipalities it controls. These will be funded from council funds and will be responsible for protecting people living or working within the municipality's borders. The DA has already proved the worth of this policy in Cape Town. The Cape Town municipal police force has been responsible for a 60% reduction in crime in the central city, and crime statistics are now on a par with most international cities, and better than London and New York.

People in rural areas are in need of special protection. The DA will create a new specialized rural protection service division in the SAPS, which will be professionally trained and properly equipped to carry out border controls and rural policing.

Tackling corruption

Corruption in all forms must be dealt with swiftly and decisively. The DA will:

- Co-ordinate corruption-fighting agencies better by introducing legislation to reduce overlapping mandates.
- Drastically increase the capacity of the forensic auditing division in the office of the Auditor-General.

The multi-billion rand arms deal was riddled with corruption and driven by vested interests. It has saddled South Africa with a debt that we will be paying off for decades – in return for weapons which are often inappropriate and even useless. The DA will reopen the investigation into arms deal contracts, and take every possible legal step to cancel the remaining components.

Justice for victims and punishment for the violent

South Africans deserve a criminal justice system that works for the victims of crime, not the criminals. The key to restoring faith in the justice system lies in ensuring the competence of those working in the system; providing them with the resources and skills they need; and ensuring that those who transgress are appropriately punished.

Criminals must know that crime does not pay. Appropriate prison sentences must be used to keep dangerous and repeat offenders behind bars. The DA will apply the following principles:

- No bail for anyone facing a violent crime charge who has previously been convicted of a violent crime.
- “Double time” for criminals preying on children and the elderly, and for crimes using guns.
- No more automatic parole credits for repeat offenders.
- No early release or parole for prisoners who are not drug free.
- A mandatory life sentence for the murder of a judicial or police officer.

The DA will provide real protection to victims of crime by:

- Creating a Fund for Victims of Crime, to be funded by the confiscation of property by the Asset Forfeiture Unit and other fines.
- Including a chapter on the rights of victims of crime in the Criminal Procedures Act. This will include the right of victims to have full information on the criminal and the crime; to have proper protection against intimidation; and to be heard in court before sentence is passed.
- Incorporating a Victim’s Charter into the Constitution.
- Establishing a toll-free hotline for crime victims.
- Drawing up a register of convicted sex offenders, which will be made available to police stations and to schools, crèches and other places where children are likely to be found.

Justice delayed is justice denied. The DA will eliminate inordinate delays in the justice system by:

- Renting empty premises in metropolitan areas to set up temporary courts to process less serious cases.
- Encouraging private sector attorneys to provide help on a pro bono basis.
- Rewarding prosecutors on the basis of competency, not years of service, to retain accumulated skills without keeping the dead wood. The DA will also permit regional variations in pay to maintain optimum staffing levels.
- Outsourcing a large proportion of the prosecution services to the bar and side bar, to cut costs, reduce corruption and speed up the processing of cases.
- Increasing the number of courts by using temporary courts and weekend courts.
- Increasing the jurisdiction of the Small Claims Court to R10 000, and allowing Magistrate’s Courts to be used as Small Claims Courts in areas where there are no Small Claims Courts.

Keeping the prison doors closed

Ordinary South Africans will not feel safe until prisoners can be kept where they belong – in prison. But our prisons system is in a crisis. Cells are overcrowded; dangerous prisoners escape and there seems to be as much crime in prisons as outside. The DA will tighten prison security, keep prisoners inside and keep prisons crime-free by:

- Using foreign and non-governmental expertise to root out corruption.
- Breaking up gangs by isolating gang leaders and dismissing warders involved in gang activities.
- Allowing prisoners to be employed by private firms, under prescribed conditions, to help pay for their keep and learn skills.
- Enforcing a stricter Code of Conduct than is currently in place.
- Ensuring that prison staff are motivated and competent by rewarding outstanding service and using merit as the only criterion for promotion.

The DA will not permit abnormally early releases of convicted prisoners simply to reduce overcrowding. But overcrowding makes proper management of prisons impossible. To address the problem, the DA will:

- Use “boot camps”, patterned after military basic training, for young adults. Successful completion of the programme will allow offenders to be released to community supervision, while failure will mean re-sentencing.
- Use more diversion programmes for first-time minor offenders.
- Immediately implement an electronic monitoring system to keep track of prisoners on parole.

The DA will put a stop to mass Presidential pardons, and introduce legislation to ensure that transparency and sensitivity prevail in granting such pardons.



IMPROVING LIVING CONDITIONS

1. ALLEVIATING POVERTY

Change for the better must include alleviating the grinding poverty which is the continuing reality for millions of South Africans. This is not just a matter of humanitarian concern, but also a critical part of ensuring South Africa's stability and prosperity.

The DA has developed a poverty alleviation package that will provide for the basic needs of the destitute, including the chronically unemployed.



WHAT THE DA WILL DO

The DA will put in place a comprehensive range of policies that will deliver a “survival package” to everyone in South Africa who cannot support him- or herself.

Access to water

Too many South Africans get sick, and even die, as a result of drinking poor-quality water.

The DA will:

- Provide six kilolitres of free water per household in urban areas.
- Develop alternative means of water delivery, such as river water purification systems, in rural areas.

Access to food

Food is essential for survival and good health. The DA will:

- Introduce a Basic Income Grant. Experience has shown that a direct grant is more cost-effective than food parcels or food stamps.
- Make room for subsistence farming – not just commercial farming – in land reform policies and provide these farmers with adequate support.
- Encourage vegetable gardens by, for example, subsidising training programmes and start-up packs.

Access to shelter

The state's intensive low-cost housing delivery effort has met only a small part of the need, because the emphasis has been on provision by the state, and the state lacks the capacity to meet the enormous need.

The DA will involve beneficiaries more directly in housing delivery by giving them the chance to choose site-and-service only, and to build their own dwelling on the serviced site with some assistance from the state. Self-build options have been shown not only to be significantly cheaper and easier to manage, but to provide a much higher level of satisfaction to the beneficiary.

The DA will also provide rates exemptions to poor households, based on property value.

Access to health services

Good health care is out of reach of many poor South Africans. The DA will:

- Widen the delivery net by giving NGOs and community organisations more state support.
- Set clear targets for improving access to services such as immunisation.
- Spread primary health care funds more evenly across the country by, for example, setting norms and standards for provinces.
- Use Medical Enterprise Zones, where special incentives apply, to attract health workers back to underserved areas.

Access to welfare grants

Many people still face enormous problems in getting hold of their grants. The DA will:

- Negotiate with banks to develop “no-frills” bank accounts into which grants can be paid easily and cheaply.
- In rural areas, where banks are scarce, use community banks as rural agencies for commercial banks.

Access to a basic income

A Basic Income Grant will allow millions of South Africans, who do not qualify for welfare grants, but for whom there is no room in South Africa's economy, to survive.

It is estimated that between ten million and 12 million people would currently be eligible for the BIG – requiring an amount of approximately R15 billion per year, if and when everyone eligible actually applied for the grant. The grant would not be available to people who already receive another state grant.

The DA will introduce a BIG of R110 a month, aimed at benefiting all South Africans earning less than R625 a month. The BIG would be financed by a mix of savings on other programmes (hundreds of millions remain unspent each year), increasing the budget deficit by 0,5%, absorbing some of the overrun on personal tax receipts, and increasing VAT by 1% if required.

This grant will nearly completely eliminate extreme poverty and reduce the number of destitute South Africans by about 10,2 million.

2. BETTER HEALTHCARE

South Africa's health care system is failing the sick. Public hospitals are overwhelmed by a multitude of problems, including deteriorating facilities and equipment, too few beds for the number of patients, and a "brain drain" of doctors and nurses. The private sector offers world-class care, but at a cost which can be met only by a handful of South Africans. The DA will create the affordable, effective and patient-centred health system that South Africans deserve by:

- Putting more control over healthcare into the hands of providers and users.
- Devolving decision-making to those best placed to make the decisions.
- Bridging the divide between the public and private sectors, so that all South Africans can benefit from the successful elements of each.
- Giving the HIV/AIDS pandemic the attention it deserves.



WHAT THE DA WILL DO

A new framework for healthcare

The DA will sharpen the focus of the health care system to direct resources to where they are needed most urgently. It will:

- Create a small, central health ministry which will determine national policy, set targets and ensure a fair distribution of resources and skills.

- Establish Provincial Health Services to contract with various private and public-sector providers to provide health services.
- Devolve direct provision of healthcare to whichever public or private body is best placed and best qualified to do the job.
- Create a Medical Ombudsman to entrench patients' rights to good medical care, to information and to make their own decisions.

The DA will set up a simple, practical system to allow community organisations and NGOs to voluntarily incorporate their services into a single national structure. The objective will be to give these bodies access to state funds, a support structure and training opportunities, which will allow them to provide a better service.

Hospitals

Public hospitals

The DA will run state hospitals as semi-autonomous units, equivalent to parastatals, which will be funded on the basis of the number of patients they treat.

Hospitals will keep any surpluses they generate through savings, but will be bound by strict quality control stipulations. They will be obliged to accept all patients and they will not be entitled to charge indigent patients for basic health care.

The DA will rebuild dilapidated hospitals through public-private partnerships.

The DA will get more medical aid members to use public hospitals by:

- Promoting partnerships between the public and private sectors.
- Giving private doctors access to public hospitals for in-patient care.
- Negotiating with the medical aid industry to develop packages designed for the public health sector.
- Allowing private hospitals to apply for contracts to treat indigent patients.

Private hospitals

Private hospitals are a major national asset. But to serve South Africans more effectively, they must become more affordable. The DA will reduce private hospital costs by:

- Promoting risk-sharing between medical schemes and hospitals. Medical schemes currently carry all the risk, and medical service providers are incentivised to over-service.
- Encouraging a move away from the fee-for-service model, and replacing it with a capitation fee where health care providers charge a monthly fee for primary health care.

Medical aid schemes

Medical aid schemes must become accessible to more people. The two key priorities are to provide a variety of funding packages to suit different needs, and to ensure that all schemes offer value for money. The DA will do this by:

- Stimulating consumer pressure for lower prices. The government, as the largest employer in the country, must take the lead.
- Opening up the market to more participants by permitting profit-taking companies to offer medical aid services.
- Supporting measures which prohibit medical aids from “dumping” elderly or sickly members, and requiring them to offer minimum benefits.
- Imposing penalties on schemes that allow administration and overhead costs to exceed 10% of contribution income.
- Establishing a medical aid fraud task team.
- Making Medical Individual Retirement Annuities (MIRAs) tax-deductible, to encourage saving for post-retirement health costs.

Human resources

The health care system depends on the skills and motivation of our doctors and nurses. The DA will improve working conditions for public health professionals by:

- Tackling the problem of inadequate remuneration.
- Permitting public sector doctors to treat some private patients to compensate for what they could otherwise be earning.
- Treating health staff with respect and attending to their legitimate grievances promptly.
- Obliging all hospitals to meet minimum criteria, including adequate accommodation for staff, proper security and reasonable workloads.

The DA will adopt a voluntary, user-friendly community service scheme, which will include only hospitals which are willing and able to use student doctors effectively.

It will also use Medical Enterprise Zones (defined by area) and Medical Enterprise Programmes (defined by the market served), where special conditions apply, to attract health workers back to underserved areas.

Medicines

Reining in the cost of drugs and medical equipment is an urgent priority. The DA will reduce drug costs by:

- Conducting a detailed review of incentives and bonuses in the medicine pricing structure, and discouraging those that cannot be justified.
- Stimulating competition through generic drug policies.
- Exempting medicines on the Essential Drugs list from VAT.
- Protecting consumers by insisting on clear labelling and pricing and requiring that patients be given full information about the range of treatment options open to them.



3. COMBATING HIV/AIDS

South Africa is beginning to feel the full force of the devastation wrought by HIV/AIDS. The DA's programme to deal with the AIDS emergency will:

- **Prevent new infections by convincing South Africans of the real threat of AIDS.**
- **Make effective treatment available to those who are already infected.**
- **Find solutions to the crisis of HIV/AIDS orphans.**

WHAT THE DA WILL DO

Prevention

The DA will establish a separate Ministry of HIV/AIDS in the Cabinet under the control of someone who is capable of communicating directly, clearly and candidly, and who enjoys the wide respect which such a job requires.

It will also:

- Integrate the country's leadership fully into the national prevention programme, including obliging every public representative to refer to AIDS in every public address.
- Emphasise community-based, face-to-face interaction over electronic and print communication by, for example, using community radio stations.
- Get to grips with the roots of the epidemic by entrenching tolerance and promoting gender equality.
- Make drugs to prevent HIV-transmission in babies and sexual assault victims freely available in every public hospital and clinic.

Anti-retroviral treatment

A comprehensive anti-retroviral treatment programme is a key part of South Africa's onslaught on AIDS. The DA will provide life-extending drugs to HIV-positive South Africans who need them, without placing a financial burden on taxpayers or compromising other programmes. It will do this in terms of a five-year plan which will ultimately treat 500 000 AIDS-infected South Africans.

Funding

The cost of the programme, including drugs, monitoring the progression of the virus in patients and salaries for counsellors, will increase from R333m in year one to R1,72 billion in year five.

The cost of anti-retroviral drugs, test kits and monitoring equipment is easily met within the scope of the existing HIV/AIDS budget. The cost of training and employing AIDS counsellors will be reclaimed from other sources; either by using a small portion of the money saved from cancelling the third tranche of the arms deal, or by accessing funds from one of a multitude of donor funds set up to care for AIDS patients in developing countries.

Implementation

The DA will establish a Central Anti-retroviral Treatment Centre, with a branch in each province, to monitor the implementation of the programme and report on results.

The DA will also:

- Set up a panel of experts to develop guidelines for treating HIV/AIDS in South Africa and, in particular, to develop treatment guidelines based on observation of patients rather than expensive laboratory tests.
- Create a national Internet-based anti-retroviral expert advice service.
- Draw up a national protocol for the distribution of drugs.
- Integrate traditional healers into the treatment programme.
- Develop an accreditation system for private treatment programmes.

AIDS orphans

The DA will establish Orphan Support Committees across the country to give orphans the practical help they need to adapt to their circumstances. Children, extended family members and anyone else with an interest in any orphaned child or children will be able to benefit from a range of services, including help with accessing grants and arranging school fee exemptions.

BUILDING COMMUNITIES

1. LOCAL GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS

Local governments affect our day-to-day lives more directly than any other sphere of government. South Africans deserve a system of local government that is businesslike and financially prudent, and at the same time community-focused and service-orientated.



WHAT THE DA WILL DO

Funding local government

Local government is in a financial crisis. While services must be provided to all, the system must remain financially sustainable and ratepayers must not be overburdened. The DA is committed to keeping rates as low as possible. Inefficiency, extravagance and corruption must be rooted out so that costs are contained and municipalities live within their means.

The DA will:

- Develop a nationally agreed framework on rates increases, to ensure that increases are transparent and fair.
- Set up an independent Valuation Appeals Board to adjudicate in cases of excessive rates increases.
- Require that rates be levied only in accordance with services provided.
- Use external Audit Committees to vet local government accounts.
- Allow for “betterment levies” on properties within special rating districts, in order to improve services.

To confront the problem of non-payment, the DA will:

- Place rates service charges in the same position as income tax.
- * Make maximum use of pre-paid meters.
- * Take a tough line against councils that insist on unaffordable service levels.
- * Outsource credit control where municipalities cannot do it themselves.

The DA will get better value for money with competitive outsourcing and privatisation, using rigorous checks and balances to ensure that contractors perform.

Open and accountable local government

DA councillors will be governed by the principle of “Service before Status”. This principle will be reflected in all council activities by:

- Using the Executive Committee System to govern cities, not Executive Mayors. This will ensure that power is not centralised in one person, and that all residents are represented in the key decision-making bodies.
- Opening all Portfolio, Executive Committee and Council meetings to the public and the media.
- Using recall mechanisms and a Local Government Public Protector to keep local government clean.
- Tying councillors’ and officials’ allowances to their performance.

Poverty alleviation

The DA will adopt a number of progressive policies to benefit the poorest of the poor, including:

- Giving six kiloliters of water and 20kwh of electricity every month free to all households.
- Exempting poor households from rates payments.
- Supplementing services for the homeless, where necessary.
- Allowing pensioners and registered unemployed persons to travel free on subsidised local commuter transport during off-peak hours.

Traditional leaders

Local governments need to recognise traditional leadership structures without compromising the principle of democratic representation. The DA will:

- Keep traditional leadership above inter-party political competition by requiring traditional leaders who wish to stand for government to relinquish their status.
- Accommodate traditional leaders’ skills in rural government by encouraging their participation in council meetings and establishing Traditional Leadership Forums.
- Help traditional systems and customary law to adapt in order to preserve both democratic principles and the strengths of traditional leadership systems.

2. AN END TO HOMELESSNESS



There is a desperate shortage of acceptable housing for South Africa's poor. A large number of houses have been built over the past ten years, but many are of appalling quality and millions of people still lack a proper home.

The DA will re-energise the housing programme with partnerships between communities, municipalities and developers aimed at satisfying needs without placing an insupportable burden on the state. The DA's objective will be not just to eliminate the housing backlog, but to build quality homes within healthy, vibrant communities; to give people more choice; and to change aspirant home-owners from passive recipients into active participants.

WHAT THE DA WILL DO

Giving people choice

Policies which focus on formally constructed, state-provided houses will never solve South Africa's enormous housing backlog. The DA will move away from the state being solely responsible for delivery, and towards partnerships between the state and the people.

Access to land first, and basic services second, are immediate priorities. Once people have these, they can live more healthily and with greater dignity, and they can begin to create opportunities for themselves.

The DA will increase the range of choices available to people by replacing the present housing subsidy system with three options:

- **Site and service.** Recipients will have legal title to a fully serviced site on which to erect their own dwelling. Across the world, self-build options have allowed the state to help more people; they have proved to be cheaper and to give more satisfaction to the owners.
- **Site and service plus a state-subsidised house.** Because of the value of the house, the site will be smaller and less well located than the first option.
- **A rental subsidy.**

The DA will increase the quality and the range of low-cost rental stock available by:

- Offering low-interest loans for the construction of rental stock, provided that affordable rentals are charged.
- Promoting housing designs that include a rentable room.

Building sustainable communities

The DA will not allow a focus on reducing the housing backlog to translate into a numbers game; our objective will be to build communities, not housing blocks. The DA will:

- Put in place an urban planning system that encourages safe, healthy and pleasant communities and discourages the development of slums.
- Introduce a basket of minimum public infrastructure requirements for housing developments.

- Reduce urban sprawl by developing density requirements and offering tax incentives for compact developments.
- Identify run-down inner-city areas and under-used industrial areas for low-cost housing development.

Private sector housing finance

Many low income households earn too much to qualify for a subsidy, but too little to get a bond, or they struggle to find an affordable house for which a bank will provide a bond. The DA will make it easier for low income households to access housing finance by:

- Ensuring that banks do not red-line an area without publicly disclosing the decision and the reasons for the decision.
- Entering into risk reduction agreements with banks in red-lined areas.
- Allowing the first R5 000 of an individual's retirement fund to be used to pay for a deposit and legal fees on a first home.
- Introducing a "rand-for-rand" subsidy programme, whereby the state will match the amount accumulated by a low-income home-buyer for a deposit.
- Developing a basic financial literacy programme, in conjunction with the banking industry, to increase knowledge about personal finance.

The DA will take various steps to raise bond and rates payment levels, including placing rates in the same enforcement position as income tax and outsourcing debt collection. However, where families find themselves unable to pay due to circumstances beyond their control, the DA will support them by, for example, introducing a national transitional subsidy programme for families who have lost a breadwinner, to buy them some time.

The DA will cut red tape in the identification, allocation and development of land to speed up the rate of housing delivery. It will also develop a rapid response plan for land invasions.

3. A TRANSPORT SYSTEM WE CAN TRUST



South Africans have suffered the irritations, inconvenience and costs of a wholly inadequate transport system for far too long. They deserve better. The DA will deliver a transport system which is safe, reliable and affordable.

WHAT THE DA WILL DO

Road maintenance

South Africa's road transport system has deteriorated to the extent that it jeopardises both the safety of users and our economic growth prospects.

The DA will implement a road maintenance programme, to be funded by a dedicated Road Maintenance Fund, which will eliminate the R64 billion road maintenance backlog over six years. The DA will also crack down on overloading, and impound offenders' vehicles for prolonged periods in serious cases.

Road safety

South Africa has an unacceptably high road accident rate. The DA will entrench a culture of safe driving by:

- Improving the training and working conditions of traffic officers.
- Impounding vehicles of drivers travelling at excessive speeds.

- Requiring a medical examination for the assessment of alcoholism for repeat drunk driving offenders.
- Legislating for compulsory balance of third party insurance.

For commercial vehicles, the DA will require heavy-duty and public passenger vehicles to fit speed control devices and limit the number of hours a driver may drive without a break.

Public transport

To ensure the maximum efficiency of the public transport system, its operation must be left largely to private entrepreneurs. But the DA will introduce a new state subsidy scheme with a single, multi-use ticket applicable to all certified public transport vehicles, including taxis. Commuters will be able to choose the mode of transport that suits them best. At the same time, taxis will be brought into the public transport network.

In addition, the DA will:

- Allow pensioners and the registered unemployed to travel free of charge on subsidised local transport during off-peak hours.
- Improve training for taxi drivers.
- Subject taxi drivers to regular competence and medical fitness tests.
- Introduce a Charter of Passenger Rights.

4. MANAGING OUR ENVIRONMENT

South Africans deserve a country in which the natural environment is properly managed. The DA will manage our precious natural resources in a responsible way, in trust for the whole nation.



WHAT THE DA WILL DO

A new administrative structure

The DA will create a more effective resource management structure by combining the Departments of Land and Agriculture, Water and Forestry, and Environment and Tourism into a single Ministry of National Resources. It will also create Provincial Resource Tribunals in each province to act as “courts of record” in cases of conflict over decisions on resource use.

Protected areas

Areas set aside for conservation are national assets and must be properly managed. The DA will establish vigorous partnerships with private enterprise to fully realise the potential of our nature reserves. Mining within national parks and provincial reserves will be prohibited.

Fishing and agriculture

Fishing and agriculture are important to the livelihoods of many South Africans. To protect and preserve these resources, the DA will:

- Take away fishing quota allocations from those who breach regulations.
- Develop more small harbours for the small-scale fishing industry.
- Shield farmers from the effects of uncompetitive international trade practices.
- Install a rapid response plan for severe droughts, floods and fires.
- Conduct research into the levels of chemical residues in food products.
- Introduce legislation requiring the clear labelling of all foodstuffs.
- Closely monitor the impact of genetically modified organisms on the ecology and consumers, and take steps to prevent their misuse.

Energy

Finding sources of renewable energy is becoming increasingly important. To encourage greater use of our natural energy resources, the DA will:

- Set targets for solar panel installation.
- Adopt a climate change levy to ensure that industries responsible for pollution bear the costs of clean-ups.

5. CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The DA will work hard to preserve South Africa's rich cultural heritage, in all its multi-hued variety, because we recognise that we cannot become a truly great nation without recognising the value of all our component parts.

WHAT THE DA WILL DO

The diversity of backgrounds and heritage of South Africa's many different communities makes our country one of the most culturally rich on the planet. The DA will protect each community's right to its unique identity by:

- Establishing a Protector of National Heritage to act as an advocate for the protection of cherished places, artefacts, and landscapes.
- Offering tax incentives to individuals wishing to make donations to cultural organisations.
- Ensuring that boards to serve arts and culture are chosen through transparent public hearings; that they are accountable to the communities they serve; and that funding goes to fulfilling their objectives, not to paying exorbitant salaries.
- Spreading funding for arts and culture widely across all cultural communities.

The richness of South African culture is expressed in our 11 official languages. Acknowledging these languages and making a place for all of them is vital to nation-building. But the ANC government, by excluding languages other than English from official use, has consigned a significant piece of our cultural heritage to the fringes.

The Democratic Alliance stands in support of vigorous multilingualism. We will ensure that in all areas where an official position on language is required, that an explicit policy of multi-lingualism is adopted. For example:

- Schools will adopt the language of choice of the parent body.
- Universities will be entitled to use a language other than English as medium of instruction where they wish to do so.
- Interaction with government officials should be in the language of choice of members of the public, not of officials.

SAFEGUARDING DEMOCRACY



1. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

Since 1994, the ANC government has subjected the structure of South Africa's democracy to repeated assaults. South Africa faces the danger of becoming a single-party dominant state, in which the ruling party faces no significant electoral challenge, and in which the boundaries between party and state become increasingly blurred.

The DA's commitment to the voters is to ensure that these dangerous trends are exposed, and that the government's power is constrained by a properly functioning democratic system,

WHAT THE DA WILL DO

As a result of a political miracle in 1994, South Africa now has in place a liberal constitution and a democratically elected government.

But the persistence of the democratic values reflected in our Constitution cannot be taken for granted. The DA has been vigilant in exposing some of the dangerous trends that are showing signs of emerging: the ANC's aspirations to hegemonic control; its use of patronage to ensure that even ostensibly non-political posts are filled by ANC supporters; and its quite blatant packing of the civil service with sympathisers. There are disturbing signs that the dividing line between state and party, which is fundamental to the separation of powers on which our democracy is supposedly based, is being blurred.

The DA is especially concerned at the way in which Parliament has, in important respects, been prevented from fulfilling its constitutional obligation to maintain oversight of the Executive, and to ensure that the Executive and other executive organs of state remain accountable to it.

The DA believes emphatically that government should be vested with sufficient power to govern effectively; but equally emphatically, it believes that uncontrolled, unresponsive or excessive power poses a real threat to the health of democracy. Power must be subject to checks and balances, and it is an important part of the Opposition's obligation to ensure that this happens.

In pursuit of this objective, the DA pledges to:

- Build up its own electoral base, and co-operate with other like-minded opposition parties, to prevent the ANC from obtaining a two-thirds majority.
- Fight any amendments to the Constitution which reduce checks and balances on the state's power and, in particular, oppose any attempt to extend the term of the President's period in office beyond the constitutionally entrenched two terms.
- Fight to ensure that the principle of judicial independence is reinforced and maintained. In considering their recommendations for the appointment of judges by the President, the Judicial Services Commission must not permit qualification requirements and standards of service to be undermined under the guise of transformation.
- Work for a change to the electoral system to ensure that it incorporates a constituency element. The existing simple list system, which ensures that Parliament is incapable of properly and effectively fulfilling its oversight functions, has alienated voters from their representatives.
- Promote a truly federal system as the most appropriate form of government for South Africa. The over-concentration of power in the hands of the President's office poses an enormous threat to the survival of democracy. A more federal system will provide for a variety of sites of power, and therefore allow more people to take part in the process of government. It will also bring government closer to the people, and therefore promote greater political accountability.
- Continue to expose corruption and maladministration wherever it appears.

South Africa is a mere decade into democracy and the scars of a deeply divided society are very much with us. We cannot afford highly polarised politics. It is the Opposition's obligation to criticise, expose, and to offer alternative policies, but always to do so in a way that is constructive. The DA pledges to take on this challenge.

2. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



Because of its status as a significant developing economy, and its successful political transition, South Africa has an important role to play in the international community. A DA government will develop a policy on international engagement which places respect for human rights at the core of its philosophy. In particular, it will work actively to create stability and foster economic recovery in Zimbabwe.

WHAT THE DA WILL DO

The global community

The DA's foreign policy strategy will be based on the following key objectives:

- Developing alliances and partnerships with states that share the values entrenched in our Constitution, and that have committed to compatible paths of economic and political good governance.
- Striving for the better functioning of international organisations such as the United Nations and the Commonwealth, so that they can fulfil their roles more effectively, by acting as bridge-builders between the North and the South.
- Using the forum of the World Trade Organisation and other international bodies to insist on even-handed global trade liberalisation.
- Democracy can only thrive in an environment of stability and economic health. The DA will promote trade with, and investment in, our region, by lending technical resources and political weight to regional free trade area negotiations and building alliances between the SADC and other strategically important regional economic alliances.
- The SANDF must shoulder its part in the responsibility for regional peace-support operations, provided that such operations meet criteria on funding, safety and international mandates. In order to fulfil this function, the SANDF must be transformed into a smaller, better-balanced and younger regular force, and a better-funded part-time force.

NEPAD

The DA fully supports the principles of democratic government, the protection and promotion of human rights, the rule of law and market economics which are the foundation-stones of NEPAD. But these principles have not been reflected in NEPAD's practical implementation, and its credibility is therefore at stake.

The DA will show decisive leadership in properly implementing these ideals and objectives. In particular, we will negotiate unambiguous criteria for the evaluation of good governance and clear mechanisms for the operation of peer review processes, and it will ensure that these criteria and mechanisms are enforced.

Zimbabwe

The ANC government's approach towards Zimbabwe has allowed that country's desperate humanitarian crisis to deteriorate further, and it has worsened the image, investment prospects and stability of the entire region.

In line with NEPAD, the DA will address the continuing crisis by implementing a Road Map to Democracy in Zimbabwe. The Road Map will:

- Establish the terms for President Mugabe's departure, and for multiparty negotiations leading to an interim administration.
- Draw up a framework for a negotiated constitution, and for new elections under an Independent Electoral Commission.

In addition, the DA will use 'smart sanctions' to pressure President Mugabe into a commitment to step down, and will make essential humanitarian aid and medical supplies available to the people of Zimbabwe.



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