



“Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone’s head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children. . .”

— Amilcar Cabral

PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE DRAFT POLICY STATEMENT AND ELECTION MANIFESTO

1. PREAMBLE

- 1.1 The Patriotic Alliance (PA) is a nonracial, non-sexist and democratic political party organising support across South Africa.
- 1.2 The PA positions itself as a champion of the people, with the understanding that while its principles may overlap with those of other parties, the PA is the political alternative that will bring tangible delivery of change in this lifetime for the majority of South Africans.
- 1.3 The PA is an economically centrist party that understands that economic growth is dependent on free-market conditions, but that rampant capitalism encourages only greed and the exploitation of the poor. Therefore, the PA will always identify with the masses so that economic emancipation for the disadvantaged is realised. But the PA will address this growing need by using sound principles of how to grow and manage a flourishing economy that rewards and encourages hard work, innovation and excellence, while creating opportunities for more people to express themselves in society and realise their potential.
- 1.4 The PA is also a party with a conscience and is a champion of the weakest and most vulnerable members of society. It will therefore promote state welfare opportunities, including ways that do this in revolutionary and innovative ways, to ensure that hunger, exploitation and general socioeconomic suffering is defeated.
- 1.5 The PA supports the economic empowerment of the poor and will develop and promote policies and actions that lead to truly broad-based economic empowerment, with the understanding that those members of society who are part of the formerly disadvantaged categories of persons designated by apartheid policy stand to gain the most from such empowerment. The PA’s focus is broad and it aims to support and uplift the poor, who would otherwise drift into hopelessness if not for the hope offered by the PA and its plans, which require strong democratic mass support to succeed. Every single citizen stands to be empowered by the brave and revolutionary empowerment policies that the PA has developed.

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- 1.6 The PA will consistently defend the rights of women, children and people with disabilities.
- 1.7 The PA believes that the majority of South Africans wish to be contributing members of society, who each help to build and create a better country – but they need a platform on which to make that happen. The PA intends to set up the platform, while creating a higher socioeconomic base for all, which makes that possible and a lived reality.
- 1.8 The PA's election aims are set out in such a way that they will enjoy mass support, while not losing sight of the most visionary concepts of leadership that South Africa so desperately requires.
- 1.9 The PA understands that there are unacceptable structural inequalities built into almost every sector of South African society, from the operation of parastatals, municipalities and other government structures to public and private companies and civic institutions. This is also clearly seen in the geographical layouts of cities. To a great extent, the post-apartheid population is still held in the grip of these legacy structures, which have not been dismantled vigorously enough, with viable and preferable structures to replace them, over the past two decades.
- 1.10 The PA therefore undertakes to reinvigorate the system that governs the lives of all South Africans and to do it in such a way that a new social structure emerges that makes a better life more accessible for all.
- 1.11 The party respects the South African Constitution and undertakes to uphold the law of the Republic of South Africa, with the acceptance that the Constitution captures the aspirations and rights of the South African electorate.
- 1.12 The PA recognises the freedoms listed in our Constitution, which include the rights of minority groups such as the Khoisan groups, as well as various minority groups who may be subject to unfair discrimination, extending to them the full range of rights that everyone who falls into the broad category of South African citizen must always be assured of. The structure of South African society, however, still overwhelmingly supports those who come from advantaged backgrounds, a legacy of our racially divisive past. The PA makes a commitment to programmes that will address and correct this imbalance.

2. BACKGROUND TO THIS MANIFESTO

- 2.1 This document sets out the broad framework of principles and governance concepts around which the PA will organise itself.
- 2.2 Heading for twenty years into democracy, it is clear that South Africa needs a credible political alternative. The ANC has all but assumed that, in its strongholds, it will be a ruling party for generations more. But many of the failings of this party (which, although founded on admirable liberation ideologies, it is increasingly struggling to implement practically) mean that the South African people are losing faith with it, but struggle to find another party to trust all the same. The assumed successor to the throne, the DA, however lacks the political vision and courage to overturn the deeply embedded structural inequalities still inherent in South Africa. Under the guise of superior administrative and governance achievements, the DA seeks to protect business interests at all costs.
- 2.3 The Patriotic Alliance knows that South Africa has enormous challenges, but it believes there are ways to overcome these and that South Africa has what it takes to become a true force in Africa, politically, socially and economically.
- 2.4 In this manifesto, the PA has adopted draft keystone and cornerstone policies.
 - 2.4.1 Cornerstone policies are policy concepts that support the political project broadly. They are in place in order to show that the PA is a dynamic, well-founded organisation that has a clear understanding of all the challenges and opportunities inherent in South Africa's current situation and that every effort will be made to transform, strengthen, uplift, revitalise,

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revolutionise, reinvent or simply maintain these aspects of society, however this may be required and in the manner that each situation calls for.

- 2.4.2 Keystone policies are the essential foundation structures of what make the PA a force to be reckoned with for the upcoming elections and the voice of the people. These policies have been identified as those that resonate strongly with the PA's targeted electorate and these policies therefore help the PA to be distinguished, to stand out and live out the ideal of being a party that is different and that can indeed make a significant difference.
- 2.5 Many of the PA's policies will change the socioeconomic and sociopolitical landscape of South Africa for the better. The PA knows that promises of wholesale, overnight change are the words of demagogues and false prophets. Strong and lasting success is built through hard work and diligent application. The strongest revolution is the gradual one, whose every step is taken with determination and unstoppable political will, informed by the mandate of mass support. The PA will respect that mandate instead of selling its political aims to the highest bidder, a tragic outcome all too often observed around the world as well as in South Africa.
- 2.6 The PA will build a more diverse, world-class economy that will lead to the country's real economic strength, especially in terms of its industrialisation programme. This programme will, among other things, lead to the restructuring of the mining industry to ensure that opportunities are given to the youth. The South African population as a whole will, for the first time, be brought on board as empowerment partners in not only mining and energy projects, but also in all other industries. The prevailing trend that empowerment enriches only a select group of individuals who have strong political connections will remain a part of South Africa's history, but not its future, under the PA's administration.
- 2.7 As furtherance of the party's founding constitution, it will be pursuing the following further key objectives:
 - 2.7.1 Increasing the equality of all citizens, with an emphasis on greater prosperity
 - 2.7.2 Addressing and restructuring unequal patterns of historical ownership of national assets, including but not limited to land, property, marine resources, mineral and energy resources and established and future infrastructure.
 - 2.7.3 Improving the outcomes of education for all citizens, be it schooling for the youth or tertiary education or skilling and reskilling for older citizens, in line with the demands of the economy.
 - 2.7.4 Delivering accountable government and services, free of the scourge of corruption, theft from the fiscus and collusion with the private sector or, as the case may be, other parts of the public sector.
 - 2.7.5 Dramatically reducing the reliance on consultants to run government, considering that the public sector is indeed adequately staffed. Tens of billions of rand are being squandered on paying for consultants at all levels of government. This is money that would be far better spent on core services to the people, such as paying for housing, critical infrastructure such as sanitation, roads and the rest of the transport network, crime and emergency services, healthcare and social and welfare services.
 - 2.7.6 Cutting down on the bloated size of government, which, in relation to 2.7.5 above, is in any event not efficient enough.
 - 2.7.7 Reforming explicit and subtle taxation. Business and private sector workers are not the serfs or employees of the state. It is the other way around. Over its two decades of rule, the existing government of South Africa has implemented modes of taxation with questionable motivation that are now calling into question the willingness of its population to be governed. This includes the e-tolling of freeways.

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- 2.7.8 Dramatically cutting back on wasteful, inefficient and illegal national expenditure, which is a slap in the face to the taxpayers of South Africa.
- 2.7.9 Not only will the public sector be made smaller and more efficient, but salaries will be reformed in line with market rates and only excellent performance will be rewarded with excellent remuneration.
- 2.7.10 Entering into healthy public-private sector partnerships aimed at incentivising productive, resourceful and innovative citizens to grow the economy and find solutions for the multitude of problems that face the country.
- 2.7.11 Actively opposing patriarchy, sexism, ageism, racism, discrimination on the basis of sexual preference, disability, gender, social class or category of person as well as all other forms of discrimination outlined in the SA Constitution.
- 2.7.12 Advancing democracy, including protecting fundamental rights such as media freedom, which have in the last several years come under attack by the governing party.
- 2.7.13 Healing the divisions of the past and establishing a society based on democratic values and social justice and fundamental human rights.
- 2.7.14 Supporting and mobilising civil society in such a manner to pave the way for the establishment of a legitimate government as stated in the SA Constitution.
- 2.7.15 Reversing the trend of voter apathy and disaffectedness. This has been understandable, as there have been few credible political alternatives before, but the PA is indeed the alternative South Africa has been waiting for. The PA shall endeavour to create an environment for all of those of voting age to partake in elections, especially those who have, for reasons of their own, stayed away, or who have shown no interest in the election processes or who did not vote, or stopped voting, for a specific political party. Part of the incentive to vote will be gaining a share in the country's national profits through a broad-based empowerment partner that will ultimately represent all South Africans.
- 2.7.16 Offering to the electorate an alternate government with the support of other smaller opposition parties who are willing to conform to the governance plan of the PA.
- 2.7.17 Restoring integrity, trust and decency to public life and governance.
- 2.7.18 Forming a new government instead of merely being the opposition in Parliament.

3. KEYSTONE POLICIES

3.1 EMPOWERMENT

- 3.1.1 The demise of apartheid in 1994 left a skewed racial economic hierarchy that placed whites firmly at the top, followed by the category broadly known in empowerment language as "black", namely Indians, coloureds and Africans.
- 3.1.2 The ANC government has made Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) a policy centrepiece, but by the party's own admission BEE has failed to improve the lot of the vast majority of black South Africans.
- 3.1.3 The stated purpose of empowerment is the "economic empowerment of all black people, including women, workers, youth, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas". It requires the Minister of Trade and Industry to develop and publish Codes of Good Practice, aimed at setting guidelines for the process of BEE in the whole economy. A scorecard is used by the Department to measure compliance with the BEE requirements, and is used for public procurement, public-private partnerships, the sale of state-owned enterprises, when licences are applied for, and for many other relevant economic activities.
- 3.1.4 The PA accepts the need for empowerment, but believes that the nature of the beneficiaries of this empowerment must change dramatically and on a scale previously not imagined.

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- 3.1.5 The government's Black Economic Empowerment policies have drawn criticism from the Development Bank of Southern Africa for focusing "almost exclusively on promoting individual ownership by black people (which) does little to address broader economic disparities, though the rich may become more diverse". This is a criticism that the PA underwrites, but the PA also has a solution for this problem.
- 3.1.6 Official affirmative action policies (including employment equity, affirmative action and broad-based BEE) have seen a rise in black economic wealth and an emerging black middle class. While there have been positive results from empowerment policy, not enough has been done to truly transform society more broadly, hence these initial steps with regard to empowerment must be expanded upon and grown.
- 3.1.7 In the past, with "BEE as usual", South African companies have been required to ensure that their company shareholding has had a minimum 26% black-owned representation. At this stage, the PA does not intend to change this figure, though it may become necessary to do so in future.
- 3.1.8 In the past, many companies, particularly large established corporations relying on the state for their continued existence, have sold shares in their companies to black empowerment firms or black individuals at full or discounted rates in order to make themselves compliant. They have also "sold" BEE shares without the exchange of money, with the understanding that the cost of these transactions would be paid for through future dividend payments from the company concerned. In rare cases, shares have been donated to black empowerment partners without these being paid for, in the understanding that these empowerment partners would not sell the share for an agreed period of time in order to ensure that the company's BEE compliance remains intact. The PA is not in principle opposed to how any of this has occurred in the past, however it would like to add a further dimension to empowerment and insist that this begin to take precedence over all other forms of empowerment.
- 3.1.9 The PA would insist that a People's Empowerment Partner be established as a matter of urgent concern. This partner would not represent the interests of any individual or isolated group, but all black South Africans. It would be administered with the same sense of efficiency and lack of corruption currently being seen in the administration of pension and child grant payouts (which have been acknowledged as one of the few sectors of the current government system that are working well).
- 3.1.10 This People's Empowerment Partner would then be the preferred partner to go into BEE deals with all companies in South Africa. Payment for shares can be arranged by any of the means outlined in 3.2.8, depending on the value of the company concerned and the probability that such a company would generate significant future profits.
- 3.1.11 Any profits from such participation in the business sector of South Africa would then be paid towards the People's Empowerment Partner (PEP), which would then divide the amount accrued among all registered formerly disadvantaged voters in South Africa and have it paid out to them on a monthly basis.
- 3.1.12 Only those black people who voted in the most recent elections of the country would qualify for such a payment as the Patriotic Alliance considers participation in the democratic process the ultimate act of patriotism and therefore only a voter should be in a position to enjoy a dividend from his or her share in the running of South Africa. Citizens of voting age who become registered voters can apply to receive their share of the national payout, and these amounts will be paid into an escrow account on their behalf. Once they cast their vote in the next election, the accumulated money will then be paid out to them.
- 3.1.13 Such payments would benefit in the region of 20 million South Africans (and possibly far more depending on voter turnout). Once the system has become fully functional, monthly

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individual payments could move from a value of a few hundred rand to several thousand rand.

- 3.1.14 The PA firmly believes that the majority-poor voters of South Africa would be best-placed to choose how to spend and/or invest this money. It would rapidly create a consumer class in South Africa that would become the envy of the rest of the world and serve as a catalyst to propel South Africa's economy forward. The South African economy is currently stagnating, in the hope that the middle class and the very wealthy will be able to invest and spend enough to somehow propel the country forward — despite it being obvious that this alone could never be enough.
- 3.1.15 Foreign direct investment partners would be made to understand that when they begin any new projects, businesses and industries in South Africa, their preferred investment partner would be the South African people as a whole. The PA believes that its people and the state are inseparable. The state (government) is not there to become wealthy by exploiting its people. The people must be made to taste wealth through the state's work on their behalf.
- 3.1.16 It may be necessary to charge taxes on the money flowing into the People's Empowerment Partner company (to sustain the country in the same manner that all businesses are taxed). But it must be understood that this is not a form of nationalisation but is broad-based black economic empowerment in its truest sense. Every last cent of this money, whether taxed or not taxed, is to be paid out to the PEP's shareholders, who are the registered and participating emancipated voters of South Africa, all of them people who would not have been allowed to possess the vote more than 20 years ago.
- 3.1.17 Black companies and individuals will not be prevented from buying shares of any percentage in any company, be that company in partnership with the PEP or not.
- 3.1.18 A company that already has a 26% share with a black partner would not have to partner with the PEP, although nothing would prevent the PEP from being free to buy further shares in such companies if such shares become available, in order to benefit its shareholders, the South African black voting public.
- 3.1.19 If a company already has requisite black ownership, it may not be necessary for the PEP to become involved in ownership of that company. The PEP should not be seen as a barrier to the participation of black entrepreneurs in the market, though the PEP would be a competitor to such entrepreneurs and would be the preferred partner for any new deals.
- 3.1.20 Wealthy black individuals who have already benefited massively would be encouraged and perhaps even be regulated in such a manner that part of their wealth begins to flow to the PEP. This can be seen as a gesture that our first struggle for political liberation has been won, but the struggle for economic liberation still has many miles and many years to go. But the PA will not rest until South Africa becomes a more equal society.
- 3.1.21 The PEP will focus its participation on a number of key industries to start with, particularly those that are sustained on the back of state resources. These would include the mining sector and the energy sector and the participation of elite black partners in such industries would be the first targets of reform in order to ensure that their shares in these companies start to become more equitably shared among all the black people of South Africa. All industries will, however, be considered for partnership with the PEP and will ultimately be owned to some degree by all the people of South Africa.
- 3.1.22 Once the income and inequality gap has been shrunk thanks to this empowerment measure, along with other steps, the restriction of allowing only black voters to participate in this wealth-creation mechanism can also be lifted to allow all registered voting South Africans, including white South Africans, to benefit from the PEP's ownership of the economy. Part of this will be necessitated by the fact that the world is becoming increasingly mechanised, putting millions of people out of work, regardless of their race. An alternative economic

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model, such as this will need to be developed in order to ensure that humanity as a whole is not made redundant by the march of technological progress, with only 1% or even less of the world's population in control of 99% of its economy (the inevitable outcome of an unregulated, unmoderated capitalist system).

- 3.1.23 This wealth-creation mechanism is a virtuous circle that retains a greater percentage of the nation's wealth within its borders, spurs on consumer choice in relation to spending or saving and creates a platform that can launch thousands of smaller businesses, thereby growing the economy and employment and ultimately the tax base as a whole. Even in the years prior to white people being included in the payouts, the benefits for white-owned businesses and industries will be obvious, as the consumer base will have grown substantially, thereby increasing the revenue streams of all businesses, regardless of their ownership composition.

3.1.24 Employment equity

- 3.1.24.1 The PA supports employment equity proposals that place quotas on workplace representation according to South Africa's demographics.
- 3.1.24.2 The PA would however introduce a system that deals with such demographics according to regional and not national prevalences.

3.2 THE FISHING INDUSTRY

- 3.2.1 The PA sees South African marine and aquaculture opportunities along the shoreline as heavily underexploited. These should be transformed into a major boom industry, instituted and developed in environmentally sustainable ways.
- 3.2.2 Government needs to be the primary investor in such industries in order to create work, secure food supply and increase exports.
- 3.2.3 Similarly, well-run abalone hatcheries can replenish beds and reefs to revive this highly lucrative industry.
- 3.2.4 Wholesale training and skills-transfer are needed to make this vision a reality and dedicated training facilities will have to be set up at colleges and universities. A marine university/college will also have to be built and resourced.
- 3.2.5 Once coastal communities have a stake in the success of their locally run industries, whether they be on sea or land, they will have an incentive to steer clear of crime and combat poaching, which impacts on the sustainability and management of valuable state resources.
- 3.2.6 Small-scale fishermen's access to traditional resources near shore will be reviewed, with the intention of restoring as much of it as possible in a sustainable way.
- 3.2.7 Numerous other opportunities exist, most particularly in tourism (shark-diving and whale watching) and in infrastructure (including restoring and upgrading harbours, seafood-processing facilities and tourist attractions).
- 3.2.8 The PA therefore will support fishing communities through the restructuring of this sector and opening up this industry to these communities.
- 3.2.9 The PA will adopt a balanced approach by setting up more rigorous assessments for new marine protected areas that will benefit the fishing community. The PA will support and continue to protect marine environments and the fishing communities that rely on them.
- 3.2.10 The PA seeks to create transformation in the fishing industry with the genuine empowerment of disadvantaged communities to gain a significant stake in the industry.
- 3.2.11 The quotas for harvesting, both near shore and for deep-sea fishing on a massive scale, will have to be reallocated in order to increasing the share of disadvantaged community members' ownership of this sector.

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- 3.2.12 Disadvantaged communities must also be given ownership of enterprises that processing marine products and exporting them. For the last decade and a half, the people themselves have said that they want to again have access to the marine resources and the industry around it, which have been monopolised by the big fisheries and the processing and export industries derived from it.
- 3.2.13 The PA undertakes to remain aware that the sea is not a limitless bounty and the party will respect sustainable practices, informed by science, for how and where quotas should be allocated, but the social and economic devastation caused by post-apartheid legislation regarding access to the sea has had consequences as damaging as the race laws that preceded it. These practices will have to be revisited and transformed. For example, abalone fishing was completely suspended, with the understanding that a social plan would be implemented as a buffer for affected communities, but in this respect government has thus far completely failed. It took away from these affected communities with the one hand and then withheld its promises with the other.

3.3 DECENT HOUSING AND SANITATION

- 3.3.1 The PA accepts that it remains the responsibility of the state to ensure that its citizens, particularly its poorest and most vulnerable, are properly housed. It has however become evident that many of the houses government has built are not decent houses. They are not properly divided, do not have access to electricity or other required infrastructure and are not considered safe. The PA is aware of the reasons why this has been the outcome and will institute a human settlements programme that offers quality and not simply shoddy quantity.
- 3.3.2 The renamed Human Settlements Department has still not succeeded in integrating communities into their own settlements with the required facilities and access to resources. National government should be the custodian of housing but should allow municipalities to be the direct implementing agencies where they have the capacity and track record to do so. Provinces should only play a role in establishing spatial development and land-use frameworks.
- 3.3.3 The bodies responsible for housing applications and housing allocation, respectively, should be maintained as separate units. This will reduce corruption and manipulation. Housing applications and allocations should in any event be approved by a separate oversight body.
- 3.3.4 The PA will also revisit apartheid-era housing arrangements that live on to this day that require tenants to pay rent on houses owned by the state. Such rental arrangements need to be re-examined extremely critically in order to transfer such homes over to their tenants, many of whom have been renting in these buildings for decades.
- 3.3.5 The PA undertakes that when families are temporarily rehoused while their new homes are being built or their old homes upgraded, they will not be housed in disrespectful conditions such as expecting them to live in shipping containers, as is sometimes current practice.
- 3.3.6 It may also be necessary to upgrade these state-owned buildings to a uniformly acceptable standard before handing over their ownership.
- 3.3.7 The PA understands that South Africans would also like the opportunity to build their own homes, therefore more land needs to be made available for this to take place, with the full support of municipal servicing for these endeavours. There have been many examples of people who receive RDP houses who demolish these poorly built structures and rebuild their own homes anyway. This is inefficient and a waste of time, energy, labour and physical resources.

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- 3.3.8 In order to reduce such inefficiency, a system can be put in place whereby the state provides building materials up to a certain payment cap, allowing residents to then build their own homes, contributing extra funding to the extent that the household can afford.
- 3.3.9 The PA contends that the rate of service delivery in poor settlements in South Africa has been unacceptably slow. More efficient systems of sanitation, with improved access to electricity and water, will be a top priority for the PA.
- 3.3.10 As far as water supply and sanitation, some predictions show surface water supply in South Africa could decrease by 60% by the year 2070 in parts of the Western Cape. South Africa has an estimated total water capacity of 38 billion cubic metres, but will need 65 billion by 2025 if the economy is to keep on growing. Massive urban migration has placed further strain on the country's ageing water infrastructure and has created a large backlog. The PA will build massive infrastructure, including partnerships with neighbouring or other SADC countries in order to ensure South Africa's future water security and create jobs.

3.4 INDUSTRIALISATION

- 3.4.1 Industry is the production of material goods, excluding agriculture. This industry can also be defined as being made up of the mining, energy and manufacturing sectors.
- 3.4.2 The legacy caused by apartheid policies on industrialisation has been devastating, as these policies were designed to benefit only 25% or less of the population.
- 3.4.3 Following this, for years the textile industry battled and struggled after South Africa was reintegrated into the global economy. Although this sector only contributes 0.06% to South Africa's GDP, it directly employs approximately 127 000 people, mostly working in the Western Cape. Since then this industry has suffered severely with the emergence of Chinese producers. Cheap imports from the latter have had the result that several firms have had to shut down in South Africa. In order to compete well internationally, the PA will draw up a list of industries in which South Africa performs poorly by international standards because of high labour costs. Such industries would then qualify for the relaxation of labour laws in order to encourage job creation and to increase the numbers of competitive exports from South Africa, which would improve the country's balance of trade.
- 3.4.4 South Africa needs to move from having trade deficits to having trade surpluses. The reason why mining and its outputs accounts for almost two-thirds of South Africa's exports is because South Africa is stuck in the typical profile of post-colonial African societies that export raw materials only to buy back finished products that have used those raw materials and transformed them into consumer goods. South Africa (and certainly the rest of Africa) possesses all the requisite raw materials for almost all the finished trade products that the world's population consumes.
- 3.4.5 One of the reasons why South Africa struggles to industrialise and manufacture all the products that it imports is because labour and other business costs are far lower in competitor emerging economies and markets. Labour costs are not, however, the biggest deterrent as labour costs continue to remain relatively low in South Africa. The cost of transport, communications and general living in South Africa is much higher and the PA would undertake to find ways to lower these in relation to competitor nations in order to make South Africa far more competitive.
- 3.4.6 Another reason is that there is a lack of skill and expertise to follow through on industrialisation and manufacturing targets.
- 3.4.7 Under the PA, once labour restrictions have either been relaxed generally for certain industries (many of which do not exist or barely exist as a result of such restrictions in any event) it is expected that industries will begin to form as a natural consequence.

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- 3.4.8 The PA accepts that infrastructure development must remain a top priority for South Africa, with the transportation (particularly rail, road and ports) and energy networks to be expanded, maintained and modernised at ever greater levels in order to cater for the increasing demands that will be placed on all infrastructure to keep up with the rapid growth in development.
- 3.4.9 The PA would also promote different regions of South Africa as hot spots for different kinds of industrialisation in order to spread the South African population more widely than is currently occurring and to ensure that South Africa's towns are supported and allowed to grow, and for some of them to even become cities to rival established urban areas like those in Gauteng, the Western Cape and elsewhere.
- 3.4.10 A more targeted and balanced approach in education in order to promote skills development and expertise growth will also address this shortfall. The PA will pay to send South African students to education centres worldwide in order to bring back valuable knowledge and expertise on every industry in which South Africa could grow to become a major competitor.
- 3.4.11 There has been a large degree of human capital flight from South Africa in recent years. But according to several surveys there has been a reverse in brain drain following the global financial crisis of 2008-2009 and expiration of foreign work contracts. In the first quarter of 2011, confidence levels for graduate professionals were recorded at a level of 84% in a PPS survey. This is something the country can use as a strong foundation to build upon.
- 3.4.12 However, South Africa's Bureau of Statistics estimates that between 1 million and 1.6 million people in skilled, professional, and managerial occupations have emigrated since 1994 and that, for every emigrant, 10 unskilled people lose their jobs. The PA undertakes to reverse this trend and would act to ensure the retention of skilled South Africans, regardless of their race. This can be done in ways that do not hamper the growth of black South Africans in the workforce. Instead, it would grow the framework in which to grow employment across all areas of the workforce.
- 3.4.13 The PA would want South Africa to retain skills and grow the workforce so that the pool of professionals and people with specialised talents becomes as large as possible. Countries are increasingly relying on intellectual capital for success and the retention and spread of skills and knowledge are crucial.
- 3.4.14 This is particularly valid in light of the evidence that the primary cause of brain drain is not affirmative action, employment equity policies, BEE or terrifying headlines about crime and violence but rather that countries such as the UK, US, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia have led active recruitment programmes in South Africa. Other countries go out of their way to poach our most skilled individuals.
- 3.4.15 These countries alone have accounted for 75% (by volume) of recent skilled emigration, with the UK receiving approximately half of annual skilled South African emigration from 1990 to 1996. The South African healthcare sector has been hit particularly hard. A widespread skills drain in South Africa and in the developing world in general is generally considered to be a cause for concern. For the medical sector, the loss of returns from investment for all doctors emigrating is \$1.41bn for South Africa. The benefit to destination countries is huge: \$2.7bn for the United Kingdom alone.
- 3.4.16 The PA undertakes to reverse this trend and even attract international talent to these shores. South Africa is a country with much to offer and it must lead active recruitment programmes of its own to grow its professional skills base through targeted immigration — along with the well-planned educational foundation for its citizens.
- 3.4.17 However, it remains counterproductive to keep training and educating people only for them to leave and share their skills with an adoptive country.

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- 3.4.18 At the moment, the manufacturing industry's contribution to the economy is relatively small, providing just 13.3% of jobs and 15% of GDP. The cost of labour in South Africa is not the most prohibitive factor
- 3.4.19 Companies producing in South Africa can take advantage of the access to new markets as a result of trade agreements with the European Union and the Southern African Development Community. The AGOA agreement with the US has also made South African made products very attractive in the USA as these products can be exported to America tariff free. The PA would work to build on and improve this preferential situation.
- 3.4.20 More primary manufacturing within South Africa's borders would lifting the strain on SA's ports infrastructure, which is currently not able to cope with the high levels of exports currently in demand.
- 3.4.21 Eskom has been widely criticised for failing to adequately plan for and construct sufficient electrical generating capacity, although ultimately the government has admitted that it was at fault for refusing to approve funding for investment in infrastructure. The margin between national demand and available capacity is still low (particularly in peak hours), and power stations are under strain, such that another phase of rolling blackouts is probable if parts of the supply are halted for whatever reason. The PA believes more can be done to bring on board private partners in the electricity industry.

3.5 BANKING AND CREDIT

- 3.5.1 The PA will revisit the Credit Act in order to make it easier for people to obtain housing loans or other forms of critical finance from financial institutions.
- 3.5.2 FICA legislation has in effect helped to entrench and increase the gap between the rich and the poor. Although this legislation has protected the economy from some of the harmful effects of reckless lending, it has inadvertently shored up the visible signs of apartheid. Funding mechanisms will have to be created that bridge this gap.
- 3.5.3 The PA will reinstitute finance policies that worked in the past, such as the thirty-three-and-a-third subsidy scheme, which allowed certain people to gain access to finance, especially those in the market segment where banks were reluctant to provide housing finance. In this instance, government contributed a third of the loan repayment for a period of up to five years. This scheme had the result that even those citizens who became unemployed during the five-year period did not lose their homes to the banks as a result of nonpayment.
- 3.5.4 The PA intends to create a state-funded bank that gives loans for various causes to people who would otherwise have to pay very high interest rates for credit. Such loans could be for homes, for businesses and other causes, including education. Interest charged could merely be in line with inflation.
- 3.5.5 The PA views the current system of banking as somewhat obscene in that the SA Reserve Bank provides capital at a low interest rate to privately owned banks who then charge much higher interest on loans to South African citizens, particularly taxpayers. A well-managed state bank would be able to pass on interest rate savings to the South African consumer. The PA does not intend to nationalise any privately owned banks, but the state's bank would be a competitor to private banks and it is the PA's contention that the state bank would be able to prove itself as a strong and stable competitor, capable of sustaining itself without proving to be a loss to the taxpayer (instead being a boon to all South Africans).
- 3.5.6 The PA would also encourage further competition in the banking sector and the credit sector as a whole.
- 3.5.7 In the immediate future, the PA would work to develop Post Bank to make it more competitive with private banks.

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3.5.8 The PA contends that a state bank will stimulate the domestic economy and allow people to build their own houses and do the things with their lives that they want to and not necessarily always what the state thinks they should do.

3.6 EDUCATION

3.6.1 The standard of teaching in many state schools is unacceptably poor. The PA undertakes to be courageous in dealing with all the factors that limit educational outcomes for our children and young people. According to many studies, South Africa's education system is among the world's worst, particularly in relation to maths and science, despite a large portion of the country's taxes going to schools. Recent tests have even revealed that a worryingly large percentage of our young people struggle to read and write.

3.6.2 The creation higher and basic departments of education, each with their own ministry, has been a dismal failure and a perfect example of why our bloated government appears to grow its state machinery constantly, while its capacity to deliver seems to decline in proportion to its size. These departments must be combined again in order to ensure a single education system and plan from school to tertiary level, overseen by an administration that understands what is required from its investment in education in relation to the overall needs of the country.

3.6.3 The PA understands that a school or education body is largely only as effective as its senior management, particularly its headmaster/principal. Principals will thus be appointed with very limited union influence, unless this is in aid of efficiency and leadership/management qualities. Principals will have to meet set minimum criteria and specifications and be employed on strict performance contracts.

3.6.4 The PA would also expect that teachers be subjected to independently administered tests to determine if they are capable of doing their jobs and be sent on remediation courses if they are found wanting. If after an agreed period these teachers do not meet minimum requirements, they would have to either be sent back to university for more fundamental training or be reassigned to a job more suited to their skills or be fired until such time as they can prove their competence and be re-hired.

3.6.5 The PA believes that teacher salaries are far too low, but that the sector on its own has not done enough to warrant across-the-board increases for all teachers. Substantial increases in salary are necessary though, and these could be applied on a teacher-by-teacher basis, according to the results these teachers achieve with their pupils in standardised tests.

3.6.6 Such incentives could also be applied to principals and heads of department — in that as results improve, so do salaries. Measures would need to be put in place in order to prevent the abuse of such a system.

3.6.7 The PA would will develop programmes that identify talented individuals from every school who exhibit either above average intellectual or sporting ability. Such individuals (which exist in every social class, racial group and age range) are the people with the latent ability to innovate and solve the problems of South Africa in the future. They must be exposed to greater stimulation as they are paradoxically at higher risk of dropping out of school. Similarly, programmes need to be developed for those with lower abilities, so that they can also be granted the best chances in life.

3.6.8 The PA will develop, fund and support mentorship programmes in schools to allow pupils to form relationships with role models in various fields, in order to help them make the right career choices and succeed towards their goals in a systematic, step-by-step fashion. In this respect, the PA would also assign life coaches to each school, providing such individuals are able to produce results.

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- 3.6.9 The PA would be willing to explore public-private partnerships in the education sector as affordable private schools have been found to produce good results. In many ways, private entities have been proven to be more efficient than government entities. Private enterprises either succeed and attract business or are wiped off the map. Government entities survive through government funding, whether they are successful or not. In this respect, private schools who do well can be subsidised by government, allowing them to either charge their pupils much less or nothing at all. A scale can be developed to regulate how such subsidies from government can be disbursed.
- 3.6.10 The PA would like to make education at tertiary level more affordable and even free for deserving students. There is a suggestion that if you study a scarce field, you can be aided financially in more ways than are currently happening. This means management studies, engineering, medicine, technology and so forth, but if you accept state assistance then you should not be allowed to emigrate with those scarce skills for an agreed-upon, but significant, space of time.

3.7. QUALITY NATIONAL HEALTHCARE

- 3.7.1 The PA will improve the performances of public hospitals and work to ensure better services.
- 3.7.2 Where possible, the PA will put local communities and experts, not unaccountable bureaucrats, in charge of improving the performance of public hospitals by creating community-controlled hospital boards that will manage hospital budgets by instilling a “patient-care first” (communities first) policy?
- 3.7.3 At government hospitals, patients have been known to stand in queues for as long as 24 hours. There is clearly a great need to improve public healthcare. The most important health department in the country, Gauteng provincial health, annually gives back money to Treasury that it has not been able to spend. That unspent money is clear robbery of the rights of our people to healthcare.
- 3.7.4 The PA would explore going into more public-private partnerships in order to raise the level of public healthcare to something similar to that enjoyed by those in private healthcare.
- 3.7.5 The PA will introduce drug-related healthcare centres in all areas of the country that are struggling overwhelmingly with the scourge of drugs.
- 3.7.6 The PA will establish more mobile clinics to service rural areas and ensure that the mobile clinics already in service are dispatched more frequently and reliably as they are being heavily underutilised, which puts unnecessary strain on those such as farm workers who must undertake long journeys to access some of the most basic healthcare services.
- 3.7.7 At the moment, the state contributes to a state medical aid scheme that allows its workers to enjoy private medical treatment. This medical scheme regularly goes bankrupt, only to be funded once again from public coffers. State workers must be made to use their own facilities as this will encourage them to maintain these facilities at the highest levels. The state medical aid scheme merely uses tax money to support private business. It would be preferable that if something like this were to be in effect, a clear partnership be made first.
- 3.7.8 The current government is working to establish a national health insurance (NHI) system out of concerns for discrepancies within the national health care system, particularly unequal access to healthcare among different socioeconomic groups. The PA is not opposed to developing a more comprehensive state healthcare system, but the state must first prove it is able to use the resources already allocated to it before demanding more.

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3.8 CORRUPTION-FREE GOVERNMENT

- 3.8.1 In order for the PA's proposed system of administration to be effective, government corruption must be kept at a minimum.
- 3.8.2 The PA would adopt the one-strike system that any official found guilty of a serious infraction would not be allowed to hold public office again for a long period, or the rest of his or her career.
- 3.8.3 Any official found guilty of corruption or any form of theft from the state could be subject to a mandatory sentence of up to 25 years.
- 3.8.4 The PA views stealing from the state and corruption as a form of treason and will be suitably unsympathetic in response.
- 3.8.5 The PA would not underwrite the current system that appears to dominate, which is cadre deployment at all costs, in effect guaranteeing numerous lazy, ineffective, corrupt or simply criminal office bearers jobs for life, with the only sanction that they are moved to a different department after failing.
- 3.8.6 The PA would propose that random integrity tests be done by specialised anti-corruption units on all office-bearers in such a manner that no office-bearer, regardless of position, will be immune. No office-bearer will know whether or not he or she is being tested and must never be sure if a bribe or kickback or other corrupt activity is a test. An office-bearer who fails such standardised tests will either lose their position or a secret mark will be made against their record for possible publication at a later date.
- 3.8.7 The PA will operate with two clear centres of power. Political leadership will build the party and handle party affairs, but will not be involved in running the administration. This applies from the President downwards. The running of the country will be left to people with qualifications, experience and proven success. Politicians often do not make good bureaucrats, and vice versa. The PA understands that. The party's politicians and founding members will develop the policies and the vision. Talented, qualified people will implement those directives and if they don't get it right, they will be replaced quickly with those who can. In short, cadre deployment will become a thing of the past.

3.9 LAND

- 3.9.1 The vexed issue of land reform, redistribution and ownership is both a matter of historical justice and contemporary stability. The PA does not wish to advocate for any policies that would impact on food security, rural jobs and economic growth, but the state must become a more active participant in the purchase of privately owned land, as prime farmland continues to be sold regularly, but primarily back into private hands.
- 3.9.2 The PA is clear on its position that farming and land ownership are not the same thing. These things have been incorrectly conflated in the debate on land redistribution, but obviously not all land can or should be used for farming just as not all farming land must be redistributed.
- 3.9.3 Currently, the government's plan of transferring 30% of 82 million hectares presumed to be in the hands of white farmers has been acknowledged as a failure. Only 6.7 million hectares were transferred by early 2012 via redistribution and restitution.
- 3.9.4 The recent land audit also made it clear that there are still significant amounts of unallocated land. Marginal land can be used more proactively, for example. Those communities for whom an historical affinity with the land still exists should be given the opportunity to express that through sustainable, productive farming methods or simply land ownership without expectation.
- 3.9.5 In many cases, land claimants prefer to have their historical claim paid out in cash. While this has been ongoing, it does not change ownership patterns.

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- 3.9.6 The PA is aware that globally the move has been towards urban living, and the focus should remain on building world-class modern cities for SA's citizens. The future of the bulk of South Africa's people remains in creating well-run, accessible cities and megacities with effective transport systems and access to modern facilities that allow human beings to express their full potential. In this respect, rural living continues to grow less attractive.
- 3.9.7 The PA will, however, strike a balance, and therefore the PA will undertake where it rules to allow the state to amass more state land through the open land market and through a yet-to-be-developed flat rate purchase system.
- 3.9.8 Instead of reselling or donating appropriated state land to particular individuals or communities, the state will consider retaining ownership of its land in many cases and give people or businesses licences to use it in ways that contribute most effectively to the growth of the country as a whole or to satisfying a historical claim to be on or use the land.
- 3.9.9 A need has also been identified to more efficiently and fairly transfer title deeds of ownership to farm workers who have been living with their families for decades on the farms of commercial farm owners and who indeed have a rightful claim to the land they have been occupying. The PA wishes to extend benefits of the the state's housing scheme to such families as well.
- 3.9.10 State land already in government control (a significant amount) can be used to start this process. Historical and restitutionary claims to land would advantage any person or community wishing to have access and use of such state land.
- 3.9.11 The PA will support programmes relating to land redistribution in order to speed up the land reform process in a coordinated manner. The PA will speed up the redistribution and the pending restitution matters and the red tape associated with the finalisation of these processes.
- 4.8.12 The state must draw up a fair payment system with flat rates across the board for key land that it has identified for reform (not necessarily all land, and key land will be described using very clear descriptors). If the state decides that certain areas of land need to be expropriated for state use, then the flat rate system of compensation will be used. Once the state identifies land, the nominal owner of such land will be compelled to accept the flat rate fee for the transaction. This policy has been adopted owing to the clear failure of the willing buyer-willing seller approach to land reform that has been the relatively unsuccessful approach of the ANC for all its time in power.

4. CORNERSTONE POLICIES

4.1 UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE YOUTH

- 4.1.1 Unemployment continues to be high, with as much as 40% of South Africa's workforce out of work.
- 4.1.2 Half of the officially unemployed are women and more than 70% are under the age of 34. This youth bulge is a ticking time bomb for South Africa and the PA wishes to put in place every practical measure to absorb the youth, among our country's most energetic and resourceful people, into the workforce.
- 4.1.3 There are no simple solutions to this problem, but the PA supports the principle of pushing for the further industrialisation of the country, tied to training targets that address the very real skills gaps that exist.
- 4.1.4 South Africa has an extreme and persistent high unemployment rate, which interacts with other economic and social problems such as inadequate education, poor health outcomes and crime. In the second quarter of 2010, the jobless rate increased to 25.3%, and the number of people with work fell by 61 000 to 12.7 million. The biggest decline in employment

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was recorded in the manufacturing industry, which shed 53 000 workers. Agriculture lost 32 000 jobs and employment in the construction industry fell by 15 000. In the third quarter of 2010, 29.80% of blacks were officially unemployed, compared with 22.30% of coloureds, 8.60 of Asians and 5.10% of whites. This negative trend must be arrested.

- 4.1.5 The PA supports policy programmes that have the interests of the poor and marginalised community at heart. The PA will support any viable youth programmes that will develop and introduce skills programmes for children.

4.2 CULTURE AND HERITAGE

- 4.2.1 The PA will support policies that contribute to our rich heritage culture and will financially assist our diverse heritage culture groups such as the Malay and Coon's Carnivals (commonly known as the Kaapse-Klopse), along with a wide range of rich and diverse cultural groups that contribute to the melting pot that is South Africa.
- 4.2.2 The PA undertakes to fund and preserve cultural heritage events, the details of which will be expanded upon in further versions of this manifesto.

4.3 PRISONERS AND REHABILITATION

- 4.3.1 The PA wants to look at the principles of natural justice in terms of the human rights of prisoners and ex-prisoners.
- 4.3.2 The PA will re-examine the conditions of our prisons and will support programmes for prisoners in order for them to reclaim their place in society after serving their prison sentences or terms.
- 4.3.3 The PA will look at support programmes for inmates and their families who have a family member in jail or while a member is serving a jail sentence.
- 4.3.4 The PA will support policies for prisoners and ex-prisoners that will ensure former inmates re-integrate into society after serving their jail terms.
- 4.3.5 The PA will seriously consider the possibility of an amnesty and perhaps cleaning or parking of certain categories of criminal record. For example, those who have refrained from being involved in gang-related activity or crimes could be eligible for having their records expunged completely after a decade.
- 4.3.6 This will be a policy directive that will allow all active persons to re-enter the workforce. The whole purpose of this directive is aimed at combating crime, keeping people occupied and off the street and less dependent on the state. Crimes where research shows that people are likely to be repeat offenders over the course of their lives, such as child molestation and rape, will not qualify for such amnesties.
- 4.3.7 The PA proposes that awaiting trial prisoners must be separated from sentenced prisoners, in order to limit the negative transfer of prison attitudes and lifestyle, especially to younger inmates.
- 4.3.8 Prisoners themselves must be made to do work, such as being part of the process of building new prisons. The PA supports prison reform in various fundamental ways. More and better prisons need to be built as a matter of urgency.
- 4.3.9 Recidivism in prisons has much to do with the generally undignified conditions that our sentenced and awaiting trial prisoners must contend with. There are innumerable projects and tasks that would not take work from honest people looking for employment, and these are the tasks that prisoners must perform, both to pay for their crimes and to learn a skill and the culture of work generally.
- 4.3.10 Education programmes and other skills-training programmes must be expanded within prisons and more needs to be done post-incarceration to ensure that vulnerable ex-convicts do not become career criminals and fall into the life of violent crime. This is not to be seen

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as a reward for anyone going to prison and no programme that is open to released prisoners should not be open to a free citizen either.

4.4 MINING AND BENEFICIATION

- 4.4.1 The PA is proposing that a share of future mining income be used towards the empowerment strategies already outlined as a keystone policy.
- 4.4.2 Mining has been the main driving force behind the history and development of South Africa. Despite declines in the gold mining industry, South Africa is still one of the world's leading mining and mineral-processing countries. Mining's contribution to the national GDP has fallen from 21% in 1970 to 6% in 2011 (and even less in 2013), it still represents almost 60% of exports. The mining sector accounts for up to 9% of value added.
- 4.4.3 The PA is opposed to wholesale nationalisation of any industry, including mining, but is interested in suggestions for policy that would make the state a bigger player in the industry, with more state-owned mines and larger capital flows from mining to the national treasury. This option would be used to bolster either the national tax base or the People's Empowerment Partner outlined as a keystone policy.
- 4.4.4 The PA is also interested in proposals on how to make young South Africans take ownership of a larger share of mining ventures in the country. The PA will build on our strength as one of the world's rich resource-based economies and create mechanisms that will support initiatives and policies that will restructure the mining industry to bring on board the youth and women. In future, mining projects must be owned, to a large degree, by the youth in empowerment schemes that are not included in the umbrella of the PEP.
- 4.4.5 Mining companies have proven to be largely incapable of creating and running social and community-economic projects. Such projects need to be in place, but must be run by qualified government entities or NGOs. These will be funded by either taxes or directly by mining companies, depending on the nature of the work concerned.
- 4.4.6 The PA will be far stricter on regulations that require mining companies to clean up their waste and not leave the environmental disasters South Africa has inherited from mining activities in the past.
- 4.4.7 It is imperative that mining companies be seen to be doing business with the local communities in which they operate. The PA will be stricter on prescribing policies of procuring goods and services from local communities as well as hiring policies that benefit those living in close proximity to these mines.
- 4.4.8 South Africa must foster its mining, energy and resource sector and become globally competitive. In this regard, the PA should unleash the real economic potential in our mining industry by removing the shackles and burdens holding the industry back and by making the industry more productive and globally competitive. Any policy promoting this outcome would be welcomed.
- 4.4.9 The PA will enter the debate constructively on whether or not fracking should take place. If the country indeed has vast reserves of natural gas, this would help to transform the economy, but the PA would want future boom industries such as fracking to be a key industry to go towards establishing the broad empowerment tool, the PEP.

4.5. PRESS FREEDOM

- 4.5.1 The PA supports press freedom and shall promote exposing power abuse by any political structure. The PA would want the Secrecy Bill to be radically reformed.

4.6. THE ECONOMY AND JOB CREATION

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- 4.6.1 The JSE is the largest stock exchange on the African continent. South Africa has a mixed economy, the largest in Africa. Despite this, South Africa is still burdened by a relatively high rate of poverty and unemployment, and is also ranked in the top 10 countries in the world for income inequality, measured by the Gini coefficient. Unlike most of the world's poor countries, South Africa does not have a thriving informal economy.
- 4.6.2 According to OECD estimates, only 15% of South African jobs are in the informal sector, compared with around half in Brazil and India and nearly three-quarters in Indonesia. The OECD attributes this difference to South Africa's widespread welfare system.
- 4.6.3 Other problems include state ownership and interference, which impose high barriers to entry in many areas. Restrictive labour regulations have contributed to the unemployment malaise. The PA will put policies in place that will allow the informal jobs sector to grow and absorb more people. The PA will encourage small, medium and micro-sized enterprises and will create funding mechanisms that will help and support small-business development.
- 4.6.4 South Africa has a comparative advantage in the production of agriculture, mining and manufacturing products relating to these sectors. But the high levels of unemployment and other linked issues such as crime, have hurt investment and growth, which has had a negative feedback effect on employment. Crime is considered a major or very severe constraint on investment by 30% of enterprises in South Africa.
- 4.6.5 Poverty remains a major obstacle to changing employment fortunes. According to 2002 estimates, 62% of South Africans living in poverty are Africans, 29% are coloureds, 11% are Indians/Asians and 4% are whites.
- 4.6.6 The PA's economic plan will transform the abovementioned challenges while keeping the realities of reasoned economic planning in mind. The PA undertakes that whatever economic decisions it makes will ultimately strengthen our fiscal policies to deliver a strong, prosperous economy based on the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution.
- 4.6.7 This plan will deliver and create more jobs, market-related real wages and better living standards for all South Africans, which includes the youth and vulnerable groups.
- 4.6.8 The PA believes in a strong, free, productive and prosperous economy, with less debt and with economic benefits for all.
- 4.6.9 A prosperous economy with less debt is the essential ingredient that allows us all to secure the aspirations we have for ourselves, our families and our country. The PA will create opportunities that will boost productivity to secure greater prosperity and build more 21st-century infrastructure.

4.7 WOMEN'S RIGHTS

- 4.7.1 The PA accepts without question that societies become more stable, egalitarian and prosperous when women are empowered, young girls are properly educated, birth control is freely available and high infant mortality rates are lowered. These factors alone encourage women and their partners, if they have them, to plan families more carefully and responsibly and to raise children more equipped to handle the challenges of the modern world.
- 4.7.2 The PA therefore backs policies that promote the empowerment of women and will defend women's rights to decide what happens to their bodies.
- 4.7.3 The rape of women is a vile pandemic in South Africa. The PA will be much harder on deterring rape through the justice system. Rape courts must be established with specialists who understand the sensitive nature of such crimes, and who get watertight results to prosecute offenders and thus raise deterrence.
- 4.7.4 The PA also hopes to create further opportunities for women in all industries and economic sectors of South Africa and hopes to restructure industries to enable women and their im-

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mediate families to get ahead and have a real chance in life to raise healthy, happy families and/or to focus on having strong careers.

4.8 FARMING

- 4.8.1 The PA reiterates that policy issues of land restitution and agriculture are separate issues, though of course they are closely linked.
- 4.8.2 Issues of land reform and restitution, for those affected by both the policies of the 1913 Land Act and apartheid and those displaced by colonial wars prior to this, can also be viewed as independent from agricultural production, which, while a small generator of revenue, is very important in terms of fighting hunger in the nation. The agricultural industry contributes around 10% of formal employment and provides work for casual labourers. The industry contributes only around 2.6% of GDP for the nation. Due to the aridity of the land, only 13.5% of land can be used for crop production, and only 3% is considered high-potential land.
- 4.8.3 The agricultural sector continues to face problems, with increased foreign competition and crime being two major challenges for the industry. Maize production, which contributes to a 36% majority of the gross value of South Africa's field crops, has also experienced negative effects owing to climate change.
- 4.8.4 Competitive pressures from abroad, particularly from China and India, have played a role in the decline of exports for the food, textiles and paper sub-sectors, as firms in these sectors increasingly compete with lower cost producers. Increased exports from the beverages, tobacco, wood and leather sub-sectors over the period are due to the presence of large dominant firms within these sectors in South Africa that have managed to remain competitive.
- 4.8.5 However, in terms of political policy issues, currently in many areas of South Africa farm workers are still paid what amounts to little more than slave wages in some instances. On some farms, the illegal dop system is still used. The PA will be far more decisive in putting regulations and enforcing labour laws to counter this culture of exploitation. There is also a general culture of exploiting farm workers and the PA will investigate all the factors contributing to this, with the aim of constructively reforming it.
- 4.8.6 The PA will promote state ownership of farming land and create state-owned farms. Workers who are part of production on a state-owned farm will have a share in the profits of their farm and will thus be able to build up a family legacy, which is currently impossible, a situation that traps farm workers in an endless cycle of poverty.
- 4.8.7 As farming is such an essential component of the PA's vision for taking South Africa from being a net importer of food to a net exporter, the state may choose to provide subsidies to state-partnered farms that engage in behaviour that promotes a more prosperous South Africa. Subsidising of farmers is, for example, common practice in the European Union. This will allow farmers to pay higher salaries to workers and could encourage them to grow the sorts of crops that are sustainable and which fit into the overall macroeconomic plan put in place year by year for the agricultural sector.
- 4.8.8 Skills transfer in farming is critical and the PA will reward white farmers when they show results in transferring skills to black or coloured farm owners.
- 4.8.9 The PA will consistently seek progressive reform of the agricultural sector.

4.9 POLICING AND CRIME

- 4.9.1 Crime in South Africa is a well-understood issue impacting severely on the quality of life in South Africa.

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- 4.9.2 Police officers who excel in the line of duty can be rewarded, while those who do not should face appropriate censure. The PA accepts that a body of research has been conducted into how to minimise corruption in the police force and so a suggestion is that government not allow officers to patrol in areas where they themselves grew up and have families, as this exposes them to being influenced by gangs.
- 4.9.3 The PA will promote a culture of transparency within the police force, so that all police officers would have to be subjected to random integrity tests, such as those that are common in the New York Police Department, of such a nature that no officer will ever be able to know if and when they are being tested. (Note: under the PA, all workers in the civil service must be subjected to such tests across the board). This has proven to be part of the effective long-term strategy that is needed to build a service of police officers who are professional and uphold the law at all times. Naturally, many challenges exist, including drug and alcohol abuse in the SAPS, gang affiliations, low morale and a culture of violence.
- 4.9.4 The PA believes that, with an understanding of the situation and a scientific approach to solving it (as with all the problems in SA), it will be possible to fix the rot at the heart of the police service and welcomes policy suggestions on how this can be achieved most effectively. Currently, the SAPS is going out of its way to deny many of its flaws and shortcomings. A national commissioner who is not a political appointment and someone who actually understands the operations of combating crime, thanks to a lifetime of service to the police, will be a first priority for the PA.
- 4.9.5 Ultimately, crime is an issue that resonates with every South African in some way and it can only be dealt with once the SAPS has been fixed. The current crime stats call for far more random searches to be performed in public spaces by police and for all citizens to be aware that in order to secure the peace and safety of all, supporting police in efforts to prevent crime instead of mopping up behind it will benefit everyone.
- 4.9.6 The PA will implement broad policy on how to improve safety and security and combat crime most effectively.

4.10 TELECOMMUNICATIONS

- 4.10.1 South Africa requires more, faster and cheaper internet access. The PA will support all infrastructural developments that allow more of our people to have access to this fundamental tool in this century.
- 4.10.2 Every person in South Africa must have access to the internet in some form and this needs to be treated as something as fundamental as housing, water and electricity.

4.11 TRADE UNIONS

- 4.11.1 The tragedy at Marikana is also very well known and is the result of the perceived need by our people to resort to violent strikes in order to be heard. Every effort must be made to reduce the violent nature of protests and well-formed unionisation is key to this.
- 4.11.2 There is a persistent wage differential between unionised and non-unionised workers in South Africa, suggesting that unions are keeping wages higher for their members, thereby posing additional challenges to the unemployment problem. The PA will investigate this and seek reforms.
- 4.11.3 Many analysts have written about how trade unions have protected individuals who perform poorly, especially in critical public sectors such as education and they consistently block measures to make salary adjustments that are linked to performance. The PA will ensure that unions do not have the power to protect inefficient members such as weak teachers and police members. Unions must be there to protect the rights of workers who are being discriminated against unfairly.

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- 4.11.4 Trade unionism is an important part of the South African constitution and it plays a key role in protecting our democracy, but the practical outworking of trade unionism has not always benefited the growth of South Africa broadly. The main reason for this is the sometimes incestuous relationship between trade union leaders, the ruling party and business interests. The PA would propose that in future trade unions operate strictly independently without all the numerous conflicts of interest that currently exist.