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FORWARD FROM THE PRESIDENT OF COPE, MOSIUOA LEKOTA

Five years ago COPE arrived on the scene, full of promise and potential. We swept up the people of South Africa on a wave of excitement at a time when the country was in turmoil. We got an impressive 7% in the 2009 national elections – posing a very real threat to the ruling party.

However, there were people with power and money who did not like this threat. They were determined that COPE should not succeed. It has taken us five years to overcome a concerted attack dragging us through fifteen high court challenges. While our energies were focussed on preserving our integrity, the people of South Africa lost patience with us.

We acknowledge that our first and most urgent task is to restore the confidence of the people of South Africa in the Congress of the People. The protracted battle for the soul of the party took a heavy toll. Today, however, we are confident that a revitalised COPE with a transparently and democratically elected leadership, offers a viable political home for those who are disillusioned by the excesses, abuses and failures of the current government.

The best way to restore this confidence is by truly living the ideals we set ourselves as a party, namely, empowering COPE members to be productive, active and responsible citizens of South Africa. We must lead by example. We must consistently subscribe to a high standard of behaviour and act always with integrity.

We acknowledge that, while South Africa has one of the most progressive Constitutions in the world, we need to demonstrate that it delivers concrete benefits to the people who experience concrete problems. COPE will implement the provisions of the Constitution. We will actively promote and protect the rights and freedoms enshrined in the Constitution and deliver services that will improve the dignity of all our people and enable also

them to improve the quality and circumstances of their lives.

Finally, we would like to introduce a new dynamic into our politics: personal accountability and integrity. COPE's manifesto is built around the idea that our people are, from the bottom up, going to be trained, empowered and made responsible for carrying out as well as monitoring the business of a responsible, honest, transparent and caring government. When a member of COPE is in government, we want people to be assured that he or she is competent, honest, ethical, efficient and accessible. We will introduce systems to make sure that citizen of South Africa can approach a COPE representative and know that their grievance or request will be heard and acted upon. If COPE can solve the problem, we will. If not, we will indicate other avenues and possible solutions. COPE will also be looking at innovative means to get the people of South Africa mobilised to solve their own problems. People will be encouraged to develop innovative ideas, activate networks, harness existing projects, create funding and use technology to improve their lives.

With the issues facing South Africa now and in the future, government cannot do everything for everyone. Government and the people must engage in a co-operative exercise. Government has to be an enabler more than a caretaker. This is why our mission statement is important – COPE wants to govern *with* the people.

We believe that our manifesto offers something different: a government that locates itself in the wellbeing of the people and encourages the use of new ideas, new energy and new commitments to get the economy working so that opportunities can arise for all. As COPE, we overcame huge problems to get ourselves working again. There is no reason why the people of South Africa cannot do the same.

30 January 2014



MISSION STATEMENT

COPE believes in a reliable, accountable and incorruptible government that is efficient and credible. It must be a government of the people, by the people, for the people and, most importantly, with the people. It must also be a government of the people under the constitution.

COPE wishes to redefine the concept of government where citizens are empowered to take charge of their own lives and prospects with the help and support of government: it must let a hand-up approach which is sustainable rather than a hand-out approach which collapses when the funds run out.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF WHAT COPE STANDS FOR

We, the Congress of the People, categorically assure the people of our country that we are committed to -

- 1) advancing democracy with a social bias and a climate favourable for entrepreneurial engagement so that people of our country are empowered in all ways possible with state support to help themselves;
- 2) unswervingly protecting the rights that are guaranteed in the Constitution;
- 3) improving the basic education system such that it meets market demands and we shall do so by concentrating our attention on skills development, creating apprenticeship opportunities and increasing investment in e-education;
- 4) improving service delivery by enhancing the training of civil servants so that professionalism and expertise within the civil service become defining features;
- 5) empowering women in all works of life through the creation of a dedicated 'women's fund' and

by especially encouraging them to engage in small, medium and micro businesses;

- 6) promoting a professional police service as conceived in the constitution and ensuring that that such a police service is adequately resourced and trained to combat crime, manage protests and protect civilians under all circumstances;
- 7) fostering strong relations between crime prevention institutions, business, NGOs and civilians;
- 8) speeding up justice by, amongst other things, adding community courts to the criminal justice system and promoting the use of restorative justice so that thereby the law is made both accessible and affordable to all;
- 9) improving healthcare by ensuring that it is professionally administered to guarantee thereby that efficient hospitals will be run efficiently and that public health facilities will be brought closer to communities;
- 10) investing resources into vigorous human development considering that this is the best way for people to get out of poverty and to participate successfully in co-operatives, empowerment schemes, entrepreneurial activities, and self-employment;
- 11) respecting and protecting the environment by actively and consistently encouraging the use of renewable energy and utilizing scarce resources in a sustainable manner;
- 12) reducing the ballooning state debt by downsizing government and making the economy grow again so that funds are available for infrastructure development to provide quality service delivery to all the people of our country;
- 13) eradicating corruption by promoting transparency and openness and by requiring the Public Finance Management Act and Municipal Finance Management Act to be stringently applied;
- 14) demanding that all public representatives who represent COPE will undertake to be legally



compliant, honest, transparent, ethical, accountable, efficient and responsive at all times; and

- 15) proceeding on the basis that the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, is the supreme law of the country and must enjoy uncontested supremacy in all circumstances and at all times.

PREAMBLE

Once more our country stands at the threshold of a historic moment. We as South Africans from all walks of lives have an opportunity to implement an Action Plan for real, lasting and beneficial change. We must seize the moment to become a united, non racial, non sexist and prosperous South Africa in keeping with the promises we made in 1994. There is no doubt that in all endeavours of life, where we have been united, we achieved glory and respect. Our unity must be preserved.

We must, as a people, remember the path that Nelson Mandela set us on at the dawn of democracy. He envisaged for us the road to freedom, constitutionality, reconciliation, rule of law, unity, decency and morality. In the face of numerous attempts to undermine that democracy and revert to modes secrecy of old, we must unite to safeguard and deepen our democracy, defend the constitution, and make our political representatives fully accountable to us, the people.

History teaches us that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. In this regard societal cohesiveness is important to achieve. If we remain united in defence of the constitution we and our children will remain free and unfettered in a great and enduring democratic country!

Our freedom is tied to our vote. Manifestos are published by all contesting parties during an election but regrettably few of the promises made therein are ever fulfilled. A far better approach would be for political

parties to commit themselves on specific issues in a clear and unambiguous manner that people can refer to frequently and easily.

Therefore, for the very first time in the world, we are taking a giant leap in that regard. We are offering voters a unique manifesto in alphabetical format. This, as you can see for yourself, facilitates ease of use. All the entries are alphabetically arranged. As and when new issues arise, these can be considered and slotted in after processes have been complied with. Citizens of our country need living documents that are refreshed from month to month rather than once every five years.

Members of ruling parties forget what they promised and focus on themselves, their careers and their needs. The people and their needs are forgotten. Citizens need an ironclad contract on policy and performance. We have all seen how in the past few years the borders between the ruling party and the state have become totally blurred. The state has come to serve the party rather than the people.

This alphabetically ordered manifesto puts power and strength back into the hands of the people. It sets out the contract with the people specific point by specific point. While it covers numerous areas of concerns, for obvious reasons it will always be a work in progress. It will continuously grow in keeping with new issues that arise from moment to moment. People will see how policy is being continuously framed to keep it relevant, feasible and acceptable.

Specifics on defending the constitution, upholding the rule of law, protecting the freedom of expression, systematically eradicating poverty, growing the economy, achieving transformation, creating sustainable work, reducing unemployment improving security, protecting the environment, addressing climate change, stabilising the national debt, strengthening the legislature, regulating party funding, accelerating ICT, and achieving a knowledge economy,



amongst numerous other matters, will be set out as clearly as possible.

In this way those who vote and those who govern will have a firm basis for understanding one another. With this new kind of manifesto, citizens will know how and on what issues to hold the political parties accountable.

Unlike in the past when manifestos were revised every five years, this approach will allow for continuous revision so that the exigencies of the time are resolved to the peoples' satisfaction and recorded on the given website for ease of reference.

Whatever is lacking in this manifesto will be pointed out in one way or the other and the policy division of the party will be hard at work in workshops and meetings to provide a policy position where this has been absent. There will be continuous interaction between the party and its members and supporters.

In the world in which we live change occurs at an accelerated pace and political parties need to be innovative and dynamic so that whenever an issue arises a policy position quickly emerges to provide clear direction. In this way advantageous situations can be optimally exploited and dangerous situations can be effectively contained..

With this approach the people are seen to be governing. There will be no need to protest to get a policy position determined and recorded. Power will once again reside in the people. When they want to see changes they will request new measures to be adopted and this will be taken up for consideration. Best of all, people will see their requests being incorporated into the manifesto in a position they can readily identify. The people and its government must march in step.

Every issue will thus become incorporated and where consensus is further consultation will take place. Government has to lead but it is the people who have to

express their consent on issues that are of importance to them.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability requires an unqualified and ready acceptance by government ministers and public representatives to subject themselves and their actions or lack thereof to sharp and continuous scrutiny. Citizens get governance of high quality only when government ministers and public representatives are fearlessly held responsible for their actions, performances, quality of execution, abuses, failures, misconduct, cronyism, nepotism, underhandedness, neglect of duties and neglect. Where total accountability prevails corruption is stamped out and incompetence is punished. Accountability ensures that quality outcomes will be achieved.

Our country is full of good and hard working people who deserve a government that is truly accountable and fully committed to serving them in an ethical, honest and intelligent manner. For the people of South Africa only the best form of governance is acceptable.

To achieve this objective of total accountability, COPE will

- enable people to directly elect their most senior representatives, namely, the President, Premiers and Mayors;
- empower legislatures to demand much higher levels of accountability from all public office-bearers;
- require at the opening of parliament that a “no confidence debate” is held;
- allow the opposition equal debating time during a no confidence debate so that government performance in the preceding year is subjected to intense scrutiny and analysis;



- improve public participation in all forms of governance through the use of ICT;
- ensure that voter coalitions are encouraged to enable people to enhance their clout;
- ensure that popularly elected representatives can only be removed from office by the people, through clearly defined and nationally agreed constitutional procedures;
- facilitate, support, safeguard and reward investigative journalism;
- ensure that public representatives are assigned constituencies which they have to service from designated constituency offices according to terms and conditions agreed to from time to time and in keeping with public support;
- ensure that the national, provincial and municipal governments will have procedures defined by law to requiring quarterly reports to produced for debate before their respective legislatures on how successfully the PFMA or MFMA was being implemented, as the case may be; and
- allow for an annual debate in all legislatures on the extent to which governing parties are observing constitutionality, the rule of law and transparency.
- compel the public as well as the private sector to comply with requirements for accountability, transparency and good governance.

On the issue of accountability, Nelson Mandela held:

'The collapse of good conscience and the absence of accountability and public scrutiny have led to crimes against humanity and violations of international law.'

(Rally, Bloemfontein, South Africa, 25 February 1990)

COPE also concurs fully with Mandela when he said:

There is an absence of democratic accountability and control in every sphere of government and the state. To address this debilitating legacy requires determined action and a deep commitment to transforming our society from a crisis ridden present into something all South Africans can be truly proud of.

(International Press Institute Congress, Cape Town, South Africa, 14 February 1994)

See: <http://www.medioclubsouthafrica.com/nelsonmandela/3408-nelson-mandela-s-famous-inspirational-quotes#ixzz2n4KOTgFJ>

There are many private-sector and NGO initiatives that aim to empower individuals and hold government accountable – such as anti-corruption and service delivery watchdogs. COPE will partner with these initiatives to make them more effective and far-reaching. Government will have to be held accountable to prevent the economy from collapsing.

ACCOUNTING & REPORTING STANDARDS

Government must assiduously ensure that South Africa continues to live up to being number one in this regard as determined in 2013 by the World Economic Forum. It is a great tribute to all accounting practitioners, auditors included, for our accounting and reporting standards to be held aloft for the world to emulate. This position has to be maintained. Any decline in standards must be investigated by the profession and quickly corrected.



AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

COPE will put measures in place to strengthen the implementation of the Employment Equity Act (Affirmative Action) and Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment to ensure that women, youth, the rural poor from the historically disadvantaged communities and people with disability can enjoy meaningful participation in the economy. In 80% of the cases up to 2025, race will be the basis for applying affirmative action to correct historic injustices.

Beneficiaries of affirmative action will have to further extend affirmative action to others so that a wider circle of people are drawn into the economy.

In 10% of the cases affirmative action will apply to people suffering from health problems or having certified disabilities.

A further 10% of affirmative action beneficiaries will be from the poorest segment of society regardless of race, colour or creed.

The state should take the lead in developing strictly supervised procurement policies that encourage the private sector to achieve employment equity not only in senior management positions but across the board so that all in our country can have a share in the economy.

A Women's Savings and Development Fund to which school going girls and women will be encouraged to invest in will be supported in every possible way by the state so that women will have the means for women to become fully engaged in the productive economy.

The youth development initiatives encompassing the Umsobomvu Youth Development Fund and National Youth Commission will be made to work in conjunction with skilled business leaders and technical colleges / universities to set up viable businesses where skills transfer can take place. The focus will be lasting and significant skills transfer.

Government departments will be compelled to pay service providers within 30 days of submission of invoice. Failure to do so will require the director in charge of payments to be fined.

The wide scale establishments of cooperatives will be vigorously pursued so that as many people as possible are brought into the productive economy.

Affirmative action must work to grow the economy, stimulate spending and increase the involvement of people in the productive economy.

AFRICA WIDE INTEGRATION

South Africa will build support for African integration so that countries which are participating in achieving more integrated economies on our continent can benefit one another in an equitable and professional manner. Transnational infrastructure development will be the foundation for greater integration. Benefits must flow in two directions in a mutually satisfactory manner.

AGGRAVATED CRIME

Crimes involving the use of a deadly weapon by an individual or group with the intent of committing a crime, carrying out a robbery, inflicting injury, kidnapping someone, perpetrating a forced sexual intercourse, causing serious destruction, wilfully causing vehicular crash, heightening intimidation, or preventing apprehension will be solved through -

- community activism and training;
- creating teams of specialists to deal with causes as well as symptoms;
- effective strategizing and policing;
- continuous unlicensed gun removal through programmed seizures, confiscation, voluntary surrender, amnesty, or compensation;
- systematic inspection of licensed gun storage;



- refining gun policies;
- troubled marriage support and supervision;
- dealing with unemployment and enhancing skills in the low skills market;
- curbing the distribution of drugs and contraband;
- smashing human drug trafficking;
- improving the lay-out of housing and improving street lighting;
- improving intelligence;
- regular set up of roadblocks;
- long term incarceration;
- strategizing on how to incorporate returning prisoners into communities; and
- strategizing on how to keep cities healthy.

AGRICULTURE

COPE will work to help put all available land to productive use, and support all who work in agriculture, along the entire agriculture production and marketing chain. We will assist farmers to access necessary capital in the most competitive way and benefit from infrastructure and skills development. COPE will ensure that farmers receive quality information, field services and market information.

The decline in agriculture will be speedily reversed by acting co-operatively and interactively.

Agriculture is essential for the nation's food security and the productive use of any land that has the potential for agriculture must be put to use without exception. Failure to do so must incur increasing levels of sanction and taxes.

Support will be given to subsistence farming, small scale farming and commercial agriculture.

Land claims and land restitution will be fast tracked so that farmers can be free to invest without fear of uncertainty. A COPE government will promote close relationship between established and emerging

commercial farmers to ensure even more productive use of the land.

Land ownership in the form of companies will be favoured so that all who want a stake in agriculture can buy a proportion of shares in a successful farm and the race issue in land ownership can be diluted for the benefit of all.

All available state land must be offered for productive use.

ANNUAL REPORTS

All annual reports from departments, entities and Chapter 9 Institutions will have to be formally examined in parliament to establish to what extent stated objectives in the Estimates of National Expenditure were realised. Annual reports should indicate what was done in the budgetary year with the funds that were allocated rather than promise what will be done in future.

The annual reports must indicate all findings of the Auditor General and any other Chapter 9 Institutions. Any futile or irregular expense must be fully explained and importantly what disciplinary measures were taken to address these.

A full report on the extent of compliance with the PMFA must be furnished. Departure from the PMFA must be fully justified in a monthly report to SCOPA.

A highly summarised version of questions asked in parliament for the year must be provided and a response given on how the Department addressed the issues of concern that were raised.

A summary of litigation with outcomes in which the Department was involved must be provided.

Each cycle of budget estimation, acceptance of the budget, execution of funded programmes and reporting must be concluded with substantive proof that real value for money had been obtained in the attainment of the



stated outcomes. A score must indicate the level of performance against the outcome achieved.

All reports must be in standardised format and digitally accessible.

APARTHEID LEGISLATION

Parliament must pass a law making any restrictive legislation passed in the apartheid period parliament, which remains in the statute books today, to be of no force or effect in the constitutional democracy that now prevails. The Protection of Information Act of 1982, is an example of a law that must be invalidated.

ARTS & CULTURE

The freedom of artistic expression must be continuously defended. Artists must have active encouragement to participants in the plastic and performing arts, including theatre, music, painting, sculpture, literature, and all other forms of human creativity without fear of political repercussion, persecution or prosecution.

ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION

In view of the number of the large civil cases coming before our courts and clogging up the system and putting judges under immense pressure, it is desirable for a court to encourage disputants, in the first instance, to attempt Alternative Dispute Resolution. In order to encourage this approach, legislation must provide for mechanisms to achieve cost savings and expedited resolution of disputes.

Judicial adjudication should preferably occur when a dispute cannot be resolved through ADR. All parties filing cases should be provided information right away about ADR. This should be accompanied by contact information of accredited ADR practitioners. Applicants should likewise be offered partial reimbursement of

court fees and lower cost orders if ADR was earnestly attempted first.

ADR practitioners should ideally be those in line for appointment to the bench in view of their specialist qualifications, seniority in practice and achievements in the field of law. ADR must be as credible as the courts are for people to go the ADR route at the beginning of a dispute.

Legislation must require a mandatory declaration at the filing of a case that mediation had been attempted but without success. This measure will ensure that ADR is more actively pursued.

This section will be developed further.

ASGISA

The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative which was launched in 2006 was meant to give an impetus to the economy. The introduction and later repudiation by government of “would be policies” confuses people and leaves everyone on the back foot.

Policies, strategies and plans need to go together. Annual revisions can take place to calibrate all parts to fit together perfectly. There must be continuity.

Our country needs accelerated and shared growth to be delivered, not endlessly theorised and debated. Capitalism is not a monolithic construct. There is good capitalism and unbridled bad capitalism. We need the first kind because it is infused with the redeeming qualities of socialism.

ASGISA will be revisited.

AVIATION INTEGRATION

South Africa will vigorously pursue the 1999 Yamoussoukro Decision to reform Africa’s aviation



sector in order to further stimulate tourism as well as inter-Africa business.

Flying in Africa should be affordable, reliable and safe. Every endeavour must be made continuously and year after year to promote the Yamoussoukro Decision.

BALANCE OF POWER IN OUR NATIONAL POLITICS

COPE believes that the distribution of power in our political system should be such that no one party overwhelms the other parties through having sheer monopoly on that power. Through mechanisms which permit for the balancing of power different ideas must find space to be expressed and embodied in policy positions.

South Africa in the past few years has been a regnant democracy where the ruling party can decree what must happen much like a king does. Like a king the ruling party has no appetite for accountability and transparency.

The need to achieve a balance of power is essential to accommodate those who have different views and wish to see these being incorporated into official policies.

BANKING

Deposit taking banks should be limited to functioning as commercial banks and providers of mortgages. They must not be commodity traders.

Investment banking, because it is riskier, should be strictly separated from regular banking. The failure of banks should not impact on taxpayers through government bailouts.

Banks should create an insurance fund to which they contribute so that in a crisis they can get the protection they need.

BENEFICIATION OF ORES & MINERALS

1. BIOGAS

Nersa will be requested to help and encourage rural communities to add to out countries 38 registered biogas operations. Wastes from animals, agricultural residues and kitchen throwaways should be fed into bio-digesters and turned into usable gas.

Any fixed-dome-plant which use bio-digesters will be subsidised so that as many rural and peri-urban communities will have affordable gas to heat appliances. Eskom will be requested to reinstate its rebate programme on gas generation to help communities outside of towns and cities.

2. BENEFICIATION OF MINERAL

Joint public-private enterprises must be formed to beneficiate ores and minerals near the source of the mining as well as downstream. In order to make these enterprises viable government must lease land on favourable terms to the enterprises and develop RDP houses in close proximity so that accommodation and travel costs are obviated. Skills training must occur onsite and in adjoining buildings erected by government where trainers are available to manage programmes and arrange exams. Technology transfers must be negotiated and made available. Research institutes must be requested to work closely with the enterprises and market support must be made available. Labour agreements must be entered into with the surrounding communities and affirmative action benefits must flow optimally if not entirely to them.

Large scale community involvement must be aimed for.



BLOATEDNESS IN GOVERNMENT MUST BE REMEDIED

Government is too big and bloated. The cabinet of 64 is one of the largest in the world. In 2013 government had 1.25 million people on its payroll. Over 40% of all spending is incurred in meeting remuneration costs. Government in all three spheres must be trimmed so that scarce resources can be optimally applied. Urgency in this regard is demanded.

BLUE LIGHT CONVOYS

Convoys transporting members of a government executive may not routinely use blue lights to have clear passage through traffic. Neither may the drivers of cars, in a convoy, force motorists out of the way or use aggression against them. All motorists, senior politicians included, have to obey traffic rules.

The use of blue lights has to be reserved for genuine emergencies or in clear cases where security or urgency is a genuine issue.

The display of the blue light cannot automatically allow for the disregard of road signs, speed limit, road conditions, traffic volume, safety or rights of other motorists. Blue lights must be used with great care and for a very good reason.

BORDER CONTROL

One-stop border posts will be negotiated with countries to the north to facilitate easier and quicker movements through the borders to stimulate trade and improve policing.

BREAKDOWN IN SUPPLY OF WATER & OTHER SERVICES:

COPE will institute a system for reporting failure in respect of water supply, refuse removal, municipal maintenance and other services so that local representatives will be able to escalate the matter to COPE management to deal with. There will be a system of checks and balances in place to make sure that COPE representatives at the local level do, indeed, report these issues up to the top so that action can be taken. COPE will provide speedy feedback from residents.

BUSINESS INCUBATORS

Business incubators must be set up in every province and preferably in every region to nurture small businesses which can use local resources and materials to develop provincial and regional economies. Newly developed small businesses should also be linked to established bigger businesses in each province for their mutual benefit.

CAPABLE STATE

It is imperative that the ideals of a capable state, enunciated in the National development Plan, materialises. No effort must be spared in achieving this goal without delay. Any leader or official creating an obstacle in the achievement of a capable state must face disciplinary measures. Legislation must provide for this. Incapacity, incompetence, lack of diligence, ineptitude, paper shuffling and failure to perform cannot and will not be tolerated. A capable state is something we cannot compromise on.



CAPITALISM

Inclusive stakeholder capitalism is the model worth supporting. This form of capitalism allows for social, economic and environmental considerations to be given serious and continuous attention for the benefit of all. It is common cause that when all stakeholder interests are adequately accommodated and visibly addressed, real benefits accrue to everyone. The viability and profitability of businesses will therefore have to be inextricably bound up with the welfare of people, the health of the environment and the reputation of the country.

Demanding of companies to be 'responsible corporate citizens' will allow for a company's impact on internal as well as external stakeholders to be fully taken into account. This must happen through annual multi-stakeholder forums to allow for unconstrained discussion. All stakeholders, inside and outside of the respective companies, must be involved.

CAPITAL INVESTMENT

Economic activity requires investments. For investments to occur citizens have to be generate savings. Our country, unfortunately, has a serious capital deficiency. In the 1980s, capital investment spending amounted to 30% of GDP. In 2013 it was only half of that. This shortfall meant that spending on roads, railways, electricity plants and sanitation has been lower than it ought to have been.

Our country is today reliant on the savings of other people in other countries. Vigorous action needs to be taken to stimulate savings so that capital investments can occur without money constraints.

Government has to support savings and ensure that tax regime does not inhibit savings. In fact the tax system must favour savings in whichever way it can.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

COPE is fully cognisant of public sentiment against violent crime and senseless murder which afflict South Africans everywhere. Murder, even a single murder, is totally unacceptable. The extent of violent crime, however, is a matter of deep anguish and great anger for everyone. It is understandable that people wanted to see the return of capital punishment.

COPE is committed to upholding the constitution to which Nelson Mandela put his signature. We need to find a constitutional solution to bring heinous crimes under control. Resorting to state violence to curb violence within communities cannot be the answer.

Crime has to be brought under control. Dangerous weapons have to be removed from criminals. Policing has to be improved. Violent crime and murders have to be stopped and that is where the emphasis must fall. If aggravated crime can be brought under control, the need to talk about capital punishment will not arise.

CARTELS

Collusion and the abuse by companies of market dominance impacts very negatively on the economy, consumers and the taxpayer. The Competition Tribunal should rigorously prosecute firms that violate the law. All contracts should have provision for a sworn declaration that collusion was absent. Company directors must have the responsibility of ensuring that tenders are indeed free of any collusion, price-fixing or non-competitive behaviour.

CELLPHONES IN SCHOOLS

Each school governing body will have to draw up a cell phone policy in consultation with parents, learners and teachers and such a policy must be annually reviewed. The benefits of carrying a cell phone to school must be



allowed and the potential of using smartphones for lessons and looking up information must be exploited.

CHAPTER 9 INSTITUTIONS

All Chapter 9 institutions must remain faithful to the Constitution and be given all the support to do their work independently, fearlessly and faithfully. Criticism of chapter nine institutions by political parties on a political platform cannot be allowed. It is inevitable that chapter 9 institutions will focus primarily on the government to ensure accountability, transparency and legality.

CHARACTER OF COPE

The Congress of the People comprises South Africans who have a deep rooted commitment to the realisation of the dreams encapsulated in the Freedom Charter and the values derived there from which were encapsulated in the Constitution. The bond which holds us together therefore arises from a singular commitment to owe faithful allegiance to the constitution. We preach constitutionalism and in our words and deeds we manifest our unshakeable belief in the constitution. As people of resolute character we will honour the constitution whatever the situation and we will do everything to protect it and defend the rights contained therein.

CHECKS & BALANCES

COPE believes in a system of government in which power is divided between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, and these powers check and balance each other. In our country the Executive has been exerting such pressure on the legislature that the relationship has become unequal. Such a situation is an impediment to preserving the checks and balances that should obtain in our political system. The legislature has to be strengthened and

allowed to be totally independent of the Executive. The alteration of the electoral laws will guarantee this.

CHILD ABUSE

Child abuse is a very serious problem in South Africa and because of the lasting damage it causes it is imperative to tackle the problem with a will and determination never witnessed before. Both parents and children need education and support before problems arise. Easy reading material as well as radio and television programmes must carry stories based on real life child abuses and the causes and outcome thereof.

Community-based agencies and organisations must be supported so that they are available to help families deal with problems and overcome them. Social workers must set up and support self help groups, undertake home visits, and motivate communities to encourage families to have a mother and a father. In South Africa many children are raised by the mother alone and these children suffer most abuse, sexual abuse included, and fare poorly at school. Cultural and religious institutions must play a pivotal role with government to help build stable families.

The statutory Child Protection Services must be administered by people who can make the change that is required. The problems of children who are at significant risk must become a shared responsibility of all three tiers of government.

CHILDREN

A country's children are its most valuable asset. The material, physical and emotional well-being of children will be closely monitored, analysed and taken care of to the best ability of the state. Their nurture, upbringing, education, growth, behaviour, health, and safety will be



subjected to continuous analysis to inform policy direction. Behaviour will need to be influenced by the extensive use of role models in sports, arts and business. Environmental and social influences, hazards and constraints will be looked at so that children can live their lives to the fullness of their talent. Input from children for the improvement of their lives will be a central pillar of policy making in this regard.

CLEARANCE MARKET

Cities will be allocated a day each week when manufacturers, producers and traders can come to market with goods they want to clear from their warehouses at discounted prices. This is to encourage buyers to gather at the government sponsored markets in our cities to purchase surpluses and help distribute them through new channels.

CLIMATE CHANGE

The frequency and severity of droughts, storms and natural disasters are crippling in terms of human and economic costs. It is better to follow the United Nation Panel on climate change and redirect the economy to the green side as swiftly as possible both because it is right in terms of current knowledge and also because it is an advantage to plot an alternative route. Costs of renewable energy will decline with the scale of uptake and shortfalls in technology will be met by searching for answers along the way.

CLINICS

A glaring problem is that there is no proper pre-assessment procedure in place in any clinic or hospital. This means that people have to take turn or that they are turned away because the number of people seeking help exceeds the quota. A quick pre-assessment will

allow for patients to be seen not in order of their arrival but in order of the gravity of their illness.

Pre-assessment will also allow for a medical facility to use available transport or to summon an ambulance to transfer those who are very ill to other facilities without being left in the lurch.

Another problem is that of administrative duties which bog down health workers. Software should be designed to allow for record keeping to be done instantaneously.

Health care workers have one of the toughest jobs in caring for our people and have, like teachers and other public servants (firemen, police, paramedics) never been adequately rewarded for their work. That is why we are losing so many to the private sector here and overseas. Under a COPE government remuneration for people who deliver essential services will be improved to retain them and achieve better quality of service.

Ill treatment of patients will not be tolerated at all but it may be a consequence of circumstance – ill equipped clinics and hospitals – and that is another area that needs immediate attention. As primary health care is a right of every South African, it is necessary that health care workers have the tools they need for their work. COPE will make healthcare funding, the upgrading of facilities, the further training of health care workers and improved service conditions for them a priority.

COALITIONS

Coalitions are a necessity aspect of modern life with modern means of communication. Political party coalitions as well as community and voter coalitions are used to create greater strength, viability and visibility. Coalitions that are properly and clearly structured and effectively managed are successful and such coalitions must be encouraged because of the value they bring.

The Collective for Democracy is not a coalition just as eggs served sunny side up can't be called an omelette.



CODE OF GOOD PRACTICE FOR INDUSTRIES

Clear and properly defined legal requirements in respect of good practices in mining, farming and industries will be provided so that clarity obtains and good practices are embedded in the management of enterprises. Government by the same token must set an example of upholding good practices in governance and fiscal management.

COMMUNITY PROTESTS

Community grievances should be registered on a national databank and 21 days given to the authority concerned to respond to the problem. Grievances should never be allowed to escalate to protests and further still, lead to violent protests. Government leaders should act proactively to deal with issues rather than allow them to simmer and then flare up. Community protests should be read as a failure of governance and delivery and those responsible for the failure should be held fully accountable.

COMPANY INSOLVENCY

COPE undertakes to review existing legislation relating to corporate insolvency so that government can strengthen legal mechanisms to come to the assistance of companies in distress, sustain the economy and protect jobs. Consideration will be given to setting up a stabilisation fund to help companies in distress. The public sector, including government and the state owned enterprises will be encouraged to sustain their investment programmes to assist with the absorption of labour where insolvencies materialise

COMPETITIVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE POOR

It is unfair for skills transfers to be the preserve of affluent communities as a result of Blue Chip companies developing synergies with top performing universities in affluent areas. Competitive opportunities should exist for graduates from poor communities also. Support must be given to universities catering for poorer communities to meet the standards set by those that were ranked at the top so that their graduates are also in line for opportunities where they can encounter new technology and acquire new skills. The need to expand the economy to give all graduates opportunities is vital.

CONCURRENT ACCOUNTABILITY

In terms of Section 96(6)(3) of the Constitution ministers are “accountable individually to the President and to the National Assembly for the administration of their portfolios”. COPE will require that ministers present their reports concurrently to both the President and the NA to improve transparency and accountability and also to preserve the role and rights of the National Assembly.

CONSTITUTIONALISM & CONSTITUTIONALITY

For COPE it is vitally important that people of our country are brought together in support of our constitution so that its provisions may never be infringed by those who have personal and selfish reasons for doing so. The inviolability of our constitution has to be our highest priority. With this goes our determination to uphold the rule of law and the equality of all persons before the law.

COPE is determined not only to protect the constitution but also to ensure that the ideals that are contained there are brought to fruition so that South Africa can become a united, non racial, non sexist and prosperous



country. In seeking to work for the protection of our constitution we wish to support and promote the values and the ethics that lie at the very core of our constitution.

COPE advocates a system of government according to constitutional principles.

CONSUMER PRICE INFLATION

It is essential to foster competitiveness in the economy to be able to hold consumer price inflation in check. Prices within the country for a basket of products should not be higher than elsewhere in the world. Unnecessary packaging should be restricted and all cost inputs should be carefully monitored. Profiteering and market manipulation will not be tolerated. The price for nutritious foods that are essential for sustenance and wellbeing will be monitored especially closely. Every effort must be made to overcome shortages in the best manner possible.

People receiving grants will be encouraged to contribute to food security and an part of agriculture that is declining or becoming unprofitable will have to be assisted to achieve a turn around.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

Cope sees consumer protection as a very important function of the state. COPE will consider consumer protection both as a function of the state as well as through giving support to non-government organizations and individuals activists. Legislation will be strengthened to require disclosure of information relating to products and the dangers they can pose to individuals or to the environment.

COPE will also ensure that consumers are protected against profiteers, oligopolists and monopolists.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Corporal punishment treats the symptom and compounds the cause. It arouses fear, no doubt, but it does not teach children right from wrong. It starts a cycle of violence which negates the purpose of nurture and education. Education should not teach children to believe that violence is a solution. Intimidating and brutalizing children to achieve compliance causes long term harm.

Principals must use the best available research to set boundaries and achieve good discipline. Nelson Mandela taught us that many things seem impossible until they are done. That is the attitude we must adopt.

Educators and parents must be given training in how to discipline children. The focus must be on role modelling, affirming the child's dignity, good nutrition, physical activity and sports, arts and culture, rewards for good behaviour, and religion.

Communities must be taught how to change their environment and what steps to take in dealing with substance abuse. COPE adopts the motto "that it takes a village to raise a child". Similarly, it takes a community to discipline its children in the right way. There is no short cut.

CORRUPTION

Corruption is the bane of our lives. It is so rampant and so destructive that it must be rooted out. To achieve this the PFMA and the MFMA will have to be strictly followed by the respective departments of government. Permission for any deviation will have to be requested through a resolution of the respective legislature. The chair of SCOPA must be elected by the parties in opposition and cannot be nominated by the governing party. The highest level of transparency and accountability must prevail. Investigative journalists and whistle blowers must have full protection and rapid



and unimpeded access to information in terms of the act. All tenders must be opened in public and a 14 day period for information or objection must be allowed. When a tender is awarded the committee must produce an evaluation report which has to be made accessible to the public. Only persons who have clearance from SARS and SAPS and can produce three references from three different clients can be considered. Once the tender is awarded the documents must be made available to the legislature for scrutiny and examination.

Persons accused of corrupt acts must be speedily brought before a disciplinary committee and due process applied. The head of department must bear the responsibility for speedy and decisive action. Corrupt officials will have be deemed to have violated their contracts and therefore they will be declared null and void.

No golden handshakes will be available.

COURT ORDERS

All institutions of state must obey court orders whether or not the court decision is acceptable. Failure to do so, where no formal appeal is lodged, will be regarded as failure to comply with the constitution. The legislature must act against the political head of the department.

CRIMINALITY

Criminality proliferates where corruption is rife and the rule of law is compromised. In order to deal effectively with common criminality it is essential to begin by building secure and stable communities. Human habitation projects must house established communities with strong leadership. Community involvement at the building stage can stretch government funding through sweat equity and other forms of participation.

Communities must be mentored in elementary crime prevention and reporting. Play grounds and recreational

facilities must be created with communities supplying sweat equity.

The next step is to deal with criminality within families. Parents should be mentored in dealing with difficult children and in effective ways of establishing discipline. Communities must establish a system of visiting families where violence and abuse are suspected. Welfare personnel and religious leaders can accompany community members to ensure that the visits have the desired impact.

At the school level educators will need support from the police to carry out searches. Educators must be kept continuously informed on how to achieve discipline that is enduring. After school sports and arts programmes using volunteers and roving tutors must occur in all schools. Meals will have to be catered for. Bullying must be identified early and dealt with according to a manual that will be provided to all schools. Helping learners to become gang-resistant must be aimed for. Learners must visit a criminal court and prison to understand the nature of crime and the punishments meted out to criminals. Reformed criminals must be recruited to provide motivational speeches during school assembly.

Criminality related to unemployment, drugs and contraband peddling, gangsterism and the abuse of substances must be solved by strengthening communities, conducting frequent surprise raids, improving intelligence, creating jobs, and giving attention to the physical environment. Community leadership will be the basis for cleaning up areas.

Good and dedicated police are crime fighters. Some of their number, sadly, are criminals in the uniform of the police. Police officials must be screened continuously and life style audits must occur. In order that police are encouraged to be straight it will be necessary to provide housing in close proximity to stations and other benefits so that the incentives to commit crime are diminished. Police will have to take continuous in-service courses,



held at the station where they work, to improve their knowledge of the law and held them enhance the status of their profession.

The management of court records and the integrity of the judicial system must be beyond reproach. No allowance for any deviance at this level can be allowed. A single mistake must be met with dishonourable expulsion from the service. Again and again all those who work in the court system must be informed of the need for utmost integrity.

COPE will dedicate itself to strengthening the institutions within the criminal justice system in order to root out corruption among the functionaries within this system.

COPE will also focus on programmes of rehabilitation to prevent repeat offenders returning to prison. We will encourage communities, organised business and other role players to support the SAPS in the fight against crime.

We will introduce mandatory life sentences to remove habitual repeat offenders who perpetrate serious and violent crimes from society.

In all we do in fighting crime, we will uphold the Constitution. We will also adhere to international protocols in this regard to which South Africa is a signatory in order to increase our ability to fight crime in collaboration with the international community.

The fight against crime has to be everybody's business. No quarter will be given to anyone within COPE who commits a crime. In fact, COPE will be harder on its own members to demonstrate to South Africa how repugnant crime is to the party.

CRONY CAPITALISM

Crony capitalism is the unholy and detestable marriage of state and private special interests. It gives capitalism an undeserved bad name. Crony capitalism is filthy capitalism. The state or its agents can collude with bankers, farmers, developers, transporters, lawyers, consultants and manufacturers to distort the market to the benefit of those listed above in order to derive benefits from them. The state or its agents scratch the back of the corrupt individual and the corrupt individual returns the favour. Where crony capitalism exists, the state can illegally help businesses to get licences, zoning changes, higher prices, and irregular tenders. Crony capitalism weakens competition and disadvantages the consumer as well as the taxpayer. The collapse of the Tongaat Mall in November 2013 arouses suspicion that crony capitalism was at play. Several mines in South Africa are being operated without licences and environmental clearances. Crony capitalism is once again at play. Crony capitalism is a crime against the people of the country.

CRONYISM

Cronyism, favouritism and nepotism have been much in evidence since 2009. People get appointed to important positions because they are cronies or friends or family members. Such appointments undermine institutions, frustrate employees, heighten anxieties, escalate corruption and compromise services. When politicians become thoroughly self-serving they place people into positions to safeguard their political careers irrespective of the damage they do. Citizens must never tolerate cronyism, favouritism and nepotism because it is they who will pay for it in many different ways.



CULTURE OF DIALOGUE

The embracing of a culture of dialogue in all spheres of leadership will be to carry forward the legacy of the iconic Nelson Mandela. It is through dialogue that the most intractable problems are resolved with all parties winning. Leaders in all three tiers of government must consciously seek to be role models in this regard.

CURRENCY WEAKNESSES

Currency weaknesses occur when investors shy away, as is happening in January 2014, for reasons prevailing at the time, from investing in the country. Exporters benefit provided that there is no great volatility. Consumers, however, will find that the Reserve Bank will be unable to make interest cuts and the cost of borrowing will therefore remain high or go higher still. Imports too will become more expensive and the trade deficit will widen as has been happening in the latter part of 2013 and the beginning of 2014. The cost of petrol, amongst other items, will go up. Inflation will therefore start to show itself through an increase in prices across the spectrum. It is important for the currency not to be too high and not too low because either extremity is damaging to the economy.

CYCLING

Cycling for recreational purposes as well as for commuting to work will be extensively encouraged and safe cycle lanes will have to be provided. The Copenhagen model will be emulated to make cycling an important mode of transport.

DEEPENING DEMOCRACY

COPE will take additional steps to empower the institutions supporting democracy in our country. It will ensure that our nation is governed in a manner that is in

strict conformity with our Bill of Rights. In the spirit of the Constitution, COPE will promote the development of a free and responsible citizenry so that people can live without fear, confident about themselves and their future, and yearning to contribute positively to the well-being of society. COPE will also continuously work at improving the protection of the independence of the judiciary, the freedom of the press and the independence of the Reserve Bank.

COPE will institute a governance and constitutional review process so as to subject the functioning of the government to a thorough scrutiny. All processes of government and all spheres of government will be examined. The functioning of traditional leadership as well as the role of civil society will also be independently looked at.

COPE undertakes that “the people shall govern”.

DEMOCRACY

COPE defines democracy as a government **of** the people (via regular free and fair elections), **by** the people (popularly elected representatives), **for** the people (popular government producing policies to enhance the lives and freedom of the people), and **with** the people (facilitating extensive citizen activism and involvement so that people feel they are governing themselves) and **under** the constitution (ensuring that the constitution is upheld and civil liberties remain safeguarded).

DISABLED PEOPLE

People who are disabled need policy certainty with regards to education, health care, housing, transport, support-services, employment and grants. Budget constraints will always be a fact of life but how to make a little money go far has to be consistently examined. Working from home or working close to home or living



and working in places accommodating people with disabilities must be fully supported. Income generation is something that has to occur. People with disabilities have ideas which must be converted into action plans so that feasibility studies can be undertaken. The search for successful models in South Africa and elsewhere must be undertaken so that people with disability can choose which model to implement.

DISASTER MANAGEMENT

Droughts, floods, wind storms, veld fires and insect pestilence will increase as a result of climate changes and a national plan must be developed and implemented so that natural disaster can be ameliorated speedily and with the least amount of harm.

To begin with a proper structure for the management of disasters must be in place with clearly defined roles and responsibilities. The adequacy of law must be frequently examined so that during a disaster everyone knows the vertical line for communication and rapid decision making. Disasters must be categorised so that every level of disaster has the right persons with the right authority to act. Plans must be in place for different types and different categories of disaster and a system for effective co-ordination and accountability must be created and tested. One call should make it possible for all agents and agencies to be alerted simultaneously.

Plans must encompass teams, equipment, technology and resources. A disaster management fund should exist in each municipality and authority to borrow must be put in place before hand so that the PFMA or MFMA, as the case may be, can be adhered to.

Communication is all important and methods and systems for communicating and messages to be communicated must be pre-thought out and tested.

Facilities must be identified for different needs that could arise.

The disaster management plan must cater for pre-emptive action, mitigation or evacuation.

Citizens must have advice on what steps they can take to protect themselves from the kind of disaster that can be predicted or anticipated so that they give themselves the best chance to remain unharmed.

Linkages of every type necessary to deal with disasters must be continuously considered and evaluated. A nationally prepared manual must set out what needs to be done in preparation to deal with disasters when they occur.

DISASTERS

Natural and human made disasters have increased in intensity, scale and regularity. Every nation has therefore to be thoroughly prepared to deal with mega disasters. COPE undertakes to continuously develop detailed policies and strategies to meet disasters.

DOCTORS

Better appreciation of doctors has to occur to retain them in our country. The Department of Health must identify posts for newly qualified specialists and offer all doctors in the public service better job security and work conditions.

Preventive medicine as well as curative medicine must enjoy equal consideration. Adequate number of doctors who specialise in preventive medicine and public health must be trained and given the opportunity to inform health policies.

Self-regulation for doctors must continue provided that this will encompass greater use of clinical outcome data, peer review, expert appraisal for doctors, revalidation and patient grievances redress. The professional body to which doctors belong will have the responsibility for ensuring that sub-clinical practices are eliminated and



that the highest level of professionalism applies. This will require that diagnosis and treatment are randomly tested to ascertain clinical excellence. How this is done will be for the professional body to work out.

The function of government is to press for excellence from doctors, constrain costs and safeguard patients. In the case of disciplinary procedures it is essential for an appeal to be lodged with the disciplinary committee. An appeal to the disciplinary committee must be heard with a qualified legal practitioner in the chair whom both parties approve.

All doctors in the public service must participate in a national audit and peer evaluation programme. Clinical excellence is fundamental.

Doctors must take a lead in adopting measures that will win public trust and allow patients to have confidence in their abilities as well as a genuine concern for their welfare. Best practices must apply.

DISPOSABLE INCOME

Disposable income has to be safeguarded to fuel economic growth. Imposts such as levies, tolls, capital gains tax and transfer duties shrink disposable income and therefore stall the economy.

Each year, during the presentation of the budget, the Minister of Finance must give an assessment of disposable income. If such income is being constrained by government measures, corrective steps must be taken to address the problem.

DOHA ROUND

It is important to create a coalition of interested parties with firm positions to ensure that the Doha round of talks bear results. Developed countries cannot shield their agriculture through subsidies while expecting developing countries to open their markets for industrial

products and services. South Africa must invigorate industrial output and find new avenues for its agricultural output. We need a win-win situation.

DNA TESTING

DNA testing has to be used to its full potential in helping to solve serious violent crimes. In order to realise this goal it is essential to have labs that can deal with the pressure of producing results expeditiously. Backlogs have to be eliminated and this will require accessing up-to-date technology and having adequately trained staff who can work under pressure and deliver results promptly. The DNA Bill which was approved in August 2013 must be speedily implemented and its progress evaluated by end of August each year for the next five years.

DREAD DISEASES

The following diseases, among others, warrant particular attention, research, prevention and national action:

AIDS, Alzheimer's Disease, Bacterial Meningitis, Cancer, Chronic Liver Disease, Coma, Coronary Diseases, Fulminant Viral Hepatitis, Head Trauma, Heart Attacks, Hypertension, Influenza, Kidney Failure, Malaria, Multiple Sclerosis, Obesity, Pellagra, Paralysis, Paraplegia, Parkinson's Disease, Plague, Pernicious Anaemia, Poliomyelitis, Stroke

Preventive action must start early in life and all through school years. An annual review of diseases diagnosed and treated must be compiled with clear recommendations from all role players in health care in order to disseminate information in creative and continuous ways to help alter life styles and encourage gardening, playing sports and minimising risks as national priorities to which everyone must make a commitment.



Empowering people with knowledge is the best way to ameliorate the situation. High profile individuals, especially those who impact on young people, must act as role models. Just as Nelson Mandela invited people to work with him, we too will do the same.

DRUG ABUSE

Criminal penalties for the personal use and possession of drugs will need to be amended. Addicts will be encouraged to seek treatment without fear of being prosecuted. The need to fight the illness, rather than the people who suffer from it, as is being practised in Portugal should inform policy on drug abuse. Reducing both supply and demand on the one hand and preventing, counselling, educating, treating, and rehabilitating addicts on the other is the way to go. Psychologists, rehabilitated drug users and sports stars must be recruited to win over addicts and prevent others from becoming addicts. Families of teenagers must be offered workshops on what they can do to prevent their children becoming addicted.

Herbal alternatives for depression which do not have side effects should be popularised and made easily available. Teenagers should be taught how to boost their self-esteem and confidence without resorting to drugs. Much more must be done to educate young people how to deal with the stresses of life and the hormonal changes affecting them.

As in Portugal, anyone arrested for possession and use of drugs should be brought before a three-person administrative panel made up of a magistrate, psychologist, or social worker, should decide whether to recommend treatment, a course of study on narcotics with an exam at the end, or a fine

Dealers and traffickers must still be arrested, tried, black-listed, deprived of all proceeds of crime and jailed.

DRUG DEALERS

Each community afflicted by the activities of drug dealers will be supported with expertise and technology to set up a neighbourhood watch. Street lighting will be improved and sirens installed to sound an alarm when a drug dealer has been sighted. Each municipality will have to set up a hot line to receive information and request police assistance. The Community police forum will have the right to choose the police officials they wish to work with. Lawyers willing to support communities take up cases on a no-fee or low fee basis will be recruited and communities advised whom to go to. Communities will also be permitted to apply for legal aid. All agencies of state will have to work in an integrated and cohesive manner and the respective legislatures must ensure that this happens through frequent questioning. Religious establishments will be encouraged to join their efforts with the community to deal with the scourge of drugs.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Our country needs to save more so that investments can grow and our economy can be expanded and diversified as much as possible. The acceleration of job creation has to occur so that spending within the economy grows.

ECONOMIC UNDERPERFORMANCE

Economic under performance has to be urgently corrected by framing innovative regulations, creating incentives for sharing profits, and supporting firms with skills transfer, new technology and market information. The state must be a regulator as well as a facilitator and employees must be architects of their own growth, development and prosperity.



ECONOMY

The National Development Plan (NDP) is well researched and is aligned with COPE's general mission that people should be empowered to help themselves. However, COPE intends to refine the NDP so that it is less ambiguous about how it will benefit various segments of the South African population, most particularly youth, women, children and people with disabilities. We will therefore concentrate on developing implementation strategies to make the NDP work

To this effect COPE will -

- (1) Investigate the reintroduction of the apprenticeship system;

The need to reintroduce the apprenticeship system is pressing. Young people need to be apprenticed so that they can get valuable on site work experience. If theory and practice are given attention in equal measure young people will become economically active sooner and in bigger numbers.

- (2) Introduce a national education campaign on financial affairs.

Currently, there is a mentality that being in debt is a good thing and micro-loans are taken out without considering the implications. Without restricting the right of financial institutions to market their services, it is necessary for an education campaign to be launched to inform consumers on sensible financial strategies. It is also suggested that big businesses, such as mines and corporate should be involved in providing compulsory debt-relief workshops to their employees.

- (3) Invest resources and provide adequate support to existing as well as qualifying new entrants to farming.

- (4) Do whatever is necessary to improve our Broadband and Internet services.

South Africa's broadband and Internet services are currently among the slowest in global terms.

- (5) Ensure that small, medium and micro enterprises will enjoy increased support from local government.

It should be made easier, not more difficult, to start and run a small business.

- (6) Implement sound environmental practices will be adhered to, with an emphasis on sustainable development, recycling, environmental sustainability.

Organic farming, for instance, will be encouraged to protect both consumers and the environment. Suitable crops for dry regions will empower small rural farmers in marginal areas.

Congress of the People recognizes that our abundant resources are important to our economic growth. Even more important, however, are our human resources.

The need to appropriately skill our youth and improve the quality of our education are imperatives. If we overcome these two challenges, our economy will grow in a sustainable manner over the long term.

How can we do this? To begin with Congress believes that we will need to restructure the SETAS and amend the Company's Act so that concentrated emphasis can be given to continuous training and skilling in the workplace leading to appropriate accreditation and certification.

We are also keenly aware that we inhabit the Information Age where the knowledge economy takes pride of place. The country must therefore ensure that



Information and Communication Technology plays a role as a significant economic driver. The need to innovate and be at the cutting edge of technology is something we need to embrace with commitment and enthusiasm. ICT impacts on all aspects of our lives and we must ensure that we have bandwidth and personnel to enable us to harness ICT to the fullest. Our economy must extract all the advantages it can from ICT so that business can be transacted swiftly, safely and internationally.

We also recognize that globalisation is an inevitable fact of economic reality. South Africa should therefore seek to exploit its competitive advantage in the global supply chain and thereby become a significant player in the international economy. Component manufacture is indeed the way to go.

Even so, we will need to strengthen the productive base of manufacturing. In this regard we must learn from successful examples around the world. We cannot only be successful consumers. We have to be successful producers of tradable goods. Over the years we closed down our foundries in Atlantis, clothing manufacture in the Western Cape, textile making in KwaZulu-Natal, shoe manufacturing in several parts of the country and many more industries besides these. The challenge for the country and for companies is to innovate all the time. Tyre manufacturers are now coming under pressure from cheap imports and this requires a paradigm shift.

The green economy is the economy of the future. Retrofitting has to be undertaken on a vast scale so that energy is used more sparingly by all industries and costs are properly contained. An economy that is ready to ride the next wave will thrive. There is no going back or sitting where we find ourselves at present. Time overtakes all of that.

One of the other big challenges is to enable people to find work close to where they reside. This curtails transport costs and allows for employer and workers to interact co-operatively for their mutual benefit. When enterprises are close to communities they identify with them and seek to keep them successful as their very future is dependent on the viability of these enterprises. Such an arrangement also allows the entire community that surrounds an enterprise to be beneficiaries of economic empowerment.

A vibrant democracy where rule of law obtains and the criminal justice system is highly regarded will encourage long term investments. Likewise the civil service must be facilitative rather than obdurately bureaucratic. Corruption in all spheres of public life will have to be stamped out because it corrodes the fabric of society. For our economy to grow corruption has to be defeated. The PFMA and MFMA are excellent pieces of legislation. All procurements must be made in terms of these acts. The practice to bypass the measures in these acts has seriously harmed our economy and must be fully addressed.

Congress also recognizes that the political elite cannot be referees and players at the same time. Rent seeking has taken root in our economy and tenderpreneurs have compromised the system of procurement. At a time when all the economies of the world are struggling and investors are looking for safe and secure places to invest, South Africa has to rebuild its image. Politicians cannot use the state to enrich themselves and abandon the poor.

Congress also looked into reversing the steady decline in manufacturing, mining and agriculture. Lack of certainty and stability are preventing companies with billions in the bank investing. Everyone's playing a waiting game to see which way things will unfold. The



function of a democratic government is to create certainty so that economic growth can occur.

Another factor that has always bedeviled development is the unresolved issue of race. Nelson Mandela set the foundation for all of us to reach forward towards a common national identity. South Africans will have to express unity of purpose and assert a common national identity so that the economy can be transformed in a manner that creates opportunities for all. Harmony is an essential ingredient to economic growth. There has to be something for everybody in the economy to allow all South Africans to put their shoulders to the wheel.

Another issue of great concern to Congress of the People is lack of information and co-ordination. We propose to put in place an overarching Information, Planning and Co-ordination Agency to ensure that our economy operates smoothly and efficiently and that all overlaps are suitably addressed.

The NDP is a good master plan. Congress wishes to create regional plans out of it to accommodate the situation prevailing in each region and the resources and opportunities that are available there. We have seen that the services and financial sectors and tourism are doing well but that mining, manufacturing and commercial agriculture are languishing. Regional plans with proper information, facilitation and co-ordination will stimulate regional economic growth. Rural areas must be brought into such regional plans.

Our country is a resource rich country which could become a hub for investments. We must now develop our people and strive for the kind of harmony that will give a spurt to our economic growth. That is the challenge we are ready to take up and bring prosperity to South Africa.

EDUCATION

COPE believes that the aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love the people of our country and their diverse culture and to honour human fellowship, liberty and peace.

A Charter of Basic Education Rights must be approved along the lines suggested by the South African Human Rights Commission. It is necessary to define the scope and content of the right to basic education as set out in section 29(1)(a) of the Constitution.

In order to genuinely advance education in our country, such that the education our children receive is regarded as being adequate for the level at which it is provided, COPE undertakes to -

- 1) set a benchmark for computer literacy for teachers so that they are empowered to facilitate e-learning.
We need to provide teachers and learners with either laptops or a work station in every school so that teachers can do the necessary research and preparation for lesson and learners can access and respond to such lessons as happens in Uruguay and South Korea, among other places.
- 2) to increase the minimum pass rate across all grades and support the use of common certification. *Currently, the pass rate of 30% is too low and does not adequately equip learners for future success. We need to investigate scientifically what should constitute a minimum pass mark. Common certification will ensure that all learners in all schools will leave with the same kind of certificate*
- 3) support the exclusion of unions in the appointment and management of teachers at school level. *Politically, we need to limit the role*



of unions, and free teaching from the demands of union members that are often in conflict with the interests of the teaching profession, the teachers, and the learners.

- 4) will pay and promote teachers based on academic qualifications, performance and skills. *This forms part of establishing a professional civil service.*
- 5) will lower the ratio of learners to teachers. *This will improve the quality of education and also create more jobs for teachers.*
- 6) will re-open teacher training colleges and FETs with special emphasis on critical subjects. *Urgent intervention is needed in maths and science, where South Africa ranks second-last in global standing. We must place greater emphasis on subjects like mathematics and science as we have inadequate graduates in these areas and that constrains economic growth.*
- 7) will introduce a multi-disciplinary skills-based performance competency for all learners. *Work ethic is another area where our education system is failing learners. Skills and competencies can be included in the Life Orientation / Life Skills curriculum to provide a learning curriculum that is complete and rounded.*
- 8) will set up communication platforms to identify and develop marketable skills. *This will ensure that the education system is responsive to the needs of the economy.*
- 9) will ensure that ECD practitioners are in full employ of the Department of Education. *ECD practitioners should be recognised as a part of the education system as a whole.*

- 10) will place special emphasis on training and empowering School Government Bodies, so that they can play a more meaningful and decisive role in the running of the schools they have responsibilities for.

EDUCATORS

COPE agrees with most South Africans on the critical importance of education in building a prosperous country as well as and that training is essential to meeting the challenges our country faces. We will therefore pay particular attention to this sector and ensure that all our educators throughout the school system are trained and re-trained and provided with tools and new technology to empower them to discharge their responsibilities effectively. Improvement to working conditions and remuneration will go side by side with the quality and standard of education that is being provided. Educators must understand that it is the quality of education that they deliver which has a direct bearing on our economy and productivity. If we have a considerable high quality skills base investors will come to South Africa.

COPE will also ensure that school principals are properly trained, well rewarded and fully motivated to carry out their management responsibilities. Greater accountability will be demanded in return.

Government must provide incentives to increase the number of educators specialising in mathematics and the sciences.

Educators must be encouraged through incentives to see themselves as professionals and to organise themselves in a professional association rather than in a union so that their employment conditions and material needs are balanced by the necessity for them to continuously enhance their professional standing and conduct.



Educators are professionals and as with doctors educators must have a greater role in ensuring peer evaluation,

EFFICIENCY

In order to cope with constrained budgets, falling revenue and increased social demands to meet rising expectations the necessity to improve performance efficiencies has become all important.

Enterprise resource planning, procurement, data sharing, web content management and online services, grant management, utilisation of resources including human resources must all be done in the most efficient manner possible to achieve the widest result for any amount expended.

ELDERLY PEOPLE (65 +)

We will institute special measures to give privileged access for the elderly and people with disabilities to the social wage, with relation especially to housing, public transport and health care; as well as introduce a campaign to make this privileged treatment status into a culture of how the community in general and the young in particular treat and address these citizens. We will increase the availability of special care facilities for the elderly who have no families to look after them, women and children in abusive relationships and environments respectively and homeless children living on our streets, ensuring that the children attend school.

ELECTRICITY

As the cost of electricity is set to rise it will be necessary to encourage the rooftop installation of photovoltaic panels and solar water heaters. The government will work with financial institutions so that five year loans at an attractive and guaranteed rate will be available for

those who wish to go the solar route. It is imperative that daytime operations that can be powered by solar energy should not depend on the national grid.

The creation of local micro grids to share solar power will be investigated and if viable, speedy implementation will follow.

Solar kits will be provided to indigent families free of charge so that they can have free lighting and battery charging facilities.

EMPLOYMENT TAX INCENTIVE BILL

Every measure available to assist youth to gain work experience for shorter or longer duration has to be implemented to alleviate youth unemployment. Employees should have legal support to bring their children who are above 18 years to the workplace to learn what their parents are doing and filling in for them in case of sickness, accidents or other problems.

ELECTORAL REFORM

COPE is fully committed to -

- 1) introduce a system that allows for the direct election of the president, the premiers and the mayors. Such direct elections will enhance accountability to the voters.
- 2) introducing legislation that will require 100% impartiality from presiding offices and a transparent reconciliation of votes to voter material to eliminate election fraud.

Bias from presiding officers and election fraud are major challenges to the holding of fair elections. It is necessary to improve existing legislation so that it is explicit in respect of the above issues.



ELECTRIC CARS

Support for electric commuter cars, delivery vans and buses will occur to ensure that South African cities do not suffer the fate of Beijing and other heavily polluted cities. In 2013 Beijing had to slash the city's new car sales by 40% to curb vehicle emissions. Ambient air quality in our cities has to be protected and the use of electric car for intra-city commuting must be taken forward vigorously. VAT on electric cars must be waived for 3—five years to make electric commuter or urban cars affordable. Electric buses and delivery vehicles will receive similar support.

The use of electric powered tuk-tuks will allow for better integrated public transport services to occur.

The wider adoption of the electric car will accelerate technological developments to overcome present day deficiencies.

EMPLOYMENT

A government that cannot adequately propel the economy to create jobs doesn't deserve to be in office. To begin with government has to downsize so that some of the resources which are being consumed within government can be freed up for investment in the economy. If more money is spent on infrastructure development such as roads, railways, ICT hospitals and colleges, two things will happen: jobs will be created and the economy will be stimulated further.

COPE will also support retrofitting which will encourage owners of buildings to replace equipment, devices and bulbs which are energy hungry with those that are energy efficient. This will be good for job creation and cost savings. A COPE led government will ensure that the construction of houses by both the public as well as the private sector continues at pace so that jobs

continue to be available. COPE will likewise actively address urban decay with tax incentives and this too will generate jobs on a sustainable basis. COPE will put a great deal more resources into the training of artisans, technicians and entrepreneurs. It is common cause that people who have marketable skills are in a position to create their own jobs. Affordable loans will be made available to start up enterprises. There will also be other support to enable them to succeed. COPE will partner with the private sector to provide high quality training and mentoring. This will be treated as a top priority.

Rural areas will be supported to develop niche markets and take advantage of the growth in tourism to South Africa.

Agriculture, manufacturing and mining which are seriously underperforming at the moment will be given encouragement and assistance to increase production and expand employment.

South Africa must create tradable goods and expand inter African trade. If we continue to slacken, Nigeria will soon overtake South Africa as the economic engine on the continent and therefore attract the bulk of investments coming to Africa. South Africa must strive to remain an economic powerhouse that is turbo charged. Turbo charging the economy to create job absorbing growth will be COPE's prime target.

ENTERPRISE ESTABLISHMENT SUPPORT

COPE recognises the urgent need to reduce the red tape and bureaucratic obstacles for entrepreneurs who are seeking to set up enterprises. This will be given continuous attention. Strict time frames for government departments to complete the processing of applications will apply. Outsourcing to private companies when



departments are overwhelmed with applications can take place if a resolution of a local authority is adopted. Standard fees that will have been set will apply. This will ensure that regulatory requirements are met without any delay. If the strict time frames are exceeded the political head will have to face a motion of no confidence. Political heads will have to guarantee efficiency and competence to the public to remain in office.

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

COPE is clear that the earth, the oceans as well as the atmosphere surrounding our planet have all been seriously compromised on account of our total dependence on carbon based fossil fuels to drive our economy. It will not be easy to redress the problem nor will it be cheap considering the magnitude of the devastation. The economies of the world that are breaking away from oil and coal are showing greater growth than those that are still clinging to the fuels that pollute and are precipitating an ecological disaster. Sweden and Iceland are prime examples of countries that are succeeding by going green.

The imposition of carbon taxes, side by side with grants for innovative use of non-polluting and clean energy and the massive creation of carbon sinks throughout the country, is no longer a choice but an urgent necessity that every citizen must passionately support. We need to think of future generations.

Investments in photovoltaic and solar-thermal installations in the Karroo where solar radiation is the most abundant will easily supply all of our country's energy needs during the day. Rooftop installations will add to the electricity generated from solar radiation. This is the way to go.

COPE believes that subsidies should be purposefully switched from installations using fossil fuels to those that produce clean energy. This is doubly cost effective and sustainable. Legislation must be put quickly in place

to give clear guidance to all role players. Clear signals should be sent to all parties to steer away from dependence on fossil fuels as the tax measures will increasingly become more punitive over time.

South Africa's transmission system operated by ESKOM should begin to deliver power derived from the sun, wind, ocean tides and geothermal wells. A COPE led government will remove all obstacles from the path of those that begin to produce clean energy while it will begin to impose restrictions and tax burdens on those that continue to rely on fossil fuels. The impact of climate change and the devastation it causes is plain for everyone to see.

COPE will therefore begin to be very assertive on matters of ecology, extinction, biosafety, and biosecurity. Support for organic agriculture will have to be implemented across the country. Just as crony capitalism is bad, phony capitalism is even worse. Phony capitalism seeks present profits regardless of long term environmental costs.

Water pollution from "point sources" like industrial facilities and wastewater treatment plants and "non point sources" such as agricultural and suburban run off will be strictly monitored and better regulated.

COPE will also require that continuous measurements be taken to ascertain global and ocean warming and the impact of these on climate and precipitation within South Africa and the region.

While regulations, incentives and disincentives all have a role to play, it is education and activism that will have to be most heavily relied on to create a shift of mind set.

Environmental issues are no longer peripheral to policy formulation but are central to them. By ceasing debate and acting on environmental protection a new style economy can be created which will be sustainable and which will enhance the development or advancement of



new technologies. To be at the forefront is an advantage.

E-TOLLS

It is unacceptable for motorists to pay both fuel levies as well as e-tolls. Where tolls are a necessity and the public has a well maintained alternative route, tolling is a choice. All tolling revenue must be transparently accounted for and motorists must know where the money they are paying is going. The user pay principle is applicable where users are the only ones to benefit and have made no contribution through taxes and levies. The e-tolling in Gauteng must be reversed and other measures considered.

COPE is committed to postponing e-tolling to allow for the whole matter to be better considered and to ensure that motorists have alternative routes and public transport as a viable choice.

ETHICAL LEADERSHIP

Over the last few years it has become clear that leaders will have uphold standards of moral and ethical conduct in order to influence supporters to follow suit. Leaders will have to nurture ethical values so that these will influence organizational culture and allow ethical practices to prevail throughout the organization. The alignment of beliefs and values with behaviour and action is necessary to advance the common good and combat the corruption that is widespread. South Africa is looking for leaders with character and integrity so that the belief people had in Nelson Mandela, for instance, can be restored. We undertake to live and breathe the principles of honesty, transparency, accountability and integrity every day. In this way we will ensure that ethical practice and behaviour become solid habit. We want to be seen as women and men of the truth.

EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

Every person, without exception or status, is equal before the law. Such equality must pertain in all circumstances and regardless of who the person is or what position that person holds.

EXECUTIVE PAY

The law in our country must require that executive pay is in conformity with a company's performance and the general pay structure for employees within that company. Executive pay cannot be out of kilter with the remuneration of employees taken collectively in the enterprise.

It will be preferable for enterprises to recognise the seriousness of the problem and to address it on their own without government being forced to regulate executive pay. Pay for all should be in line with productivity, creativity and excellence.

A desirable ratio should be determined to allow remuneration at the top level and the bottom level to remain range bound.

FAMILY

COPE approvingly quotes the following from the 2012 White Paper:

"Stable, healthy families are at the heart of strong societies. It is within the family environment that an individual's physical, emotional and psychological development occurs. It is from our family that we learn unconditional love, we understand right from wrong, and we gain empathy, respect and self-regulation. These qualities enable us to engage positively at school, at work and in society in general. The absence of a stable, nurturing family environment has a profoundly damaging impact on the individual,



often leading to behaviour which is profoundly damaging to society". (Centre for Social Justice, 2010:6)

Creating the conditions conducive for healthy families is a challenge COPE will take up with determination.

FEELS GOOD TO BE AN AFRICAN TODAY

President Thabo Mbeki's statement must resonate with all of us. If government becomes accountable, ethical and transparent, all of us would be proud to be South Africans and if South Africa impacts positively on Africa, we can feel good to be an African also. South Africans must see themselves as people of our republic but also people of Africa.

COPE will do a great deal more than previously to ensure that South Africans know Africa, care for Africa and feel good about being African.

FIRES & FLOODS IN INFORMAL RESIDENTIAL AREAS

Government will accelerate the layout of services in all areas where informal housing is being established and create concrete floors at a height that will prevent flooding. Residents will be offered plans and advised on affordable best materials for the construction of their homes. It is imperative that informal residential areas are supported by planning so that over a period of time informal houses can become permanent structures. The ravaging of informal houses by fires and floods, which occurs annually must come to an immediate end.

FINANCIAL MISCONDUCT IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Swift disciplinary measures and tougher punishments for officials found guilty of financial misconduct will be

implemented. Terms of employment will adequately cover measures that can be taken against perpetrators. In the 2011-12 period 1 243 cases of financial misconduct were reported by just the national and provincial departments. An amount of R230 million was lost through unauthorised, irregular, fruitless and wasteful expenditure. Recovery of such funds from officials has to be provided for and implemented. In serious cases expulsion from service is merited. This promise is in black and white and it will be carried out faithfully.

FINANCIAL SECTOR

It is important that Basel III rules apply strictly to all financial institutions. In this respect the need for all financial institutions to hold more capital and liquidity against their outstanding investments and loans cannot be negotiable. COPE will translate Basel III rules into appropriate regulation which will have to be fully complied with over a five year period. Risk management in the financial institutions, as we have learnt from the many crises of the past few years, has to be satisfactorily undertaken.

Government must be able to make timely interventions to prevent any crisis from developing. It is in all our interest that a structurally healthier financial sector is in place. Individuals within the financial sector who take dangerous risks will have to be held personally culpable alongside with the institutions they lead. By the same token complete risk aversion is not desirable and would be injurious to the economy. COPE accepts that not every risk can be predicted or avoided. What is required is responsible risk taking with adequate measures to protect against failure that imperils the economy.

FISCAL POLICY

Our fiscal deficit must be reined in and government costs contained as it is unsustainable to go on



borrowing in the hope that future growth will materialise and economic prospects will improve to help pay off the debt. In fact a continuous increase in fiscal deficits will lead to downgrades by rating agencies and this will lead to capital outflow. Consumption side expenditure has to be curbed and the fiscal deficit has to be reined in. A debt ceiling must be legislated and scaling that ceiling must only be permissible by a legislative measure in the National Assembly.

Each cycle of budgeting must provide for a primary balance to be achieved so that, however little, the debt would remain stable. Government has to be leaner, cleaner and better.

FISHING

Artisanal fishing communities with collective rights will be given demarcated preferential fishing zones to help them, as communities, to enjoy sustainable income. The application of “catch shares” will allow a certain portion of the ocean area to be allocated to certain groups and individuals so that profitable fishing and conservation goals can be met.

Women in fishing communities will be supported in the value chain enterprises that will materialise.

Fisheries science will be strongly promoted. Fishing has to be sustainable and therefore scientific surveys will have to be taken and the accumulation of mercury in fish and other dangers for the fish as well as consumers will need constant monitoring and decisive action. South Africa’s rights to protect its fish resources will be supported with all the means that are available. Corrupt practices will be rooted out by encouraging the formation of a South African Fishing Association to which all licenced permit holders will have to belong. This Association will be able to take its own action as well as request government or the chapter nine institution to investigate allegations of corruption.

An annual scientific assessment of fish stocks will have to be made.

FIT & PROPER PERSONS

All who serve the state whether in an elected or appointed position must qualify as fit and proper persons in the strict definition of the term. In order to remain in office every person drawing remuneration from the fiscus must continue to conform with that definition. Anyone who no longer meets these criteria must have his / her position terminated. What is good for judges should be equally good for legislators, executive members, teachers, police officers and others. All who serve the public at the taxpayers’ expense must be fit and proper persons.

FLAME OF FREEDOM

The flame of Freedom, lit by Nelson Mandela in the cell where he was held on Robben Island and handed to President Thabo Mbeki, must be kept burning and handed from generation to generation as Nelson Mandela wanted. For the flame of freedom to burn brightly, freedom, political and economic, must remain fully protected.

FOOD INFLATION & FOOD SECURITY

Food inflation, rising prices and food security must receive continuous attention. The United Nations has warned of a global food crisis which is looming. Climate change can devastate a nation’s agriculture and therefore protecting agriculture has to be at the forefront of the strategies to ensure adequate food supply. The supply of staple foods at affordable prices has to be guaranteed.

All land owners, whatever the system of land tenure, must operate within a national plan to optimise food



production. The difficulties being experienced by dairy farmers must be satisfactorily resolved.

Gardening in the urban areas will be encouraged through skills transfer and attractive incentives.

Container gardening must be taught to all citizens.

FOOD PRODUCTION

Smallholder farmers, communities and householders will have to be supported with technical services and inputs in order to increase food production and achieve small holder livelihoods. Micro enterprise can develop on the back of food production schemes.

Commercial farmers must create side ventures in adjoining farms with new entrants into agriculture so as to transform agriculture through skills transfer and mentorship. Partnerships and skills transfers will have to occur to ameliorate antagonism and promote visible collaboration.

Effective land usage on a shared basis which guarantees food production must be more important than land ownership per se. White farmers and black farmers must find mutual accommodation to achieve long term security and stability.

Legislation must provide for different systems of sharing that will be mutually beneficial. All unused state land must be identified and made available for sustainable food production. The best use of water, which is a very scarce resource, must be constantly researched and the information publicised within the farming communities. The sustainable use of underground water must be given continuous attention.

Innovative food production which is environmentally friendly must be supported. Innovation must enjoy legislative encouragement and be made to override other legislation.

FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENTS

As a result of non savings in our economy, as a nation we will need to attract greater volumes of foreign investment into our economy.

Investments by foreign companies in nuclear energy, aerospace, aviation, security, land, fishing, and forestry will be strictly controlled as these must be regarded as strategic areas of the economy.

Foreign investments must yield benefits to the country in respect of certifiable skills development, technology transfers, university research opportunities and national wealth creation. The sucking out of profits from the country has to be rigorously guarded against.

Foreign investments must yield a clear win-win situation: something for the investor and something for the country.

The benchmark used to evaluate our country as an investment destiny is the same for every other country. We have to be at the level of the countries commanding high levels of fixed direct investments.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

COPE will pursue a foreign policy to create a better, fairer and safer world guided by the provisions in our Constitution. Our foreign policy which will advance the national interests of South Africa and the development of Africa will be an extension of our national policy which requires an enhancement of human rights and a deepening of democracy.

Nearer home, we will work with the SADC countries to expedite the signing of agreements on regional integration so that we can collectively address the challenges of poverty, conflict, underdevelopment, technology backlogs and democracy deficits. We need to ensure that our region is characterised by economic growth, peace, stability, democracy and the full attainment of human rights.



On a broader front we will work with all the countries of our Continent to accelerate the processes towards the development and Unity of Africa. The development of equitable inter-African trade and the realisation of the African Renaissance are very important goals for COPE.

On the international front will work with all like-minded countries to address such important global challenges as -

- reforming the United Nations and other institutions of global governance in the multilateral system,
- ameliorating climate change,
- tackling trans-national organised crime,
- combatting international terrorism;
- solving the current global economic crisis;
- restructuring the world economy;
- eradicating poverty and underdevelopment especially in Africa and the countries of the South;
- strengthening our bilateral relations with various countries in Africa,
- fostering the South - North economic relationship;
- seeking trade relations while but not at the altar of human rights.
- drawing everyone in the African Diaspora to engage with Africa and be proud of being an African.

GOLDEN HANDSHAKES

The granting of substantial golden handshakes, especially to employees who acted irregularly or incompetently or irresponsibly has to be better regulated. The deserving may under given circumstances receive an appropriate golden handshake, but certainly not the undeserving. Regulations to this effect will be made, tested and implemented.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE

COPE undertakes to rigorously curb futile and fruitless expenditure as well as extravagant expenditure on travel, accommodation and advertising. Government expenditure must be substantially on the productive side of the economy to allow for sustained economic growth. Oversight over expenditure by Parliament will be intensified and the right of Parliament to freely access information on expenditure will be fully enforced. Full transparency and accountability in respect of expenditure will have to occur so that a proper evaluation of the outcome of expenditure can be made. Compliance with the PFMA and the MFMA will be rigorously enforced and all loopholes will be plugged so that the tender process is not subverted at every turn and for every selfish reason.

Neither the President nor any member of government may cite security to prevent a full disclosure on expenditure. All contracts with all service providers will be made available to SCOPA by digital means. Complaints on any contract should first be directed to the legislature which will be compelled to investigate them. Full transparency in respect of government expenditure must be manifested.

The PFMA and MFMA must be rigorously and stringently adhered to.

GOVERNMENT PRIORITIES

Better service delivery, improved infrastructure, tighter control of finances, stricter adherence to the Constitution and rule of law, fuller accountability and enhanced transparency.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

COPE will make it obligatory for every government official to fully implement the PFMA. All acts by all



managers in government will have to be compliant with the Promotion of Access to Information Act, the Prevention of Corrupt Practices Act, the Financial Intelligence Centre Act and the Protocol on Corporate Governance in the Public Sector. Any failure by any official in respect of the above will be grounds for dismissal from the service. COPE will ensure that new rules are implemented without any delay to ensure that disciplinary processes are fast tracked so that justice can obtain swiftly. No government should continue in office if it allows resources to be frittered away on long suspensions and unwarranted delays.

Government officials who have been dismissed or forced to resign because of any irregular expenditure or any violation of the PFMA or MFMA or any negative findings of any competent authority, Chapter 9 institutions included, will be blacklisted and unable to return to public service. A tarnished reputation will be a barrier for any appointment to the Public Service. All government officials must be fit and proper persons.

GREEN BUILDINGS

All individuals in society should take responsibility for greening buildings they live in or work in. Regenerative designs had to be implemented across all spheres because it is the duty of every individual to be environmentally responsible.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

The budget process must direct resources into investments which will have strong multiplier effects. Taxes should not be shifted into consumption as is happening presently.

GROWTH & EMPLOYMENT

The focus in the economy should be on four things: growth, price stability, employment and competitiveness.

HABITAT PRESERVATION

Important habitats must be identified and secured over the long term. All natural resources are finite and therefore conservation must be seen as an ongoing necessity that cannot be compromised. Sharp scrutiny should be maintained on land use to ensure that important habitats are kept in a pristine state of preservation.

HAWKERS & STREET TRADERS

Hawkers and street traders must be better accommodated and required to maintain standards of cleanliness and hygiene. Planning and innovative thinking must apply. A simple and efficacious system of licensing must apply.

HEALTH CARE

COPE is acutely aware of the disparity in health care between rural and urban areas and between the private and public sector. A COPE led government will pay special attention to the improvement of the quality of health care. Among other things we will ensure that -

- an automated queuing systems similar to that used at SARS will be introduced at all clinics to prevent long lines;
- universal healthcare is available;
- traditional health practitioners are properly accredited and monitored with the primary aim being to improve healthcare in rural areas.



- the remuneration of home based care givers is addressed and that provision exists within the budget of the Department of Health for including home based care givers;
- hospitals be authorised to order medicine directly from listed suppliers at pre-approved prices to eliminate tender processes that are mismanaged and open for abuse by government officials and to cut out the middle man who adds to the cost of medicine.
- government clinics be open 24 hours in designated areas as this will improve accessibility of health care to all communities.
- the primary health care model is strengthened, and that preventable and communicable diseases are prioritised for eradication;
- healthy lifestyles and increase health literacy are promoted among members of the public to curb the ever increasing and costly life style diseases;
- all clinics have adequate stock of medication, appropriate health professionals, access to emergency services (ambulances) and that they operate at all appropriate hours;
- a policy for the appointment of professional managers is put into place to ensure that the employment of health professionals will happen on need and merit, referral systems are well thought out; all hospitals are clean and properly sanitised, medicines are in adequate supply, beds and linen are available and client / patient satisfaction is achieved.
- a strategic partnership is developed with private health care providers in order to extend affordable health provision to those who need it;
- healthcare professionals are suitably protected and valued;

- a comprehensive HIV and AIDS strategy is in place to improve treatment and enhance prevention;
- natural medicines and indigenous knowledge systems are given space within the wider ambits of healthcare.

HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONALS

The continuous training and assessment of health care professionals, other than doctors, has to occur so that new technology can be used and best practices implemented. The retention of health care professionals and the job satisfaction they enjoy must merit careful attention. Civilian as well military health care education and training must take place according to a continuously updated curriculum.

What can be done to achieve a greater rapport between health providers on the one hand and patients on the other must be examined and new strategies implemented. Professional associations must make inputs into how systems can be improved and how professional time and expertise can be best utilised.

HEALTHY LIFESTYLE

COPE is seriously concerned about the need for government to promote a healthy lifestyle among the citizens of our country. More people need to participate in sports, learners and students in particular. Every community should make endeavours jointly with government to create facilities and develop resources. COPE would like to see all South Africans giving patriotic support to all our national teams.

It is very important for South Africa to ensure a successful 2010 Football World Cup. This is a rare opportunity to foster national cohesion and to initiate a National Dialogue which will accelerate the



development of a united, non-racial, non-sexist, and prosperous South Africa.

HIGH SCHOOLS ONLINE

COPE will not only support but facilitate the development and expansion of virtual high schools to allow learners to access high school education online. For learners who cannot attend a customary high school, for whatever reason, a virtual school will provide an important alternative. Subsidies for fees, computer and internet will be given positive consideration. Broadband capable of supporting virtual schools will have to be provided for.

HIV & AIDS

COPE will support the curative as well as the preventative programmes to mitigate the trauma on the one hand and to stop its spreading on the other. COPE's approach will be to use the media to run short courses on viruses and retro viruses so that as many people as possible have a fuller understanding of how the infection occurs and why it cannot be cured.

Those inflicted with HIV & AIDS will be recruited to educate members of their communities and encouraged to use their initiative with public and private support to prevent its transmission. Nationally approved manuals, both hard copy and digital, with appropriate graphics must be made available so that the main message is uniformly spread.

New ideas will be continuously requested and explored.

HOLDING HISTORY IN YOUR HEART

On 10 December 2013 President Barack Obama, addressing the memorial service in Soweto, used the phrase "holding history in your heart". COPE believes that holding history in our hearts is necessary to create

a just and united nation. COPE will therefore encourage the public broadcaster and the media to keep alive our country's history so that we never repeat its mistakes and keep in front of us the brave and inspiring lessons of history that we must take to heart.

HOUSING (2 million shortfall in 2013)

While the building of 3 million houses is an achievement the shoddiness of construction should never have been allowed to go unpunished and unrectified.

COPE's housing policy recognises that the outcomes which are planned for housing must be fully integrated with the social, economic and environmental goals of the nation. These should never be seen or pursued as being mutually independent. The focus should therefore be on the improvement of low-income urban settlement environment through community participation, public-private partnerships and the use of transferred knowledge and information. When people are equipped with expertise on environmental issues, technical housing matters, economic choices and the creation of viable communities, they become involved in solving a multiplicity of problems in a single unified approach. The importance of promoting gender equality and social inclusion cannot also be overstressed. Mono housing is an ineffective and unsustainable approach to housing. The CSIR's sustainability tool has to strictly apply to ensure that whatever developments take place, they are sustainable.

The provision of housing must also allow for a well designed mix of both government and market mechanisms in respect of every single development. The exclusionary approach, witnessed thus far in housing developments, leads to mono housing with no room for variety or future growth and development. This is the manifestation of a top down approach with contractor fraud being widespread. Policy should and



must freely allow for innovative approaches mixing the efforts of government, private individuals, the private sector, NGO's, co-operatives, entrepreneurs and of families as a group wanting to meet a collective need. A co-operative development will reflect that many forces were at play to achieve the desired housing, environmental, economic and social outcomes.

Cope also advances a multi-tenure approach. Every development should invite entrepreneurs to participate in the development of houses for rental, using strict guidelines, alongside houses being developed for ownership according to a variety of schemes. Diversity, flexibility and local innovation must inform every development so that local resources are used optimally and delivery takes place at an accelerated pace. The people of a given locality, where housing is in critical short supply, should be provided with useable information about access to land and finance, laying out of municipal infrastructure, use of co-operatives, ready availability of housing designs and costs, possibility of economic opportunities, the contribution of sweat equity and the availability to them of project management. While the urban poor are desperate for houses they are equally desperate for knowledge and know-how and facilitation. Cope will promote supporting communities by assigning to them a project leader to enable them to work co-operatively and efficiently with their respective local authorities to accelerate housing delivery by optimising the resources available in the area.

Problems such as alcohol, drug abuse, loitering and violence will never be solved without appropriate design and community structures. Access to information is very important in improving people's lives and in involving them in decision-making processes. The potential of an enabling approach which encourages self-help through extensive facilitation by multi-level professional teams, based within a local authority, is enormous and must therefore be harnessed. It is much

better for informal housing to arise where the planning has been finalised and certain minimum construction being completed as this will allow for formal structures to begin emerging within the time frame that is stipulated for the conversion. Right to access to land can begin with the construction of a fence and the laying down of a concrete floor according to the approved plan. All of the preparatory work should be undertaken by the local authority. Occupiers will be legally bound to follow the plan and the rules to achieve the conversion in the given time.

Local authorities will therefore be charged to assume responsibility for selection of land for housing and completing all of the planning and legal tasks and processes. Communities seeking accommodation can contribute sweat equity under proper supervision to ensure that services are laid out and that the minimum construction which is specified is completed. The right blending of factors will allow for great success in shelter provision to occur.

The right to decent housing is a fundamental right and government has to play its role in ensuring that people have access to sufficient, affordable, and qualitatively descent houses in the right places. Tenure issues, quality of product, race and ethnicity challenges and opportunities, community support needs, facilitation, neighbourhood sustainability and other similar issues will have to be considered with communities on an ongoing basis. COPE policies will be always accord people the right to govern and therefore the top down and control approaches will be replaced by a bottom up and facilitative approach.

The Mortgage Indemnity Fund will be harnessed with a view to supporting those with the capability of using loans and their own sweat equity to create an asset that will on completion substantially exceed the value of the loan. Prospective home owners must enjoy all the facilitation that they can obtain from the local authority in respect of planning and legal issues so that such



individuals can organise their friends and their family members to come together to use their limited loans to create desirable homes. Greater mixed housing developments must be undertaken through bringing into play self-help, registering a bond with a financial institution and applying for a subsidy from an employer

Cope will also give free planning support to backyard landlords to build or upgrade backyard accommodation in line with required building standards. The upgrading and conversion of public sector hostels into family units or single units will be flexibly approached to achieve a rapid conversion that best serves everyone's interest within the constraints of the resources that are available. In a similar way high impact developments will receive support for infrastructure upgrade to improve the precinct as a whole. Land acquisition, building of houses, bulk infrastructure supply, roads, transport and local economic development will be driven on a co-operative and collaborative basis so that optimal synergy through optimal facilitation can obtain.

The formalisation and eradication of informal settlements will occur through intense facilitation by the local authority to meet all the necessary planning and legal requirements. Private sector, individual and community partnerships in respect of infrastructure development will have to be forged with vigour and enthusiasm. The rehabilitation of existing social, governmental, recreational and economic infrastructure in townships will be fully supported through the development of flexible and innovative approaches. Encouraging economic growth opportunities in such areas will be enthusiastically facilitated.

The concept of cohousing will be popularised in South Africa and given all the support that it deserves.

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

COPE will implement a comprehensive Human Resource Development Programme, paying particular

attention to skills development and the expansion of the national pool of professionals. It will also put in place a vigorous programme to encourage the employment of skilled workers, graduates and professionals, including empowering them to start their own enterprises.

HIGHWAY PATROL UNITS

Patrol and visibility on our highways with the stopping and searching of vehicles will help the law enforcement agency to look out for stolen vehicles, contraband, illicit drugs, counterfeit cigarettes and goods, stolen livestock, elephant and rhino body parts, unlicensed guns and trafficked human beings.

Highway patrols must have stations at regular intervals along all highways to operate from.

HOUSEHOLD WASTE SEPARATION

The need to recycle for the benefit of the environment, the reduced requirement of electricity in making new products, easing pressure on landfills, and expanding job opportunities necessitate legislation to make the separation of household waste mandatory. At present only 20% of plastic material, for instance, is recycled. Our hunger as a nation for recyclables should be huge indeed.

HOUSING

COPE will require suitable land to be demarcated throughout the country to help expand sustainable human settlements. It will then identify all legitimate claimants for housing support and transparently publish the names of beneficiaries with their entitlement number.

Where full houses are not to be provided, properly surveyed and serviced sites will be made available to



empower people, through a once-off housing grant, to build their own houses.

IDEALOGY

COPE is a democratic-socialist party sworn to uphold the national constitution and guarantee the attainment of human rights entrenched therein. The first fundamental is to achieve a vibrant and dynamic democracy that takes forward the ideals of the Freedom Charter as well as the Constitution. When that corner stone is laid, a socialist order which achieves distributive justice can be built as the foundation of our fair and caring society. Democracy and socialism must be irrevocably intertwined so that citizens can get best of both worlds. Citizen activism must prevail. Citizens must initiate self-interest programmes.

ILLEGAL SCRAP METAL TRADING

Buyers of scrap metal must be registered businesses occupying registered premises. The business must maintain records of all sellers: photograph, thumbprint and identity number of the seller must be obtained. Sellers must prove that the scrap was obtained by legitimate means. Eskom, Telkom and Transnet must have right of entry and inspection.

The export of scrap metal will have to be advertised so that interested parties can carry out inspections.

ILLICIT ECONOMY

Illicit business in 2011 was estimated to be R178 billion (10% of GDP). The mining, textile and tobacco industries are most affected. The SANDF, which has full responsibility for border protection, must be adequately supported and trans-frontier dynamics addressed to achieve effective border control.

INCOMPETENCE

This is not to be tolerated under any circumstances. Those displaying incompetence will be summoned before an expert panel and adverse findings will result in sacking.

INDEPENDENT POWER PRODUCERS

By 2016 3,725 MW of power will have to be supplied by encouraging and supporting independent power producers to harness wind, sun (concentrated solar plants), landfills and investing in small hydro-gas and biogas plants. This is an imperative that will have to be vigorously pursued. If this amount of power is exceeded it will be most gratifying.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ZONES

COPE will provide focused support for identified sectors and industries in the area of manufacturing. COPE will consider establishing new Micro Industrial Development Zones (MIDZs) near rural areas to stimulate agricultural production and processing to motivate the services sector to come in.

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Industrial growth requires excellence in governance, certainty about our laws and clarity on the climate for investments. Doing business in South Africa should be very attractive because bureaucracy will be swift and facilitative rather than dilatory and regulatory. If government is efficient, effective and ethical big industries will be encouraged to locate in South Africa.

As a country we are blessed with abundant natural resources in the form of ores and minerals. This is an advantage we must fully exploit. The energy situation, however, has to be improved substantially. Day time energy should come primarily from the sun for most of



the year. Guaranteed supply of affordable, if not cheap electricity, is one of the main requisites of any industrial feasibility study.

Water in South Africa is a scarce resource. Desalination of water for industrial purposes will have to be fully investigated.

Tracts of land, not suitable for agriculture, must be serviced and made available near townships in our cities. Mini industrial zones will be created. Similar industries should be congregated in the same area so that greater co-operation and competition are facilitated, targeted research support is constantly made available, large, medium and micro-enterprises in the same field can exist side by side, easier technology transfer becomes possible, a viable value chain can be created, large scale skilling of labour for a particular purpose can occur, whole communities can be drawn in to service the industries and better economic transformation can be achieved.

Reducing input costs, improving productivity and paying wages in line with profits should be part of the business model. Preferential shares for the communities surrounding the industry should be made available so that ownership resides with them. Government must come to the party by providing mixed community housing, to be given away, rented or purchased so that stable and viable communities can come into existence near a mini industrial zone. Bicycle lanes should be planned for so that transport costs can be eliminated.

Infrastructure development must receive optimal consideration in each year's budget.

The National Development Plan, the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan must be taken together and converted by each region in the country into detailed respective regional development plans and strategies which should seek a clear buy in from targeted communities. All three spheres of government must be drawn in during the finalisation of the plan with

clear lines of authority so that implementation can proceed without impediments and turf wars.

South Africa's industrial development must go beyond extraction activities, commodities marketing, and provision of non-tradable services towards the active creation of knowledge and beneficiation industries. It must also go beyond labour absorption to acquisition by labour of shares in the company through awards and purchases. Economic empowerment and transformation of the economy should happen at the coalface. Those who work in an industry should be the primary recipients of empowerment programmes. Rural areas should be supported to manufacture raw materials and economic goods available in the area.

As COPE supports citizen activism to fast track development, communities will be given the right to summon the political head of a department that is lagging behind to explain what steps were being taken to expedite matters. Departments that take more than 90 days to deal with applications will forfeit the right to influence the outcome.

INEQUALITY

South Africa has the terrible reputation of being the world's most unequal society. This has to be reversed through a massive educational effort, substantial redirection of resources and access to ICT. Cultural, social and economic factors must also receive continuous attention from all role players. A volunteer corps must be created in each area to follow through with nationally developed and regionally approved programmes. Co-operatives must be widely resorted to in order that artisans, farmers, crafters, foresters, fishers, and service providers can work as collectives and effectively compete for business. The role of co-operatives has to be further developed and better supported with skills transfer and loans availability. Skilled workers who have been retrenched should be



supported in setting up co-operatives where they can continue to use the skills they had acquired. The state must come to the party by developing common workshops, markets and tourism centres.

Each township should have, as in Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso, a “village artisanal” to market glass, plastic, metal, wood, fibre, clay and gem products and crafts produced by skilled hands in that township.

Opportunities in retailing should be extensively available to South African citizens through legislative means.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

In the information society computers and telecommunication help us to transmit, store, retrieve, analyse and recreate data. Information technology requires hardware, software, different protocols for communication and a variety of uses. Unlike traditional information, digital information is interactive and can exist in cyberspace. This creates legal, security and ethical challenges. Continuous attention will have to be given to creating and maintaining policies to manage ICT in a proactive manner. With e-commerce gathering pace and more and more people banking online, high speed connections, enhanced security, better storage, ethical use, and licensing need to be continuously assessed and acted upon.

The use of Information Technology in education must be fully exploited.

INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

Infrastructure maintenance and development must occur for the economy to grow and expand. In this regard ports, railways, roads, bridges, power stations, dams, sewerage systems and transport provisions have to have continuous investments. Schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, clinics and laboratories also require to be properly funded. Past neglect of large

areas of our country require to be urgently redressed and backlogs need to be overcome. Infrastructure development energises the economy and once the infrastructure is in place their use gives a further spurt to the economy.

Strategic infrastructure development enhances the quality of life, preserves the environment, creates jobs, stimulates demand, and sets off an accelerator and multiplier effect. The more highly developed a country appears, the more development it attracts.

COPE undertakes to promote and implement infrastructure development so that it can become the basis for further development.

INITIATION

COPE will work with communities so that people comply with the law and health requirements and standards. All applications for initiation rituals will have to be provincially approved and the running of initiation schools must be provincially supervised. Traditional circumcision surgeons and caretakers must be examined by the health and social departments.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In international relations Cope will work to promote the following:

- democracy, justice, good governance, human rights and environmental sustainability amongst all nations and people of the world;
- a foreign policy which embodies the social justice and humanity enshrined in our country's constitution;
- all international law and conventions;
- the restructuring of all international organisations so that reflect the changing global



economic, political and social reactions between the developed and developing worlds;

- international joint action to deal with human rights violations, persecution and oppression of people;
- promote fair and free trade at an inter-continental, regional and country to country level; and
- social justice.

INTERNET ABUSE

Legislation must provide for the internet at work to be used for the purposes for which it is provided and not for entertainment, gambling or any other purpose.

INTERNET CRIMES & HACKING

The internet has spawned crimes such as cyber-bullying, identity theft, selling child pornography, perpetrating fraud, committing scams,

hacking computers, stealing proprietary information, engaging in insider abuse, transferring malicious code, infesting computers with viruses and bringing systems down.

Legislation and international treaties must ensure that the ever growing menace of cyber crime can be adequately fought and criminals brought to book in whichever jurisdictions they live.

INTERNET PENETRATION

It is imperative for our country to achieve a much greater internet penetration and for users to have broad band at highly affordable rates. All new housing complexes, must as in New York, ensure that connectivity points are

installed. The internet is important for the poor and the jobless to improve their lot.

INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM

High quality investigative journalism characterised by journalists who are honest, questioning, robust and well informed must be highly valued and protected. Exposing wrongs is a tough and dangerous job which must not be made difficult by the state. Accountability and transparency must prevail and those who dedicated to demanding that from politicians and officials must be supported.

INVESTMENTS

In 2013 the rate of investment was a mere 19% of GDP. This is explained by the fact that the rate for domestic savings is between 14—15%. It is imperative to encourage increased savings in as many innovative ways as possible. It is only through substantial investments that the economy can grow and distribution of wealth is spread across the nation. COPE will ensure that learners from an early age learn about investments and how to make investments.

INVESTMENT FRAMEWORK

South Africa must encourage investors by providing an investment framework that fully protects investors and provides predictability, certainty and stability. Built-in mediation and arbitration systems must be fully developed and binding so that investors and employees are both adequately safeguarded. Investors must also be assured that the protection afforded them are long term and that any changes will be through a process of negotiations carried out in good faith.



ISOLATION CUBICLES

Legislation must provide for every operating theatre and every isolation cubicle to be thoroughly scrubbed down at required intervals to ensure that methicillin resistant staphylococcus aureus (MRSA) bacteria are effectively hampered from infecting health workers and others.

JUDICIARY

The independence of the judiciary and the proper and speedy functioning of the courts must receive constant attention from within the leadership of the judiciary itself as well as from the other arms of government. The reputation of the judiciary is key to South Africa being seen as a country where rule of law prevails and is seen to be prevailing. Involvement in politics by members of the judiciary must be severely frowned upon and acted against.

Building a truly transformed judiciary with judges of high merit demonstrating that they are indeed fit and proper persons is an absolute requirement. There can be no compromise on judicial ethics and conduct.

Solving the problem of judicial case management, lessening the cost of litigation and accelerating the delivery of judgments through innovative application of technology and best practices are priorities.

The continuous education of members of the judiciary must receive attention from within the judiciary. Likewise an audit of performance and achievement must take place. The greater the belief in the quality of South Africa's judicial system and justice, the better it will be for our economy. An exchange programme allowing judges from elsewhere to come here and our judges going to other jurisdiction for short intervals must be explored. We must believe that we have the best and fairest judges in the world.

KING III

Corporate governance in terms of King III principles is a must so that directors can be made to bear responsibility for the decisions they take. Corporates must operate within the ambits of the law and balance profit making with social and environmental responsibility.

LABOUR RELATIONS

It is unfortunate that in 2013 the World Economic Forum placed our country at the bottom of the heap (148 on the list) in respect of labour relation. Labour relations must be analysed in order to build greater harmony.

To achieve harmony in the workplace, labour unions should be strong, stable and well informed on all relevant matters. Workers must trust their unions to negotiate effectively with management about the terms and conditions of service. Mutual trust must be built between employer and labour. Both parties should have faith in constructive collective bargaining.

Labour's participation in management should be encouraged to help increase productivity, improve efficiency and create an understanding of how capital works. Antagonism to a system where capital is invested for profits against risks will affect investments and job opportunities. Mutuality must exist so that each party understands the need to accommodate the other to achieve shared benefits. If the sharing is equitable to what has been put in, greater harmony will prevail.

Agreements that are made must be jointly visited at regular intervals to iron out problems quickly. Labour should be able to acquire a stake in capital through annual award of shares in keeping with performance.

COPE will play an active role in ensuring that all are pulling in the same direction and enjoying the fruits of their endeavours. It is in no one's interest, certainly not



labour's interests, to heighten conflict and make business operations difficult.

LAND

The redistribution of land must occur on a wide front. The state should use land in its care to accommodate those who seek to enter agriculture and qualify to do so on account of experience or qualification. Short, medium and long term leases should be made available. Leased land must permit for the lease and all improvements thereon to be valued and regarded as collateral to obtain loans.

On a parallel basis the state should continue to acquire land at fair market prices and accommodate those who have an unsettled claim or who can justify they have the qualifications to cultivate the land profitably. Beyond this the state should encourage all farm ownership to be converted into private companies so that people who wish to go into commercial farming can do so on the basis of acquiring shares in a successful venture regardless of race, colour or creed. Government grants to those who qualify can be used to buy shares on a farm where a person works.

All municipalities should grant title deeds, free of charge, to any person who continuously occupied the land in an apartheid created township for a period of 10 years and is not in arrears with the municipality for any services.

No land should be allowed to remain fallow beyond a scientifically determined period. Land that lies idle or underutilised must be subjected to taxation to prevent it being kept idle.

LAND REFORM

COPE will put in place processes to ensure that -

- communities benefit directly from mines that are on their land and ensure that royalties are transparently managed;
- a six months comprehensive audit on land ownership is undertaken to help inform practical strategies on land reform;
- all land, publicly or privately owned, that has not been economically used for a continuous period of 2 years must be made available to qualified individuals or groups at low lease rates for use in keeping with the applicable zoning;
- opportunities are available for individuals to buy shares in commercial farming enterprises so that ownership is broadened, food protection is enhanced and skills are protected and shared.
- discussion on land reform, land tenure, restitution, "market-based" land reform, partnership schemes and land administration, involving all role players, will occur region by region to allow for a best fit for each area.

LAW SUITS

Expensive law suits at the taxpayers' expense to protect political leaders and officials cannot be permitted to continue. The state must only fund law suits which benefit law and order, constitutionality and justice for the people. Public funds cannot be used to protect any individual charged with malfeasance, corruption, incompetence or dereliction of duty. Taxpayers' money must serve the large cause and be expended for the public good.

LEADERS

COPE will present South Africa with a leadership that is committed to serving the people, protecting and preserving public resources and assets and ensuring



that corruption, waste and mismanagement are eradicated. COPE will also ensure that candidates presented by parties for the forthcoming elections, publicly declare their assets to the Independent Electoral Commission; candidates must publicly declare any criminal convictions to the Independent Electoral Commission; parties must publicly report the source of the funds and material assistance they receive before each election day and annually; all candidates should declare whether they are tax compliant before election day; the asset-reporting procedures for elected representatives and Members of the Executive are strengthened.

LEADERSHIP

South Africa needs gifted and capable leaders who will be able to execute policies and achieve results. COPE believes that Nelson Mandela must always serve as a prime and enduring role model because he was inspiring, compassionate, trustworthy, credible, analytical, intelligent, confident, honest, decisive, and inclusive. These 10 qualities of leadership must be aspired for and practised by everyone.

Nelson Mandela held that:

“A good leader can engage in a debate frankly and thoroughly, knowing that at the end he and the other side must be closer, and thus emerge stronger. You don't have that idea when you are arrogant, superficial, and uninformed.”

(From his interview with “O,” the Oprah Magazine, 2001.)

Some of the other lessons from Nelson Mandela on leadership are:

- “A good head and good heart are always a formidable combination. But when you add to that a literate tongue or pen, then you have something very special.”
- “Lead from the back — and let others believe they are in front.”
- A leader. . . is like a shepherd. He stays behind the flock, letting the most nimble go out ahead, whereupon the others follow, not realizing that all along they are being directed from behind.”

LEASES

Every lease entered into by government departments and public entities, at whatever level, must be legally reviewed and scrutinised by a multi-party committee in the relevant legislature. Approvals for the renewal of an expired lease must be subject to a full and formal procedure. All leases entered into by government departments must be reported in the government gazette providing details of cost, terms, period, and necessity.

LIFE STYLE AUDIT

COPE leans towards a political orientation that favours social progress by reform and by changing laws rather than by revolution. For this to happen the political elite and high officials of state must lead exemplary lives and free of the taint of corruption. Life style audits will be regularly used to ensure that everyone, from the President downwards, walk the straight and narrow path. If life style audits should arouse suspicion, a serious probe will be authorised. Parliament can by a vote of 100 members request government to launch a life style audit of any person paid by the fiscus who is suspected of living beyond his / her means.



LIBRARIES

Information age, technology-driven, libraries are essential in the development of citizens. Libraries that are online and provide interactive material 7/24 will help citizens improve the quality of their education. Kindle and such like electronic readers, borrowed, hired or purchased should enable readers to download and read requested material.

LOW GROWTH TRAP

Key structural issues in South Africa must be consistently addressed to ensure that the economy does not fall into a low growth trap producing growth of less than 3%. The 2013 growth of 2% is totally inadequate. South Africa needs to do much better with-

- skilling of labour and ensuring quality human resources development;
- overcoming long term investment deficiency;
- investing continuously in Research and Development;
- bringing fiscal finances in order by generating a primary balance and redirecting the budget, through a substantial reduction in the size of government, to massive infrastructure development;
- creating innovative policies and more importantly guaranteeing certainty around such policies; and
- improving governance by embracing ethical conduct.

MACROECONOMICS

While South Africa has enjoyed macroeconomic stability and sustained economic growth, more can be done to ensure that trade and enterprise development becomes

a priority. In this regard, at the top of our agenda is also the creation of decent jobs in recognition of the fact that (a) employment, is the principal route for our people out of poverty, (b) workers have rights (c) workers should have social protection to safeguard income and underpin health and (d) dialogue is crucial to ensuring the joint participation of employers' and workers organizations in shaping government decisions.

MANDELA LEGACY

COPE will play its full part in ensuring that the great legacy of Nelson Mandela is kept alive by symbolic means as well as through political choices and law making. Each year, parliament will set aside a day to interpret Nelson Mandela's legacy and put resolutions before the House to ensure that the values Nelson Mandela stood for are preserved, embodied in political practice, and perpetuated.

COPE will ensure that the present generation as well as generations to come will continue to feel the positive impact of South Africa's greatest son.

The Mandela legacy is about freedom, decency, morality, compassion, freedom, self-actualisation and the attainment of a common humanity. It makes political sense to carry forward his legacy because it is entirely compatible with working to achieve the human rights enshrined in our Constitution.

COPE will intersperse quotes from Nelson Mandela along our country's highways so that as motorists drive up and down our country they will remember that they can do so in freedom because of the wisdom and vision of Nelson Mandela.

COPE will also ensure that every school in the country, public and private, will also do the same. Our children must be able to freely quote Nelson Mandela as they go about their daily lives.



The words that Nelson Mandela spoke sound even better in the mouth of babes.

The oration by President Barack Obama at Soweto on 10 December 2013 and the speech by Deputy President Motlanthe in Parliament on 9 December 2013 and the verse recited by Mosiuoa Lekota at the same time should be broadcast every December so that the Mandela legacy lives on and on.

MEAT LABELLING

All meat products must be fully labelled and retail outlets must bear the responsibility for checking that the products indeed contain what they claim on the label. Government must undertake surprise inspections and DNA sampling must be routinely done. Offenders must be blacklisted and barred by legislation from participating in meat processing. Whistle blowing must be actively encouraged and materially rewarded.

MEDIA FREEDOM

It is of the utmost importance for the media in South Africa to enjoy the kind of freedom consistent with democracy, transparency and accountability. Investigative journalists are very important in achieving good governance and combating corruption. Governing parties must never be in a position to legislate against media freedom or curb investigative journalism. Legislation must in fact guarantee media freedom. The media must police itself through a media workers association setting and guarding professional standards. Only criminal activities, like phone hacking, should be investigated and published. Exposure of corruption should be fully protected in law.

MEDIA HAS THE RIGHT TO PROTECT ITS SOURCES

Whistle blowing is essential to our national well being. It is also necessary for the preservation of our democracy. This right must be made manifest in the Constitution so that government can never ever exert pressure on the media to disclose its sources to get at the whistle blower.

MEDICINE PATENTS

Incremental improvements to a patented drug cannot be enough reason to extend patent protection. Generic medicines reduce cost and help people with limited incomes. On the expiry of a patent companies will need to prove much more than incremental change and costs to succeed in a request for the patent to be extended.

MARITIME COUNTRY

More than half of South Africa's trade is done by sea. The need for inshore and offshore vessels is therefore of paramount importance to protect our borders, our fish resources and to counter piracy.

MARITIME SOVEREIGNTY

Our country must exercise its maritime sovereignty independently and where necessary collectively with other African countries so that pollution, illegal fishing, piracy, waste discharges from ships, offshore oil exploitation can be effectively managed for ourselves as a nation and for us as people of the African continent.

MEDICINES

The clinical benefit of medicines that are widely used should be regularly reviewed and the price of medicines in South Africa should be collectively negotiated in a forum where all interested parties participate so that



supplier and purchaser can come away with a win-win situation.

MILITARY VETERANS

South African military veterans must enjoy good medical support and drawn into a nationally devised programme to combat corruption and improve service delivery. Their considerable influence must be used in a positive manner to improve their own lives as well as the lives of the communities in which they live.

Military veterans who are still in good health and below retirement age should be actively assisted in finding decent jobs.

MILLENIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The United Nations Millennium Declaration which was adopted in September 2000 commits South Africa, like other signatories, to achieve eight targets through improving: income wealth, primary education, child and maternal health, HIV/Aids prevention, gender equality, the environment and a global partnership for development. The need to combat poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation and the continuing discrimination against women by 2015 is still as pressing as ever. In order that these targets are met it is important for parliament to set aside a week every session to evaluate the progress that is being made and to determine to what extent government was succeeding or failing. It is clear that we need to achieve these targets for the good of our own people and to win the esteem of our own citizens for our singular dedication to their upliftment and emancipation.

MINING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mining in South Africa, according to Citibank, is the biggest in the world and is valued at about R20 trillion

and contributes 8.8% to the gross domestic product. One way and the other, over one million people are economically dependent on mining. Government derives R25.8 billion in taxes from mining operations and a further R5.5 billion is paid out as royalties. The South African economy is sustained by mining but mining itself is in a precarious position with output declining by about 8% annually.

COPE will create policy certainty, improve the regulatory environment, expedite licensing procedures and press for miners to get bonuses in the form of shares. Executive earnings will exceed those of the lowest paid by a predetermined and agreed to ratio.

Government will come to the party by ensuring that deficiencies in energy supply, housing backlogs in the mining areas and general service delivery will be expeditiously resolved. Government will also actively support community economic empowerment and the creation of downstream activities. Encouragement will be given for cooperatives to come into existence to exploit all possible economic opportunities.

The tensions in mining will have to be removed by looking at the best options on the table for mine owners as well as mine workers.

MONETARY POLICY

COPE fully supports the independence of the Reserve Bank and will continue to entrust it with the formulation and execution of our country's monetary policy. This arm's length approach is necessary for currency stability to prevail and for inflation in particular to be kept in check.

The difference between the potential growth rate of the economy and its realised rate of growth, called the output gap, has to be narrowed through our collective effort and policy choices. The Reserve Bank will need to take measures to ameliorate volatility in the exchange



rate because volatility impacts on food and petrol prices.

COPE supports the decision of the Reserve Bank to have kept the repo rate at 5 per cent per annum for a long while because this has been beneficial to the economy without impacting very negatively on inflation. Core inflation which has been tracking higher in 2013 will have to be kept in focus.

COPE, likewise, takes cognisance of the warning of the Reserve Bank regarding second-round effects on inflation as a result of recent sharp increases in unit labour costs. COPE believes that in order to mitigate labour's own sharp increases in the cost of living, government must come to the party and help to contain costs relating to accommodation, transport and energy. These can be diminished by bringing industries and enterprises closer to where people live and in encouraging whole communities to become involved in a particular industry which must be congregated in an area so that positive interplay can develop which renders sustainable benefits without pricing input costs sharply. A win - win situation must be found so that businesses can survive and people can live a decent life.

MORAL HIGH GROUND

The Mandela period showed the significance of occupying the moral high ground. Domestically and internationally it benefits leaders who occupy the moral high ground to steer the ship of state in a highly moral and ethical manner. We must do everything possible to return to that golden period of moral conduct and values based governance. The legacy of Nelson Mandela must be kept alive in the daily exercise of power.

MORAL LEADERSHIP

Moral leadership in government requires those who govern to make decisions that are based on honesty, fairness and integrity. They exclude selfish personal, political, or financial considerations. The purpose of moral leadership is to cultivate trust among citizens and serve to influence everyone in society to behave in an ethically acceptable manner. Nelson Mandela showed the enormous power wielded by a leader who did not seek power for himself but for a cause. When he had the power he gave up that power to lead from the back. He became the most powerful leader in the world because he was the most moral. Nelson Mandela accepted that he was a sinner who picked himself up again and again. He willingly went in person to court because he implicitly believed in the rule of law. He was the leader who became the guide of the nation, the friend of the children, the speaker of truth when truth needed to be spoken, the bridge builder and the unifier. We owe it to his memory to espouse and practise moral leadership and to encourage the nation never to accept less than moral leadership. Our culture in all walks of life must manifest moral leadership.

NATIONAL BROADCASTER

The national broadcaster will never be permitted to become a state broadcaster. It cannot be a propaganda machine for any ruling party. It must serve the public in a fair and unbiased manner.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

South Africa, like every country, needs an evolving master plan. The NDP is focussed on what needs to be achieved by 2030 and recommends what will need to be done to get there. COPE agrees with such an approach of target setting and goal realisation.



We desperately need to achieve an inclusive economy, attract investments, upgrade ICT, grow our capabilities, promote entrepreneurship, invest in the training of business leaders, encourage skills development, use the creativity of the people and forge partnerships.

COPE believes that a National Development Plan must be used to formulate action oriented Regional Development Plans that people are willing to take ownership of.

Every region must ensure that the plan it implements is visibly meeting the challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Results must be available for analysis and evaluation.

Plans are effective within societies when they reduce the cost of living for people, empower the poor to participate in the economy; cut red tape and make government facilitation of meeting regulatory requirements a new way of doing things. Bureaucrats must come out of silos and rather than putting the burden of people meeting requirements, they should be helping them to do so. The SARS model is worthy of emulation throughout government at every level. One stop compliance offices where all processes get done with easily and quickly must replace the multitude of offices that have to be visited. Ease of meeting regulations without any necessity for bribes should be the order of the day.

A large slice of the budget must go to infrastructure development so that water reticulation, energy supply, public transport provision and freight logistics are adequately catered for. Heightened infrastructure investment will stimulate supplier industries and boost the real economy.

Regional development plans must ensure that agriculture, mariculture, apiculture, animal husbandry, designing, manufacturing, processing, mining, crafting, construction, tourism, ICT, and all aspects of services

are optimally developed. Creating a green economy must be an imperative in order that the region is ahead of the curve in accessing and using the newest technology. Japan and Germany were devastated after World War II but by investing in totally new technology they took a leap that placed them ahead of other nations.

Reducing wage inequality is important to achieve workplace harmony.

The need to substantially improve the quality of our education is common cause. If those who leave school have a good education and are technology savvy, greater economic opportunities will exist for them.

Each region should give particular attention to manufacturing, express telecommunications, and quality financial, business, scientific and technological services. Red tape must make way for red carpets and dirty enterprises must give way to clean, green enterprises.

A social wage must be linked were possible to attendance at training centres so that the poorest of South Africa's people can meet present needs and at the same time build their capabilities to get jobs, higher incomes and a broader range of benefits.

The regional plan can be a series of plans to accommodate people with different ideas and different world views.

NATIONAL QUESTION

After 1994 South African society was seized with the urgent challenge to create a new nation where our divided people had to be integrated across racial, language, ethnic, geographical and class barriers.

Twenty years later the population still remains separated on the basis of race and ethnicity because of



past social engineering. Neither have we met the urgent necessity to create the integrated national economy to typify a transformed South Africa. Provision of housing and other services still continue to be major challenges. To be a genuine nation-state we must first achieve a genuine common national identity. In Switzerland, a multilingual and ethnically diverse nation, everyone is first and foremost a Swiss national. That is exactly the task we as COPE wish to achieve: create a common and cherished identity. For COPE Nation-building in South Africa has to be a conscious act vigorously supported by all political leaders, government departments, organs of civil society, academics, opinion makers and citizens. COPE will intensify efforts to help realise the dream of Nelson Mandela where everyone reaches to everyone in a spirit of harmony to make us one people, with one destiny, dedicated to lifting our fellow citizens to enjoy a fulfilling role in our national economy.

NATIONAL SMALL SAVINGS FUND

A national small savings fund, of the type that exists in India, should be set up to suit local needs. The scheme must allow for deposits and withdrawals. Communities, rather than individuals, should be attracted to the scheme. Funds deposited into the scheme must enjoy a rate of interest determined from time to time by the Reserve Bank to make savings attractive. Funds must be invested in community projects such as houses, workshops, markets, digesters, electricity generation, compost making, recycling, processing, home industries, etc. In this way communities get a return on their investments as well as projects that generate work opportunities.

Government and private enterprises can come in as shareholders to make the projects viable.

Communities can raise loans against their savings to develop self-sustaining and profitable projects.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FUND

A national science fund should be created by encouraging South Africans to buy science-fund-digital-saving stamps online. The science fund will support scientists, inventors and science establishments with funding in a manner that is mutually beneficial to the investors and borrowers. Scientists who are funded to study, research, undertake commissions or invent products will pay back into the fund on easy terms and profits generated annually will be distributed. Science exhibitions and fairs, static or travelling, will be mounted annually and the proceeds from fees, sales of science related goods and commissions will go into the fund. The management of the fund will involve all role players. Total transparency and full accountability will have to prevail.

NATIONAL SYSTEM OF INNOVATION

In the interest of growth in the economy it is essential to emphasise co-operation and interplay among public and private institutions within our country's national innovation systems. Collaborative research and joint technical endeavours will help to create an accelerator and multiplier effect to position our country higher than if we confined ourselves to silos. For this reason our legislation must provide a framework for co-patenting, co-publication, co-employment and co-ownership of innovation hubs. Personnel in the public and private spheres must be able to operate interchangeably and flexibly. A legal environment must exist where informal flow of knowledge is facilitated and technical networks are built up to be accessed by all. Innovation hubs which cater for business, research and education needs must be established in every province and funded through grants, endowments, fees, rents and shared profit. These innovation hubs must be part technical college, part laboratory and part factory.



Private enterprises must have access to relevant technologies, consultants and a pool of skilled labour in such innovation hubs. Technology-based firms as well as all other industries and services sectors must see the innovation hubs as providers of knowledge, opportunities and skills.

NEDLAC

As Nedlac is not functioning as a bargaining chamber it is necessary to amend legislation to make it function as a tripartite research institution supported by government, business and labour to produce information, analyse current practices and offer cutting edge solution. A dynamic and proactive institution supporting social compacts is far more useful than having it operate as a pseudo legislature.

NEPAD

This section must be read in conjunction with COPE's Foreign Policy.

COPE is determined to ensure that our country plays its role as a force for progressive change for a stronger South Africa, better Africa and more humane world based on a deep and sincere belief in a progressive human rights culture. In this regard a COPE will seek to achieve the NEPAD objectives and be guided by, among others, the following NEPAD objectives -

- enjoining good governance as this is a basic requirement for peace, security and sustainable political and socioeconomic development,
- ensuring that the development of Africa is anchored in sustainably exploiting the continent's resources and the resourcefulness of its people;

- remedying the unequal relationship between Africa and the developed world that has been in existence for a long while;
- linking NEPAD goals to the Millennium Development Goals.
- developing a foreign policy that is firmly grounded in our constitutional injunctions of upholding human rights and adhering to constitutional precepts;
- advancing the national interests of South Africa as well as that of Africa as a whole;
- working with the SADC countries to expedite the implementation of agreements already finalised;
- attaining regional economic integration,
- addressing the challenges of poverty, peace, stability, democracy and human rights;
- accelerating the processes necessary for the development and Unity of Africa;
- promoting trade between African countries;
- working globally with all like-minded countries to address such important global challenges as the reform of the United Nations and other institutions of global governance in the multilateral system,
- supporting measures to halt climate change,
- collectively sharing intelligence and curbing trans-national organised crime and international terrorism;



- promoting the restructuring of the world economy so finality can be reached regarding the Doha Round of talks;
- strengthening our bilateral relations with various countries in Africa, the South and the North to enhance our capacity to accelerate our development as well as realise our foreign policy objectives based on trade relations and respect for human rights.
- strengthening efforts aimed at the renewal of Africa through the implementation of NEPAD must remain the centre-piece of our foreign policy so that our country continues to enjoy the respect of the African masses throughout Africa and the African Diaspora as well;
- working with fraternal political parties to secure democracy, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and freedom of association;
- condemning unequivocally the violation of human rights and the suppression of true gender equality; and
- continuing to support of the AU goal of a 50/50 gender parity.

NET METERING

Legislation must provide for net metering so that individuals have the incentive to invest in wind and solar energy and in order that South Africa can produce additional electricity during the times most needed by industries.

NON-PROFIT PRIVATE HEALTH CARE FACILITIES

Legislation must provide for non-profit health care facilities to be set up by faith communities or non-government organisations where affordable health care is available especially from specialists medical practitioners. Government subsidies and tax breaks should be offered as incentives. Community ownership of such facilities must also be encouraged.

NUCLEAR ENERGY

The disaster at Fukushima and the difficulty in finding an acceptable long term solution for storing nuclear waste make the use of uranium for electricity generation a problem. Research in the use of thorium combined with uranium must be carefully watched to see if the downsides of nuclear energy have been substantially reduced.

OBESITY & RELATED HEALTH PROBLEMS

Obesity is the scourge of our time. Very young children are afflicted by obesity primarily because of poor nutrition. If this problem is not arrested in childhood it will cause serious problems for the individual and burden the health care system. COPE will study what other countries are doing and implement best practices for the benefit of the nation and its health services.

OPEN MOUTH POLICY

Whenever there is a stock market bubble or equity price bubble the Governor of the Reserve Bank will need to announce this to the public and ask investors to take care. By sounding an early warning, investors will be encouraged to act more prudently and help burst the bubble before serious damage is done. Just as Eskom



warns when the grid is under pressure and advises households to switch off so too should the Reserve Bank warn investors to hold back where a bubble has formed.

OVER EXTRACTION OF WATER FROM ACQUIFERS

As aquifers took many millennia to form it is our responsibility to ensure that this most valuable resource is strictly protected from contamination and over exploitation.

PACKAGING & PRICING

It will be illegal for package changes, when they are made, not to reflect a reduction in quantity of product. New packages should not deceive customers into believing that they are getting the same quantity as previously.

PALESTINE

Resolving the Palestinian issue is important for every country. The problems there have festered for too long. Apart from what others can do for Palestine it is important to question what Palestinians can do for themselves to secure peace. They need to overcome their disunity and present a common front. That will make it possible for the world community to assist them to find a resolution with Israel on such issues as statehood, borders, occupied territory, security, refugees, and Jerusalem as the capital.

Palestinians must also accelerate the establishment of necessary institutions of state to allow the government to exercise control over all Palestinians.

Neither Palestine nor Israel can continue to frustrate each other indefinitely or be at war with each other for ever. South Africa showed that it is better to find a

solution, even if it is not a hundred percent solution, than to remain trapped in an intractable and dangerous position indefinitely.

COPE will help both parties to hasten the search for a solution before things really spin out of control. The Middle East is a volatile area and the economic crisis in which the world is plunged, exacerbated by climate change, will fray tempers even more and that is a situation that must be averted. What is not resolved now may plunge the whole of the Middle East into a huge crisis.

COPE will present itself as an honest broker and will engage with international partners to create an irresistible common front for a lasting solution.

PARITY PRICING

Import parity pricing of South African mined minerals and ores needs to be thoroughly examined. The question that is rightly being asked is this: why should South Africans pay a price for South African produced steel which is equivalent to that of imported steel? Why should South Africans buy gold at the price prevailing in London? These are moot questions that need to be thoroughly examined.

There is also a debate on whether the upstream processing of iron ore should have precedence over the downstream manufacturing of steel products. Should South Africa continue to be a commodities market without substantial beneficiation of its ores and minerals? In colonial times railway lines led straight from the mines to the ports.

The unlocking of our economic potential lies in resolving these questions speedily and expertly. A conference of all parties is proposed so that the most advantageous solutions are adopted and implemented. This is a matter that must be expeditiously resolved.



PARTICIPATORY POLITICS

COPE cherishes the democratic gains that were achieved through the immense sacrifices of millions of our people. Those gains need to be advanced now that we are a democracy so that citizens of our country can freely participate in all the processes that determine their destiny. They need to do so without fear of repression or intimidation arising from the abuse of political power aimed at silencing voices of dissent.

PARTY FUNDING

All party funding must be strictly regulated to prevent subversion of policy making and good governance. Secret funding is a worm in the heart of constitutional democracy. Greater transparency and caps are needed in order to protect the interest of the people against those who have individual interests. The reform of political party funding is very urgent and absolutely necessary.

PATRIOTISM

South Africans, black and white, men and women, rural and urban, need to unite in their diversity and work hard together to take our country from good to great. COPE will continuously encourage people to work together to achieve social and national cohesion and to develop a new and vibrant patriotism. The people of our country must readily subscribe to a shared national identity, feel a strong sense of attachment to and respect for national symbols, and remain committed to achieving the objective contained in our constitution.

PERFORMANCE CONTRACTS

All employees in management positions will be required to sign performance contracts, making it possible to dismiss those who fail to honour their contractual

obligations, while improving the job security of these employees by further professionalizing the public service.

POACHING

Communities living in proximity with the parks must be equipped with knowledge and provided training to enable them to play a pivotal role in protecting our flora and fauna. It makes sense to harmonise the conservation of our wildlife and its habitats with the economic needs of the communities so that as direct beneficiaries they become passionate protectors of wild life.

COPE will also create anti-poaching camps interspersed in the parks for intelligence gathering and enhanced mobility. Some of these will be mobile camps. Electronic surveillance will also be used.

Roads leading to game reserves will have roving road blocks to check vehicles. COPE will campaign for CITES to play a bigger role in the monitoring of illegal wildlife trade and having a direct mechanism for global enforcement of the treaty's provisions and rule.

Marine poaching must also receive equally intense attention.

POLICE BRUTALITY

Recruitment and training of police and the service conditions will have to be seriously re-examined in order that fit and proper persons are drawn into the police service and enjoy public respect and support.

Police brutality has to be anathema to South Africans considering our history on the one hand and on the other hand our resolve to be a free country where human rights matter and are guaranteed.



Police brutality can never be tolerated and those involved in acts of torture and brutality have no place in the police service.

POLICE SERVICE, NOT A PARAMILITARY FORCE

COPE believes that visible policing is essential in preserving the safety and security of individuals. The importance of discouraging all crimes by providing a proactive and responsive policing service cannot be overemphasised. Specialised interventions using the air wing or special task force must occur at regular intervals. The fact that over R20 billion per annum is expended on visible policing should be made to yield noticeable results. There is no denying that the police confront many challenges. Society on the other hand is seriously concerned about declining respect for authority, waning public institutions and the degradation of urban environments. The solution is to have an integrated approach in which the police, local government planning and District Committees search for solutions together to eradicate crime through joint and collective endeavour.

Businesses, organisations and the public must have their confidence in the capacity of the police to combat crime restored. As many South Africans have turned to private security services, it is important to achieve effective coordination, accountability, governance and regulation from all those who are involved in protecting and securing South African citizens. An ad-hoc approach is totally unacceptable as it leads to duplication of efforts, competition and mistrust. The police must develop innovative ways of ensuring that high quality security and order comes about as a result of co-operative action. When the police and private security companies work in a thoroughly co-ordinated manner, the sharing of effective information is facilitated, mutual respect and trust grows, and significant benefits accrue to the community.

Policing in South Africa has to be delivered in strict conformity with the democratic values of justice, equity, accountability and effectiveness.

A well-coordinated national strategy must also address the socio-economic, political and other root causes of crime. For this to happen government departments will have to pool personnel so that a multi-disciplinary task team can act proactively and decisively. The teams must be able to provide decisions on the spot while allowing for formalisation procedures to take place after the green light has been given in the form of a certificate allowing certain processes to begin to correct urban decay or deal with predisposing factors in hot spot areas.

POLICY CERTAINTY

Policy certainty on constitutionality, greening, environment, pollution, energy, water, resources, nationalisation, land tenure, affirmative action, human rights, labour, National Development Plan, Growth Path, free markets, capital, foreign ownership, immigration, gender equality, gender parity, taxation, tariffs, subsidies, savings, national debt, procurement, rule of law, safety, security, transparency, accountability, corruption, infrastructure development, amongst many other issues, has to prevail so that entrepreneurs can devise plans and take long term decisions.

COPE undertakes to consult widely and provide policy certainty with inbuilt variety to accommodate different ideas and different approaches. Policy certainty must not be equated with rigidity. Policy certainty must show the options that are available and will continue to be available to encourage long term investments.

Malaysia set deadlines for government to provide policy guidelines within a short period or to forego the right to do so. We need to do the same if we wish to achieve accelerated growth. No one in government must take the process of policy making hostage.



POLITICAL INTERFERENCE

Political interference aimed at defeating justice, subverting the law, unlawfully benefitting someone, preventing office holders from doing their duty, violating the independence of those who need to act and be seen to be acting independently and fearlessly will not be tolerated under any circumstances.

COPE wishes to make it very clear that political interference is only warranted when a public good or emergency require it. Political interference to achieve party political gains at the expense of the people is wrong and must be stamped out.

POTABLE WATER SUPPLY

The supply of potable water to communities is a constitutional requirement. It must be met in all circumstances. Any person who wilfully impedes the service must face the full rigour of the law.

POVERTY

While economic growth and job creation are important measures to eradicate poverty, all South Africans especially the private and public sector have a duty to take measures to ensure that we improve the quality of life of the poor, especially the aged, women and children. COPE has identified the eradication of poverty and ending social exclusion as one of its historic tasks that is essential to restoring the dignity of all our people. In addition to the programme of action outlined in this document, we will implement measures targeting especially the most vulnerable in our society.

Accordingly we will ensure that the programmes we put in place both alleviate poverty and help to enhance the dignity of each and every citizen; within the first six months after the elections we will announce a comprehensive anti-poverty strategy which will activate

the poor in every household to participate in programmes to extricate themselves from poverty; within the first six months after the elections we will announce an Integrated Social Security System which will guarantee the social grants currently being received by children, the elderly, people with disabilities, those incapacitated by chronic illness, and the unemployed, relating these to programmes to reduce dependence on social welfare where possible, for instance by creating work opportunities targeting beneficiaries, and ensuring that children receiving grants attend school.

POVERTY REDUCTION

Poverty reduction rather than poverty alleviation has to be aimed for. Investments in areas that are poverty stricken should be aimed for to allow people job opportunities and economic independence.

POVERTY RELIEF

COPE is determined to systematically eradicate poverty and raise the standard of living of all South Africans, COPE is aware that all our people want to participate in economic activity to generate the necessary incomes to improve their standard of living and quality of life and that this is central to their dignity. To achieve this strategic objective, our Government will further extend the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and improve its capacity to achieve its stated goals of developing social and economic infrastructure and expanding social services, including the provision of skills to those employed in these schemes and creation of work to clean and green the environment; work with traditional leaders and their communities on a comprehensive rural development strategy, and engage the Provincial and Local spheres of government to extend support to small, medium and micro enterprises and the informal sector of the economy.



POLICE COMMISSIONER

The police commissioner must be appointed from among the experienced and distinguished senior police officers.

POLICE CRIME INTELLIGENCE UNIT

For the sake of proper policing in South Africa it is essential that the police crime intelligence unit is staffed by high quality individuals who are sworn to uphold the constitution and function professionally and ethically. Involvement in politics has to be frowned upon and punished. Measures to prevent corruption within the unit will have to be instituted and monitored.

POLICE DOCKETS

As soon as a police docket is opened digitally it must be lodged with a central registry and checked that all details are captured. The docket must bear a register number and be sent to the complainant and the station where the docket was opened. Any other measures to ensure the integrity of the docket must be included. In this way the docket cannot be removed or altered to the detriment of the complainant.

POLICE EDUCATION

Police education must be of a high standard and must be continuous. Annual written examinations should be compulsory. Incentives should apply for those who succeed in their exams.

POLICE HOUSING

Subsidised police housing in the vicinity of the station must form a part of the benefit of service. Sectional title apartments close to the station must be constructed by

the state close to the station for those who have affordability problems.

POLICE INSURANCE

Subsidised life insurance should be offered to all in the police service so that officers who die in the service, in particular, do not leave their families in dire straits.

POVERTY

COPE takes to heart this conviction from Nelson Mandela:

Overcoming poverty is not a task of charity; it is an act of justice. Like Slavery and Apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings. Sometimes it falls on a generation to be great. YOU can be that great generation. Let your greatness blossom.”

Our generation must take up the challenge to be great by doing everything to overcome poverty as an act of justice. We must do it for the nation and for Nelson Mandela.

What will COPE do to lift people out of poverty?

COPE will downsize government considerably to free up resources and create Regional Economic Mutual Assistance Societies. Their task will be to interact with government to fast track programmes which will stimulate regional economies. Government will be required to play a facilitative role to accelerate economic activity and remove backlogs. If backlogs appear the respective legislatures will have the power to move motions of no confidence in the political heads responsible.

COPE will want to see affirmative action lifting up communities rather than privileged individuals. Community leaders will have the challenge to rise to the



occasion to examine options and determine the way forward. COPE believes that complementary industries should be clustered so that advantages can accrue in two directions.

Clothing and shoe manufacture, printing, iron and steel fabrication, recycling, food processing, and other industries will be given support.

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PRISONS

COPE will request parliament to hold public hearings on our prisons and our prison system.

PRIVATE POLITICAL PARTY FUNDING

Private funding of political parties must be fully regulated and public disclosure of party incomes and expenditures must be made mandatory in the

PROFESSIONALISM

COPE will improve mechanisms relating to the selection of employees in the public service and functionaries in State Owned Enterprises so that those who are appointed are true professional who conduct themselves as professionals. COPE will ensure that these professionals are legally protected from any untoward intimidation and victimization by public representatives and members of the Executive with private agendas.

PROGRESSIVISM

COPE's political orientation is in favour of progress toward better conditions in government and society. COPE is ideologically on the left of centre. We are democratic socialists. We actively support social activism and the purification of government by enhancing transparency and deepening accountability so that corruption has no place whatsoever to hide. No malign force in society should have the power to steal from the people and deliver shoddy services and products at inflated prices to the peoples' loss and the tenderpreneurs' gain. Taking certain cues from progressivism in the USA we are determined to foster state supported citizen activism in our country so that efficiency exists in every sector and old ways of doing things that frustrate people are modernised through



better scientific, technical, engineering, financial and managerial solutions. We have a pressing need to reform local government, enhance education, improve medical care, better regulate financial institutions, modernise industry, and emulate successful models for uplifting society.

Science must infuse all that we study, all that we do and all that we need to make life fulfilling. As with the former progressives in the USA we too strongly support the need to apply cutting edge scientific methods to economics, government, industry, finance, medicine, schooling, education, policing, gangsterism, and social upliftment. We are therefore democratic socialist who look to cutting edge science to modernise our society and the way we do things and manage our affairs. We live in the information age where information is in itself an industry. Our progressivism is aimed at helping us realise our goals of deepening democracy and achieving redistributive justice in a humane, caring and highly scientific way. Nothing but the best will do for us because we know that is what South Africans expect from us.

PRODUCTIVITY

High productivity across all spheres of activity in our country is non-negotiable. We cannot make progress as a country until and unless higher productivity is attained using new technology and new ways of doing things.

PROUDLY SOUTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

COPE will strengthen government interventions to give even greater impetus to the “Proudly South African Campaign”, to promote South African products locally and globally. We need a vibrant market for locally produced goods and abundant openings for South Africans to engage in business.

PROFIT

While the making of profit is a legitimate goal of business, profit maximisation through unnecessary and rapid obsolescence and through irregular means will require attention.

Profit maximisation which is at the expense of the consumer will have to be resisted on moral grounds.

PROTESTS

All organisers of protests will need to keep registers of protesters to ensure that they have full control of the protests and that no damage to property, looting or violence occurs. Organisers of protests will have to bear liability for damages and injury. The police services must ensure that adequate numbers of police are deployed to uphold the law.

The role of elected public representatives in not adequately addressing grievances which therefore lead to protests has to come under scrutiny of one or more legislatures as permitted in the Constitution.

PUBLIC FINANCE

The continued real growth in expenditure is running well ahead of revenue. This means that the cost burden of the interest to the fiscus (government treasury) on our national debt over the next decade will be a matter of serious concern to all citizens. A government carrying a big interest burden will not have money for many essential projects. Neither will it have money to energise the economy in a down cycle.

This is especially so on account of the economy remaining stagnant and tax revenue falling behind. Another problem is that money which is being borrowed by the ANC led government is not being channelled substantially into infrastructure development. This is



what ought to have happened in order to stimulate the productive capacity of the economy.

While the stated intention of the government has been to pursue a countercyclical policy this did not happen. Government continued to borrow in order to increase spending but such spending did not lift the economy from the trough where it has been. The higher economic cycle did not materialise.

Having borrowed heavily and spent expansively the ANC led government now finds itself in a very tight corner. It has depleted contingency reserves and given many departments the so called treasury haircut. The effect has been a curtailment of some public services. Bigger curtailments will come in the near future. The sustainable growth that was supposed to have been spurred by the borrowing and spending unfortunately followed did not materialise.

Beginning with the worldwide economic downturn of 2008-2009, the ANC led government embarked on a significant increase in borrowing. This in turn led to higher budget deficits and a failure by the government to produce a primary balance. Without a primary balance, there is no debt reduction.

In fact South Africa's national debt has become bigger and bigger because nothing in the budget goes towards reducing it. This is a dangerous and risky practice. Whatever balances were built up by the Mbeki administration were quickly exhausted by the Zuma administration.

A systematic narrowing of the deficit to about 3% of GDP has to occur. Failure to do so will stultify future economic growth and impact negatively on job creation and poverty eradication.

Beyond 2013 South Africa will see rising public expenditure. Unfortunately a large slice of the expenditure will be absorbed in interest payments. Presently a hundred billion rands of the national budget

has to be set aside to service the interest on the national debt.

The present generation is incurring debts that future generations will have to pay.

The only solution is to downsize government in all three spheres. This will create greater efficiencies and allow more of taxpayers' money to be allocated to essential infrastructure development.

COPE will put public finances in order as they were under Thabo Mbeki. It is bad policy to allow interest payments to eat up a large slice of the annual budget. COPE therefore undertakes to produce a primary balance during each budget so that, little by little, the national debt can be decreased and interest payments reduced. We need to free up more money to grow the economy.

We need to take timely steps to avert the kind of disaster that overtook Greece.

COPE will ensure that the nation's budget deficit, by a law of parliament, will not exceed 3% of real GDP. This is what COPE will do and this is what citizens must fully support.

Our country is near to falling into a debt trap and we must prevent that.

PUBLIC HOSPITALS

Public hospitals must be supported to reverse the migration of specialists to private practice to ensure that public hospitals are sufficiently staffed with doctors with the requisite skills.

Public-private funding must be secured to encourage a higher number of doctors to specialise.

The shortage of gynaecologists, anaesthetists, and paediatricians will have to be fully investigated and speedy solutions will need to be implemented to ensure



that our public hospitals can provide the services that patients need.

PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES

COPE insists that fraudsters and those who had tarnished reputations will not be able to stand for any elected position. Men and Women of truth, who swear by the truth, are those who should be eligible. It is truth that shall set all of us free. Those who are facing criminal charges will also not be allowed to seek election.

PUBLIC TRANSPORT

The present measures being implemented in South Africa to create an integrated public transport system will be intensified. COPE will, however, also utilise electric powered Tuk Tuks to and from transport hubs to enable door to door public transport for all. Those who are presently in the business of ferrying passengers will be accommodated in the provision of public transport. The system must work for the passengers as well as those who are involved in the industry.

RACISM

For South Africa to overcome racism government at all three levels will need to undertake a broad programme, over a continuous period of time, to allow South Africans to come to grips with issues of racism.

Intergenerational activities will have to be regularly organised to bring together people from different races, in history museums if possible, to address issues of history, social inclusion and the use of all instruments of acknowledgement to deal with past injustices and racist prejudices.

Entire communities must acquire the capacity to address racism collectively. Unconscious bias is still

prevalent and only by drawing attention to such bias will it be eliminated.

We must also seize upon the transformative power of the arts, drama especially, to heal history and set all South Africans free in their souls. A movie such as the Long Walk to Freedom, released in 2013, can be very effective in defeating racism. We need to do this for ourselves, our children and to honour Nelson Mandela and others of his ilk who made reconciliation possible.

South Africans must also be supportive of the UN Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (CERD).

RAIL TRANSPORT

Rail transport is environmentally friendly and absolutely essential to economic growth in our country. A smarter, more technologically advanced rail transport system will give a tremendous impetus to economic growth. COPE will request the Africa Union to coordinate proposals from the countries on the continent in order that a rail network can come into existence which will have the commonalities that will allow all countries to be rail linked. The Swiss railway system is something that South Africa must thoroughly look at. The development of a modern railway system will have to be a twenty five year, intra regional project.

RECYCLING

Recycling at source will be compulsory. South Africans will be continuously educated on the harm to the environment caused by disposing materials that could be recycled. Lack of recycling deprives many people of a job and causes product prices to remain high because of new materials being used. Schools will be given a primary role to inculcate the recycling habit.

While nearly one and half million tons of plastic waste is generated only about 300 000 tons is recycled. This is



cause for alarm and missed opportunity. The economy and the environment will benefit from enthusiastic recycling. Packaging should carry a price so that those who return packaging or place it in containers for the purpose can be reimbursed. By placing a money value on disposed items, cash on a predetermined basis can be generated for those involved in recycling. All innovative ideas on achieving the highest level of recycling with benefits and incentives will be considered and carried forward.

RELIGION & TRADITION

COPE will encourage traditional and religious leaders to promote progressive moral values that derive from our cultures, traditions and religions. We need an authentic Regeneration Movement to inspire the nation to act according to a value system we collectively agree to. This must include opposition to crime, violence, abuse, rape and slavery, amongst other such evils. Collectively we must build a system which values ethical behaviour, strengthens justice, and condemns corruption among the functionaries of the state and elsewhere.

Religious communities must help to build morality, encourage charity, rehabilitate offenders, and support the SAPS to act as a service.

RENEWABLE ENERGY

Power generated by photo-voltaic panels installed by individuals should be fed into the grid for distribution. Once this is encouraged and the cost of installation falls, a significant number of households and businesses will participate and day-time electricity supply will be boosted. It is most likely that true cost parity with coal power will be achieved inside of five years. At under R2 per kWh it will be the cheapest form of electricity. That this is clean energy is a bonus.

Similarly wind and hydro-electric power must be encouraged so that in the near future renewable energy, because of individual and state investments will come into its own.

Individuals and institutions must be encouraged to meet environmental targets because they must see that this is intrinsically the right thing to do.

Decentralised generation of electricity must receive all the support it deserves.

REPORT BACK

The procedures prescribed in municipal legislation for ward councillors requiring them to report regularly to their constituencies will be extended to members of the national and provincial legislatures.

RESERVE BANK

The Reserve Bank has to act immediately at the point where a systemic financial crisis arises in the banking system. The Reserve Bank must provide liquidity to banks against acceptable collateral. It must not prop up any bank that is insolvent as this will have fiscal consequences. The function of the Reserve Bank is to make the financial market work effectively and to undertake a continuous analysis of macroeconomic and financial trends.

The Reserve Bank needs to determine the loan-to-value ratios for mortgage lending so that asset qualities of banks are protected.

As the Reserve Bank uses a system-wide approach to monitor whether any fault lines exist in the banking system it will be able to pick up any vulnerability in quick time.

The Reserve Bank must always ensure that the banking system holds resilient liquidity assets.



The Reserve Bank should continuously scrutinise growing imbalances and credit bubbles arising side by side with excessive credit growth so that it can act before a crisis emerges.

The Reserve Bank should monitor quantity aggregates as well as interest rate variables to detect bubbles.

RING –FENCING FUEL LEVY FOR ROAD INFRASTRUCTURE

Fuel levy will be strictly ring-fenced for road infrastructure development to either lessen the need for tolling or to keep toll fees down where tolling is inescapable and produces genuine cost-benefits for motorists and truckers.

ROAD ACCIDENTS

In order to reduce road accidents it is essential to take the following steps: continuous education, better engineering of roads, visible law enforcement; motor vehicle check on the roads, driver fitness and alertness; varying road speeds digitally to better accommodate road conditions and time of night or day, providing affordable overnight road facilities for people to sleep over and providing road-side attractions to relieve boredom. High accident spots will need to be re-engineered to make the road safer. Road traffic stations will be interspersed every 200 kilometre to enable police officers bases to operate from.

RULES OF PARLIAMENT

The rapid revision of rules of parliament to ensure that the executive is fully and rigorously held accountable, as befits a constitutional democracy, must have precedence over all other consideration. Meaningful debate, not speeches that are read out should typify parliamentary exchanges.

Each year the combined opposition should move a vote of no confidence in the government as a convention and debate time should be evenly split between the governing party and the opposition. At the end of the debate a vote of no confidence should be moved and the governing party / parties must be able to carry the vote to remain in office. This debate should be a stern test of governance, ministerial integrity and government service delivery.

The rules of parliament should also permit for frequent oral questioning of ministers as well as the President and a lot more questions ought to be covered than are presently permitted. The British model of allowing current issues to be raised as questions is worthy of emulating.

The short debate previously called the interpellation should be re-introduced.

The rules of parliament should allow for the expulsion of any member who failed to spend less than 60% of his / her time in the assembly during any calendar year or who failed to attend 85% of scheduled committee meetings.

The rules should allow for a dynamic legislature that is not beholden or subservient to the executive but one that is independent and devoted to holding the executive fully accountable.

Extended public committees must evaluate the departmental budget as well as the relevant reports from the Auditor General, SCOPA, public entities and the departments. The EPC must evaluate all of these and either approve or rejecting them with reasons.

EPC's must feature far more prominently than they have up to now. The quorum for the EPC should be 25% of the membership of the legislature. Members of the relevant EPC should be nominated annually before parliament convenes.



RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural areas are green, semi-green or dry open spaces outside our major urban areas. As part of the regional development plans they should have clear identities, viable economies and even necessary institutions. Rural areas are rich in human, natural, tangible and intangible assets and resources, namely, land, landscapes, geological formations, anthropological sites, water, food, timber, raw materials, renewable energy, wild life, domesticated animals, and ancestral knowledge. Rural areas are repositories of art, culture, and music.

Institutions must exist in rural areas charged with the responsibilities of ensuring that such human needs as can no longer be met by urban areas must be provided by rural areas. In order to achieve this goal public goods such as hospitals, schools, markets, telecommunication, electricity and transports must be provided for rural areas and be of comparable quality to that which is available in cities.

Where there is quality infrastructure there will be development.

Clustering is essential for rural development. The wine route is a good example of farming, branded wine making and marketing. Clustered organic farming, solar or wind generated electricity enterprises, furniture or basket making, wool shearing and knitting, specialist dairies, fruit processing, community policed hiking and riding trails, community operated camping and get away sites, game and biome reserves, and community festivals must proliferate.

COPE will ensure that rural centred development institutions are created to drive development with an activist rural population ensuring that they are the beneficiaries.

A new and innovative approach to rural development is what we promise.

SADC

Economic growth in all SADC countries must be a common issue which will need to be pursued vigorously. Negotiations will have to take place on creating comparable jurisdictions for ease of trading and making investments.

SAFETY, SECURITY & THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

COPE is committed to ensuring that -

- 1) the national police commissioner is a suitably qualified, experienced and skilled professional police officer.
To establish a professional civil service, it is essential to depoliticise the police service.
- 2) a minimum period has been spent in the ranks of the Police Service, the South African Defence Force or the Correctional Services before an officer is appointed to a senior position .
Currently, certain individuals are promoted due to political or personal connections, above the head of those giving loyal service. This must be stopped at once.
- 3) the National Intelligence Agency is completely depoliticized.
It cannot be that the NIA is used to spy on South African citizens purely in the interest a political party and for purposes never contemplated in the law. It must focus on external threats to the safety of South Africa.
- 4) the Protection of State Information Bill ("Secrecy Bill") is reviewed so that it is not used to subvert the freedom of the press or to hide corruption or trump the rights of citizens in the Public Access to Information Act.



- 5) allocation of resources to the police is standardised according to minimum criteria that will be established.
We need to consider population density as well as crime trends in responding to the needs of the community.
- 6) payment and promotion of police officers will be based on academic qualifications, performance and skills.
This forms part of the efforts to professionalise the civil service.
- 7) specialised police units will be reintroduced.
To prevent and prosecute crimes, we need to have a specialised focus to deal with sexual offences, organised crime, drug trafficking, fraud, etc.
- 8) police training will be for periods longer than six months as happens presently and will involve an enhanced curriculum allowing for a combination of practical as well as theoretical work. Police officers will be required to specialise.
To reintroduce specialised police units, we will need proper training and skills development.
- 9) the Legal Aid Board will be resourced to make justice accessible to all in a manner that is possible.
The mandate of the Legal Aid Board must be to bring legal services to those who cannot afford legal representation in courts.
- 10) measures are put in place to stop the exploitation of child support or disability grants, so that the grants benefit their recipients and are not spent on liquor or gambling.
- 11) the night courts are introduced.
This will speed up legal processes, ie by allowing for immediate plea bargains upon arrest.
- 12) the independence and integrity of Chapter 9 Institutions.
The independence of Chapter 9 Institutions such as the SAHRC and the Public Protector is enshrined in the Constitution. We need to protect their theoretical independence by empowering Chapter 9 Institutions to perform their duties in a non-political environment. COPE will take additional steps to support those institutions that promote democracy.
- 13) the recommendation of Chapter 9 Institutions indicating prosecution are immediately taken up.
Currently, it happens that commissions make recommendations or find individuals guilty of serious offences, but nothing happens. We need to ensure that such situations are addressed.
- 14) maximum sentences for drug trafficking and the killing of endangered wildlife species are legislated.
Drug trafficking and poaching are two offences in South Africa for which there is no minimum sentence. Other serious offences like rape already have a mandatory minimum sentence. We must show communities that we are serious about fighting all crime, not just crime against people but also against animals in our natural environment.
- 15) improving the working conditions and remuneration of members of the SANDF.
Working conditions can hamper the efficiency of the SANDF.

SATANISM

The emergence of Satanism among young learners has to be monitored very closely. This will require community support and police vigilance. Learners who are subjected to peer pressure must have easy mechanisms for seeking help.



SAVINGS

The culture of saving has to be vigorously promoted. The habit of saving must be acquired in childhood. Schools will have to play a significant role in this regard.

SCHOOL NUTRITION

For learners to be able to concentrate it is imperative that school nutrition gets considerable attention. A COPE led government will ensure that processes are in place to feed school children and ensure that all learners are guided in respected of nutrition.

SCHOOLS

The laying down of minimum standards is a milestone. A COPE led government will ensure that schools become places of modern learning. ICT will have to be a central element of the school environment. Schools must also be a central resource for the community.

SCHOOL VIOLENCE

COPE will widen access to primary and secondary education through the implementation of properly targeted processes of progressively and speedily expanding the number of no fee schools, improving the school feeding scheme; accelerate the Adult Basic Education and Training Programme to end illiteracy and enhance numeracy; and, ensure that all schools, especially those in poor and rural communities, are properly constructed, with

access to electricity, water, sanitation, laboratories, libraries and the required books and stationery as well as ICTs thus improving their access to information and to closing the gap

between rural and urban schools, and between schools serving rich and poor communities.; and, establish a

youth cadet service, learnerships and internships to get all school leavers to serve and support our communities and learn the necessary skills to find or generate decent work.

SCRAP METAL EXPORTS

Scrap metal dealers would require photographs and finger prints of scrap metal suppliers. Prior to seeking export permits for scrap metal, dealers will first have to offer domestic foundries, mini mills and secondary smelters with scrap metal at 20% discount on international prices. The need to guarantee local metal industries with scrap-metal feedstock was important to our country's steel industry and for job creation.

SECURITY INDUSTRY

The security industry will have to be monitored and regulated so that it remains confined to the services being provided.

SENIOR CERTIFICATE

The senior certificate must have intrinsic worth. A learner who obtains such a certificate must have a standard of education that makes the certificate respected. A COPE led government will request independent audits to ascertain whether the certificate is a guarantee of a certain level of education.

SERVICE DELIVERY

COPE is duty-bound to respect the provisions in our Bill of Rights which state clearly that our people have such constitutional rights as access to adequate housing, health care, food, water, education, a healthy environment and social security. We will therefore work to ensure that all spheres of government have strong and stable state institutions to provide these services.



These must include provision for decent schools, housing, health care facilities, water and sewerage disposal and roads.

COPE will implement programmes to attract highly skilled and professional personnel into these areas and seek to train additional personnel. Salaries and working conditions will be continuously reviewed to the extent that the national budget will allow.

The Expanded Public Works Programme will be used to extend and maintain the social and economic infrastructure required for the provision of these different services.

The tendering processes will be made transparent so that real value for money obtains. Planning processes will be substantially improved. The delivery of high quality products is what we will aim for. COPE is therefore committed to -

- 1) require all citizens to pay for basic services unless they have been officially classified as indigent. *This is similar to being exempted from paying school fees.*
- 2) ensuring that inspectors are appointed to examine the quality of services and to see that standards are maintained. *By-laws will be enforced and transgressions will be prosecuted. This will improve quality of services delivered by government.*
- 3) setting clear minimum standards for service delivery. *We must provide a benchmark for service delivery to ensure all communities receive the same level of quality.*
- 4) ensuring that an inventory of all roads requiring repairs in a region is drawn up so that repairs and maintenance work can be prioritised and cost efficiency achieved.

- 5) ensuring that municipal managers must have as minimum requirement a qualification in municipal administration at the specified NGF level. *There is a lack in existing legislation (MFMA) in this area.*
- 6) ensuring that the National Budget is restructured in such a manner that more funding and capacity can be directed to local government in order that service delivery is enhanced and communities drawn in to supply services.
- 7) ensuring that a policy is in place which increases accessibility to housing. *We need to look specifically at the vulnerable group which are thought to be earning too much to receive an RDP house or serviced stand, but earning too little to qualify for a bond or home loan.*
- 8) ensuring that community members are empowered, where they can, to build their own houses, on serviced stands. *This will, at a stroke, eliminate housing corruption and tenderpreneurs.*
- 9) ensuring that service unions will not be allowed to affiliate to a politically allied federation or worker organisation. *Unions must work to improve working conditions for their members, not to make politics their central concern.*

SERVICE DELIVERY REVIEW

COPE will institute a general review of the public sector to ensure that it becomes more effective, including utilising public-private, public-public and NGO



partnerships to enhance service delivery as well as reviewing and challenging all monopolies.

Service delivery is a right of all South Africans regardless of where they live. It is not a privilege!

SERVICE GRID

The proper maintenance and growth of power distribution networks are vitally essential to economic growth in South Africa and must therefore receive continuous attention. An annual assessment of what is being done in this regard, nationally and locally via the municipalities will have to be done under the aegis of the national department of energy.

SECTOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING AUTHORITIES (SETAS)

Skills development is a key requirement for the growth of our economy as well as for the economic empowerment of the previously disadvantaged majority.

COPE undertakes to reform the SETAs in order to accelerate opportunities for all South Africans but with emphasis being given to the historically disadvantaged people. COPE is also anxious about the need to retain scarce skills in the country.

There are 27 sector-specific Sector Education and Training Authorities and while some have been successful others have not been.

It is only through savings that capital is available for investments and growth. A culture of savings has to be inculcated in our children as well as among those who are income earners. The tax system must encourage savings and investment.

SECURITY INDUSTRY

The security industry in South Africa will require careful monitoring and regulating so that it does not pose any danger to law and order and the security of the nation.

SENIOR CERTIFICATE

The certificate awarded at the end of Grade 12 must retain an intrinsic value and be an acceptable passport to higher learning. If those who possess such a certificate fail in large numbers at the tertiary level, questions will need to be asked about its value.

SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Charges of sexual violence should not be allowed to be withdrawn. Those who commit sexual violence must face the law in open court.

Sexual violence is also a matter that needs to be collectively addressed by all of us. It is social pressure that will achieve lasting results.

Let us act together to stamp out sexual violence.

SET-TOP BOX CONTROL

In the interest of all television set owners it is imperative for the public broadcaster, e.tv and Multi-Choice, amongst others, to facilitate a full scale roll-out of digital terrestrial television in 2015. Greater competition among broadcasters will have to be facilitated in the interest of consumers.

SEXISM

Sexism, homophobia and racism must all be tackled with equal vigour. The equality guaranteed in our



constitution is indivisible. Everyone is equal before the law and everyone is entitled to democratic freedom.

Discrimination of a person on the basis of gender can occur in many ways. This is done through stereotyping, use of a certain type of vocabulary, a display of prejudicial attitude or making choices for positions on the basis of gender.

Sexism in our constitutional order is totally unacceptable. Cultural elements that promote this discrimination must be seriously interrogated by cultural leaders.

Throughout human history men as a class were privileged over women as a class. Sexism is a display of prejudice on the one hand and the exerting of power on the other. Institutional power, historically, resided with the male gender and this must be corrected through affirmative action.

COPE proposes to deal with discrimination and sexism in the workplace by requesting data from all workplaces. By knowing what proportion of women occupy what level of positions and what seniority in decision making they enjoy within an organisation it becomes possible for all role players to know to what extent gender parity is being achieved.

Activists lobbies must be supported so that our goal of seeing both gender classes in our society enjoying equal and displaying equality will materialise quickly.

SHORT TERM DEBT

All short term loans must be unencumbered of any extras and the borrower must be given a full break down of all charges as well as the final balloon amount at settlement stage. The total, inclusive of every other cost, cannot exceed capital + the interest at the rate permitted in law.

SMALL, MEDIUM AND MICRO ENTERPRISES

A COPE led government will implement an effective programme to provide all-round assistance and support to small, medium and micro enterprises. Specifically this will require revising the mandate of all Development Finance Institutions (DFI's) such as the DBSA, IDC and regional development agencies to focus on the support of these enterprises. In order to encourage the creation of opportunities for decent work near where people live and to help reduce the transport cost to workers and the inefficiency of long distance commuting, an integrated, inter-modal, safe and reliable public transport system will be developed.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The United Nations organised a World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen between 11 - 12 March 1995. Matters discussed were: globalization, the world economy, poverty, unemployment and social disintegration.

Going by the commitments that were made then, COPE commits to doing the following -

- Creating an economic, political, social, cultural and legal environment that will enable people to achieve social development;
- Eradicating poverty by creating social networks, facilitating citizen activism, and directing more resources to skills training and infrastructure development;
- Promoting optimal employment as a basic priority of economic and social policy;
- Promoting social integration and the protection of all human rights;
- Achieving equality between women and men;



- Promoting and attaining the goals of universal and equitable access to quality education and access for all citizens to primary health care, nutritional guidance and secondary health care;
- Ensuring that departmental budgets include social development goals.

COPE undertakes to prioritise the eradication of poverty, the reduction of unemployment, and the acceleration of social integration befitting a nation trying to achieve unity in diversity.

COPE will ensure that the Copenhagen Declaration is revisited at the United Nations.

SMALL FIRMS SUPPORT

Small firms employing fewer than 12 people will be entitled to apply for exemption from certain legal requirements on a biennial basis to allow them to remain viable. In order that this is seen as a two way process, such companies must provide published incentive schemes and profit sharing for its employees.

COPE will motivate firms to enter into arrangements with fellow companies and communities to create clusters of a common industry, for example, jewellery manufacture. This will work better for the companies as well as for the communities that are involved. Investments, whether tangible or intangible, must be seen to be coming from entrepreneurs as well as communities.

Such an arrangement will also enable government to provide targeted support and more coherent policy positions.

SOCIAL EXPENDITURE

We will also need to achieve and maintain the correct balance between social and economic expenditure.

Social wage for the benefit of the poor will have to be supported but this will have to be done side by side with increasing the national wealth. A safety net for the poor has to exist.

More than 15 million people or 30 % of the population depend on social grants. With the state running out of money, it is important to accelerate job creation so that the scheme can remain afloat.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

COPE encourages corporate social responsibility and philanthropy. Social capital is invaluable in a country such as South Africa.

SPORTS

COPE will encourage all sports bodies to come together and elect a five person Sports Juristic Council. To be elected individuals will need to have had experience in law, administration and sports.

The Sports Juristic Council will be empowered to hear charges against sports administrators, players, referees, umpires and spectators and to take swift action which will be legally competent and permissible. This will help to resolve problems bedeviling many codes of sports.

A percentage of all income accruing to controlling bodies will have to be invested in sports development and coaching at school level. All professional players will have to undertake duties to inspire school children to take up sports and identify serious talent. These matters will have to be amicably negotiated in the interest of social responsibility. All professional players must have free ticket allocations so that they can invite talented school children to watch them play.

Street sports must be actively supported by local government. Soccer, hockey, athletics, cycling, and



basket ball, among other games, could be promoted. Inter street competitions should also be considered.

Every child should be able to access coaching manuals through libraries, clubs, or the internet. Mastering techniques, strengthening muscles, improving reflexes, and eating correctly need to be understood early in life. Holding quizzes on sports trivia should occur in community halls on a regular basis. Prizes could be sports gear or tickets for games.

Professional players must be encouraged to play in exhibition matches in townships. Like Nelson Mandela reached out to people, so must our professional players. We need to make South Africa a happy country with fit people enjoying sports both as players and spectators on a regular basis.

In cricket and rugby our national teams are in the top heap. Soccer has to get there quickly. In swimming we continue to do well but in athletics as a whole, we are still lagging behind. Whatever needs to be done will have our support. In creating an activist state we wish to fulfil the goal of the Freedom Charter to encourage the people to govern. The development of facilities must involve entire communities. Government departments must come to the party in all earnestness. Red tape must be addressed.

Govern and the people must be on the same side and what is even more important, we will need to think innovatively and out of the box. South African sports must make South Africans proud.

Packaging, where possible, must communicate sports messages and coaching tips. The public broadcaster must examine what has to be done to do the same.

SPOUSAL SUPPORT

The state will be responsible for the support of only one spouse of the President or Deputy President. The state will certainly not be responsible for multiple spouses.

STATE OWNED AIRLINE

The state must own a minority share in the national airlines in order that it can be run as an efficient business which is not reliant on the state for continuous bailout. This must happen expeditiously for the benefit of taxpayers, passengers, employees and economic development

STEROID ABUSE

The abuse of steroids in sports has to be frowned upon. Active steps will be taken to keep sports free of anabolic steroids.

STRATEGIC INTEGRATED PROJECTS

There are 18 strategic projects that are presently being considered. COPE will take these on board. All three tiers of government, State Owned Enterprises and private enterprises will be involved with transparency and accountability prevailing. Co-operatives will be facilitated to bring communities and groups into the programme so that benefits flow across a wide spectrum and in two directions.

The development of Saldhana as a major international maintenance hub will be given further impetus. Richards Bay, East London and Coega will be fully supported so that they become highly successful Industrial Development Zones.

We must start benefitting from the considerable investments made in these development zones.

SUGAR CONSUMPTION & HEALTH ISSUES

Weight gain, obesity, high bad cholesterol, tooth decay, insulin resistance, high blood pressure, depression and other health issues require a careful monitoring of sugar



consumption. South Africans should be educated in how to use sugar and encouraged not to consume more than 5—6 teaspoons per day. Labelling of all products using sugar will help consumers determine how much sugar they are ingesting daily.

Research must be supported and the public must be kept fully informed about the findings.

SUN MUST NEVER SET ON SUCH A GLORIOUS ACHIEVEMENT

COPE is determined that the hope created by President Nelson Mandela will be realised by enjoining all South Africans to take the responsibility never to let the sun set on the glorious achievement of 1994. Citizens must use this declaration by Nelson Mandela to hold government to account if ever government attempts to curtail democracy or fail in the task of ensuring that every group has its fair place in the sun. The promise that Nelson Mandela made is a promise that COPE will faithfully honour.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Our country and the rest of the world face choices about preserving the environment and the sustainability of our planet. Sustainable development requires a commitment by the government, the private sector and communities to work together to promote economic development, create jobs while preserving the environment. There is no trade-off between economic growth and sustainability. The two go hand-in-hand. As a legacy to our children and to the future, a COPE led government will progressively utilise natural gas, solar, wind, hydro and sea as sources of cleaner power generation; where coal is used to generate power, there is a need to develop new cleaner technology to reduce emissions from these power stations, thus improving the

health of our people especially communities in the surrounding areas; promote measures to encourage the recycling of water, paper, metal, plastic and other consumables; encourage organic farming and other natural methods of production that do not harm the environment.

Protecting the environment and building sustainable development. To preserve, protect and enhance our environment, including our built environment. The opportunity to put things right is now; in fact we are now running against time. We will not meet our growth and development targets, or the millennium development goals, if we miss this chance. Against this background, Cope aims to achieve the following:

COPE advocates an environmental super policy to ensure the protection of the critical eco-system services upon which our lives depend. These need to be treated as finite resources, and their protection needs to be “embedded” in every policy framework, law and developmental programme in order to “dematerialize” the economy. (While the National Framework for Sustainable Development calls for “dematerialization”, other frameworks need to be amended to include this, such as the National Industrial Development Framework and the Local Economic Development Framework).

COPE will take a leaf from Mandela’s book and persuade South Africans to take note of the severity of storms affecting country after country. We cannot and dare not bring calamity on our heads through indifference. South Africans must lead the world as campaigners for ameliorating climate change through environmental consciousness. Every company in South Africa must willingly support this call. Dissenters will be given space but excluded from policy making. We have seen enough to know what has to be done and it is better to plan ahead than pick up the pieces and bodies after massively destructive storms.



COPE will additionally place a strong emphasis on environmental monitoring, reporting, evaluation, policing, enforcement and compliance in order to give teeth to our relatively good existing environmental laws.

Citizen activism will be strongly supported. There must be no place in South Africa for environmental destroyers to hide.

COPE will play an activist role in achieving an activist state where the environment – and the protection thereof – will be promoted among the people to create jobs, foster innovation and develop new industries.

Software developers will be requested to create apps to heighten awareness.

Cope will take a lead in educating all South Africans about the need to protect the environment and reduce our consumption of carbon emitting products. We will mobilize everyone from school children to business leaders and government officials – to take action. COPE wants to be the greenest of green parties. We have seen the future. It is green.

These measures should prioritize the following key areas:

1. Spatial planning: COPE will ensure that poor people live close to their places of work and that transport is clean, affordable, safe and available to all. Our view is to plan with communities for communities in the interest of communities.

“Communities” will be the new buzz word.

2. Climate change mitigation and adaptation:

As one of the largest carbon emitters per capita in the world, South Africa has to act. COPE will push for this agenda as matter of urgency to ensure that our country meets its responsibility to its citizens as well as to the world.

Climate change, as far as COPE is concerned, presents an opportunity for us in South Africa to develop a vibrant “green economy”. COPE needs to push this agenda vigorously. We must speedily move beyond the carbon economy. We must prove that jobs and opportunities will be created. We must make a leap of faith because anything less will simply not do.

A rapid de-monopolization of Eskom will have to occur. Independent power providers (IPPs) must get all the support they can. Communities, especially in suitable rural areas, must be supported to become independent power providers.

COPE will call for a wide range of clean energy solutions and will set up mechanisms to promote cost effective trials.

COPE will also vitalise ecosystem services to safeguard and promote bio-diversity. COPE will also protect our natural resources and use them wisely and sustainably.

The passing away of Nelson Mandela demonstrates to us the importance of continuing his legacy and demonstrating leadership. The whole world will be behind us if we can climb to the moral summit and show that every action of government is motivated by doing the greatest good for ourselves and the world. At the international negotiating table global issues are discussed, our emphasis on humanitarian concerns and sustainable exploitation of resources must give us a clout considerably greater than our size.

SYSTEMIC PROBLEMS AT LAW COURTS

It is essential for a constant review of systemic problems and dragged out processes so that cases can be settled quickly and more affordably. Court officials and the government need to recognise the cost of litigation and ensure that everything is done to speed up processes and accelerate delivery of judgments.



TARGETTED AREAS OF GROWTH

COPE will prioritise research and development in those key sectors of the economy identified as growth and employment drivers. These will include energy, manufacturing, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), services and tourism. Other areas will be added on because our policy is to facilitate citizen activism. Government and citizens, working transparently and co-operatively, will determine which areas of the economy to target for sustainable growth.

TAXATION

According to the World Bank our country in 2013 came in at 39 in respect of our tax system. This is a considerable achievement. The need to go higher on the list is made imperative by our country's need to encourage investments and promote economic growth. SARS has done commendably well and further reforms must follow to make the system better and friendlier. The model at SARS will be implemented across all spheres of government activities. The report of Judge Dennis Davies will be carefully studied for a new action plan to be developed.

TAXIS

A new business model has to be evolved allowing taxi owners to diversify to stop turf wars. Taxis must also meet norms and standards and in this regard the braking capacity and the kind of braking equipment and parts will have to be strictly regulated. Demerit points will be introduced to remove from the industry those who endanger the lives of passengers. COPE will listen attentively to taxi owners as well as passengers to create regulations that will be in the long term interest of taxi owners and their passengers. Safety of passengers will have to be escalated for action.

TENDERS

COPE will institute a national tender office to transform the procurement and provisioning systems into a well regulated and monitored supply chain management system complete with a supply chain performance audit. Greater transparency will be demanded and parliament will be required to open a complaints office so that whistle blowers and other can alert MPs and allow for officials in breach to be summoned to appear before a relevant committee.

Hundreds of billions of rand have been lost through a rampant abuse of the procurement process. Those who are found guilty of abusing the system will have their names black listed and will be blocked from ever serving the state.

A COPE led government will introduce a unified and simplified system for the electronic submission of tenders for government work. This will be done to reduce costs, save time and avoid travelling over long distances. It is important to reduce barriers to entry for small enterprises and those located in distant areas.

COPE will also ensure that all suppliers who wish to do business with government will file with a single agency which will compile, maintain, update and verify the necessary information so that a bidder will only have to provide a cache reference number with a tender.

COPE will create a strong Inspectorate to ensure that necessary quality control of the service delivery by the public and by private sector companies of government contracts exists. We shall also adopt new measures to make certain that government is better empowered to eliminate corruption in the awarding of contracts, including the expulsion of corrupt people from the public sector.



TERTIARY EDUCATION

Government must provide more resources for the Further Education and Training (FET) Colleges, ensure that the graduates have the appropriate skills required by our economy and society, and provide bursaries especially for students who come from poor families and those that focus on priority skills specially identified by government.

Government must also establish a University Grants or Funding Commission that will be independent but accountable, consultative with higher education institutions, which will explore appropriate funding mechanisms and liaise with the Treasury.

COPE will work with higher education institutions, both public and private, to increase the output of graduates and reduce the drop-out rate, among other things by running programmes to upgrade especially the first-year African students in need.

COPE will promote a learning and knowledge society by advancing technology, enhancing research and creating a society with love of learning and engaged in societal development; work with the Universities and other Institutes of Higher learning to improve their coordination with the FET system and the business sector to ensure

that their graduates have the kind of education that is relevant to the needs of the economy and society; further improve the levels of financial support especially to university students who come from poor families, and by encouraging work/study opportunities for students.

TOLERANCE

COPE will ensure that all spheres of government are obliged by law to work consistently toward creating a climate of tolerance for different points of view.

TOWNSHIPS

Townships will be made into safer, cleaner and greener places to live in. Community centres will be attached to schools as will clinics and sports facilities. Work will be brought close to townships so that people do not have to travel far. Locals will be given sustainable work to modernise townships and ensure that water, toilets and electricity are available. Townships must become tourist attractions. Government will provide resources and people from townships will upgrade the townships.

TOWNSHIP TV

The idea started by Graeme Joffe to place 2212m² super large TV sets in parks in Diepsloot and other townships for recreational, and possibly educational, purposes is one worth expanding through public-private partnerships so that poorer people can access programmes that they would not otherwise be able to. COPE has already taken a decision to support this venture and allow it to be expanded so that all communities are adequately catered for.

TRADE UNIONS FOR PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYEES

COPE will ensure that workers in the public sector, including the police, teachers and health workers, and others, will have the right to form and belong to trade unions to represent them in negotiations with the state regarding remuneration, working conditions, etc. Such organized labour unions, however, will not be allowed to affiliate themselves to political parties, or to confederations. This is to ensure that such unions, at all times, act in a professional manner and uphold the best principles of public service.



TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

COPE recognises traditional authority subject to the constraints of the constitution. Traditional leaders and the communities they serve will be encouraged to transform to better meet the requirements of the constitution. The constitution is the only glue that holds our society together. The constitution enshrines rights and those rights cannot be derogated from.

TRADITIONAL COURTS BILL

The right of appeal to other courts is a constitutional necessity and cannot be obliterated. COPE will send the Traditional Courts Bill to the Constitutional Court in order to satisfy itself that the Bill passes full constitutional muster.

The Bill will be amended in line with the Constitutional Court's ruling.

TRANSPARENCY

COPE is committed to the doctrine of **open government**. Citizens have the right to access the documents and proceedings of the government to allow for effective public oversight. The Public Access to Information Act must be implemented with determination.

COPE, in the best Nelson Mandela tradition, will not resort to secrecy to trump accountability.

COPE will create an activist state where the state will encourage and facilitate citizen activism and implement an unprecedented level of openness and transparency. Government activity must always be open and transparent to South African citizens.

COPE will insist that there is total transparency in the awarding of government tenders. It will go further than

that. COPE will improve and strengthen legislation to protect whistleblowers.

TRANSPORT

COPE supports the absolute reduction of traveling to and from work in the first instance. The party is committed to bringing the town and city closer to the people in order to reverse apartheid planning that pushed people far from the town and cities. Where traveling is necessary and unavoidable, COPE will support the development of integrated public transport networks in order to facilitate the movement of people through properly planned feeder and distribution services.

COPE will thoroughly review the operation of taxis and buses and open an investigation into the extent to which these should be subsidized.

TUK-TUK

COPE supports the wide scale use of Tuk -Tuks to increase inner city mobility and encourage business growth. The electric version of the Tuk -Tuk will be preferred to reduce carbon emission and thereby help reduce the nation's carbon footprint. The Tuk -Tuk will also instantaneously create tens of thousands of sustainable jobs.

TRIBALISM

Tribalism has no place in government. People who belong to a tribe must indeed nurture consciousness of identity and loyalty to a tribe. When tribalism exalts one tribe over another or attempts to corrupt politics by its intrusion, it becomes a scourge of society. It becomes the cause of perpetual conflict. Tribalism must be kept of politics.



UNBANKED CITIZENS

Unbanked South Africans will have to be assisted to have access to a new style bank which can operate cheaply, take deposits and support members with small loans on the model of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. This matter will be teased out fully through discussion involving all role players.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The problem of unemployment is so serious as to be declared a national emergency requiring a commensurate response.

UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

Academic autonomy and academic excellence are indispensable to the growth of knowledge and the proper development of young minds. The terms of autonomy must be defined by the universities themselves with a challenge to each university to achieve high national and international ranking on the basis of internationally recognised research and quality of its graduates.

VALUE SYSTEM

COPE places a high premium on respect for values and principles that South Africans as a people uphold. COPE recognises that the only way to build the new South Africa on a firm foundation is to create a value system that has universal support. The cherished values we hold as a people must define who we are. Living by such values must give us pride in ourselves as a people.

Accordingly, a COPE led government will put in place processes directed at advancing Ubuntu / Botho so that we can achieve -

- human and social solidarity,
- respect for human life,
- harmony and respect between the young and the elderly,
- dignity and respect for women;
- protection for children and their innocence; and
- better support for those who are disabled.

In governance, such values as integrity, honesty, transparency, accountability, and an implicit appreciation of the need for the rule of law to prevail must be manifested at every turn.

A COPE led government will unequivocally and consistently demonstrate that the above values are indeed core to its existence. Citizens will therefore have the firm assurance that these values will be adhered to without any deviation or transgression.

With the passing away of Nelson Mandela on 6 December 2013, we are more determined than ever that his example will be followed and his values carried forward to future generations. Our sense of recent history must allow us to build a people-centred, caring and inclusive government that will be the pride of the nation.

The values that all of us cherish must be our collective responsibility to promote, preserve and pass on to future generations.

Nelson Mandela had said that if any government does to its people what unjust governments did before 1994, the people should do to the new government what it did to the pre-1994 government.

There must be no tolerance for any surrender of the values listed above.



VIOLENT CRIMES

Violent crimes generally have a history. The possession of weapons, especially illegally acquired weapons, in circumstances where the economy is failing increases the incidences of violent crimes. The symptoms as well as the cause will have to be addressed simultaneously. Hot spots will need to be studied to understand why violent crimes occur and who are the people participating in such crimes.

WATER CONSERVATION

There is a great need to continuously educate citizens about the necessity to conserve water as a precious resource. The prediction that the western half of South Africa is going to become progressively drier by 2050 requires everyone to be focussed on the need to conserve water.

Water infrastructure will also need regular upgrading to prevent leakages and tariffs will require adjustment to ensure its efficient use and post use treatment of waste water.

WATER, SANITATION & ELECTRICITY

Water and sanitation are basic human rights. Water, however, is also a scarce resource. COPE will undertake to provide poor households with 75 litres of water per person per day provided that the recipients of the water ensure that it is optimally recycled. All grey water will have to be utilised in a garden to grow food.

Households will be supported with the provisions of solar panels for heating water and for heating the dwelling. As the cost of electricity is mounting, the amount of free electricity that will be made available will depend on affordability.

Water management will be improved as a result of better governance, stricter control, effective co-ordination and constant research at university level.

The careful utilisation of ground water resources will enjoy stringent monitoring and constant evaluation.

Water security for all in a sustainable and affordable manner will have to be guaranteed.

WOMEN

Women will have to have an equal share in power structures with a clear mandate, amongst other things, to improve the lives of women and ensure that they enjoy the equality they are granted in the constitution. Those who are championing the cause of women must receive full state support.

WORK CULTURE

Creating a positive and vibrant workplace culture is essential to the success of government and organisations. Leaders who seek to make the workplace more dynamic and highly productive must begin by winning the support of all employees for the implementation of a culture where benefits are shared and failures with consequences are shouldered by all. Successfully institutionalising such a culture will create optimism and fulfilment. Communication, transparency, accountability, accessibility, innovativeness, fairness and clear strategising from the top will allow all to sing from a common hymn sheet and keep the tune. Focus on developing the right workplace culture throughout government service will be a high priority that will be consistently analysed and monitored.

WORKERS

The objective of full employment is what we all must strive for. Accordingly COPE will develop and implement



coherent policies that will indeed promote full and productive employment and decent work for all. It will do so with the continuous involvement of all key stakeholders.

Organisations involving employers, workers and work seekers will have to engage on how best to grow the economy and how best to share the outcome.

All stakeholders must contribute actively to the social dialogue and very importantly they must do so from an informed position. The sharing of research and reports must therefore take place.

Every country needs an appropriate legal framework for greater harmony among the parties and for sustainable job absorbing growth. As Nelson Mandela observed that the purpose of militancy is to be able to sit at the table. In order to sit constructively at the table, facts, figures and research must be laid on the table. COPE will create a climate where there will be no need for militancy and tension. All parties will have to be involved in creating an economy that works optimally for all.

UNEMPLOYMENT

COPE is painfully aware that many South Africans are unemployed or currently losing their jobs, and that families are increasingly facing hunger and poverty because of the difficult global and local economic conditions. COPE will put in place a short, medium and long-term programme to respond to this situation. COPE will ensure that all companies contemplating the retrenchment of labour will adhere strictly to all the provisions of Labour Relations legislation. Where retrenchments become unavoidable, social plans will be activated to address the needs of the affected workers;

UNIVERSITY FUNDING

COPE will introduce a new formula to fund Universities. The use of tablets, e-readers and other electronic

devices must be permitted and the state must support airlines with the technology and legal framework required to implement the use of digital devices on airlines.

URBAN DECAY

Urban decay must be tackled as a great priority. Infrastructure must be maintained.

WATER

Future wars, it is predicted will be about water. Many protest actions, where people lose their lives, relate to disruption in water supply. The failure to create infrastructure and corruption in governance have contributed to the problem. Climate change will affect rainfall patterns and therefore the capture, storage, purification and distribution of water will have to be treated with the seriousness it deserves. People can live without food for a while, but no life can exist without water. Water is precious. Conservation of water and the proper use of water must be a national concern. Greater activism in this area will ensure that the people have quality water and that water is available for other purposes.

WI-FI

Airlines in South Africa must be encouraged to offer wi-fi on airlines operating in South African airspace. Wi-Fi hotspots must exist where people will need them.

XENOPHOBIA

Cohesive communities are stable and settled. If and when they make room for people who are coming into their community they allow this to happen on their own terms.



Informal settlements unfortunately have no control mechanisms.

There are other factors that also need urgent attention. These are unemployment, the demand on social and economic resources and the inability of Home Affairs to deal with the problem of illegal immigrants in a satisfactory manner. All of these will also have to be dealt with.

The tighter control of our borders, seaports and airports must be attended to.

Where South Africa is accepting people on humanitarian grounds, it is important for government to play an important role in integrating them with communities and ensuring that harmonious relations are engendered.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT INCENTIVE SCHEME

This is a positive scheme which must be pursued while keeping a sharp look out for any abuses. Participants in the scheme will be workshopped to understand its aims and objectives and made aware of the penalties for abusing the system.

Skills development and training on site must be supplemented by classes in theory and examinations to achieve optimal outcomes for the youth in the scheme.

In order for the scheme to work well it should be closely monitored through rapid SMS interaction between youth and the Department in charge.

ZIMBABWEANS

COPE will request Zimbabweans in South Africa to create an organisation that represents them in order that constructive discussion can take place with them regarding their situation and what can be done to assist them to find the solutions they seek.

A similar dialogue will need to be held with others who are seeking refuge in South Africa.



COPETM

CONGRESS
OF THE PEOPLE

A New Agenda for Change and Hope for All