



# UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

## UDM 2019 National and Provincial Elections Manifesto

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### Foreword by the President

Dear Voter

The United Democratic Movement (UDM) is the political home of all South Africans, united in the spirit of South Africanism by our common passion for our country, mobilising the creative power inherent in our rich diversity, towards our transformation into a **prosperous** and winning nation.

The UDM has demonstrated **integrity** amongst all our members and leadership. All our work in serving the nation has been done to restore and preserve the **dignity** of our people. Our dream for this country is to ensure that each woman, man and child live a **prosperous** and flourishing life.

Our three guiding pillars, **integrity**, **dignity** and **prosperity**, feed our minds and our actions as a modern political party that firmly stands against corruption and the exploitation of South Africans; especially the poor who cannot weather the effects of the ruling party's dishonest, bungling government and don't care attitude. It is thus that the UDM, with our anticorruption and good governance stance, has for the past two decades left no stone unturned in our fight to have corruption eradicated wherever we found it.

The UDM's track record speaks for itself. We fought the immoral floor-crossing legislation and were vindicated when it was eventually removed from the country's statute books. The UDM took the matter of the irregular lease agreement of the Independent Electoral Commission's offices to the Public Protector, after which Advocate Tlakula was forced to resign. Post 2016 Local Government Elections, the UDM was the catalyst in establishing coalition governments in several metropolitan municipalities. We were part of organising the biggest march to the Union Buildings, which called for the former president to vacate his office. The UDM was at the lead when various opposition parties took the matter of the secret ballot on the no-confidence motion in the former president to the constitutional court and succeeded in forcing the speaker of the national assembly to pronounce on how the balloting would take place. Most recently, the UDM exposed alleged corruption at the Public Investment Corporation amounting to billions of rands and called for the chief executive officer to leave, which has happened, and we asked the president to institute a commission of inquiry into the matter.

Many would argue that the hopes and dreams of a “New South Africa” and the “Rainbow Nation” have rapidly, and sadly, faded away over the past 24 years. Although some progress has been made, no-one can deny that that ruling party has led South Africa sliding further down the slippery slope and the disgrace continues. In fact, the past 24 years are a lesson in point about “what not to do”.

Our economy is in the doldrums and the cost of living is so high that the average South African struggles to afford the bare necessities. Civil disobedience, as fostered by the incumbent government’s unwillingness to listen, is an everyday occurrence. Vicious crime and general lawlessness permeate our daily lives and rampant corruption and maladministration discolours our country’s future.

The “Gupta leaks” saga, of which we are still experiencing the ripple effect, shocked the nation and world. The South African Revenue Service’s credibility is shot. Billions of rands are involved with alleged corruption at the Public Investment Corporation that puts hundreds of thousands of government employees’ pensions at risk. Even top leaders at the National Prosecuting Authority, which is responsible for the prosecution of corruption cases and safeguarding of our public purse, are in the firing line. The Steinhoff debacle is also a stark reminder that corruption pervades not only in the public sector, but also in the private sector.

South Africa can simply not afford these knocks and our people must no longer accept that a small group of the so-called elite decide our future without ever asking our opinion or ever taking responsibility for their actions when they get it wrong.

In contrast to the status quo, a UDM government shall be a listening and responsive government that works from the premise of responsible and ethical leadership. We will foster a disciplined and stable society in which entrepreneurial spirit and productive enterprise can develop and flourish. In this way the UDM shall generate a sense of pride in all South Africans and allow for their ownership of government by establishing a new ethical framework of incorruptibility, accountability, transparency and impartiality.

The UDM with this manifesto showcase the plans we have for South Africa and if you, the voter, gives us a chance to govern we shall implement.

**We invite you on a journey where our people are put first; where government goes back to basics to do more to ensure that all South Africans live a life of Integrity, Dignity and Prosperity in the spirit of ubuntu.**

Bantu Holomisa, UDM President

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## **1. Economy**

Much of South Africa's economic problems over the past decade can be attributed to the ruling party's gross mismanagement of the economy and state-owned enterprises (SOEs), as well as policy uncertainty. As a consequence, the South African economy has experienced tepid – but still negligible – economic growth rates over this period.

Under the ANC government, countless bailouts to SOEs have turned them into a major drain on the fiscus, diverting billions of Rands that should be channelled to the poor and service delivery.

Further, the ANC government has failed to reduce the unemployment rate, the youth unemployment rate and poverty and inequality despite it having borrowed more than R1 trillion over the past decade. Rampant corruption and the mismanagement of the South African economy has resulted in an increase in the cost of living for the poor and the working class.

The UDM believes that a responsible government cannot leave the fate of South Africans to market forces alone. Nor can it sit back while the economy is underperforming; causing the quality of life of the poor and the working class to deteriorate.

As a social democratic party that works for “social reform” and “social renewal” in order to ensure inclusive growth and development, a UDM government will adopt pro-poor economic growth policies that seek to redistribute income, eradicate poverty, reduce inequality and ensure dignity and prosperity for all South Africans. For instance, a UDM government will cut VAT back to 14% and increase Corporate Income Tax from 28% to 29%. We would also restructure the SOEs portfolio of government and ensure that only the ones that are central to government's growth and development strategy are kept.

### **1.1. The UDM's proposal for an Economic Indaba**

South Africa needs an inspiring and shared economic vision of where we are going in the next ten to twenty years, where all South Africans will feel that they have a meaningful role to play in making the country an economic, social and political success.

Looking back, the Codesa negotiations only focused on political freedom and consequently economic policy formulation has been left to individual ministers to the detriment of the

development of a comprehensive and coherent economic plan for South Africa. This approach to policy formulation is not sustainable, because as soon as changes occur in government, a new administration tends to disown previously adopted policies.

To compound matters, the tri-partite alliance's differing stances on the economy further confuses policies with the National Development Plan being the white elephant in the room.

Although we do not out of hand discard the current administration's economic summits, the UDM strongly believes that a similar exercise as the Codesa talks needs to take place, but this time in the form of an Economic Indaba. Piecemeal conferences and summits will not do the job; it needs a concerted effort with all stakeholders gathering under one roof to hammer out South Africa's economic policy. This Economic Indaba should emerge with consensus after which its decisions should directly go to parliament for ratification and implementation.

## **1.2. Manageable public debt and budget deficit**

Government spending has over the past decade been consistently far greater than revenue due to the ruling party's rampant corruption and economic mismanagement, which has led to an accumulation of public debt.

The UDM supports the concept of a manageable public debt and budget deficit, requiring fiscal discipline to ensure that government borrowing does not exceed reasonable limits, but allowing government the leeway to invest in infrastructure development, thereby creating jobs, to address imbalances and inequality.

A UDM government will not use borrowed money to fund government's day-to-day operational expenses. We believe that borrowed funds should be used for investment expenditure to ensure inter-generational fiscal equity. We will maintain budget deficits and public deficits that are in line with international standards to avoid sovereign debt crisis.

To prevent a sovereign debt crisis, a UDM Government will introduce a Debt Management Bill within the first 100 days in office.

### **1.3. Investment in business confidence**

24 years after uninterrupted ANC-rule, South Africa is still plagued by policy uncertainty. It started with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), then the Growth, Employment and Redistribution framework (GEAR), then the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA), followed by the New Growth Path (NGP), then the National Development Plan 2030 (NDP) and most recently, Radical Economic Transformation (RET). This chopping and changing erodes investor confidence and drive out entrepreneurship. It certainly has not done South Africa any favours where international ratings are concerned, with agencies citing policy uncertainty as one of South Africa's chronic ills.

The nonexistence of clear guidelines on how to deal with direct investment does our reputation as direct investment destination more harm than good. In addition to creating an environment that is conducive for the private sector to flourish, a UDM government will place a heavy emphasis on attracting direct investment.

The UDM proposes that business and investor confidence, as influenced by perceptions regarding government and politics be improved, amongst others, by:

- Ensuring policy consistency and certainty.
- Addressing energy constraints on the economy and rising energy costs.
- Dealing decisively with the financial and governance challenges facing SOEs in order to restore investor confidence and to ensure that these entities fulfil their socio-economic developmental mandates.
- Addressing the skills shortages.
- Taking steps to root out corruption in both the public and private sectors.
- Applying a merit-based appointment system in government.
- Promoting the separation of powers between the cabinet and parliament i.e. between the executive and the legislature.
- Enhancing the role of parliament and its committees as a government perceived to be under close scrutiny at all times will perform better and improve investor confidence.

### **1.4. Sustainable job creation**

Not only is South Africa one of the most unequal societies in the world, it also has one of the highest unemployment rates. The primary objective must be an attempt to stem the tide of rising unemployment, with its obvious adverse consequences for social and economic stability.

Ultimately, each South African should have the opportunity to be gainfully employed in order to contribute to the economy and society, irrespective of race, gender or class.

The unemployment crisis in South Africa has many causes that underscore the need for a comprehensive strategy.

As one solution, a UDM government will launch a massive initiative focussing on job creation through infrastructure maintenance and development. This planned sustainable development project will be driven by government through the department of public works in coordination with all departments.

Furthermore, the UDM's response to the challenge of unemployment encompasses:

- Identifying markets for small firms through promoting domestic and foreign connections to adequately address both the supply and demand side of the economy.
- Developing capacity in the areas of improved business and entrepreneurial skills.
- Promoting the efficient and effective use of public resources to serve the dual goal of small business development and skills creation in the productive labour force.
- Identifying loan and capital sources, as well as facilitating loans and investments in community businesses.
- Investing in sector-based planning and implementation, including the creation of sector-specific banks to provide financial assistance to historically disadvantaged groups and individuals.
- Devoting more resources to promote "buying South African" as a tool to stimulate local wealth generation and job creation.

Another critical challenge facing South Africa is that of the poor management of immigration. The UDM believes that legal immigrants can contribute to enterprise development and growth. However, the incumbent government's failure to deal with the employment of illegal immigrants for lower salaries, while millions of South Africans are locked outside the labour market, is a major cause for concern.

A UDM government will protect its citizens against unfair competition and deal with the exploitation of illegal immigrants in the private sector. A UDM government will handle illegal immigration in a humane and holistic manner in line with our continental and international obligations.

## **1.5. Enterprise development and SMMEs**

The UDM believes that the creative spirit inherent in South Africans must be unleashed to create jobs. This can be done through a policy of small business development whereby citizens become wealth creators. A creative business spirit and capacity can be fostered by identifying and overhauling obstacles like unnecessary legislation and regulations, creating access to capital, establishing accessible markets for products, and by appropriate education, training and skills development.

In addition, a UDM government will seek out alternative and innovative financing options to assist small entrepreneurs. These options should include the establishment of local stock exchanges, small and medium business investment corporations, community development banks, negotiations with investment and insurance funds for venture capital and the establishment of credible micro-finance institutions.

The UDM government will re-introduce government programmes that employ and train the unemployed in agricultural and community development projects and transforming these programmes into self-sustaining, locally-owned enterprises with the opportunity to grow, accumulate assets and create employment.

A UDM government will adopt a venture capital mind-set, providing seed money to local enterprises for which they would receive a share in the returns of the enterprise. Local government shall be empowered to provide resources for developing appropriate infrastructure for street traders and hawkers to support these fledgling entrepreneurs. This will encourage their important role in the economy as well as contribute to job creation and enterprise development in the local economies.

One of the key areas a UDM government will unlock is the role of business in developing mentoring programmes and establishing small-scale sub-contracting arrangements with local SMMEs. Such programmes must provide training and financial assistance to build upon SMMEs' existing technical and manufacturing capabilities; improving the quality of their products and their delivery and ultimately creating successful self-sufficient suppliers.



## 1.6. Land

As we all know, land ownership in South Africa has a painful history, since it played a central role in the racially divisive politics of the past. The majority of our citizens remain landless 24 years into our democracy. The incumbent government's failure to deliver on the issue of land, has had a severe impact on the lives of most South Africans, depriving them economically, culturally and emotionally of opportunities to become active citizens.

When the new South Africa was ushered in, the issue of land was placed on the backburner with political freedom as item number one on the agenda. That said, the land issue, as a tool to achieve economic emancipation should have been tackled much sooner to avoid the emotional tug-and-pull we now witness.

The National Assembly, on 27 February 2018, took a resolution on the expropriation of land without compensation and the UDM voted in favour of this resolution, *after* it was amended.<sup>1</sup> The UDM certainly did not vote for free-for-all land grabs and evictions.

Even though the constitutional review committee's consultation process has taken its course, opinions are still poles apart in terms finding an agreed upon solution to address land question.

In this regard, the UDM has long promoted the view that the matter can only be definitively resolved at the proposed Economic Indaba, where all stakeholders can congregate to discuss the macro economy, with land at the apex of the debate. This exercise would ensure that South Africans enter a structured debate and that they take ownership of any decisions made.

Specifically, in terms of expropriation without compensation, a UDM government will convene an Economic Indaba that should emerge with answers to, amongst others, the following questions:

- Who exactly (individuals, companies and/or government) will be affected and how?
- How does food security and economic stability impact implementation i.e. does it prevent expropriation in specific circumstances, and what those would be?
- How will government handle rapid urbanisation and an ever-increasing need to make land available in cities and the concomitant denuding of rural communities and local economies?
- How will traditional leaders and rural communities be affected?
- How will entities such as the Ingonyama Trust be impacted?

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<sup>1</sup> <http://udm.org.za/moelwc/>

- What will be the effect on the land tenure system?
- What would the position be on the sale of, in main, urban land to foreigners?
- How will the issuing of title deeds be sped up so that entrepreneurs may use them as collateral to secure capital for start-ups?

### **1.7. Infrastructure development and maintenance**

Infrastructure development has always been recognised as a critical factor in promoting economic growth. It has a positive impact on the individuals, households and rural communities, in particular, in terms of quality life. There are also a number of economic benefits that are associated with infrastructure-led growth i.e. increased income, employment, productivity improvement, income redistribution, to mention but a few.

We however need a holistic plan for the development of South Africa. Although several infrastructure development projects have been introduced, most of the country's infrastructure is deteriorating due to insufficient or total lack of maintenance.

Such deterioration even occurs at institutions that are supposed to deliver efficient services, such as the company registrar's office, the patent office, tender offices, the Masters of the High Court and other courts.

Rapid infrastructure development and maintenance should be designed to stimulate economic development, growth and job creation. In this regard, a UDM government will act as an important role player, coordinating the efforts of all spheres of government through planned sustainable development programmes. Expenditure on such programmes could be financed from the proceeds obtained from the successful implementation of a restructuring programme and the clever disposal of unused public works property.

In addition, the UDM with its integrated policy approach, will ensure that the work of the Presidential Infrastructure Co-ordinating Commission (PICC) is driven from grassroots level. A comprehensive ward, municipal, district and provincial based infrastructure development plan will be devised which shall be centrally coordinated by the PICC. A UDM government will ensure that its investment in education aligns with the infrastructure development goals to avoid this sector being dominated by foreign experts and we will draw on the invaluable expertise that South Africans in all sectors possess.

### **1.7.1. Rapid urbanisation**

It is estimated that more than 64% of South Africans live in urban areas, much due to the hope that people will find jobs in the cities and towns. Once these hopefuls come into touch with the harsh reality, the job market spits them out and they are relegated to languish in townships and informal settlements.

A UDM government will put in place strategies that includes, at least, the following:

- Identify urban geographical areas where new communities can be established.
- Determine where and how existing urban areas can be improved and expanded.
- Find ways to maintain and protect existing urban infrastructure and build new infrastructure.
- Determine a new urban housing policy, including aspects such as density, availability of land for residential purposes, land tenure, property rights, etc.
- Develop innovative new mass urban/rural transit systems.
- Protect surrounding rural areas, such as farmland and forests, from urban sprawl.
- Provide for the needs of urban populations e.g. water, power, sewerage, schools, health care and open spaces.
- When town planning takes place, the location of cemeteries should be clearly defined in appropriate spaces.

### **1.7.2. Investment on social transport infrastructure**

Our public transport system leaves much to be desired and an over-reliance, coupled with lack of maintenance of our road infrastructure, has led to its rapid decay. A UDM government will explore the possibility of having an intercity high-speed rail put in place. This would be possible via the refurbishment and adaptation of existing railway lines and building additional capacity where needed.

A high-speed railway system would, amongst others, have the following advantages:

- a) The reduction of accidents and fatalities on our roads.
- b) Greater access to specialised services, e.g. courts, legislatures, hospitals and healthcare specialists, universities, etc.
- c) Roads that are taxed less by heavy vehicles that damage road surfaces which in turn cost a lot of money to maintain.
- d) The reduced dependence on road transport will have the spin-off of speeding up our economy, for example:

- Businesses could be located anywhere and transport their goods with ease and at relatively low costs.
- New business opportunities can be found in areas where it was previously deemed too remote.
- Employers could offer work to people from far reaching places thus spreading wealth to rural areas.
- People will not have to face a choice between pursuing their careers and moving away from their families and loved-ones.
- Our lucrative tourism industry could be further unlocked, not only for international tourism, but also for local tourism.

## **1.8. Rural revitalisation**

Rural areas in South Africa are still characterised by poverty, joblessness and gross inequality. A UDM government will introduce programmes that will employ and train the unemployed in agricultural, tourism and community development projects. These programmes shall be transformed into self-sustaining, privately owned businesses that have the potential to grow, accumulate assets and create employment.

Adequate support will be given to rural municipalities that have a limited revenue, raising capacity and those that suffer from skills shortage. This would help deal with past imbalances and backlogs and create the much-needed employment opportunities in rural areas.

A UDM government will develop irrigation schemes which has been neglected despite the massive successes achieved by irrigation schemes developed by the government in the mid-twentieth century. Currently vast quantities of water flow through the rivers of these regions, without being properly applied for agricultural or human needs. Catchment area research and large-scale infrastructure development in KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape will be initiated as a matter of urgency.

The closure of the so-called border-industries, which created jobs close to the former homelands, was a case of throwing the baby away with the bathwater. A UDM government will reinstate tax incentives for businesses to open factories closer to where rural communities live in order to stem rapid urbanisation.

### **1.8.1. Traditional leaders**

For millions of South Africans traditional leaders are the custodians of their culture, traditions and values. They are authority figures, undisputed leaders and decision makers. They are the closest form of government that many of our people know, especially in rural South Africa. The UDM therefore acknowledges that traditional leaders play a critical role in ensuring that our people's right to dignity is restored and protected.

To date the role of traditional leadership has been belittled and undermined, thereby threatening the one social institution that is best placed to understand and promote the needs and aspirations of rural people. A UDM government will recognise and protect the role and institution of traditional leaders.

There are also gross disparities between how the traditional leaders of the various tribes at various levels are treated. The UDM is of the view that the value of the perks (such as value for money vehicles) must be properly budgeted for and of critical importance is that such perks should be standardised across the board.

## **2. Good governance**

South Africa is constantly challenged by scandals of corruption and abuses of power that negatively impact on service delivery. This ranges from top ranking officials to levels lower down and even petty corruption such as bribery of government officials. At the heart of the problem is that government and those in its ranks do not care about the money they manage on behalf of our people.

The Auditor General recently announced that almost R80 billion have been irregularly spent by government and major parastatals over the 2017/18 financial year. Not only is this an egregious abuse of taxpayers' monies, but it deprives those in the greatest need of the misused billions. A UDM government will therefore enforce the Public Audit Amendment Act to the letter.

Officials who hide behind struggle credentials have looted state resources and, in many instances, "loyalty" is rewarded with protection against investigation and prosecution. There is a clear lack of political will to implement performance and consequence management.

So-called political appointments result in the increased use of consultants, because the political appointees are incompetent and useless. It therefore costs substantially more just to keep government services going. To exacerbate this problem, once a directive comes from on high, those lower down the chain make use of the opportunity to pad tenders for their own benefit. At other times they collude with consultants to have government business directed to line their own pockets. A UDM government will therefore professionalise the civil service to reduce the reliance on consultants and it will eradicate the culture of making political appointments.

Corruption and maladministration are so pervasive in our state-owned enterprises (SOEs) that it is no wonder that they are flailing about and sinking deeper and deeper into trouble. Instead of flourishing SOEs (all of which were inherited from the apartheid regime) the ruling party government has time and again used taxpayers' monies earmarked for other projects to bail them out. Worse still is the practice of bailing out SOEs by using Public Investment Corporation (PIC) funds, which means that the Government Employees Pension Fund is put at risk.

To further compound matters, the PIC itself is mired in allegations of corruption running into billions of rands. At every turn, the people of South Africa bear the brunt of government's failure to effectively run SOEs. Therefore, untying the tangled web of corruption where SOEs are concerned, would be a one of the highest priorities of a UDM government. Under a UDM administration all board members and officials of SOEs shall be vetted to professionalise their operations and improve on service delivery.

The rot of corruption has even affected law enforcement agencies; the very bodies which should be squeaky clean and credible, and should lead by example. Even the State Security Agency has fallen into the trap of corruption and cannot account for an alleged R1 billion. In addition, many senior police officials have been involved in corruption, fraud and money laundering.

Once those guilty of corruption have been exposed, a UDM government will ensure that there are significant consequences and not just a slap on the wrist as we have seen with the ruling party, with the former president leading this march. Merely leaving a post cannot be the end of the road; corrupt individuals must face the full might of the law.

**To ensure clean governance a UDM government will implement the following principles:**

- A zero-tolerance for corruption and abuse of power.
- Government officials and politicians must serve the people and not themselves.

- Integrity, commitment and hard work are required from all in government and in the private sector.
- The best quality must be ensured in all appointments, so that merit, responsibility and integrity will be guaranteed, and excellence rewarded.
- Effective procedures and special courts must be established and implemented to investigate and prosecute those in the public and private sector involved in corruption.
- A sense of pride in and ownership of government must be encouraged and nurtured in all South Africans by establishing a new ethical framework of incorruptibility, accountability, transparency and impartiality in governance.
- Independent anti-corruption task teams must be established in each province to determine the level of corruption and to immediately introduce recovery steps.

### **3. Safety, security and justice**

To ensure a long-term solution to crime and violence, the UDM believes that we, the citizens of South Africa, must commit ourselves to a concerted long-term effort to reform our society, so that we do not simply address the symptoms, but also eradicate the causes of crime and violence.

The UDM will establish a civil order system, and provide it with the necessary resources and support, recognising that merely improving one asset of the system (police or correctional services or justice) is insufficient, as a chain is only as strong as its weakest link.

A UDM government will enhance coordination between the ministries of justice, police services, correctional services, defence and national intelligence. The UDM therefore will establish a Crime Prevention Ministry to coordinate the work of these departments. Specific objectives and deadlines will be set for the departments to achieve the goal of a safe society.

We will allocate more resources towards the breaking of crime syndicates and physically destroying their power bases; through such measures as forfeiture of property, crippling financial penalties, full victim compensation, and others.

The UDM recognises that communities play a major role in addressing the root causes of crime and violence. Therefore, actively encouraging communities to participate in the eradication of crime through, for instance, the establishment of properly resourced neighbourhood watches is of great importance.

A UDM government will also reorganise the recruitment processes of the police, defence and intelligence services. The aim of such a programme will be to allow communities to participate in keeping their environment safe and secure. Individuals who are interested in a career in law enforcement will be trained and assigned to serve their communities, thus allowing for the monitoring of crime, the gathering of intelligence and combating lawlessness.

A UDM government will also establish a baseline information system (database) for strategic planning around crime and policing issues. An important component of such a system will be the use of victim surveys to fill the gaps left by official crime statistics as compiled by the police.

We will also lobby SADC countries to seriously consider establishing an apparatus to respond to cross-border-crime and terrorism, as well as the gathering of intelligence.

#### **4. Education**

The future stability and prosperity of South Africa depends on the level and quality of education and skills training of all its citizens. The current government seems to have little appreciation of the crisis developing in South Africa with respect to education and the skills shortage.

The high levels of functional illiteracy and innumeracy, and the uncoordinated attempts at skills development constitute a great obstacle to the development of our country. Foreign investors shy away from South Africa due to, some extent, the low levels of education and skills of its workforce.

The UDM believes that the serious occupation of teaching must not be expected to tolerate the idle, the malingerer or the educationally bankrupt. Similarly, students and learners must adopt a culture of learning and appreciate the value of time. Emphasis must be placed on discipline in order to promote learning and teaching. Under a UDM government, all education institutions shall be required to promote a culture of continuous learning and responsible citizenship.

##### **4.1. Basic Education**

The South African constitution recognises the right of every child and citizen to basic education, However, in South Africa, there is clear dichotomy between the quality of education the haves and the have-nots receive, with quality being the prerogative of the haves and the have-lots.



It is unreasonable to think that all young people will become achievers when too many schools still suffer a lack of basic requirements like potable water, sanitation, electricity as well as adequate and accessible school accommodation. A UDM government will prioritise the building, fixing and upgrading of school infrastructure, as well as the eradication of mud schools.

A UDM government will also make additional funding available to ensure that every school has the required learning materials and resources, and ensure that it is delivered on time. This will not be merely limited to textbooks, but will include the provision of libraries, laboratories, computers and other relevant technologies that serve as teaching aids.

Curriculum development that is chopped and changed each time that a new minister is appointed will cease under a UDM government. We will establish a permanent commission on education whose primary responsibilities will be to establish and build upon basic educational policy pillars as well as ensuring that there is stability in the curriculum to give our learners the best opportunity to succeed in their studies.

The UDM will reopen teacher training colleges and impose national standards for teachers and ensure that they have the resources necessary to provide the highest level of professionalism possible. School inspectors will be brought back to deal with erratic attendance by pupils, teacher laziness and administrative issues.

Crime, especially sexual harassment and abuse at schools, will receive zero-tolerance. Offenders will be removed from the system and punished to the full might of the law.

The UDM will establish a savings accounts system for parents of children who attend no fee schools, where the state and private sector (especially big corporations) pay a monthly fee into an account for each child's tertiary education.

Adult basic education and training will be enhanced with emphasis on employable skills and not merely reading skills. In this regard the private sector can play an important role by ploughing back into communities, with the knowledge that this is an investment in a better skilled workforce.

## **4.2. Skills training**

The UDM will reopen and open new vocational training centres and out of school programmes to absorb the low-levelled and unschooled. Government resources will be allocated to practical skills training which enhances peoples' abilities to enter the formal and informal sector. We will also incentivise companies that provide basic vocational and technical skills training.

## **4.3. Higher education**

The UDM supports fee-free tertiary education aimed at students from poor and working-class families. Such an expanded programme can be justified economically as free education is a strategic economic driver, because it is an investment by the state in the creation of a larger tax base in the long run. However, once implemented under a UDM government, students' progress shall be monitored and managed as an investment.

A UDM government will phase out the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), because of, amongst others, chronic maladministration, corruption and a jobs-for-pals leadership scheme. In addition, the way that NSFAS is structured makes for students who are saddled with debt and, because of our lacklustre job market, they will sit with that obligation with no hope of repaying it. This impacts on the sustainability of NSFAS as the funds run out at mid-term and leaves students in the lurch.

A UDM government will ensure that all institutions of higher learning are geared to produce graduates that are equipped with balanced job-related and life-skills to enter the job-market and the greater society.

Many of the Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) have been choked by corruption and maladministration and, as with NSFAS, has become a playground for crooked and unscrupulous individuals. Serious doubt has also been cast on the SETAs' ability to manage the skills development needed for our economy to flourish. A UDM government will seek to review the current system to ensure that the intended consequences of the Skills Development Act are realised.

## **5. Healthcare**

The quality of healthcare infrastructure and maintenance are often below standard. Hygiene at many clinics is at unacceptable levels and must be addressed immediately. It remains a sad fact that many South Africans must travel huge distances to the nearest clinic or hospital. Therefore, health infrastructure and services need to be provided closer to the poor.

A UDM government will commit itself to healthcare that is linked to other social cluster portfolios, recognising the role of social welfare, water and sanitation, basic life skills and awareness to improve the basic health of the nation.

A proper and functioning referral mechanisms must be put in place. It is vital that patients in need of specialised care be identified early and referred quickly to institutions capable to deal with their needs. This measure aims to prevent long queues and inadequate treatment, or the practice of referring patients to institutions incapable of assisting them.

The UDM believes that nutritional issues and family planning must form a basic part of primary healthcare, recognising that basic counselling and skills development in these areas will have a major impact on the general health and wellbeing of communities.

A UDM government will ensure that the department of health is part of an integrated response to alcohol and drug abuse recognising that substance abuse plays a major role in violence, death and social disruption in South Africa.

Traditional healing remains popular and should be respected, but the UDM believes that it should be regulated. A UDM government will investigate mechanisms to regulate and monitor this sector of healthcare provision and to ensure that exploitation does not occur.

## **6. Social imperatives**

### **6.1. Role of faith-based organisations**

Religious values and practices are deeply entwined in the fabric of our daily lives, which means that faith-based organisations play a very important role in providing moral leadership and guidance.

During the apartheid years, the work of faith-based organisations formed a vital part of overthrowing that discriminatory regime. It could however be argued that, in the South Africa of

today, they play a less critical part in leading our people on the path of decency, honesty and goodness. We, as a nation, have lost our moral compass as is evidenced by the crime and corruption that have become a permanent feature of our lives.

The UDM therefore calls on all faith-based organisations to again be the voice of reason for a nation in moral dire straits.

## **6.2. People with disabilities**

Some 4.7 million people live with disabilities in South Africa, with 8 in 10 not having employment. This is a statistic that brings the desperate situation straight to home. According to the South African Human Rights Commission: “...as a result of historical discrimination, persons with disabilities face disproportionately high levels of unemployment, are employed in low status jobs, or receive lower than average remuneration.”

Where people with disabilities are concerned, the UDM believes in the principle of “nothing for them, without them”. A UDM government will therefore give a voice to South Africans living with disabilities to have a direct say in the formulation of laws, policies and regulations that apply to them.

The UDM is also of the view that more must be done to create employment opportunities for South Africans living with disabilities, because once they can take care of themselves financially, their rights and dignity can be restored. In line with the UDM’s entrepreneurship policy, we believe that such opportunities lie with establishing employment programmes specifically targeted at people with disabilities.

Specifically, it is objectionable that most buildings in South Africa are inaccessible to people living with disabilities and hence they are less likely to be employed. Often employers and planners incorrectly believe that the onus is on the other party to create a barrier-free environment. These barriers to human talent, equality and the eradication of discrimination are wholly unacceptable.

A UDM government will ensure that public transportation is effective and user-friendly, giving people living with disabilities access to transportation to go where they want.

A UDM government will act in accordance with the constitution and international best practice by protecting the rights of people living with disabilities. Regarding the social discrimination against people with disabilities, the UDM will launch an information campaign to teach the nation that their fellow South Africans living with disabilities are entitled to all the rights and freedoms that are enjoyed by able bodied South Africans.

### **6.3. People living with albinism**

No one can deny that people living with albinism are among the most marginalised groups of our society. Their lives are considered less valuable than those who do not live with albinism and their rights are therefore trod upon without consideration. Worse still is that their lives are placed in danger due to ignorance and the misconception that there lies mystical power in taking the life of a person living with albinism.

A UDM government will launch an information campaign teaching all South Africans that people living with albinism have equal rights and that albinism is a medical condition, and not a curse upon a person living with it.

### **6.4. Women**

South African women face a myriad of challenges, such as physical violence and murder perpetrated by husbands and boyfriends. They lack access to resources, employment opportunities, advancement and academic achievement. Other challenges they face are teenage pregnancy, internet predation, female single parent headed households and the scourge of HIV/Aids. Women in rural areas are worst affected and they are still subjected to all kinds of physical hardships such as carrying water from the rivers, using firewood for cooking and having to travel long distances to access education and medical facilities.

Under a UDM government, women will be empowered so that they may expand their economic and social participation through community-based projects and other schemes that give them greater control over their own destinies.

There is a practice in rural South Africa where women and young girls are abducted ('ukuthwala') and forced into marriage thus ruining their future prospects. A UDM government will criminalise this practice.

The UDM was initially encouraged at the creation of a ministry of women, children and people with living with disabilities, but we have yet to see any results. Under a UDM government this ministry will specifically monitor and work with all government departments to ensure that women have the same opportunities as their male counterparts in all aspects of life.

The UDM recognises the need to establish an equitable partnership between men and women and change the prevailing social paradigm of gender to usher in a new generation of women and men working together to create a humane world order.

## **6.5. Youth**

Youth are the future leaders of South Africa, yet they remain side-lined from economic and other opportunities. Young people leave school and tertiary institutions but cannot find jobs. The UDM believes that a successful response to the challenge of youth employment means constructing a foundation for inter-generational solidarity today and for the social and economic development of the future generations.

A UDM government shall partner with local and international companies, for example the textile and steel manufacturing industries, in a mentorship programme for the youth. Upon completion of this mentorship programme graduates shall be capacitated to open their own concerns.

We will take pro-active and deliberate steps to ensure that our youth are employed by:

- Encouraging their voluntary involvement in civil society with government support.
- Re-introducing voluntary national service in the army and other state institutions.
- Intensifying skills development and empowerment programmes.

Another scourge that plague our youth is the increased abuse of alcohol and drugs; recognising that many people, due to desperate circumstances have become trapped in drug addiction, prostitution and other forms of neglect and exploitation. A UDM government will provide programmes to reintegrate these people into the economic and social mainstream. We will also ensure that the department of health is part of an integrated response to alcohol and drug abuse.

Under a UDM government, funding will be made available for political parties represented in parliament to have leadership programmes to teach our youth, amongst others, about their country, current affairs, the constitution, patriotism, human rights, the political landscape and a culture of ownership and respect.

## **7. Protecting the environment**

Protecting the environment and our national resources are often placed on the backburner due to the fact that the consequences of abuse are not immediately appreciable. People find an issue such as the depletion of the ozone layer an abstract concept that does not directly affect them. Many South Africans do not concern themselves with the environment, because of the notion that “it’s someone else’s problem” and therefore do not take responsibility for their own actions.

High levels of poverty also contribute to the damage of our environment. For example, the need to stay warm in the winter is a primary goal for rural and township communities, whilst the negative impact of wood collection on the environment may not be understood. To combat this, the UDM believes that it is imperative that the poor be uplifted to rescue our environment from permanent damage.

A UDM government will implement a “Marshall Plan” to save our natural heritage that shall identify, build and reward individuals, institutions and community-based organisations to rescue and conserve our environment.

The potential conflict between the imperatives of conservation and those of resource-poor communities must be defused. Under a UDM government, conservation and socio-economic development shall be linked by allowing communities to have sustainable access to the life-supporting and income-earning potential of nature reserves and conservation areas.

The UDM believes that, through the implementation of bio-diversity programmes thousands of jobs can be created, because we believe that it is possible to generate jobs and business opportunities whilst being environmentally responsible. We will implement tax incentives to encourage the private sector to invest in the development of technologies for conservation and sustainable use of bio-diversity programmes.

A UDM government will roll out an information campaign to teach the uninformed of the impacts of their actions on the environment, good and bad. An ideal way of promoting the preservation of the environment would be to start teaching children at school to be responsible citizens. We will also use community radio programmes to broaden knowledge and create awareness of the environment. We will also introduce “green battalions” to counter, amongst others, soil erosion, over-grazing, deforestation and to also protecting biodiversity, especially in rural South Africa.

We will consolidate the massive number of environmental laws and regulations into one concise and effective law. Once in power, a UDM government will be active in the enforcement of environmental law with individuals or organisations that contravene it to suffer severe penalties.

## **8. Electoral regime**

A purely proportional representation system, like ours, makes for a situation where political parties render the electorate toothless. Parliamentarians are not held accountable and should they not perform voters are left at the whim of party bosses. The UDM therefore commits itself to a hybrid electoral system into which the strengths of both the proportional and constituency based electoral systems are incorporated. A UDM government will therefore usher constituencies into the PR system which will see politicians representing geographically-defined communities.

To enhance accountability, a UDM government will change electoral laws so that voters can directly elect their president. The UDM will also ensure that cabinet members are scrutinised by parliament's ethics committee before they are sworn in to be certain that they are able and trustworthy leaders.

## **9. Coalition government**

If the 2019 national and provincial elections should deliver no outright winner, as predicted by political pundits, the question of a national coalition arises.

In this regard, the UDM is of the view that a coalition government should be regulated so that the principle of serving the people is not suppressed by wanton political intimidation and playing the numbers-game that typifies the present local government dispensation.

The UDM also believes that one of the basic principles that should inform coalition government is that it represents the wishes of the voters. Hence it is important that coalition partners iron out their relationships directly after elections and publish their compacts so that voters clearly understand how that coalition will work and also to have a set of standards to measure the coalition government's performance.



## **10. International relations**

Under a UDM administration South Africa's foreign policy shall be subservient to the will, the aspirations and needs of the South African people with a focus on multi-lateralism rather than unilateral decision making. A UDM government will not ratify international conventions before they are tabled at and approved by parliament. In the past, many such conventions ended up hurting our people instead of improving their lives – for instance, allowing countries to use South Africa as a dumping ground for goods, whilst some of those countries (e.g. America and China) have strict policies and laws that protect them against this practice.

The UDM believes that, for the development of the South African and African economies, it makes sense to gradually cease the mass export of raw materials so that jobs are created locally through homegrown processing and manufacturing. In terms of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the UDM will promote the intensification of infrastructure development so that trade and goods may flow more freely.

A UDM government will advance the African initiatives and programmes introduced by Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki and, in particular, efforts to ensure peace and stability on the continent.